

RELIGIOUS ORDERS  
AND  
PERSONAL AND GROUP ATTITUDES AND VALUES

. BY

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## INTRODUCTION

### MOTIVATION

For many years I have been interested in the relationship between ethical and moral attitudes and values and religious belief. I became aware of a conflict in attitudes concerning the role of the Church in society as a member of the Methodist Church, and this stimulated me to study seriously the role of the Church in present day society. I found that members of the Wesley Guild, of which I myself was a member, conceived of the Guild in three forms:

- (a) as a social club;
- (b) as an institution for training in Christian service, both at the level of spiritual belief and practice and at the level of practical help to those in human need;
- (c) as an association where individual spiritual values are fostered.

Members differed in their view of the Guild, some seeing it in terms of all three enumerated forms, others emphasising one or two of these forms. This induced tension within the Guild.

Wider observation led me to the view that this diffused concept of the Church and its functions was not peculiar to the Wesley Guild. It seemed to be general to the South African Church. I became confirmed in this view when, as a student at Rhodes University, I found that many theological students of different denominations shared it.

Initially my concern was with the internal cohesion of the Church. Later, however, stimulated by the political and economic situation in South Africa in its relation to Christian belief - propaganda against "political sermons", conflict within the Dutch Reformed Church and other Churches over Christianity and apartheid, government attitudes towards the Christian Institute, the tension within and without the Methodist Church over the appointment of an African, the Rev. Seth Mokitimi, to the Presidency of the Methodist Conference, statements of the Roman Catholic Archbishop D. Hurley, Christian reaction to poverty in the country, and many other events - my concern extended to the relation of the Church to the outside society. This aspect became more emphasised, and attention began to focus on whether some Christian groups adapt to society along lines that differ from other Christian groups, and whether this issues in differences in ethical and moral attitudes and values which possibly over-ride the basic Christianity professed by them all. At this stage the present project began to take shape as an investigation of some aspects of the relationship between ethical attitudes and religious affiliations in various sections within the Christian Church.

#### SCOPE OF THE STUDY

A full answer to the problems raised should incorporate a study of official policies and ethical and moral statements made by the spokesmen of the various churches with respect to certain test issues, the attitudes and opinions of lay church members, and the

attitudes and opinions of the general, non-church public. This would permit a rounded analysis of the relationship (if any) between ethical and moral attitudes and values and church membership. Such a full treatment, however, is beyond the scope of this study and the author has been forced to limit attention to a comparative study of the ethical and moral attitudes of lay churchmen. As far as is known, such a study has not been undertaken in South Africa, while something is known of the official attitudes of church bodies to social issues since policy statements have from time to time been made. Attention was, therefore, focussed on a comparative study of the ethical and moral attitudes and values of lay church members of various denominations as a first step towards shedding light on the degree to which membership of specific Christian churches is related to the holding of varied ethical and moral attitudes and values. That variation is likely to occur is part of the hypothetical structure of the investigation.

It must be emphasised that throughout this study the criteria for church membership concern church affiliation and participation of members, not their beliefs, depth of commitment or sincerity. Sociology is not concerned with the study of spiritual values in themselves. In this study the churches are considered purely as social institutions. It is hoped that some light will be shed that will help theologian and layman to understand better the role of the churches in society, through an understanding of their members and the manner in which these members orient themselves on ethical and moral issues.

S E C T I O N A

CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW OF LITERATURE BEFORE FORMING HYPOTHESES,  
TOGETHER WITH GENERAL MATTERS

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In his discussion of the dualism of human nature and its social conditions Durkheim<sup>1]</sup> accounts for the development of religious and moral forces through social interaction and communication. He stresses their reality, and their coercive power over individuals. However, as Durkheim himself puts it,

"these ideals, these products of group life, cannot originate, let alone persist, unless they penetrate the individual consciousness, where they are organised in a lasting fashion. Once the group has dissolved and the social communion has done its work, individuals carry away in themselves these great religious, moral and intellectual conceptions that societies draw from their hearts during periods of greatest creativity. Once creativity has ceased and each individual has taken up his private existence, the vitality of these conceptions is not maintained at the same intensity. It is not extinguished, however, for the action of the group does not cease altogether; it perpetually gives back to the great ideas a little of the strength that the egoistic passions and daily personal preoccupations tend to take away from them. This replenishment is the function of public festivals .....

In mingling with our individual lives in this way, however, these various ideals are themselves individualised. Because they are in a close relationship with our other representations they harmonise with them and with our temperaments, characters, habits and so on. Each of us puts his own mark on them; and this accounts for the fact that each person has his own particular way of thinking about the beliefs of his church,

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1] K. H. Wolff (ed.) Emile Durkheim - A Collection of Essays, Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1960 "The Dualism of Human Nature and Its Social Conditions", p.336 ff.

the rules of morality and the fundamental notions that serve as the framework of conceptual thought. But even while they are being individualised, collective ideals preserve their characteristic property - the prestige with which they are clothed. ... They command us, they impose respect on us. ..

Man ... actually is double. There are in him two classes of states of consciousness... the individual, connecting us with ourselves, and those that come to us from society and connect us with something that surpasses us. Being collective they are impersonal; they turn us towards ends that we hold in common with other men."

These two classes, represented by "sensations and sensory appetites", and the "intellectual and moral life", respectively, are often in conflict, and Durkheim describes this as "the painful character of this dualism". Society has its own nature, and consequently its requirements are quite different from those of our nature as individuals. Therefore society cannot be formed or maintained without our being required to make perpetual and costly sacrifices.

In this passage - quoted at length because of its importance to the present study - Durkheim draws attention to the way in which the social cohesion of groups is maintained through their religious and moral ideas and ideals. But conflict is always present because of the dual nature of man. Man is an individual as well as a member of society, and consequently, individual ideas and ideals will be different from those of the collectivity to some extent. The extent to which the ideas and ideals of persons as individuals differ from those of the collectivity depend on the strength of the coercion exercised by the group over the individual and on the manner in which the individual has internalised the ideas and ideals.

Religion thus, according to Durkheim, has the function of maintaining the cohesion of the social group, but this cohesion is never perfect nor remains unchallenged. The hypotheses of the present study focus on the imperfection of the cohesion of the religious group.

Simmel, like Durkheim, discovers in religion an integrating, unifying element. Religious ideas and their systematisation, to him, do not contain divisive elements, but are universalistic, sponsoring the unity of all mankind. In his thesis that religion is reflected in social relationships he does not differ from Weber and Durkheim. He says, "The synthesis in the group is the prototype of the perceived, the conscious, unity, transcending personality, and its particular form is mirrored or sublimated in the religious unity of existence, held together by the concept of God"<sup>1]</sup>. The Christian ideal of the unified "Kingdom of God" is relevant in this context. "The specific value of religion becomes evident here", says Simmel, "as the ideal expression of the sociological form of reciprocity which we call the

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1] G. Simmel, Sociology of Religion, Philosophical Library, N.Y., 1959, p.41 ff.

unity of the group". There is a concordance of goals and interests in religion. Though "the believers might collide as private persons, ..... as recipients of the same religious goods there could only be peace."

But the difficulty of combining equality before God, which the above assumes, with the diversity of individuals, has led to uniformity of performance in Christianity, which Simmel maintains has reduced large segments of Christian life to mere schematism.

However, while there may be uniformity of performance at the level of doctrine, dogma and ritual, the individualism stressed by Durkheim comes into play in those areas of religious life where uniformity of performance is challenged most strongly, i.e. in the area of ethical and moral attitudes towards changing social issues. The present thesis holds that in this area considerable diversity will be found within the Christian Church.

In fact it is possible to conceive of a form of religion so spiritualised that, in extremity, it might deny the relevance of ethics or morals as components of the religious doctrines or dogmas. The possibility of conflict between these two dimensions constitutes a problem to be investigated later in the study of the ethical attitude patterns of some Christians.

From this extreme position a gradient of attitudes is possible, expressed as the corporate view of members of churches. One pole of this gradient tends to stress doctrine, dogma and ritual to the exclusion of ethics and morals, while at the opposite pole the stress is upon ethics and the good life, to the extent that doctrine,

dogma and ritual expressions become secondary. There is thus a variable relation between Theology and Ethics, varying from identity to separation. It is, however, rarely absolute, as polarities. It will be seen later that some Christians appear to be little sensitive to the Ethical and others tend to be little affected by the Theological: both sides might be surprised at this classification.

While it is possible that at the extreme some forms of religious belief may deny the relevance to themselves of an ethical system, Troeltsch believes that the Christian ethos carried two demands: on the one hand the sanctification of the self for God by the practice of detachment from everything which disturbs inward communion with God and by the exercise of everything which inwardly binds the soul with God's Will (i.e. the "spiritual" side of Christianity) and on the other hand, "that brotherly love which overcomes in God all the tension and harshness of the struggle for existence..."<sup>1]</sup>. This is an ideal which requires a new world if it is to be fully realised, and the Christian thus seeks a compromise. There is a constant search for compromise, and a constant opposition to compromise. Protestantism, according to Troeltsch, fused the two aspects in the ethic of "calling", wherein everything a man does is related to God and for the glory of God, in an attempt to restore in a rational manner the "holy community" within the life of the world.

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1] E. Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, Allen & Unwin, London, 1949. Troeltsch's conclusions, p.1012 and 3 are interesting in the light of the findings of the present thesis.

Weber considers the concept of "calling" as springing from a different psycho-social source, though with the same effect on practical ethics and social behaviour. In ascetic Protestantism, according to Weber, the path to salvation is turned away from a contemplative 'flight from the world' and towards an active ascetic 'work in this world'. In order to 'prove' himself before God (and to himself, and to fellow human beings as being 'of the elect') the ethical quality of the believer's conduct in this world must be exemplary. Thus "raised to the level of a vocation, everyday conduct becomes the locus for proving one's state of grace"<sup>1]</sup>.

Throughout Christian history this relationship between spiritual salvation and moral life has caused conflict within the historical church. That this conflict is still present today is apparent in the deliberations and arguments of contemporary church assemblies throughout the world, and not least in South Africa. It is present in the empirical data of this study.

#### The "Social Gospel"

The tension is exemplified in the development of the Christian Socialist Movement in England in the mid-nineteenth century. This movement, spearheaded by J.M.F. Ludlow, F.D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, declared the whole social order to be subject to criticism in the light of Christian beliefs about God and man, and stated that the ultimate test lay in the moral order.

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1] H.H. Gerth & C.W. Mills (tr. & ed.) From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1959, pp.290, 291.

Although this group and its supporters did not survive as an organised movement, their ideas survived, and according to Temple, reached fullest expression in the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship in 1924. The grounds have since changed, but Temple believed that the central thesis of the Christian Socialists still holds, i.e. that the Church "is entitled to say that some economic gains ought not to be sought because of the injuries involved to interests higher than economic"<sup>1]</sup>. The inherent right of the Church to test the institutional structure against the moral standards of the Church was advanced.

Three central problems seem to have arisen with regard to this idea. Firstly, before the development of the Christian Socialist Movement, concerned with moral deficiencies in the economic and political fabric of the society itself, individuals in their personal capacity as Christian people had been campaigning for political and legal reforms. The fight for the abolition of the slave trade, emancipation of slaves, prison reform, (associated with John Howard and Elizabeth Fry) were notable examples of individual Christian actions on society, based on Christian ethics. Until the passage of the Factory Acts, concern had been by individuals for individuals, but with the Factory Acts, although the concern was still for individuals, the action taken did not only affect individuals, but extended to the whole social structure - the relations between employer and employee came under legal scrutiny. It was about this time that

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1] W. Temple, Christianity and Social Order, SCM Press, London, 1955, p.13.

the Christian Socialist Movement began<sup>1]</sup>. Here was a distinct source of conflict. One side of the argument held that Christians should limit their concern to action on behalf of individuals in distress, and should not involve themselves with the social structure itself. The Christian Socialists on the other side declared the whole social order subject to criticism in the light of Christian teaching.

The second source of conflict arose among those who agreed that the Church had a responsibility to criticise the social structure and that all departments of life should be subjected to its test but that this testing should not be in a manner that would undermine the freedom of the individual to express himself. Temple calls this "autonomy of technique", and he uses the illustration of the Church rightly criticising the use of (say) artistic talents for making money out of man's baser tastes (a justifiable moral criticism) and wrongly laying down laws about artistic technique (interference). It is submitted that confusion between criticism of acts with respect to their moral implications and criticism of acts with respect to technical procedures is part of the conflict in thought of Christian people today.

The third conflict arises from the point of view that Christians should orientate themselves exclusively to the

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1] Reckitt draws attention to a difference in meaning between "Socialism" in 1848 and the same word today: "'Christian Socialism' did not mean what the 'Society of Socialist Clergy and Ministers' would mean today. ... Maurice knew that there was a 'conflict which we must engage in sooner or later with the unsocial Christian and the un-Christian Socialists', and by adopting this designation (i.e. 'Christian Socialist') he hoped to do something to spike the guns of both sets of enemies." M.B. Reckitt, Maurice to Temple, Faber & Faber, London, 1947, p.86.

problem of salvation and not become embroiled with material things of this world. Hence to Cardinal Newman the poor were "objects for compassion and benevolence"<sup>1]</sup> and he does not consider it his Christian duty to improve their material conditions. Raven, commenting on the attitude of the Church in the nineteenth century stated that "The Church and respectable people generally had been indifferent, if not hostile, to social reform: co-operation had been practised only by a few gallant, but wholly insignificant, groups of working men, and to champion it was to be regarded as a crank and an outcast. All the forces of religion and politics were arrayed against it..."<sup>2]</sup>. Tawney, critical of this attitude, regards it as "abdication by the Christian Church of one whole department of life, that of social and political conduct", and considers it to be "one of the capital revolutions through which the human spirit has passed"<sup>3]</sup>.

All three conflicts are present in South Africa today, and it is the writer's contention that for the South African Christian, Christianity does not define his everyday action. As a result, Christians are confused or in disagreement with each other about their moral responsibility for the social and economic structure.

Review of Previous Sociological Work Done in Fields Similar to the Present Study

Apart from studying the work of such writers as Wach, Durkheim, Troeltsch, Weber, Tawney, Simmel and others,

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- 1] C.L. Marson, God's Co-operative Society, p.71, quoted by Raven in Christian Socialism 1848-1854.
  - 2] C.E. Raven, Christian Socialism, 1848-1854, Macmillan, London, 1920, p.365.
  - 3] R.H. Tawney, Acquisitive Society, Gollancz, London, 1937, p.231.

so far as they affect the general field of norms and values in religious systems, a review is made of relevant studies carried out during the ten years from 1957 to 1966, as reported in the American Sociological Review, the American Journal of Sociology, the British Journal of Sociology and Social Forces. Reference was also made to South African studies, as reported by E. Higgins in a review of work done in the field of the Sociology of Religion in South Africa<sup>1]</sup>, and as recorded in the Register of Current Research in the Humanities in South Africa, published annually by the National Council for Social Research.

These studies have been divided into two groups, (i) those shedding light on noteworthy points and problems of theoretical interest, and (ii) those reporting empirical studies. The empirical studies include research reports dealing with materials related to the present field of study and those using various methods of research that might be of assistance in the design of the present study.

(i) Theoretical Review

In any social situation the behaviour of an individual is likely to be influenced by (a) his personal interest in the outcome of the action<sup>2]</sup> - as Allport puts it, it is a question of how religion serves his personal needs<sup>3]</sup>;

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1] None of the South African studies appeared to be relevant to the present study, most of them being concerned with non-white churches or with special aspects of church life, such as attendance, or religious stereotyping, etc.

2] This is the main contention of W.R. Catton in "A Theory of Value", American Sociological Review, v.24, 1959, p.310.

3] Allport, "Religion and Prejudice", Crane Review II, Fall, 1959.

(b) the status of the norms that prescribe behaviour.

If the norms are clear and firmly held by the group, the individual behaviour will be defined by them, but if the norms are "precarious" as when the values are undefined, and when there is no clear link between general value conceptions and a proximate set of goals and norms, behaviour will not be clearly defined. Behaviour will also not be clearly defined when the norms are demonstrated by leaders whose legitimacy is in doubt, or when they are not grounded in a firm social base, or when they are the values of a minority, not acceptable to the host people<sup>1]</sup>.

It seems apparent that the behaviour of Christians in this study is affected by the precarious nature of existing norms. The precariousness manifests itself in all of the above mentioned forms. The last form may have particular relevance in the Grahamstown context, where the more divided groups, the Roman Catholic and Dutch Reformed, are both minority groups, the first in religious belief, the second in language and culture. They may be suffering from rejection by the "host" population.

It is further observed by Clark that where organisations find their value system to be in the minority, the problem of survival arises. This was observed in the case of the leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church who were constrained to compromise the decisions they took at the Cottesloe Consultations in the face of lay rejection.

It was also observed in the non-implementation of the 1958 Methodist Synod's resolution, and in the despair

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1] This is basically B.R. Clark's approach in "Organisational Adaptation and Precarious Values - a case study", American Sociological Review, v.21, June 1956, p.327.

of a Grahamstown clergyman whose lay council would not discuss amalgamation with the non-white section of his church. Dornbusch and Irle<sup>1]</sup> in a study of the rejection of the Ecumenical Movement by the Southern Presbyterians of the United States, found that though the literature relating to this decision gave doctrinal differences as the basis for rejection, an ecological analysis of the vote revealed that a secular issue, the segregation controversy, was the major source of the failure to merger.

It is also observed, as de Fleur and Westie<sup>2]</sup> point out, that actions may not coincide with professed beliefs when norms and policies of social groups meaningful to the individual oppose them. Hence in this thesis, respondents to the question "Do you consider that it is a Christian's duty to take part in community affairs?" answered in the affirmative, yet were not involved in voluntary community affairs.

Glock and Ringer<sup>3]</sup> maintain that the more integrated the religion is into the social structure the more likely it is that everyday acts will be defined by religious imperatives. Conversely, the more institutionalised and independent of the society the religion is, the less explicit are the imperatives and the more the individual has to think for himself. Since relatively few people think for themselves the social structure is likely to have a greater influence than the religious imperatives

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- 1] S.M. Dornbusch & R.D. Irle, "The Failure of Presbyterian Union", American Journal of Sociology, v.64, 1958-59.
  - 2] M.L. de Fleur & F.R. Westie, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Acts: an experiment on the salience of attitudes", American Sociological Review, v.23, 1958, p.667.
  - 3] C.Y. Glock & B.B. Ringer, "Church Policy and the Attitudes of Ministers and Parishioners on Social Issues", American Sociological Review, v.21, 1956.

in the latter case. Religion is not closely integrated into the social structure of Grahamstown. It is possible that Glock and Ringer have focussed on a variable relevant to the findings of the present thesis.

Johnson<sup>1]</sup> accepts this when he states that most American religious bodies accept the dominant value system of the society. A church, he says, is a religious group that accepts the social environment in which it exists. Churches do not splinter into sects because of consciousness of conflict between Christian values and secular values. The conflict resolves into a liberal/conservative split within the church. The liberal/conservative split has proved to be of major importance in the divisions found in the Grahamstown churches, and is considered under the heading "radical-traditional continuum" in the present study.

The liberal/conservative split, however, may well be a split of convenience, since allegedly prejudiced persons act in a thoroughly egalitarian way in situations where that is the socially prescribed mode of behaviour, while allegedly unprejudiced persons discriminate in situations where they feel it is appropriate to do so. Kohn and Williams<sup>2]</sup>, observing this, conclude that hypothetical situations are hence not sufficient for the discovery of prejudice or the lack of it, and stress the importance of other factors which influence actual

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1] B. Johnson, "On Church and Sect", American Sociological Review, v.28, 1963.

2] Kohn and Williams, "Situational Patterning in Intergroup Relations", American Sociological Review, v.21, 1956.

behaviour. Such factors are not present in the unidimensional response to an opinion question.

The most important trend of thought that emerges from the above studies is the tendency of the church to become "broadly inclusive and representative, inevitably taking on the character of the community as a whole". South Africa is, perhaps, a good society in which to test this contention. If the attitudes and values of the dominant political group are accepted to characterise "the community as a whole", then it may be suggested that the Church appears to be accommodating its primary principle of the Brotherhood of Man to the secular ideology of Separate Development.

Glock and Ringer dealt with nine issues, including war and the role of the church in politics, discussing official church policy, as published. From their findings they suggest that church policy on issues is seen almost invariably as an adaptation to or compromise with the dominant secular point of view, and that the church seldom acts to foster social change. It rather functions to preserve the status quo. They suggest that: (i) where parishioners hold divergent views on an issue the church will be equivocal in its position on the issue; (ii) where parishioners are partisan the church will be equally committed (retaining the loyalty of members); (iii) on points where the church is equivocal or silent it appears to endorse convergent parishioner attitudes.

Glock and Ringer then asked whether this apparent propensity to adapt to secular values was also evident where the church takes a committed position on an issue.

Are the parishioners equally committed, and in the same direction? Conclusions were that apparently this was not so - where the church was committed, the parishioners were not. The church does not merely support the status quo nor follow the lead of parishioners in the formation of social and economic policy, but is more liberal than the laity on most issues and is more receptive to social change than the parishioners<sup>1]</sup>. The church must, however, be cautious. The parishioners' self-interest is clearly involved and the church will seek to avoid a head-on collision, which leads back to the church taking an equivocal position, as mentioned above.

Most of the research reports reviewed above suggest variables that are likely to be operating in the situation under study in this thesis. The scope of the present study precludes investigation of these variables, but it is of value to remember them when considering the findings of this study.

(ii) Review of Empirical Studies in the Field

Blumer<sup>2]</sup> sums up the practical difficulties involved in sociological analysis as: (i) difficulties in the selection of variables to be studied; (ii) the difficulty of locating non-concrete variables; (iii) the difficulties which arise because the researcher restricts himself to studying only one relationship in which the variable

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1] The rejection by the Dutch Reformed laity of the recommendations of the Cottesloe Consultations in 1961, endorsed by their own clerical delegates, is an example of this.

2] Blumer, "Sociological Analysis and the 'Variable'", American Sociological Review, v.21, 1956.

occurs from the "real" situation, which includes many relationships. These difficulties must be borne in mind throughout scientific research.

A consideration of some empirical studies relevant to the contemplated research may assist in sharpening insight and serve as a forewarning on problems that may arise in the Grahamstown study. Some were useful from the methodological point of view, others for their content.

W. Seward Salisbury's study investigating the hypothesis "secular values are taking precedence over sacred values among the adherents of major American faiths"<sup>1]</sup>, comes closest to the present study. This study proved very helpful, since, like the present project, it was concerned with analysing responses to a series of questions in order to locate the position of different groups along a continuum, for comparative purposes. Salisbury was interested in discovering the position of his groups along the sacred-secular continuum. A questionnaire designed to reveal the religious experience of respondents was administered to a group of students. Respondents were given a series of alternate choices for each question, a typical example being, "As you look back on your childhood was your religious training and experience: constructive and positive? incidental? negative and frustrating? no answer?" Replies were tabulated and percentaged. Three broad categories, Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, were used in the analysis. The hypotheses were tested by measuring the

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1] W.S. Salisbury, "Secular Values are Taking Precedence over Sacred Values among the Adherents of Major American Faiths", Social Forces, Vol.36, No.3, March, 1958.

degree to which selected sacred values were sufficiently internalised among the experimental subjects.

Another investigation, by B.H. Stoodley<sup>1]</sup>, was useful with respect to designing questions. R.C. Angell<sup>2]</sup>, put his questions in story form, posing three possible answers to the problem set. This approach was not considered suitable for Grahamstown because of the failure to take into account the multidimensionality of the real life situation.

Rettig and Pasamanich<sup>3]</sup> investigated six moral factors by asking fifty questions, each allowing a response on a ten-point scale from right to utterly wrong. In the final analysis they found only twenty questions and three factors valid to their study. While some of the questions used by Rettig and Pasamanich were considered suitable and were used in the Grahamstown study<sup>4]</sup>, the ten-point scale approach was considered unsuitable, since it has been found that most people who are required to put a mark on such a scale tend either to answer all the questions extremely, or neutrally. It was felt that respondents would give a more valid account of their reactions given alternatives and provided with an opportunity for additional remarks.

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- 1] B.H. Stoodley, "Normative Attitudes of Filipino Youth Compared with German and American Youth", American Sociological Review, v.22, 1957.
  - 2] R.C. Angell, "Preferences for Moral Norms in Three Problem Areas", American Journal of Sociology, v.67, 1961-62.
  - 3] S. Rettig and B. Pasamanich, "Changes in Moral Values among College Students: a Factorial study", American Sociological Review, vol.24, 1959.
  - 4] See appendix A for acknowledgements.

Scott<sup>1]</sup>, critical of limiting the subjects' evaluative responses, used the open question, non-directive interviewing and verbatim reporting as a measure of moral ideals. The writer is of the opinion that while he may thereby have succeeded in his main purpose, he may well have introduced other hazards of research due to the uncontrolled nature of his interview.

Martin and Westie<sup>2]</sup>, in a study of prejudice, used summated difference scales to measure differences between the positively prejudiced, the neutral and the negatively prejudiced. This identified the prejudiced and the non-prejudiced, but did not reveal those who had not thought about the matter at all, and there was still the problem of respondents' tendencies to cluster replies around the centre or extremes of the scale-line. In the Grahamstown study "don't know" and "no answer" categories were provided to avoid forcing a choice when respondents had no opinion. Such categories also became essential since several politically oriented questions were posed.

R.R. Dynes<sup>3]</sup> used an attitude scale to measure traits associated with sectarianism (e.g. emotionalism), drawing up five categories of response from strongly agree through to strongly disagree. This technique gives an assessment of the intensity with which the respondent adheres to the value under discussion, and gives a guide to the respondent

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- 1] W.A. Scott, "Empirical Assessment of Values and Ideologies", American Sociological Review, v.24, 1959.
  - 2] Martin and Westie, "The Tolerant Personality", American Sociological Review, v.24, 1959.
  - 3] R.R. Dynes, "The Consequences of Sectarianism for Social Participation", Social Forces, vol.35, 1956-57.

in placing his mark, which the plain ten-point scale does not do. However, this approach was too detailed for the Grahamstown study, and was too time-consuming in administration and in analysis of results. For a future study, focussing on one or two issues only, such an approach might well be suitable, and may lead to valuable information about the intensity with which people agree or disagree with propositions presented.

An interesting analytical technique was used by Evan<sup>1]</sup>, who assigned arbitrary weights to degrees of participation in voluntary associations, producing an overall "participation score" for each respondent. H.W. Van der Merwe<sup>2]</sup> used a similar technique to arrive at a measure of formal leadership in a community. Since the Grahamstown study was less concerned with a depth analysis of participation than with the fact of active participation in at least one association, it was felt that the categories of analysis used in the present study (i.e. active more than once a week, once a week, not every week but once a month or more, sporadically, now and then, not within the last three months, and never), were adequate for the purpose. The above applies equally well to Foskett's<sup>3]</sup> work on social structure and social participation, where a point is scored for each question answered in the affirmative, giving a series of participation scores between 0 and 10. This is a suitable method, but too

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- 1] W.M. Evan, "Dimensions of Participation in Voluntary Associations", Social Forces, v.36, 1957-58.
  - 2] H.W. Van der Merwe, Community Leadership in Grahamstown, N.C.S.R., 1966, p.141.
  - 3] Foskett, "Social Structure and Social Participation", American Sociological Review, v.20, 1955, p.431.

detailed for the requirements of the Grahamstown study.

This analysis of the approaches of some modern researchers to the study of attitudes and values facilitated the formulation of the empirical approach of the present study in its attempt to consider some of the relationships between personal and group attitudes and values and religious orders.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

In this research the investigation of the relationship between ethical attitudes and religious affiliation has been conducted by analysing certain aspects of the social, economic and political life of members of Christian bodies in a small South African community.

The study, therefore, investigates the attitudes and opinions of a representative sample of church and sect members in order (i) to determine what they think, believe or practise in respect of certain moral issues and (ii) to reveal inter-relationships (if any) between the ethical attitudes of the members of the churches and sects and their religious affiliation.

In order to carry out this investigation certain assumptions are necessary. First it is assumed that a church or sect retains adherents primarily on the basis of their allegiance to its theology, liturgy, rituals, etc., this being regarded as the primary object of orientation of the association called a church. Connected to this theology, liturgy and ritual, etc., in the West, at least, an ethical system has developed, to which members are expected to subscribe. This area is more vague in definition than that of the primary theological base, and may be regarded as a secondary object of members' orientation<sup>1]</sup>. In certain members this secondary orientation may

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1] See discussion of Durkheim's views in Chapter One.

be primary.

The primary (theological) orientation is assumed to produce a high degree of uniformity of outlook and agreement among members, so far as this is the primary reason for affiliation of its members to a church. This normally gives rise to a high degree of cohesion in the association.

It is frequently assumed that because of this uniformity at the primary level, uniformity is likely to be found at the secondary (ethical) level, too, "Christian ethics" being regarded as a standard of morality comparable to the Christian theological uniformity. This appeared to be the stand of the Christian Socialists of mid-nineteenth century England and later. They "applied Christianity" to ethical and moral problems.

The present thesis, however, is that the secondary (ethical) basis, being more vague in definition, is likely to show a wider range of variation than the primary basis in respect to attitudes held by members. The history of the Christian Church has suggested that this wider variation at the ethical level has been found (as indicated in the first chapter of this study). This study is an attempt to shed light, at the empirical level, on this variation in the ethical orientation of certain Christian groups, and the following hypotheses are offered:

Hypotheses:

1. That within the specific church members will vary in the ethical attitudes and standards they hold;

2. That despite variations among members within a church when different churches are compared, the ethical attitudes of one church group may be identifiable from those of another;
3. That the variations in ethical orientation between the several church memberships results in a fragmented (and hence ineffectual) stand on moral issues by the Christian Church as a whole.

In order to test the hypotheses a series of questions of ethical and moral import, dealing with economic, political and social life, was selected and was administered to a sample of Grahamstown Christians to gain a representation of the attitudes of Grahamstown church members.

Assuming that church affiliation is an important variable in holding ethical and moral attitudes and values, it is unlikely to be the sole factor influencing responses. Variables related to socio-economic position, degree of participation in church affairs, and variables related to certain mental sets or thought-habits are likely to be important, too. The position of respondents with regard to socio-economic level and degree of participation in church affairs was measured as a qualification of the findings. A necessary limitation on the scope of the study precluded consideration of certain other variables such as degree of authoritarianism, or level of self-interest, that might be regarded as relevant.

Since people in general tend to regard "The Church" as a corporate and total body, despite its sectionalism, it is important in the first instance to present the position of the Christian group of Grahamstown as it would appear without reference to any specific church, but to church

members' responses as a whole. This yields the basic, total "Christian opinion" against which may be measured the specific differences within each church and between different churches. This is to be regarded as a total model.

The "Christian Church" here analysed consists of samples of the various constituent churches of the community, each sample being weighted to give its numerical influence in the community. A descriptive model of the Christian Group of Grahamstown forms Section B of the study.

In order to test the hypotheses as stated above, studies of individual church groups had also to be made. Descriptive models of each of six specific groups finally studied<sup>1]</sup> are presented in Section C. This section supplies the reader with the necessary background to each specific church.

So far as variables other than church affiliation as such are likely to be influencing responses, Section D is devoted to cross-tabular analysis of the responses of each church to test whether certain socio-economic variables or certain factors related to participation in church life are significantly affecting responses. In Section E responses of the six churches to the various social, economic and political issues are compared, and differences and similarities isolated. These differences and similarities are also considered in the light of the findings of Section D. Finally the

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1] The Baptist sample proved to be too biased statistically to merit study.

study is referred back to the hypotheses, and conclusions drawn in Section F<sup>1]</sup>.

#### Definition of Concepts

Before building the first model it is necessary to define the nature of "attitudes" and "opinions". In a recent study of attitudes Irving and St. Leger<sup>2]</sup> summed up very succinctly what an attitude is and how it differs from an opinion.

"... an attitude is a specific or general response to a stimulation which qualifies, controls and interprets our responses to external situations ... This allows some to use the word "attitude" as if it were equivalent to "opinion". All definitions contain the components, however, of a perception of the object - here a particular newspaper - a liking or disliking of part or whole ... a response for or against in behaviour ... Obviously, a built-in possibility is that of conflict ...

It is possible to hold that we should separate the idea of attitude from that of opinion on the grounds that the latter might contain some measure of rational content rather than emotional content. "Opinion" is certainly a continuum which stretches from warm irrationality to severely cold, rational responses, whereas "attitude" appears to contain a higher measure of feeling state within it. The idea of attitude seems to imply a range of emotional toning and to rest upon unconscious controls much more than the conscious basis of opinions. In both are components of acceptance or rejection, positive or negative feeling states and forms of behaviour. The attitude can be specific or general<sup>3]</sup>. Attitudes and opinions

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- 1] It should be noted that the study is concerned merely with differences in attitudes and opinions within and between the various churches studied, and not with the "rightness" or "wrongness" of attitudes or opinions.
  - 2] J. Irving & F.Y. St. Leger, Report on an Investigation into Attitudes of a Sample of Male Residents of the City of East London towards the Daily Dispatch and other Newspapers in the Area, East London Daily Dispatch, 1967, p.5.
  - 3] i.e., a person may object to a specific newspaper, but not to newspapers in general, or may object to all newspapers.

are rarely a complete block attitude; it is usually a complex of partial attitudes that determines decisions whether to like or dislike ...."

Irving and St Leger continue by pointing out that attitudes towards an object<sup>1]</sup> are based on wide-range factors: they cite political affiliation and religion as possible causes of support or non-support, and it is their view that so far as this "carry-over" from such other factors is often irrational, attitudes may be a better guide to conduct than are opinions.

Further, attitudes, though very often containing a higher level of sentiment than opinions, are, on the whole, more stable and settled than opinions. Where an incident - for instance, the strike of British seamen which occurred during the fieldwork of the present study - may cause an opinion to change, temporarily or permanently, an attitude is less likely to change. The individual may rationalise his attitude, or even change it temporarily, but attitudes are usually too deeply seated in the personality to undergo a permanent change very readily. An attitude may thus influence the holding of an opinion: an attitude of deep loyalty to, say, nationalism, may influence the holding of opinions on various social, religious or political matters and their attendant behaviours.

For the purposes of the present study both concepts are used in conjunction with each other in an attempt to measure differences between the several church groups in :

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1] In their study, a newspaper, but a moral principle could be the particular "social value" towards which an attitude is held.

their ethical and moral outlook. Selected issues from political, economic and social life are used as test materials.

Attention should be paid to two more important points. A question, to be functional in this study, must differentiate between varying attitudes or opinions on any particular issue. If it does not, it is valueless for the purposes of the research. Where questions in the questionnaire are concerned with community situations involving disagreement and conflict they are likely to differentiate variable attitudes clearly, but it is likely that such "conflict" questions will receive such a high "non-response" rate or "don't know" rate that statistical significance is lost. That this constitutes an important aspect of the study, with methodological significance, will appear in the discussion of the empirical data in later sections of the thesis.

The reader is also reminded that questions may not seem as significant to the respondent as to the researcher, and inaccuracies may occur because of this. This, however, is a general problem for the maker of questionnaires. In some cases it is clear that the responses fall under this rubric.

#### Designing the Interview Schedule, and Emergent Problems

In order to determine whether or not affiliation to a Christian church was an important factor in the holding of ethical and moral ideas and ideals it was necessary to devise a series of questions capable of revealing the ethical values held by church people in varying spheres of life. It was also considered necessary

to devise questions that would reveal certain circumstances of the lives of the church people that might affect their holding certain types of ethical and moral ideas and ideals. Questions asked, therefore, concerned certain economic, political, social, international and family issues, socio-economic questions, and questions related to participation in church affairs. Questions used in the final analysis were the following:

(i) Socio-economic Characteristics

Sex, home language (not level of bilingualism), birthplace (South African born or immigrant), age group, marital status, number of children, occupation, income and education.

(ii) Questions Related to Participation in Church Affairs

Q.14. "How often do you go to church?"

Q.15. "Do you think of your religious experience as being (i) constructive and moulding in later life? (ii) purely incidental with no effect on you? (iii) negative and limiting? (iv) no answer, don't know?"

Q.16. "Which would you say were the most influential in shaping your moral outlook? (Please rank): the Church, the School, University or College, the Family, Other (please specify ...)"

Q.17(a). "Do you or did you take part in voluntary church affairs? (e.g. women's or men's associations, Sunday School teaching, running a youth club, etc.)" How often do you attend?"

(iii) Questions Related to the Relationship  
between the Church and Society

Q.17(b). "Do you take part in voluntary community affairs? How often do you attend?"

Q.21. "How do you regard the Gospels and other Sacred Books?"

(i) As the Law? (ii) As Law but after personal interpretation? (iii) As law but after interpretation by minister/priest? (iv) As a guide only to individual decision?"

Q.22. "Do you consider the church to be:-

(i) A purely religious body united to worship God?  
(ii) A source of morality only? (iii) Both the above together? (iv) Neither of the two?"

Q.23. "Why should we maintain moral standards?

For theological reasons, for secular reasons, for mixed theological and secular reasons?"

Q.27. "Do you consider it a part of a Christian's duty to take part in voluntary community affairs?"

Q.29. "Do you consider that churchmen should have concern with social, economic, political and racial questions?"

(iv) Ethical and Moral Issues

(a) Economic Issues

Q.30. "When you spend money on luxuries, do you ever feel that you should have spent it on the under-privileged?"

Q.31. "Can one reconcile Christianity with the possession of great wealth?"

Q.32. "Do you consider that:-

- (a) it is possible to derive too high a profit from a business transaction?
- (b) it is possible to derive too high a rate of interest in a business transaction?
- (c) a minimum wage should be established by the Government and no-one should be paid less?
- (d) the minimum wage should be applicable to: Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans?"

Q.33. "Do you consider that:

- (a) equal wages should be paid for equal work to: Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans? Do not accept the principle?
- (c) job reservation to any one race is: justifiable? unjustifiable? don't know?"

Q.34. "Do you consider that:-

- (a) workers have a right to strike?
- (b) does this apply to: Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans?
- (c) is it the duty of the State to provide employment for workers in the event of unemployment?"

(b) Political Issues

Q.35. "Do you accept the view that all men should have equal voting rights? If not, should this apply to Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? All civilised men?"

Q.36. "Do you approve of 90 or 180 day detention without trial?"<sup>1]</sup>

Q.43. "Do you accept the principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?"<sup>2]</sup>

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1] Sect. 17, Act No.37 of 1963, General Law Amendment Act (90-day clause), and Criminal Procedure Act of 1965 (180-day clause).

2] The Group Areas Act, No.41 of 1950, as amended.

Q.47. "In your opinion should newspapers publish: what they wish? only what is good for the country?"

Q.55. "Do you accept the view that the races should be segregated:-

(i) at pre-school (nursery-school) level;

(ii) at primary school level; (iii) at secondary school level; (iv) at university and college level; (v) compulsorily at all levels?"

(c) Social Issues

Q.39. "Are you in favour of capital punishment for: murder? treason or sabotage? rape? other (please specify ...) none?"

Q.42. "Is it permissible for a doctor to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity?"

Q.50. "Do you consider drink harmful: in all circumstances? if used on social occasions only? if a man has a drink once a week? if a man has a sundowner every night at home? if a man has a drink every night on his way home, in a hotel?"

Q.51. "Do you consider divorce ever justified?"

Q.54. "Do you accept the view that every person, irrespective of race, colour or religion, should have equal access to every type of education, from the primary to university levels?"

For technical reasons questions 18 and 19; 33(b), 40; 41 were omitted from the analysis. To narrow the focus of the study, questions 20, 24, 25, 26, 28, 57 and 58 were omitted, along with questions dealing with international and family issues, i.e. questions 37, 38, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49 and issues of private morality,

i.e. questions 53 and 56<sup>1]</sup>. Questions derived from other studies are noted and acknowledged in appendix A.

Issues selected were those likely to be of general interest, since unless most people have been touched by a problem under consideration, and unless they have developed an opinion about it or attitude towards it, there is no point in attempting to report their opinion or attitude - unless one is interested in discovering the extent to which the public has become conscious of an issue.

Initially as many relevant questions as possible were drawn up, including many from other studies. Questions finally selected were assembled into a rough questionnaire and submitted to six "judges" drawn from the laity, in order to test the efficiency of the questions. The test revealed that the questionnaire was too long, and involved some obscure and ambiguous phrases and unfamiliar technical terms. The interview schedule was accordingly modified.

#### Choice of Community for the Investigation

There were severe limits of time, manpower, finance and transport facilities. It was desired to include as great a variation in religious outlook as possible in the groups chosen. While it was essential to include the important socio-economic variables of sex, age, education, income, etc., in the study, inclusion of such basic differences as race and urban-rural residence would have introduced problems beyond the handling capacity of a small study. Coverage of all economic groups was important, as this may affect the variable of denomination.

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1] For details of these questions see interview schedule, appendix A.

In view of the above points, it was decided that the adult, white population of Grahamstown would be admirably suited to the study. The adult, white population numbered approximately 6,000<sup>1]</sup>. Although strongly biased towards the professional and white-collar occupational groups, Grahamstown being a non-industrial centre dominated by educational institutions, this population was large enough and stable enough to give adequate representation to all age groups, both sexes, both language groups<sup>2]</sup>, all educational grades, etc. Grahamstown is also noted for its large number of churches, of all denominations, all with an equal chance of drawing members from any part of this small city, in that all have centrally-situated church premises. This was an important factor, since the geographical situation of a church building is likely to affect the kind of people who attend services there.

Isolation of Groups to be Included in the Study

A sample across the whole white population of the town was considered, with a view to obtaining a control group of "non-church" people as well as those people

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- 1] According to the Voters' Lists for 1965 of the Albany Constituency, prepared under the Electoral Act No.46 of 1946 indicating those qualified to vote at an election for members of the Provincial Council there were 5,959 adult, white citizens registered in Grahamstown. This list was recent, but the experience of other research (see H.L. Watts, South African Town, I.S.E.R. Rhodes University, 1966) indicates that voters' lists are not always reliable, and this figure should, therefore, be taken as an estimate only.
- 2] Although Grahamstown is traditionally English-speaking the percentage of Afrikaans-speaking people has increased in recent years. The proportion of English to Afrikaans speakers was 69 per cent to 27 per cent at the 1960 Census.

claiming affiliation to a church. This was impractical with the resources available as it would result in too few people being drawn from some of the smaller church groups. Having identified the Christian groups in the town, therefore, three criteria of selection of groups to be included were applied:

- (a) Groups must be Christian, according to their own definition of this term. Thus, groups were included which, in the eyes of some Christians, may not be Christian at all.
- (b) Groups must hold regular services or meetings in a place of public worship in the town. This criterion was essential, as the only means of discovering who the church-people were was by contacting the official, known leaders of the churches, and this was only possible in groups having a regular, public meeting place. Furthermore, it would have been unscientific to have included the one or two small groups known to meet in private homes while perforce excluding possibly several others not "discovered". The churches are, therefore, public, not private, organisations.
- (c) Exclusion of all churches and chapels attached to schools, colleges and the university was essential, since all students were excluded from the study. In a town dominated by students, as Grahamstown is, it was desired to avoid the introduction of the additional variables and biases that the students would bring. Further, a survey of the religious attitudes of students had been conducted the year before the present study, and it was desired to avoid transference from that study<sup>1]</sup>.

#### Co-operation of Clergy

All but one of the clergymen or officials in charge of congregations containing white members were extremely co-operative; some were enthusiastic. Fortunately, the congregation of the single un-co-operative clergyman was a subsidiary of a large "mother-church" and members' names were listed with the "mother" congregation for newsletter

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1] E. Higgins, A Survey of Religious Attitudes of a Sample of 397 Rhodes University Students, unpublished research report, Department of Sociology, Rhodes University, 1965.

purposes and they were thus not lost to the project.

Churches included were:

- (a) groups of 100 or more urban members: Anglican, Baptist, Dutch Reformed, Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic;
- (b) groups of less than 100 urban members: Apostolic Faith Mission, Assemblies of Christ, Church of Christ, Full Gospel Church of God, Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventists.

#### Drawing of Samples

Each clergyman had given a rough estimate of the size of his congregation, excluding students, "Adherents" and members under the age of eighteen years. Estimates varied between almost a thousand, and twenty. To ensure reasonable representation of the smallest groups a non-proportionately stratified sample was drawn.

It was strongly suspected that, unless their regular members represented only a very small fraction of the total church population, some clergymen had seriously over estimated their membership. Some admitted frankly that their membership records were not up to date. Newcomers had been added but deceased and transferred members had not been removed from the roll.

It was realised, too, that where students and full church members under the age of eighteen years were included on the church roll<sup>1]</sup> it would be difficult to detect which were students and which adult members, both for estimation and sampling purposes. A further complication was offered by the small church groups, who included all their country members in their Grahamstown membership

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1] Some churches included students, others had them on a separate roll, their official membership being registered at their "home" church.

roll. The larger churches have country congregations and complications in separating urban and rural congregations did not arise in their case<sup>1]</sup>.

Another foreseeable, yet not to be calculated, source of loss was the fact that some churches were oriented to families rather than to individuals and would record "Mr. and Mrs. Smith" when one spouse was a member of another denomination or of no church affiliation at all. Children's first names were listed with no indication as to whether the children were adult or not, full church members or not. Many names were perforce withdrawn from the sample at the fieldwork stage on account of such difficulties.

Taking all these sources of error into account and bearing in mind that if some of the membership lists were not up to date, addresses might have changed even though the people had not actually left the town, it was decided to aim at an initial sample of 100 members from each of the six churches with memberships of 100 or more, and 100 in total from the six small church groups whose populations ranged from 20 to 75 members<sup>2]</sup>.

Tables of standard errors for certain selected percentages, as a guide for sample accuracy<sup>3]</sup> indicated

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- 1] The usually conservative opinion of the farming community may have an important influence on the attitudes and values of some of the small church groups. The Baptist Church, for instance, had a total membership of 123 full members, 99 being urban and 24 rural. This is a high urban/rural ratio.
  - 2] In the end numbers fell considerably below this, and the Baptist, Roman Catholic and Small Church Groups were numerically too few to permit adequate statistical analysis. This is discussed in Section D.
  - 3] Franklin Research (Pty.) Ltd., Quest Nine, Johannesburg 1964.

that at the 95 per cent confidence limits, at the worst response level (i.e. 50 per cent), 100 cases would be needed to be within the 10 per cent error limits regarded as statistically acceptable. This meant that a minimum of 100 cases from each of the six major churches and 100 from the small church groups combined were needed: 700 in all. In some cases, particularly where country members had to be subtracted from a membership roll, or where heavy over-estimation of membership had taken place, this involved a total count. This caused problems in interviewing, since several members of one household were usually listed, with the possibility of a dominant personality swaying the opinions of other members. Sometimes hesitation or suspicion on the part of a senior member of the household resulted in refusal of the whole household to co-operate at all, and at once several respondents were lost to the project.

Many of the churches had systematic bias in their lists. Some had alphabetical lists of names. That in itself is random and created no sampling problems. One church had its members listed in alphabetical order of streets, to facilitate the minister's pastoral visiting, which produced a degree of socio-economic bias. Another church had zoned its members into residential areas of households for the convenience of pastoral visiting, and there was a very distinct socio-economic bias there. Yet another group had merely added on the names of new members as they had joined. While admitting that not all newcomers had been adolescents joining the church for the first time, most of them had been in that category, which

gave that list an age bias, the oldest members both in years of age and years of local membership, being at the top of the list. Some of the smallest groups did not have a list at all. The pastor and his wife carried the names in their heads. In these cases the list began either with the most loyal or oldest members or the newly converted. In either event a systematic bias was involved.

Since the groups with these systematic biases were the smaller ones where the sample was likely to be as refined as one in three members, it was considered that a systematic sample would not be unscientific (as it usually is in such cases): the mesh was so fine that it was most unlikely that a complete category of people would be omitted. Since the use of a systematic sample was much less time-consuming than the use of random numbers, and approximated well to a simple random sample in the present case, this procedure was used in all cases.

#### Pilot Study

Before undertaking the pilot study the interviewers were taken carefully through the interview schedule. The confidential and anonymous nature of the project was stressed. An introductory statement was drawn up to standardise the first approach. This was thought to be desirable because many interviewers were taking part<sup>1]</sup>. Fifty names were selected at random from the samples, and each interviewer was given two people to visit, to test the reaction to the interview schedule itself, the reaction to student interviewers and to reveal inadequacies

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1] The Sociology II class of 1966 helped with the fieldwork. About 30 interviewers were thus initially involved.

either in the schedules or in the technique of the interviewers. Care was taken to allocate Afrikaans-speaking respondents to bilingual interviewers<sup>1]</sup>.

As a result of the pilot study uncertainties and ambiguities were clarified and two foolscap sheets of notes were drawn up for the guidance and reminding of interviewers. These sheets, together with the introductory statement, are set out in appendix B.

#### Conducting Fieldwork.

Fieldwork difficulties were considerable and interviewing was extremely time-consuming. No visiting was done on Sundays<sup>2]</sup> and in order to avoid the development of a corporate opinion within groups it was important to complete the interviewing in as short a time as possible. When about 20 per cent of the schedules had been completed, spot-check interviews were carried out to ensure that interviewers were conducting the work correctly. Each day schedules returned were checked for errors and omissions. Of the 393 successful interviews student and other assistants conducted approximately half, the remainder being conducted by the writer.

#### Analysis of Losses in the Sample

As indicated above, sample numbers were considerably reduced because many church lists were not up to date. Thus many non-existent members were drawn. Even had re-

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1] Language caused some difficulty in the final interviewing since several interviewers were Rhodesian and did not understand Afrikaans. However, those interviewers who did speak Afrikaans helped out in most of these cases.

2] In the case of Seventh Day Adventists, Saturdays were avoided.

sampling been practicable, the sampling fraction in several churches, notably the Baptist, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Small Church Groups, was such that at least one member of each household had already been drawn. A further source of loss was the 22 cases where a name was drawn from one church list and the respondent claimed membership of another church. This could not be known until the completed schedules were returned. It is thus impossible adequately to estimate what percentage of the real universe was actually drawn. Deducting country members from the Small Church Groups and Baptist samples formed another source of loss. Losses by reason of living out of town, having moved away, being ill, etc., reduced the available number of Baptist members from 99 to 67. This type of loss occurred in all the churches, though some lists were notably better than others. The fact that in all cases a specific person was required increased the likelihood of loss considerably<sup>1]</sup>. The actual numbers are recorded in Table 1 below.

In addition to these heavy losses, the non-response rate was very high. This was not unexpected, since the schedule contained many emotionally-loaded questions, but the losses were at such a level that no conclusions based on statistical evidence can be drawn from this study and applied to the universe from which the sample was drawn.

Considerable thought was given to the advisability of abandoning the statistical base altogether. It was decided,

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1] H.L. Watts, South African Town, I.S.E.R. Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1966, p.143, found his losses equally high.

however, that as a pilot project, and as an indicator of possible trends in ideas, values and opinions, the statistics had some value. The losses and non-response appeared to be fairly uniform through all the church groups<sup>1]</sup>, and since the comparative analysis was regarded as the core of the work rather than generalisation to the universe, it was decided to continue with it, omitting the Baptists and describing the Roman Catholic and Small Church Groups in general, non-statistical terms. Had such a high non-response been anticipated the procedure of the British Social Survey<sup>2]</sup> would have been considered, which "began with a short interview in order to obtain classificatory data and answers to questions relating to the subject of the enquiry". This would have permitted an estimate of bias resulting from subsequent refusals to co-operate. This procedure would have involved almost double the interviewing time, but it is worth bearing in mind if a high non-response is anticipated.

Respondents were spread throughout the town, covering the poorer as well as the wealthier districts. Bureau of Census and Statistics data for the age and sex distribution of the white population of the towns in the Albany District (i.e. Grahamstown and Riebeeck East) show that the sample was not significantly different from the population at large with regard to age, though the churches appeared to have a lower masculinity ratio than the population at large. Since a lower masculinity ratio

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1] Save for the Baptists, where a strong bias was found in terms of sex. See appendix C for details of losses and non-response.

2] Gray and Corlett, Sampling for the Social Survey, Journal of Royal Statistical Society, Series A (General) vol.CXIII, part II, 1950, p.34.

was expected, the age similarity supports the case for sample losses being fairly random. There may still be bias caused by the non-response, the importance of which cannot be evaluated.

Reasons given for non-response were of interest, and are listed in appendix C. Clearly, many people were too polite or too fearful to give the real reason for their non-response, and merely said they were "not interested" or "too busy".

#### Analysis of the Field Data

The schedule was to a certain extent pre-coded for computing frequencies, but some questions were open-ended, had categories such as "other, please specify ...", or had cases where the respondent was not satisfied with any of the alternatives given and gave his own, independent answer. Some answers required grouping or re-classification. In other questions a very wide coverage was given to include every shade of opinion and some categories were not chosen by a single respondent.

When coding was complete, responses to the economic, political and social issues presented were cross-tabulated against selected socio-economic variables and variables related to participation in church affairs. This was done in an attempt to isolate certain variables that might be significantly related to responses, as a qualification of any conclusions that might be drawn in the report. Hundreds of tables were produced, from which selections of the most relevant were made. These tables are reproduced in appendix H.

Nearly all the data was on the nominal scale of measurement, and when collapsed into 2 x 2 or 2 x 3 tables, most of the data met the conditions necessary for the  $X^2$  technique of statistical analysis<sup>1]</sup>. The Baptists, Roman Catholics and Small Church Groups had net samples that were either too small absolutely (i.e. N below 40), or did not meet other conditions necessary for  $X^2$ . The Baptists were known to be heavily biased, as well as having too small a total number, and they have been omitted from the study entirely. In the case of the Roman Catholic and Small Church Groups samples, trends were discussed based on inspection of tables<sup>2]</sup>.  $X^2$  values that were significant at the 5 per cent level or better were recorded and are marked on the statistical chart of the relative church group, in appendix H.

Though significant, a  $X^2$  value may not be important, and to check this the Phi-coefficient or Contingency coefficient, whichever applied, was calculated for tables showing a significant  $X^2$  value. Most of the values fell round .3, fair though not of great importance. Phi-coefficient or C-coefficient values are also recorded on the statistical charts in appendix H.

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1] The  $X^2$  technique was applied to the data in order to locate variables that may possibly be significantly related to each other. No inferences to the universe may be based on the  $X^2$  values (a) since non-response was too high to permit such inferences to be drawn, and (b) the sample was a systematic one, to which the  $X^2$  technique does not apply.

2] The Presbyterian group, with a sample N of 49, was also "borderline" for  $X^2$  analysis. However, this group was analysed for the purpose of revealing possible trends more clearly.

The next step was to set up the model of the Christian Group as a standard against which to measure differences between the churches. This was done by weighting up each sample to its correct proportion in the universe in respect of responses to each question and percentaging the totals. The gross figures and percentages are found in appendix G. Section B deals with the model of the Christian Group of Grahamstown in total.

#### Outline of the Report

Initial reading helped to crystallise the frame of reference of the study and permitted a detailed focusing on previous work done in similar fields. A review of this work forms the first chapter of the thesis. Formulation of the hypotheses and planning of the project is outlined in chapter two. These two chapters form Section A of the report.

Chapter three acquaints the reader with the total Christian Group of Grahamstown: its characteristics with respect to certain selected variables, some aspects of the ways of thought of members of the sample and their attitudes and opinions on a series of ethical and moral questions of current interest. This model forms a standard against which similarities and differences in attitudes or in characteristics found among the constituent churches may be measured, and forms Section B of the report.

The reader is then introduced to the various churches in the town, Section C consisting of descriptive models of each. Section D deals with the influence within the several groups of certain selected variables on the

responses to issues presented. This section qualifies the descriptive models of Section C. Section E, consisting of chapters six and seven, deals with differences and similarities among the churches with respect to the various social, economic and political issues presented, while Section F relates the findings back to the hypotheses and the literature of Section A, and deals with interpretation and inferences from the study.

S E C T I O N    B

CHAPTER    THREE

COMPOSITE MODEL OF THE CHRISTIAN  
GROUP OF GRAHAMSTOWN<sup>1]</sup>

The total sample whose characteristics are here outlined and whose opinions are recorded is a systematic, non-proportionate, stratified sample of the White members of the Christian churches of the city of Grahamstown. Denominations represented were: Anglican, Baptist, Dutch Reformed, Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Small Church Groups. The latter consisted of the Apostolic Faith Mission, Assemblies of God, Church of Christ, Full Gospel Church of God, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh Day Adventists.

The total "live"<sup>2]</sup> membership of the churches is roughly 3,160, as calculated from the sub-sample weightings and the discussion in this Chapter is based on the replies of the 393 final respondents, weighted in terms of their respective church affiliations. This weighted total numbered 2,308. Table 1 below sums up the composition of the Christian Group of Grahamstown.

According to the Voters' Roll the total number of Whites in Grahamstown, aged 18 years and over, was 5,959<sup>3]</sup>.

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- 1] Details of all figures quoted in this Chapter are found in appendix "G".
  - 2] The estimate of 3,160 was arrived at by multiplying the net sample by its weightings, which gave a total of 2,300 plus 860, being the total of the non-responses multiplied by their weightings.
  - 3] According to the Voters' Lists for 1965 of the Albany Constituency prepared under the Electoral Act No.46 of 1946 indicating those qualified to vote at an election for members of the Provincial Council there were 5959 adult, White citizens registered in Grahamstown.

It is estimated, therefore, that about half the adult, White population was affiliated to a Christian church<sup>1]</sup>.

This Chapter builds a model of the main features of the Christian group by reviewing its socio-economic characteristics, certain of its attitudes and values concerning church life, and its opinions on selected current issues in the fields of economics, politics and social life.

#### A. Socio-Economic Characteristics

The Christian Group had a masculinity ratio of 1 : 1.25, based on 1,035 men and 1,273 women, a total of 2,308 persons. In the urban areas of the Albany District, the largest town of which is Grahamstown, the ratio for persons over 19 years of age was 1 : 1.004 according to the 1960 Census<sup>2]</sup>. The figures for church membership show, therefore, a slightly lower masculinity ratio than that of the general population of the town. Most of the church members were English-speaking, 1,530 or 66.3 per cent speaking only English at home. Those speaking Afrikaans alone number 510 or 22.1 per cent, while 234, or 10.1 per cent spoke both English and Afrikaans at home. Some language other than English or Afrikaans was spoken

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1] Irving & St. Leger found 96 per cent of respondents in East London claimed membership of a Christian church. See Daily Dispatch Attitude Survey, Daily Dispatch, East London, 1967, table 7, p.21.

2] Population Census 1960, Vol.7, No.1, Government Printer, Pretoria, 1968.

TABLE 1Record of Sampling, Interviewing and Completed Schedules

Denomination	Original Estimate of total Population <sup>1</sup>	Percentage drawn from total population	Gross sample	Not available	Net sample	Non-response	Percentage sample returned	Completed Schedules	Raising Factor <sup>2</sup>
	a		b	c				d	
Anglican	920	14	131	19	112	20	82.1	92	8.55
Baptist	99	100	99	33	66	29	56.0	37	1.78
Dutch Reformed	810	14	116	25	91	22	75.8	69	9.21
Methodist	510	21	107	27	80	27	66.3	53	7.20
Presbyterian	240	42	104	32	72	23	68.1	49	3.39
Roman Catholic	210	50	107	28	79	34	57.0	45	3.45
Small Church Groups:									
Apostolic Faith Mission	22	50	11	-	11	6	41.8	5	
Assemblies of Christ	6	100	6	-	6	3	50.0	3	
Church of Christ	4	100	4	-	4	-	100.0	4	2.45
Full Gospel Church of God	80	50	40	8	32	6	78.8	26	
Jehovah's Witnesses	8	100	8	2	6	1	83.3	5	
Seventh Day Adventists	25	50	12	1	11	6	45.4	5	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,934</b>		<b>745</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>570</b>	<b>177</b>		<b>393</b>	

1. Excluding as far as possible adherents, country members, students and members under the age of 18 years.

2. Raising factor = weight for sample x non-availability rate, i.e.  $a/b \times c/d$

Notes: a. The Jewish group was not included since the investigation is limited to groups regarding themselves as Christian.

b. The First Church of Christ, Scientist, was omitted since the Scribe explained it is against the policy of the church to divulge the names of members.

c. Very small groups meeting in private homes, or groups, such as the Lutherans, having public services only once or twice a year, were omitted.

at home by 35 persons, or 1.5 per cent.

In Grahamstown, according to the 1960 Census there were 7,595 English-speakers, representing 69.1 per cent of the total white population, 3,020 Afrikaans-speakers (27.5 per cent), 241 speaking English and Afrikaans (2.2 per cent) and 132 speaking some other language (1.2 per cent). This indicates that the sample contained a disproportionate number of people speaking both English and Afrikaans at home. The proportion of English-speakers and Afrikaans-speakers in the sample of church members was similar to that of the population of the town.

Only 310 of the Christian Group were born outside South Africa, the percentages being: South African born - 86.6 per cent; European born - 12.5 per cent; born elsewhere - 0.9 per cent.

Comparison of the age distribution of the sample with that of the 1960 Census is difficult on account of differences in classification between the sample and the Census data, and on account of the omission of students and scholars from the sample. Students and scholars push up the under-thirty category very considerably in the Census data. Comparison of the other age categories reveals, however, no marked difference in age distribution between the church members and the general population of the town. It is most important to note that all people below the age of eighteen years and all students, are excluded from the sample.

The sample showed a high proportion of widowed people. Figures for marital status were 340 (14.7 per cent) unmarried, 1,637 (70.9 per cent) married, 302 (13.1 per cent) widowed and 30 (1.3 per cent) divorced. Census figures were again not directly comparable on account of the loading of the unmarried category by scholars and students.

In the Christian Group the professional and white-collar occupational categories stood out clearly from all the other categories, 766 (33.2 per cent), falling into the professional group and 723 (31.4 per cent), falling into the white-collar group. "Small business" was a distant third with 315 (13.7 per cent), and "skilled manual" accounted for 167 (7.2 per cent). The rest consisted of 1.3 per cent "business executives", 4.1 per cent "semi-skilled manual workers", 2.8 per cent "unskilled manual workers" and 6.3 per cent "other".<sup>1]</sup> The distribution of occupations in part reflected the lack of commercial and industrial enterprise in Grahamstown, but it is possible that church members may have been drawn significantly more often from the professional and white-collar groups than they were from the other groups. Comparison of sample with Census data is unfortunately not possible, since Census categories were not practical for the present study, and

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1. The occupational classification used by Centers in R. Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes, Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, N.J. 1949 was used for the study. The record of the actual occupations of respondents, classified according to Centers, is found in Appendix D.

Centers' classification was used instead.

Income data confirmed the middle-class position of Grahamstown's church sample. Just on 60 per cent fell into the two categories "middle" <sup>1]</sup> and "lower-middle", 724 (31 per cent) and 666 (29 per cent) representing these two groups respectively. Almost 10 per cent (228) fell in the "upper-middle" income group, while 20 per cent were poor. The latter group consisted of 294 (13 per cent) "lower" and 211 (9 per cent) "pensioner". The lower 20 per cent of the sample were not necessarily really poor people, however, since many were retired people living on income from investments, etc., who were not struggling financially. A few (185, 8 per cent), either did not know their income or gave no answer. Most who did not know were women who really did not know, or people whose income varied.

The educational level of Grahamstown's church sample corroborated the occupational structure of the sample. An exceedingly high number, 432 (18.7 per cent) were university graduates. If the university graduates are added to those with college training (227, 9.8 per cent), over a quarter are seen to have an education above Senior Certificate level. A good third (844, 36.6 per cent), held the Senior Certificate. Though Junior Certificate or 16 years of age is the legal minimum school-leaving level for Whites, most white-collar workers attain Senior Certificate level. The size of this educational group may indicate the kind of

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1. The income groups were classified arbitrarily as follows:  
upper-middle - above R5,000 p.a.; middle - R2,501-R5,000;  
lower-middle - R1,001-R2,500; lower - R501-R1,000;  
pensioner - R0-R500 p.a.

occupations the sample members had since most manual workers begin apprenticeships or start work at the Junior Certificate level.

It cannot be assumed, however, that the 466 (20.2 per cent) of the sample who achieved Junior Certificate and the 340 (14.7 per cent) who reached Standard VI only were manual workers. Since the statutory minimum educational level for whites has risen rapidly during this century, many of the older generation, including many in small business, had an educational level of Junior Certificate or less.

The main body of the sample thus fell primarily into the two categories "up to and including Junior Certificate" and "up to and including Senior Certificate". Educational level is likely to be an important factor in the formation of respondents' attitudes and opinions on issues.

Summary.

The Christian Group of Grahamstown had a low masculinity ratio, were largely English-speaking, were overwhelmingly South African born, were chiefly of the older age groups, (two-thirds being over 40 years of age), were married, but had a large number of widowed people amongst the members, were chiefly professional or white-collar in occupation, fell mainly into the "lower-middle" and "middle" income categories, and had two-thirds with an educational level above the present minimum school-leaving level, over a quarter having enjoyed post-school training at a college or university.

B. Support of the Church and Attitudes towards the Christian Church.

Half the sample of church members stated they attend church every week at least once: 1,191 (52 per cent). Cursory observation at church services indicates that this is likely to be an over-estimation. However, only 153 people

(6.6 per cent) said they never attend church, and only 76 (3.3 per cent) failed to attend church in the last three months. The latter figure represented chiefly the elderly and infirm. A further 159 respondents (6.9 per cent) attended church two or three times a month, though not every week, while one third of the sample (718, 31.1 per cent) attended sporadically, now and then, but had attended church in the last three months.

Church attendance provides a rough guide as to whether degree of participation in church affairs bears any significant relationship to the attitudes of members with regard to ethical and moral problems, and, though it is not a measure of commitment to the church or to Christianity, it indicates those who, at least, pay "lip service" to Christianity.

Answers to Q.15 "Do you think of your religious experience as being (1) constructive and moulding in later life? (2) purely incidental with no effect on you? (3) negative and limiting? (4) no answer, don't know?" were overwhelmingly positive, 1,805 or 78.3 per cent of the sample regarding their religious experiences as being constructive and moulding in later life. This response may be part also of the "lip service" referred to above, but, at least, it indicates a measure of good will and a positive orientation towards the church, which is regarded as being of some use and some influence in the world. Negative replies indicate disillusionment, and a church with a large number of people who feel either that their religious experience is purely incidental or negative and limiting, is not likely to be a very stable, cohesive or coherent body.

Hardly anyone (60 or 2.6 per cent) said their religious experience had been negative and limiting while a few (153 or 6.6 per cent) felt their experiences had been incidental with no effects on them. The "don't know" and "no answer" group was high at 289 (12.5 per cent), which probably indicates a group which has not thought much about its religion or feels guilty about its "backsliding".

The next question designed to reveal attitudes towards respondents' religious background was Q.16, wherein respondents were asked to rank the influences which had most strongly affected the development of their ideas of right and wrong. Alternative answers were suggested but it was an open-ended question and a great variety of replies were given. Replies were analysed in terms of the three categories, purely theological (e.g. "The Lord"), mixed (e.g. "I had a Christian home") and secular (e.g. family, school, reading, etc.). Well over half the sample (1,381, or 59.8 per cent) gave a secular reply, but a quarter (596, 25.8 per cent) gave a theological reply and 290 (12.6 per cent) gave a mixed reply. Only 38 per cent of the sample include Christian influences as important in the shaping of their ideas of right and wrong. This is a significant but minority group.

Participation in voluntary church affairs (Q.17(a)) was the final question in this section. Active membership of any church association was regarded as sufficient, no account being taken of the number of associations with which an individual might be affiliated. Less than a third of the sample (676 or 29.3 per cent) were

"core"<sup>1]</sup> members, 427, 18.5 per cent, were "marginal" and 1183, 51 per cent were "dormant". That one person in three was regularly active in voluntary church affairs is a high figure.

In answer to Q.21, "How do you regard the Gospel and other Sacred Books?" almost half (1,046, 45.3 per cent) replied "As a guide only, to individual decision" - a clearly individualistic response. An authoritarian response, "As the Law" was given by 484, 21.0 per cent. Shades of opinion along the scale between these extremes indicated that the rest of the Christian Group wavered in between, 287, 12.5 per cent, believing the Gospels to be Law, but subject to individual interpretation, 232, 10.1 per cent, believing they require the interpretation of minister/priest/pastor, and a further 119, 5.2 per cent, believing the Gospels to be Law but requiring interpretation by "the Church". A few (79, 3.4 per cent) did not know, 41 (1.8 per cent) gave no answer, and 21 (1.0 per cent) gave unique responses such as "a nice story".

#### Summary

It appears that the Christian Group as a whole was positively oriented to its religious background and was active in all church affairs, both in services and in church associations.

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1] For the purposes of this study "core" membership represents those who attend meetings or are otherwise active regularly once a month, or more frequently. "Marginal" membership represents those who attend "sporadically, now and then", and "dormant" membership represents those who have not attended in the last three months, or who never attend.

C. The Relationship between the Church and Society

Just under a third (697, 30.2 per cent) believed that moral standards are maintained because the church commands the ethic and rewards obedience. Over half (1242, 53.8 per cent) accepted the view that moral standards are maintained because society would collapse if they were not. A further 178 (7.7 per cent) believed both the above responses applied, while 97 (4.2 per cent) gave no answer and 94 (4.2 per cent), did not know.

The response to Q.29, "Do you consider that churchmen should have concern with social, economic, political or racial questions?" revealed 935, 40.5 per cent, who believed that churchmen should have concern with all the spheres of life listed, while 1,152, (49.8 per cent), either believed churchmen should have concern with "none of these", (10.5 per cent), or with some, to the exclusion of others<sup>1]</sup>. A few did not know (170, 7.4 per cent) or refused to answer (51, 2.2 per cent).

According to responses to these two questions, the Christian Group appeared to be divided on the question of whether or not everything in life is the concern of God. Such responses may relate to the difficulties presently experienced by many churches on the question of the responsibility of Christians and the Church in social affairs, and may be important variables in the holding of attitudes towards social issues.

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1] Of those who divided life into areas that should and areas that should not be the concern of churchmen, only 1.9 per cent permitted churchmen to have concern with political questions.

Apart from their attitudes towards whether churchmen should have concern with social, etc. issues, support of voluntary community associations by members of the sample was low, only 563, 20.3 per cent, being regularly active, 531, 23.9 per cent, being marginal and 1,282, 55.5 per cent, being dormant. (Q.17(b)).

Responses to Q.22, "Do you consider the church to be a purely religious body united to worship God? A source of morality only? Both the above together? Neither of the two?" revealed that half (1,294, 56.1 per cent) believed the Church to involve moral as well as spiritual life, while a third (870, 37.7 per cent), limited the Church to a purely spiritual function. (The remainder either believed the Church had lost its spiritual function, 1.8 per cent; believed the Church involves neither of the alternatives given, 1.3 per cent; did not know, 1.5 per cent; or refused to answer, 1.6 per cent.)

#### Summary of A, B and C

The total sample of the Christian Group was mainly of middle or lower-middle income, professional and white-collar occupational group, with an education above average. Most were English-speaking, with an important Afrikaans-speaking minority group. The group had a low masculinity ratio, members were chiefly over 40 years of age, married, but with a large number of widowed people.

The Christian Group was positively oriented to its religious background, and was fairly active in church affairs.

The group was divided on the question of the relationship between the Church and Society, and support of voluntary community affairs was weak.

The model so far portrays a group that was not distinctive in its points of view due to the balancing of opposites, and it is thus a group that shows considerable potential for conflict of opinion. This is interesting in view of the composition of the group and strengthens the contention that church affiliation rather than Christianity as such may be a factor in the holding of ethical and moral attitudes and opinions<sup>1]</sup>. This should become clearer when sects are considered separately, in Section C.

Responses of the total Christian Group to the ethical and moral questions posed are recorded below. Questions are divided into three sections, (a) economic issues, (b) political issues and (c) social issues.

Christian Group Responses to Questions involving an Ethical or Moral Decision

(a) Economic Issues

The question dealing with attitudes to poverty, Q.30, read, "When you spend money on luxuries, do you ever feel that you should have spent it on the under-privileged?" Since Grahamstown had a large number of poverty-stricken people it was felt that this question was likely to be a live issue in the town. The Christian Group had a bare majority of 1,188 (51.5 per cent) who said "yes", with 881 (38.2 per cent) saying "no" and 225 (9.7 per cent) who did not know. Only 15 (0.7 per cent) refused to answer.

A related question followed: Q.31 "Can one reconcile Christianity with the possession of great wealth?" Those answering "yes" numbered 1,301 (56.4 per cent), "no" 734 (31.8 per cent), the number who did not know was 269 (11.7 per cent), and refusals were 5 (0.2 per cent).

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1] Socio-economic, and certain other variables must not of course, be overlooked.

The next question, 32(a) and (b) dealt with the means of obtaining such wealth and read, 32(a) "Do you consider that it is possible to derive too high a profit from a business transaction?" To this question 1,353 (58.6 per cent) said "yes", 667 (28.9 per cent) said "no", 212 (9.2 per cent) did not know and 77 (3.3 per cent) gave no answer. This time the majority was a more decisive answer. In Q.32(b) the response was almost the same as in (a), 1,341 (58.1 per cent) believing that it is possible to derive too high a rate of interest in a business transaction and 621 (26.9 per cent) believing that this is not possible. The number who did not know rose to 279 (12.1 per cent) and refusals numbered 68 (2.9 per cent).

These questions were all general - that is, not oriented to specific social policy, and the ground was changed at this point to deal with matters that either had been or were at the time issues of social policy. Thus Q.32(c) read, "Do you consider that a minimum wage should be established by the government and no-one should be paid less?" Here the Christian Group's opinion is much clearer than their responses on previous questions: 1,445 (62.6 per cent) said "yes", 588 (25.5 per cent) said "no", while 263 (11.4 per cent) did not know and 14 (0.6 per cent) refused to answer. This question was carried further, to obviate any misunderstanding of Q.32(c), and Q.32(d) read, "Do you consider that the minimum wage above should be applicable to Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans?" To this question 538 (23.3 per cent) replied "not applicable" because they had rejected the

principle of the minimum wage in Q.32(c), but of the rest 1,463 (63.4 per cent) replied "Whites, Coloureds and Africans", 134 (5.8 per cent) said "Whites only", 5 (0.2 per cent) said "Whites and Coloureds", 121 (5.2 per cent) refused to answer and 48 (2.1 per cent) did not know. The small percentage supporting "Whites only" was the interesting focus of the group response.

The perspective was then moved nearer to the lives of the respondents themselves. Q.33(a) read, "Do you consider that equal wages should be paid for equal work? To Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans?" The majority was in favour of equal wages for equal work for all racial groups, but it was a lesser number than that favouring a minimum wage for all groups, 1,321 (57.2 per cent) favoured equal wages for Whites, Coloureds and Africans, a quarter, 577 (25.0 per cent) did not accept the principle, 170 (7.4 per cent) would have equal wages for Whites only, 44 (1.9 per cent) for Whites and Coloureds, while 113 (4.9 per cent) did not know and 84 (3.6 per cent) refused to answer. Thus a third did not accept the principle of equal pay for equal work for all, but more than half accepted it. Pressing the same point, but opening the door to expediency, Q.33(c) read, "Do you consider that job reservation to any one race is justifiable or unjustifiable?" Just on half, 1,217 (52.7 per cent) replied "unjustifiable". Almost a quarter, 540 (23.4 per cent) regarded job reservation as justifiable, while an extremely large number, 494 (21.4 per cent) did not know. Refusals numbered 58 (2.5 per cent). The most interesting aspect of the response to this question was the

number who did not know. The group is clearly divided on this issue, and the divisions reveal conflicts on moral issues within the Church as a whole. "Do not know" is an index to conflict as well as to ignorance.

Q.34 dealt with an issue under great discussion at the time of the project, Q.34(a) reading, "Do you consider that workers have a right to strike?" Evidence of the ferment raging round this question is the number who did not know: 359 or 15.5 per cent. Just under half, 1,115 (48.3 per cent) considered that workers do have a right to strike, while 802 (34.7 per cent) denied this. This question had become current because at the time of the project a national strike of seamen was in progress in Britain and the press had given it considerable publicity. The Christian Group was clearly divided in its opinion on this question, which involves questions of individual and group liberties.

In South Africa race complicates the issue of freedom to withdraw one's labour. To remove the racial variable which we suspected was in many minds, Q.34(b) was asked: "Does this right (to strike) apply to Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans?" It is clear that many who did not know what they felt about the right to strike in principle, believed that if it were admitted at all then it should be for all racial groups, since 1,522 (65.9 per cent) would extend the right to Whites, Coloureds and Africans. Those replying "not applicable" because they denied the principle of this right numbered 649 (28.1 per cent), while only 81 (3.5 per cent) did not know. The number who would limit the right to strike

to Whites only was very small, 35 (1.5 per cent), and those wishing to limit it to Whites and Coloureds were fewer still at 21 (0.9 per cent). The response was very clear, even if surprisingly more liberal than one might have expected.

The final question in the series on economic issues reverted to the level of ideas and situations not immediately relevant to the needs or initiative of most respondents: Q.34(c) "Do you consider that it is the duty of the State to provide employment for workers in the event of unemployment?" Those in favour of the State assuming this responsibility numbered 1,617 (70.0 per cent), those rejecting it, 372 (16.1 per cent), while 265 (11.5 per cent) did not know and 56 (2.4 per cent) refused to answer. This response is very clear<sup>1]</sup>.

To most of the questions dealing with economic issues the Christian Group gave divided responses, with a bare majority holding one view point and a significant minority group disagreeing with them. Only on the questions of the minimum wage, the minimum wage in relation to race, the right to strike and race, and the question of State responsibility in unemployment was there a clear majority on one side. The question of job reservation and of the right to strike produced a large number of respondents who did not know what to say. The church members did not appear to have reached any kind of consensus in their approach to economic problems and the voice of Christians is likely to be a

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1] Responses to the series of economic questions bear out the findings of Catton, Clark, de Fleur and Westie, Glock and Johnson, discussed in Chapter One, dealing with precariousness of values, etc.

confused one. Individual churches may, of course, show more cohesive responses.

(b) Political Issues

Two of the 5 political issues which were the subject of questions were very topical at the time of the project: the franchise question<sup>1]</sup> and the issue concerning the justice of the 90-180 day detention clauses<sup>2]</sup>. Other questions had been keenly contested and were still smouldering: questions concerning the ethical aspects of the Group Areas Act and the principle of the freedom of the press, while the final question was one of more general concern so far as it dealt with segregation in education.

Without preamble respondents were faced with Q.35, "Do you accept the view that all men should have equal voting rights?" "Yes" was the reply of 420 (18.2 per cent), 1,077 (46.7 per cent) said "No", but were prepared to open the franchise to all civilised men, with a certain minimum educational and economic standard", 360 (15.6 per cent) limited the franchise to Whites only, while 92 (4.0 per cent) limited it to Whites and Coloureds, 11 (0.5 per cent) did not know but would definitely not give equal voting rights to all men, 71 (3.1 per cent)

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1] Separate Representation of Voters Act No.46 of 1951 (as amended by Act No.9 of 1956 and Act No.34 of 1966).  
2] Section 17 of Act No.37 of 1963 General Law Amendment Act as amended.

also replied "no" to equal voting rights but refused to answer the section dealing with who should have voting rights, 218 (9.4 per cent) simply did not know and 59 (2.6 per cent) refused to answer. The significant group in this response is the 46.7 per cent who were prepared to extend the franchise to civilised men conditionally.

This question was followed by a second very current question, Q.36, "Do you approve of 90-180 day detention without trial?" A small group, 383 (16.6 per cent) said "Yes", just over half, 1,255 (54.4 per cent) said "No", while a very large group, 536 (23.2 per cent) did not know and 135 (5.9 per cent) refused to answer. The most remarkable characteristic of this response was the quarter who did not know.

Various international and family questions followed<sup>1]</sup>, since it was deemed advisable to reduce the tension a little following these two very emotionally-charged questions. The next political issue broached was in Q.43, "Do you accept the principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?" Well over half said "Yes", 1,379 (59.8 per cent), over a quarter said "No", 661 (28.6 per cent), while 216 (9.4 per cent) did not know and 53 (2.3 per cent) refused to answer. A quarter is a large minority group, indicating a question on which the Christian opinion is highly divided.

The freedom of the press has been a live issue

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1] Since omitted from the study.

in South Africa and it was considered to be a good measure of what people regard as ethically right or wrong to ask a question dealing with the moral principle involved in freedom of publication. Q.47 thus read, "In your opinion, should newspapers publish what they wish, or only what is good for the country?" Opinion was divided : 959 (41.6 per cent), believed newspapers should be free to publish what they wish<sup>1]</sup>, while 1,067 (46.2 per cent) believed newspapers should publish only what is good for the country. A few people, 65 (2.8 per cent), believed newspapers should publish "the truth", 40, (1.7 per cent), did not know, and 179, (7.8 per cent), refused to answer. There was obviously no unified opinion on this issue. (Responses to this question give an idea of the degree of authoritarianism in the group, which, it would appear, is high.)

The final political question followed a social question dealing with education. Grahamstown is an educational centre, and it was, therefore, particularly

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1] Within the laws of libel, of course.

suitable that the question of racial segregation in schools, colleges and universities should be raised there. Q.55 read, "Do you accept the view that the races should be segregated at pre-school (nursery-school) level; at primary school level; at secondary school level; at university and college level; compulsorily<sup>1]</sup> at all levels?"

The possible alternatives were very wide in this question and the response might well have been fragmented, but the Christian Group cohered about the response, "Yes, and compulsorily at all levels", 1,169 (50.7 per cent) so voting. No other response gained the support of more than 10 per cent of the group. 213 (9.2 per cent) believed in segregation at all levels, but that it should not be legally enforced, 42 (1.8 per cent) believed that there should be no segregation at pre-school or nursery-school level, while 33 (1.4 per cent) would have no segregation in schools but complete segregation at college and university. Only 250 (10.8 per cent) rejected segregation in educational institutions entirely. Eighteen people (0.8 per cent) would segregate pre-schoolers but no-one else, 16 (0.7 per cent) would segregate scholars till the end of primary school, and 214 (9.3 per cent) would segregate throughout school but not at college or university. That the individual should be free to choose integrated or segregated schools was accepted by 75 (3.3 per cent), while 68 (2.9 per cent) did not know. Refusals were fairly high at 181 (7.8 per cent, and 31 (1.3 per cent) gave responses that did not

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1] Since "compulsory at all levels" is the present legal position in the country, this was not a leading question.

fit the scale, rejecting segregation at primary school level, advocating it at high school level and rejecting it for college and university. The main selections were thus the 50.7 per cent who advocated compulsory segregation at all levels, the 14.1 per cent who either rejected segregation completely or feel parental choice should be completely free, the 9.2 per cent who believed in complete segregation but believed this will happen anyway and the compulsions of law were not necessary, and the 7.8 per cent who refused to answer. The rest (save 2.1 per cent who did not know), approved of segregation in principle, varying only in the degree to which they would apply it. The Christian Group, as far as education is concerned, was solidly segregationist.

On none of the 5 political questions did one opinion gain an overwhelming support, but in every case, save the question dealing with the freedom of the press, one opinion gained the support of half or more of the group. Three of the questions produced a large minority group opposing the dominant opinion, on the question of the freedom of the press the group was divided, neither side capturing half the votes, while the segregation issue produced a response that was overwhelmingly segregationist in principle, though only half supported government policy as it stands at present. On the political issues presented the Christian group was not a cohesive unit.

(c) Social Issues.

The first of the 5 questions dealing with social issues concerned capital punishment - an issues being debated by a sub-committee of the Christian Institute of

Southern Africa at the time of this survey and one which was of great topical interest since the Hindley/Brady trial was in process in Britain under the revised law abolishing capital punishment. Q.39 read "Are you in favour of capital punishment for: murder, treason or sabotage, rape, other (please specify ...), none?" and was followed by Q.40, "If you are not in favour, how would you punish<sup>1]</sup> the persons who commit the crimes above?"

The Christian group clearly supported capital punishment in principle, since only 515 (22.3 per cent) rejected it, 143 (6.2 per cent) did not know and 80 (3.4 per cent) refused to answer. However, a considerable group 837 (36.3 per cent) would amend the present law in order to reduce the number of capital offences. This group included 534 (23.1 per cent) who would limit capital punishment to murder only. Over a quarter, 689 (29.2 per cent) would retain the law as it is, and 46 (2.0 per cent) would extend it to include certain military crimes and assault on old people and children.

Thus somewhat over a quarter of the group would retain the law as it is, just under a quarter would reject capital punishment entirely, and just under a quarter would have capital punishment for murder only. The Christian Group was clearly very divided on this ethico-legal issue, and the principle of the sanctity of human life did not appear to be accepted as binding on church members.

Another question dealing with the sanctity of human life, but in a completely different perspective, was Q.42,

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1] "Punish" should have read "handle". "Punish" and "treat" are both leading words. This question was to this extent unsatisfactory and was not regarded as important in the final analysis.

"Is it permissible for a doctor to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity?" To this question the Christian Group again gave a divided response, 1,054, (45.7 per cent,) replying "yes", 832, (36.0 per cent,) replying "no", while a very large group, 375 (16.3 per cent) did not know and 48 (2.1 per cent) refused to answer. Support for discretion being allowed the medical profession did not include even half the group.<sup>1]</sup>

A question that was considerably easier to answer was Q.50 "Do you consider drink harmful?" Responses to this question formed a cumulative scale from teetotalism through infrequent drinking to habitual drinking. Most of the Christian group tolerated infrequent drinking. Those who regarded liquor as harmful in all circumstances numbered 452 (19.6 per cent). There was a sudden increase from one third of the group who regarded liquor as harmful if consumed every evening at home (817, 35.4 per cent), to two thirds, (1,552, 67.3 per cent), who regarded it as harmful if consumed every evening on the way home in an hotel. A residue of 661 (28.6 per cent), a considerable minority group, did not regard liquor as harmful under any of the circumstances posited. Only 4, (0.1 per cent), did not know, 50, (2.2 per cent) refused to answer and 43, (1.9 per cent), gave a response that did not fit the cumulative scale and was unusable.

In reply to Q.51 "Do you consider that divorce is ever justified?" almost three quarters, 1,665, (72.1 per cent), said "yes". This large majority left 388 (16.8 per cent) who did not feel that divorce is ever justified, 223 (9.7 per cent) who did not know and 32 (1.4 per cent) who refused to answer. It may be predicted that this issue will show variations in the different sects.

The final question in this section produced a unified response from the Christian Group. Q.54 "Do you accept the view that every person, irrespective of race, colour or religion, should have equal access to every type of education, from the primary to university levels?" produced a positive response of 1,969 (85.3 per cent), with 184 (8.0 per cent) replying "no", 130 (5.6 per cent) "don't know" and 25 (1.1 per cent) refusing to answer.

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1] The thalidomide disaster was still a recent event in the minds of the people.

Social Variables

In the above description no allowance has been made for the influence of socio-economic, theological or other social variables that may be affecting the response. The Christian Group has been portrayed "at face value", as it were, and as other external persons might see them - as a generalised total population without reference to variations or sub-groups within the total. In terms of this any differences found between the Christian Group as a whole, and other groups not falling within the membership of the churches, will be attributed to their Christianity. This may be a gross error. Unfortunately statistical cross-tabulations are not available for this non-proportionate, stratified sample, and statistical calculations of significant differences, etc. would be extremely complicated, and not justified in the present case since the non-response in the sample is so high that no conclusions relating to the universe itself may be drawn. However, cross-tabulations have been drawn up for the individual church groups of which the Christian Group is comprised and the influence of variables other than Christianity as such is considered in Section D of this report.

This data can be viewed as a generalised model only and it is agreed that it contains serious imperfections. It reveals, however, the conflicts within the Church as a whole very clearly, and indicates some of the problems likely to emerge if a decision on any of the issues considered were required on an agreed basis. At the ecumenical level disparities of viewpoint are apparent in the social

economic, political and legal areas and there is no unified "Christian Ethic" observable in the areas under discussion. If any programme was pushed to its final conclusion it is predicted that the divisions would be so great that schisms would arise. The unity which the Church manifests as a whole is this, if there is a coherent unity, derived largely from the theological and other aspects of the institutional life, and not from the ethical or normative areas.

S E C T I O N   C

CHAPTER FOUR

MODELS OF THE SEVERAL CHURCH GROUPS OF GRAHAMSTOWN  
WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN SELECTED VARIABLES

In Section B a composite model was constructed of the Grahamstown Christian Group as a whole. In Section C this model was broken down in terms of the constituent denominational groups making up the total Christian Group of Grahamstown. A complete record of the responses to questions, itemised in terms of denomination, is found in appendix G and it is recommended that Section C be read in conjunction with this chart.

The model of the Christian Group as a whole was built in full in the text, in order to permit the reader to familiarise himself with reading the charts. It is not considered necessary to repeat the descriptions for the other groups as this would become very tedious. The reader is referred instead to the charts themselves, the text containing only summaries of the findings and conclusions for each church.

A. MODEL OF THE ANGLICAN SAMPLE

A study of the 92 Anglican responses in appendix G revealed the following:

Socio-Economic Characteristics: (Q.4-12)

The Anglican sample had a bias towards femininity, was English-speaking, had a large injection of immigrants

from Europe, had a high average age, members were chiefly married (though with a number of widowed and single people), had three children as the mode, consisted mainly of professional people with middle to high incomes and were very well educated.

Level of Participation in Church Affairs and Attitudes towards Religious Background (Q.14-17(a))

The Anglican sample took part in church services and was loyal to its religious background, but in a passive way. Church activities beyond Sunday services were not well supported. The church did not appear to provide a community life for most Anglicans.

The Relationship between the Church and Society Q.17(a) & (b), 21, 22, 23, 27, 29)

Most members of the Anglican sample believed the Church to be concerned with man's physical, mental and social life as well as his spiritual life. Their support of voluntary church affairs did not differ significantly from their support of voluntary community affairs. In both cases participation was moderate to poor.

Anglican Responses to Questions involving an Ethical or Moral Decision

(a) Economic Issues (Q.30-34)

To all the questions dealing with economic life the Anglican sample gave a clear response, with no hint of division or uncertainty. The general standpoint, although the strength of the minorities should not be neglected, was liberal.

(b) Political Issues(Q.35, 36, 43, 47, 55)

The only political question to produce division in the Anglican sample was Q.55, dealing with segregation in education. Perhaps significantly, this is a question that has been a major issue to this group in recent times, this group having its own schools and facing a practical problem.

To all the other political questions the Anglican response was clearly oriented to the liberal rather than to the conservative side.

(c) Social Issues (Q.39, 40, 42, 50, 51, 54)

In three of the five social issues raised the Anglican sample gave divided responses.

Though the majority approved of capital punishment in principle (Q.39, 40), over a quarter, which is a significant minority, rejected it entirely and over two-thirds would reduce the present number of capital crimes. The Anglican sample was even more divided in its response to Q.42, dealing with the deformed baby, 39 per cent voting for the proposition, 39 per cent against it, with 20 per cent who did not know. Most of the Anglican sample tolerated drinking in principle, but 60 per cent regarded drinking in a hotel every night on the way home as harmful, while a remainder of 38 per cent did not regard any of the listed categories of drinking as harmful.

The remaining two questions produced unified responses from the Anglican sample. To Q.51, dealing with divorce, and Q.54, dealing with equal access for every person to every type and level of education, the Anglican sample gave a clearly radical response.

### Social Variables

The possible influence of certain social variables on the above responses is considered in Section D of the thesis.

### B. MODEL OF THE DUTCH REFORMED SAMPLE

Appendix G contains the responses of the 69 members of the Dutch Reformed sample to the questions asked. A study of these responses revealed the following:

#### Socio-Economic Characteristics (Q.4-12)

The Dutch Reformed sample had a sex-bias towards masculinity (1 man for every .7 women)<sup>1]</sup>, was Afrikaans-speaking but had almost one-fifth who spoke both Afrikaans and English at home, was middling-to-young, was more likely to be married, and had few widowed people. Members of the sample had two children as the mode, were white-collar workers with lower-middle to middle incomes and had a middling education.

#### Level of Participation in Church Affairs and Attitudes towards Religious Background (Q.14-17(a))

The Dutch Reformed group appeared to be committed to its church and religious background, but in a passive way. Church activities beyond actual Sunday services were not well supported by the people.

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1] It was first feared that high non-response among women had caused this high masculinity ratio, but a check back to the original sample revealed that more men than women were actually drawn from this church, the masculinity ratio for the sample before losses being 1 man to 0.8 women.

The Relationship between the Church and Society  
(Q.17(a) & (b), 21, 22, 23, 27, 29)

Although they clearly regarded it as a Christian's duty to take part in voluntary community affairs, the Dutch Reformed sample was seriously divided as to whether or not the Church should be concerned with man's physical, mental and social life as well as his spiritual life. Their participation in both church and community associations was poor.

Dutch Reformed Responses to Questions involving an Ethical or Moral Decision

(a) Economic Issues (Q.30-34)

The chief point of interest in the responses of the Dutch Reformed sample to the economic issues raised, was the fact that in nearly all the questions the Dutch Reformed sample gave a markedly divided response. On one question alone, Q.34(c) "Do you consider that it is the duty of the State to provide employment for workers in the event of unemployment?" did the Dutch Reformed sample give an undivided response. A significant majority favoured the State accepting the responsibility for providing employment for unemployed workers. It is noteworthy that this question, unlike many of the other economic questions, reflected a situation not immediately relevant to the needs, initiative or responsibility of most respondents.

(b) Political Issues (Q.35, 36, 43, 47, 55)

Q.47 "In your opinion should newspapers publish what they wish or only what is good for the country?" and Q.55 "Do you accept the view that the races should be segregated at pre-school (nursery-school) level; at primary school

level; at secondary school level; at university and college level; compulsorily at all levels?" were the only questions that produced clearly cohesive responses among the Dutch Reformed sample. On both these issues the attitude was strongly conservative. On the other three issues there was marked division.

(c) Social Issues (Q.39, 40, 42, 50, 51, 54)

With respect to all five social issues presented the Dutch Reformed response was clear, and in all but the issue of capital punishment the attitude of the sample was basically permissive and radical. In the case of Q.39 and 40, dealing with capital punishment, the response was basically traditional, but a third would amend the law while retaining the principle of capital punishment.

Social Variables

The influence of socio-economic, theological or other social variables possibly affecting responses may be considerable. Cross-tabular analysis of the influence of some of these is found in Section D of the report.

C. MODEL OF THE METHODIST SAMPLE

A study of Appendix G reveals the following responses by the 53 members of the Methodist sample.

Socio-Economic Characteristics (Q.4-12)

The masculinity ratio of the Methodist sample was very low (1 man to 1.8 women); sample members were English-speaking, middling-to-elderly, chiefly married with a fairly high number of widowed people, had few children, were white-collar workers with lower-middle to middle incomes and had a middling education.

Level of Participation in Church Affairs and Attitudes towards Religious Background (Q.14-17(a))

The Methodist sample supported church services strongly and members were committed to their religious background, but rather passively. Church activities other than actual services were not well supported by most of the sample.

The Relationship between the Church and Society Q.17(a) & (b), 21, 22, 23, 27, 29)

The Methodist sample clearly regarded it as a Christian's duty to take part in community affairs, yet was completely divided as to whether or not the Church should be concerned with man's physical, mental and social life as well as his spiritual life. Their participation in both voluntary church and voluntary community affairs was divided, too, about half being active or marginally active. The possibility of conflict in areas of life involving moral decisions is suggested.

Methodist Responses to Questions involving an Ethical or Moral Decision

(a) Economic Issues (Q.30-34)

On all save two of the economic issues presented, the Methodist sample failed to cohere in attitude or opinion. In most questions the number who replied "Don't know" was high. In Q.34(a) "Do you consider that workers have a right to strike?" the group was severely divided, 21 upholding the right to strike, 20 rejecting it, while 11 did not know and 1 refused to answer.

The two questions on which the attitude of the Methodist sample did cohere were Q.32(c) "Do you consider that a minimum wage should be established by the government

and no-one should be paid less?" and Q.34(c) "Do you consider that it is the duty of the State to provide employment for workers in the event of unemployment?". In both cases the Methodists were in favour of the measures suggested. In both cases, too, the issues were fairly remote from the personal lives of most respondents.

(b) Political Issues (Q.35, 36, 43, 47, 55)

The Methodist group did not cohere in its response to Q.35, dealing with the franchise, (though almost half favoured equal voting rights for all civilised men with a certain minimum educational and economic standard). The group was completely divided in its response to Q.47, dealing with the freedom of the press.

On the other three questions, however, the response was more definite. In Q.36, "Do you approve of 90-180 day detention without trial?" the Methodist group was radical. In Q.43 "Do you accept the principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?" the group was again radical, but had a fair minority group of the traditional viewpoint. In Q.55, dealing with racial segregation in educational institutions the Methodist sample was distinctly traditional, over half believing in compulsory segregation at all levels.

The general impression gained was that the Methodist sample was not oriented towards any specific political attitude, but tended to consider issues independently of other issues.

(c) Social Issues (Q.39, 40, 42, 50, 51, 54)

To all five questions the Methodists gave a definite response and in four of the five the response was clearly

radical. The question which produced a traditional response was Q.39 dealing with capital punishment, where a distinct majority approved of capital punishment in principle. In Q.42, dealing with the deformed baby, the radical majority was not overwhelming.

It would seem that the Methodist sample felt more confident in answering questions dealing with social issues than it did in answering questions dealing with economic or political issues.

#### Social Variables

Cross-tabular analysis of the possible influence of certain socio-economic, theological and other variables is found in Section D of the report.

#### D. MODEL OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SAMPLE

From the 49 Presbyterian responses, as recorded in Appendix G, the following summary is drawn.

#### Socio-Economic Position (Q.4-12)

The Presbyterian sample had a very strong bias to femininity (1 man to 2.06 women), they were English-speaking, middling-to-elderly, chiefly married with a fairly high proportion both of widowed and unmarried people, had a childless family as the mode, were chiefly professional and white-collar workers, with lower-middle to middle incomes and a middling to high educational level.

#### Level of Participation in Church Affairs and Attitudes towards Religious Background (Q.14-17(a))

The Presbyterian sample was oriented positively to its church and religious background, and the members were

fairly active in church affairs, including activities beyond Sunday services.

The Relationship between the Church and Society  
(Q.17(a) & (b), 21, 22, 23, 27, 29)

The Presbyterian sample clearly regarded it as part of a Christian's duty to take part in community affairs, and were clear that churchmen should be concerned with man's physical, mental and social life as well as his spiritual life. It was interesting to note, however, that their participation in voluntary church affairs was considerably more frequent than their support of voluntary community affairs.

Presbyterian Responses to Questions Involving an Ethical or Moral Decision

(a) Economic Issues (Q.30-34)

The Presbyterian sample was divided in opinion on most of the economic issues, severely so in the case of Q.34(a) "Do you consider that workers have a right to strike?" When the racial element was introduced into this issue, however, the Presbyterian sample clearly believed that if the right to strike were accepted, then it should be for all racial groups.

The Presbyterians were definite in their reconciliation of Christianity with the possession of great wealth (Q.31). The remaining two questions to which the Presbyterians gave a clear response were both practical issues: Q.32(c) "Do you consider that a minimum wage should be established by the government and no-one should be paid less?" and Q.33(c) "Do you consider that job reservation to any one race is justifiable or unjustifiable?" To both of these

questions the Presbyterian sample gave a clearly radical response, advocating the establishment of a minimum wage and rejecting job reservation.

(b) Political Issues (Q.35, 36, 43, 47, 55)

To the franchise question (Q.35) the Presbyterians gave no unanimous response, but half the sample favoured equal voting rights for "all civilised men" with a certain minimum educational and economic standard. They were very radical in their rejection of 90-180 day detention without trial (Q.36). The question dealing with the Group Areas Act (Q.43) produced a clearly radical response, but not a unanimous one, while opinion was severely divided with regard to the freedom of the press (Q.47). The Presbyterian sample cohered strongly in favour of the principle of racial segregation in education, half the sample advocating compulsory segregation at all levels.

The Presbyterians appeared to be radical in principle, but in certain practical situations, less so.

(c) Social Issues (Q.39, 40, 42, 50, 51, 54)

Save for questions 39 and 40, dealing with capital punishment, to which the Presbyterian sample gave a distinctly traditional response, the Presbyterians were very clearly radical in attitude towards the social issues presented.

A clear majority favoured discretion being given to a doctor or panel in the case of a badly deformed baby (Q.42); most members of the sample tolerated moderate drinking (most disapproving of drinking in a hotel every night on the way home); they believed the principle of

divorce to be justified and were almost unanimous in their support of equal access for all to every type of education.

There was less uncertainty in the response to questions dealing with social issues than in the response to questions dealing with economic or political issues.

#### Social Variables

Analysis of the possible influence of certain social characteristics of the sample on attitudes held with regard to the issues presented, is found in Section D of the report.

#### E. MODEL OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SAMPLE

Details of the 45 Roman Catholic responses to the questions presented are found in Appendix G.

The following are brief summaries of the contents of the chart.

#### Socio-Economic Characteristics (Q.4-12)

The Roman Catholic sample had a strong bias to femininity (1 man to 1.65 women). The members were English-speaking, with a large number speaking a language other than English or Afrikaans, one third of the respondents being immigrants from Europe. They were middling in age, chiefly married, with three children as the mode. White-collar and professional occupations predominated, with lower-middle to middle income. The educational level of the Roman Catholic sample was middling to high.

#### Level of Participation in Church Affairs and Attitudes towards Religious Background (Q.14-17(a))

The members of the Roman Catholic sample appeared to be strongly committed to their religious background and supported their church in a passive way. Church

activities beyond actual services were not well supported by the majority of the members of the sample.

The Relationship between the Church and Society  
(Q.17(a) & (b), 21, 22, 23, 27, 29)

Although they clearly regarded it as a Christian's duty to take part in community affairs, the Roman Catholic sample was seriously divided as to whether or not the Church should be concerned with man's physical, mental and social life as well as his spiritual life. Their participation in church associations was approximately equal to their participation in community associations, and was fairly strong.

Roman Catholic Responses to Questions involving an Ethical or Moral Decision

(a) Economic Issues (Q.30-34)

To Q.33(a) "Do you consider that equal wages should be paid for equal work? To Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans? and Q.34(c) "Do you consider that it is the duty of the State to provide employment for workers in the event of unemployment?", the Roman Catholic sample gave a clearly radical response. To all the other economic questions the response was divided, one attitude gaining only a bare majority of votes.

(b) Political Issues (Q.35, 36, 43, 47, 55)

Two-thirds of the Roman Catholic sample approved of the principle of segregation in education in Q.55. To all the other political questions the response was severely divided. In Q.35, half the sample supported equal voting rights for "all civilised men" with a certain minimum educational and economic standard. The remaining half of the sample gave fragmented responses to this question.

(c) Social Issues (Q.39, 40, 42, 50, 51, 54)

In Q.54 the Roman Catholic sample accepted the view that every person should have equal access to every type of education. They were very tolerant towards the use of alcoholic liquor in Q.50. In Q.39 the majority clearly supported capital punishment in principle, but almost a third rejected it. Similarly, in Q.51, the majority considered divorce to be justified in principle, while a third thought it was not justified. On the fifth question, Q.42, dealing with the deformed baby, the Roman Catholic attitude was completely divided, a slight majority refusing discretion to a doctor or panel to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity.

The Roman Catholic sample's response was more definite and unified with regard to social issues than it was with regard to economic or political issues, but the group was not very cohesive.

Social Variables

Certain social variables possibly influencing responses to the above questions are considered in Section D of the report, but it must be remembered that any conclusions drawn from Section D merely indicate possible trends, on account of the statistical unreliability of the sample.

F. MODEL OF THE SAMPLE DRAWN FROM THE SMALL CHURCH GROUPS

Appendix G contains details of the responses of the 48 members of the Small Church Groups sample to the questions asked. Possible trends indicated by these responses are outlined below.

Socio-Economic Characteristics (Q.4-12)

The Small Church Groups sample was biased towards femininity (1 man to 1.53 women), had a majority of English-speaking people (but had a large minority group speaking Afrikaans or both English and Afrikaans at home), and was evenly distributed through all the age groups above twenty years of age. The members of the sample were mainly married, with two children as the mode, were chiefly white-collar and skilled manual workers, with lower-middle incomes and a middling level of education.

Level of Participation in Church Affairs and Attitudes towards Religious Background (Q.14-17(a))

Members of the Small Church Groups sample were oriented very positively to their church and religious background and were very active in church affairs, including activities beyond actual Sunday services. In this latter characteristic they differ from most of the other groups.

The Relationship between the Church and Society (Q.17(a) & (b), 21, 22, 23, 27, 29)

The Small Church Groups sample regarded it as a Christian's duty to take part in community affairs, but they were seriously divided as to whether or not churchmen should be concerned with man's physical, mental and social life as well as his spiritual life. One-third believed they should be so concerned, one-third rejected this and one-third accepted it with reservations. They were divided as to whether the church was purely a spiritual body or a body also concerned with moral life, yet they regarded moral standards as kept for theological reasons.

The majority of respondents were inactive in voluntary community affairs and very active in voluntary church affairs.

Small Church Groups Sample Responses to Questions Involving an Ethical or Moral Decision

(a) Economic Issues (Q.30-34)

To Q.34(c) "Do you consider that it is the duty of the State to provide employment for workers in the event of unemployment?" a very clear majority of the Small Church Groups sample replied "Yes", though the number who did not know was large.

Responses to most of the other questions dealing with economic issues were divided, in most cases a bare majority supporting one side. In Q.32(c) "Do you consider that a minimum wage should be established by the government and no-one should be paid less?" and Q.33(c), "Do you consider that job reservation to any one race is justifiable or unjustifiable?" responses were utterly divided.

(b) Political Issues (Q.35, 36, 43, 47, 55)

Only to Q.55, dealing with racial segregation in education did the Small Church Groups sample give a unified response: three-quarters of the sample believed in the moral acceptability of racial segregation, over half favouring compulsory segregation at all educational levels.

Well over half the sample accepted the principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction (Q.43), while the freedom of the press, (Q.47), was rejected by just over half the sample.

The remaining two questions produced very divided responses. Q.35, dealing with the franchise, produced a most fragmented response with a high "don't know" rate, and Q.36, dealing with the 90-180 day detention clause, produced the highest "don't know" rate in the whole survey, exactly half the sample replying "don't know" to this question. About a quarter disapproved of 90-180 day detention without trial, and the remaining quarter was equally divided between those who approved and those who refused to answer.

It is possible that the Small Church Groups sample was not concerned with political matters that did not affect its interests directly.

(c) Social Issues (Q.39, 40, 42, 50, 51, 54)

The Small Church Groups sample was far more definite in its responses to questions on social issues than it was to those on economic or political issues. Only in Q.51, dealing with divorce, was the response lacking in unity: only a bare majority of the sample considered divorce to be on occasion justified.

The sample supported the principle of capital punishment strongly (Q.39, 40), though almost half the sample would reduce the present number of capital crimes. A very clear majority was against discretion being given to a doctor or panel to decide whether a badly deformed baby should be allowed to die or not, though almost a quarter favoured discretion being given, (Q.42). Most of the sample rejected all levels of drinking alcoholic liquor as harmful (Q.50), and most of them believed in equal access for all to all types and levels of education, (Q.54).

Social Variables

Variables possibly influencing the above responses cannot be considered with any degree of certainty on account of the statistical unreliability of the Small Church Groups sample. Trends based on simple inspection of the contingency tables are considered in Section D of the report.

S E C T I O N D

CHAPTER FIVE

INTRA-GROUP ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES TO ISSUES  
PRESENTED, IN TERMS OF SELECTED VARIABLES

The models of Section C present some of the social characteristics of the several sub-samples under study and outline the attitudes of members of the samples with respect to certain issues requiring a moral decision.

In these models no account was taken of variables that may influence any particular response. That many variables do influence responses to questions is certain, however, and the present Section is designed to reveal some of these variables as a qualification to any findings of Section C.

In order to isolate influential variables and to discover variables which were expected to exercise an influence but did not apparently do so to a statistically significant degree, contingency tables were drawn up. Responses to each issue were analysed in terms of the responses to certain socio-economic questions and to certain questions dealing with participation in church affairs. A complete chart of tables for each church sample considered is found in appendix H.

The  $X^2$  technique of statistical analysis was applied to the tables whenever possible, as a test of whether certain variables did or did not make a significant difference to responses. The  $X^2$  test reveals whether a

significant difference exists between the observed responses in each cell of a contingency table and the number of responses expected in those cells if pure chance alone were operating. Tables found to have a significant  $X^2$  value were tested further by means of the contingency coefficient or the phi-coefficient in an attempt to measure the importance of the differences found. Significant differences are marked on the charts of tables in appendix H and the relative "C" or phi value is recorded.

The small size of each sub-sample necessitated the collapsing of many of the cells of the contingency tables in order to comply with the restrictions involved in the use of the  $X^2$  technique. Thus the six possible responses to Q.14 "How often do you go to church?" were collapsed into three categories reflecting "core", "marginal" and "dormant" membership. The contingency tables in appendix H reflect the original, uncollapsed frequencies, while the categories as collapsed for  $X^2$  analysis are recorded in appendix E.

Despite re-grouping, the Roman Catholic and Small Church Groups samples did not meet the requirements for the  $X^2$  technique. The Roman Catholic sample had too small a total number. When "don't know" and "no answer" responses had been subtracted, N fell below 40, the minimum "N" for a 2 x 2 contingency table to meet the requirements for  $X^2$ . The Small Church Groups sample, with an N of 48, almost met the requirements for  $X^2$ . However, on account of the large number of "don't know" and "no answer" responses in this sample and the composite nature of the sample itself it was decided to regard it as inadequate for  $X^2$  analysis. The Presbyterian group, with a sample of 49, also had an

N that was barely large enough for  $X^2$  analysis, but it was decided to include this group in the statistical analysis since the Presbyterians were an integral group and had a low "don't know" and "no answer" response.

As has been stated elsewhere, on account of the generally high non-response rate in the study, none of the samples were sufficiently large and representative to permit generalisation to the universe.

Some tables of the Anglican, Dutch Reformed, Methodist and Presbyterian samples did not meet the requirements for the  $X^2$  test and it is, therefore, possible that some tables that would have shown significant  $X^2$  tables had the data been more adequate, have been missed.

In order to reveal possible trends in influences contingency tables were drawn up for the Roman Catholic and Small Church Groups samples, but no statistical analysis was carried out. The relative charts are found in appendix H Charts 5 and 6.

Statistical analysis of the contingency tables could have been done in several ways. It is possible (a) to focus on one variable at a time, e.g. sex, and to trace its influence (if any) throughout each moral issue within a particular sub-sample. When that variable has been exhausted, analysis of the next one, e.g. age, might begin. Or it is possible (b) to focus on one variable at a time and to trace its influence throughout all the sub-samples at once. Thus it may be possible to conclude that a certain variable appears to bear no relation to any response in any sub-sample and may, therefore, be omitted from the study, or that a certain variable is important in one group and

not important in another. A third approach would be (c) to focus on each moral issue and submit the response from each church to separate analysis in terms of all the socio-economic and participation variables considered in the study. Yet another way would be (d) to focus on each moral issue and submit the responses from all the groups to analysis in terms of all the socio-economic and participation variables in the study.

Choice of the most suitable approach depends on the purpose for which the analysis is being made. In the present study it was desired, ultimately, to compare the responses of one sub-sample with those of the others and it was important, therefore, to maintain the identity of each sub-sample throughout the analysis. Approaches (c) and (d) above, by focusing on each issue in isolation from the matrix of responses as a whole, break down the identity of each sub-sample. Neither of these approaches was, therefore, considered suitable. Both (a) and (b) maintained the integrity of the sub-sample, but approach (b) attempted to deal with description of each group and comparison of each group with the next, at the same time. Since the reader may wish to trace one particular sub-sample through the whole study it was considered better to keep each church entirely separate from the others in this section of the report. Approach (a), where the matrix of responses to issues is kept whole for a specific sub-sample, the influence of each variable chosen for consideration being studied in turn in relation to the matrix, was thus regarded as the most suitable approach to this section of the study.

The findings of this Section are likely to shed light on some of the differences found when inter-group comparisons are instituted in Section E.

Before proceeding to the statistical analysis of the contingency tables attention must be drawn to two points. It was originally hoped that cross-tabular tests would be possible in order to assess the influence of home language on the formation and maintenance of attitudes and values. However, only the Small Church Groups sample had a large enough representation of members of both the English and Afrikaans language groups to permit this. Since the Small Church Groups sample was statistically inadequate assessment of the possible influence of language/cultural group in the holding of attitudes and values was precluded. The influence of this important social variable thus remains to be investigated.

It was further hoped to discover whether there was any real difference in attitudes towards moral issues between immigrants and South African born respondents. However, the only groups with a significantly large number of immigrants were the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans. The Roman Catholic group was statistically inadequate, leaving only the Anglican group in which this variable is considered.

I. ANALYSIS OF ANGLICAN RESPONSES TO MORAL ISSUES PRESENTED, IN TERMS OF CERTAIN SELECTED VARIABLES (Chart 1, Appendix H)

A. The Influence of Certain Socio-Economic Variables on the Replies of Members of the Anglican Sample to Questions containing a Moral Issue

(i) Sex (Column, A chart 1)

The sex of respondents appeared to be related significantly to their responses in one question only:

Q.34(a) "Do you consider that workers have a right to strike?" The men were significantly more radical in response than the women.

Though the difference was statistically significant, the pattern of the response of the group as a whole was changed but slightly, since both sexes had a majority who acknowledged the right to strike. The low masculinity ratio in the Anglican group, however, reduced the level of consensus in the group on this issue.

Generally speaking, sex did not appear to be a variable affecting attitudes towards moral issues.

(ii) Age (Column B chart 1)

The age of respondents bore a significant relationship to their responses to two questions: Q.47 "In your opinion should newspapers publish (i) what they wish? (ii) only what is good for the country?" and Q.50 "Do you consider drink harmful?" In both cases respondents over the age of fifty years were less tolerant in attitude than the younger respondents. In Q.50, dealing with liquor, the overall response was so tolerant of the use of alcoholic liquor that a contingency table was hardly warranted, but in Q.47, dealing with attitudes towards the press, there was a distinct cleavage between the present and the older generations. This is interesting in the light of the present challenge by young people of the conventions and standards of the older generation. The "under fifty" age group in this study did not include many under the age of twenty-five years.

That age appears to have no effect on attitudes towards political issues is interesting. The over-fifty age group were all at least thirty years of age before the National Party came into power in 1948. Many of the under-fifty age group have spent their entire adulthood under the National Party. The exclusion of students from the project and the paucity of young workers in the church, (due at least in part to the lack of employment opportunities for young people in the town) precluded the analysis of the responses of the under-twenty age group.

(iii) Occupation (ColumnC chart 1)

There were three tables wherein the occupation of respondents bore a statistically significant relationship to their attitudes towards an issue. These were Q.34(a) "Do you consider that workers have a right to strike?", Q.34(b) "Does this (right to strike) apply to (i) Whites only? (ii) Whites and Coloureds? (iii) Whites, Coloureds and Africans?" and Q.39 "Are you in favour of capital punishment for (i) murder? (ii) treason or sabotage? (iii) rape? (iv) other? (v) none?"

The Anglican sample consisted largely of professional people. While the business executives and professionals were strongly in support of the right to strike, respondents with small businesses, white-collar and skilled manual workers were completely divided in attitude.

S.M. Lipset<sup>1]</sup> in his discussion of working-class authoritarianism, points out that there are two aspects of liberalism - liberalism on economic issues, and

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1] S.M. Lipset, Political Man, Mercury Books, London, 1963, p.101.

liberalism in non-economic terms, such as support of civil liberties, internationalism, etc. The working-class liberal will favour more welfare-state measures, higher wages, graduated income taxes, etc., but is less tolerant towards the non-economic aspects of liberalism. The South African economic setting is complicated by the presence of a large proletariat below the economic level of the working-class white population. If Lipset is right, the working-class White in the South African setting is likely to reject all aspects of liberalism. This might account for the division among the lower-income Anglicans over the right to strike while the higher income groups accepted this right.

Responses to Q.34(b) endorsed this argument. Almost all the business executive and professional group believed the right to strike should be for all racial groups. The members of the sample who had small businesses or were white-collar or skilled manual workers were far less certain, having a large number who either did not know or refused to answer the question. The professionals were relatively safe from the economic competition of the non-whites, while most other occupational categories were not.

That occupation bore no statistically significant relationship to any of the other economic issues presented was surprising. In Q.33(c) "Do you consider that job reservation to any one race is (i) justifiable? (ii) unjustifiable?" however, the Anglican sample's response was almost unanimously against the principle of job reservation, rendering statistical analysis of the response pointless.

Occupation was significantly related to attitudes towards capital punishment: an unexpected relationship. Once again the business executive and professional section of the sample were more radical than the rest, almost half the professionals rejecting capital punishment entirely, while almost all of the members in other occupational categories accepted the principle of capital punishment. This may be a further manifestation of "working-class authoritarianism" referred to above.

It is possible that the three variables, occupation, income and education, may together be influential in forming attitudes.

(iv) Income (Column D chart 1)

Income bore no statistically significant relationship to any response at all. In the light of the relationship between occupation and certain responses, this was surprising. It could be, however, that the poorer Anglicans' reference group is the higher income group, which is in the majority in their church. This suggestion is supported by the fact that certain of the poorer members are retired people now living on a reduced income, who retain the attitudes and values of the upper-middle class.

(v) Education (Column E chart 1)

Level of education bore no statistically significant relationship to the Anglican sample's responses to any of the economic issues presented. In fact, on only two questions, one political and one social, did a statistically significant difference in terms of education appear. These two questions were Q.55 "Do you accept the view that the races should be segregated? (at various stages in

their education) and Q.39 "Are you in favour of capital punishment for ...." Members with a college or university education rejected the principle of segregation in education significantly more frequently than did those members without post-school qualifications. With regard to capital punishment, just over half the college and university educated group rejected the principle of capital punishment while a very large majority of those with no post-school education approved of the principle of capital punishment. This was a very clear dichotomy. Both these questions deal with issues impinging on the rights of individuals and it is possible that their higher education and correlating occupation has sensitised the college and university educated group to the rights of individuals rather than of groups, and has made them less authoritarian in Lipset's "human rights" sense, than people of a lesser educational level.

(vi) Birthplace (Appendix I)

Birthplace appeared to make no significant difference to attitudes held, despite the large number of immigrants in the Anglican sample. It is possible that many of the immigrants had been in South Africa for many years and that they no longer formed an identifiable sub-group within the sample, since half of them were in the 61+ age category. They appeared to be slightly more radical than the South African born on some issues, but in no case was the difference statistically significant.

It was puzzling to find the Anglican group with a significantly large number of immigrants in its sample and the Methodists with hardly any, while both groups draw immigrants from Britain. It is suggested, however, that the

Anglicans, who were, on the whole, wealthier than the Methodists, may have been in a better financial position to emigrate than the average Methodist, resulting in a boosting of the Anglican congregation rather than of the Methodist, by immigration. This may also account in part for the higher income levels of the Anglican sample relative to the Methodists.

#### Summary

On the whole the socio-economic variables considered do not appear to have a very great influence on the attitudes of the Anglican sample to questions requiring a moral decision. Age was of less significance than was anticipated, possibly because the categories tested separated the present generation from the past one, and not the present one from the rising one. Unfortunately, the age distribution of the sample precluded statistical testing of differences between the under twenty-five age group and older people. Occupation was significant with regard to two issues, but may have been masking its correlate, education. Income made no difference to any response: possibly due in part to the fact that many of the poorer members of the Anglican sample were retired people retaining identification with a higher income group. Changes of attitude would not be expected with this type of change in economic position. Education seemed to be the most influential of all the socio-economic variables considered, though statistically significant differences between variables were found only with regard to two issues. This aspect of the study merits further investigation.

It must be remembered that in several issues the Anglican sample's response was too unified to permit

statistical analysis of differences of attitude. This was the case with Q.33(a) "Do you consider that job reservation to any one race is (i) justifiable? (ii) unjustifiable?", Q.35 "Do you accept the view that all men should have equal voting rights? If not, should this apply to (i) Whites only? (ii) Whites and Coloureds? (iii) All civilised men?", Q.36 "Do you approve of 90 or 180 days detention without trial?" and Q.54 "Do you accept the view that every person, irrespective of race, colour or religion, should have equal access to every type of education, from the primary to university levels?" All of these questions were controversial, current issues in the South African society, and to all of them the Anglican sample gave a radical response.

B. The Influence of Certain Variables related to Participation in Church Services and Activities, and to Attitudes towards Religious Background

(i) Q.14 "How often do you attend church?" (Column F chart 1)

The attitudes of Anglicans who were "core" attenders at services did not appear to differ from those members who were "marginal" or "dormant" with regard to the economic issues presented. On one political issue and two social issues, however, level of church attendance did seem to be related to responses.

In Q.55, dealing with racial segregation in educational institutions core church attenders rejected racial segregation significantly more often than the rest of the sample did. Though a very clear majority of the total sample endorsed racial segregation as morally justifiable, the core group was divided on the issue while the rest of the sample was clearly segregationist.

The two social issues where level of church attendance appeared to be a significant factor were capital punishment (Q.39), and the question concerning the deformed baby (Q.42). While the core attenders were divided on the issue of capital punishment the rest of the sample clearly accepted it in principle, resulting in an overall majority accepting capital punishment. Over the issue of the deformed baby both the core attenders and the rest were divided in attitude, but the core attenders were oriented towards rejection of the moral acceptability of allowing a doctor the discretion of allowing a badly deformed baby to die and the rest of the sample was oriented towards accepting it. Core members had a far larger number who did not know than had the rest of the sample.

Both of these social issues deal with the theological principle of the sanctity of human life and it would appear that level of church participation is related to attitudes towards this principle in the Anglican sample.

- (ii) Q.15 "Do you think of your religious experiences as being (i) constructive and moulding your later life? (ii) purely incidental with no effects on you? (iii) negative and limiting?" (Column G chart 1)

Responses to Q.15 were too unified for any cross-tabulation to be drawn. An overwhelming majority of Anglican sample members were oriented positively towards their religious background.

- (iii) Q.16 "Which would you say were the most influential in shaping your moral outlook? (Please rank) (i) the Church? (ii) the School? (iii) the University or College? (iv) the Family? (v) Others? (please specify ...)" (Column H chart 1)

The "sacredly" oriented members of the Anglican sample differed significantly from the rest of the sample in their

attitude towards two issues only. One of these, Q.51 "Do you consider divorce ever justified" was a theological issue, the other, Q.34(b) "Does this (right to strike) apply to (i) Whites only? (ii) Whites and Coloureds? (iii) Whites, Coloureds and Africans?" was a politico-economic issue. In the latter question the "sacredly" oriented had a significantly larger number who did not know, than had the rest of the sample. In the question on divorce the "sacredly" oriented group had a significantly larger group rejecting the principle of divorce than had the rest of the sample.

It did not seem to make much difference to the attitudes of sample members with regard to the issues presented, whether they looked to religious or non-religious sources for their ideas and ideals of right and wrong.

(iv) Q.17(a) "Do you or did you take part in voluntary church affairs? (e.g. women's or men's associations, Sunday School teaching, running a youth club, etc.)" (Column I, chart 1)

It was thought possible that core members of voluntary church associations might be "sacredly" oriented to life and might possibly hold different attitudes towards certain moral issues than more "secularly" oriented people, but this proved not to be the case. Activity in voluntary church affairs appeared to be related to responses to one question only: Q.42, dealing with the deformed baby. Almost all the core members of voluntary church associations in the sample upheld the principle of the sanctity of human life in this issue, while a very clear majority of the rest, particularly of the completely dormant members of the sample, would give a doctor (or panel) discretion to allow a badly deformed baby to die if he could save its life but not cure its deformity.

### Summary

Level of participation in church affairs does not appear to be clearly related to the attitudes of members of the sample towards issues requiring a moral decision. Tables showing a significant difference between core church supporters and the rest of the sample were isolated and generally unrelated to each other. On one or two specific questions very closely related to issues that have been hotly debated within the churches, and that have a distinct religious association, (such as divorce and the sanctity of human life), level of participation in church affairs did appear to be related to responses. It is suggested that the Anglican Church may be exercising a degree of social control over the attitudes of core members with regard to this type of issue.

### Conclusions

Neither socio-economic variables nor variables related to participation in church affairs seemed important in the holding of attitudes towards moral issues, with the exception of issues clearly related to theological principles. In these cases a participation in church affairs did seem to be related to responses.

## II. ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES OF THE DUTCH REFORMED SAMPLE TO MORAL ISSUES PRESENTED, IN TERMS OF CERTAIN SELECTED VARIABLES (Chart 2, appendix H)

### A. The Influence of Certain Socio-Economic Variables on Dutch Reformed Replies to Questions containing a Moral Issue

#### (i) Sex (Column A chart 2)

Sex did not appear to be causally related to any of the responses of the Dutch Reformed sample. This group

seemed generally to be of a more traditional viewpoint on most issues, and it could be that the women are less independent in their thinking than the women of more radically oriented groups might be.

(ii) Age (Column B chart 2)

On one issue alone, that of the use of alcoholic liquor, (Q.50), was there a significance difference between members of the Dutch Reformed sample in terms of age. Members under the age of fifty years were considerably more tolerant of the use of liquor than were those over fifty years of age. This did not change the pattern of response to this question, however, since both age groups were on the whole tolerant of the use of alcoholic liquor.

(iii) Occupation (Column C chart 2)

This variable bore a statistically significant relationship to the responses to two questions, one economic, one social. The members of the upper occupational groups (mostly professionals) sometimes felt guilty about spending money on luxuries significantly less often than did the rest of the sample, (Q.30). Possible explanations of this finding include the fact that the definition of "luxury spending" is not sufficiently precise, and many people may classify as necessities items of expenditure that others would regard as luxuries. That attitudes towards the poor should differ between the occupational groups when attitudes towards issues such as job reservation, equal pay for equal work, etc., that touch the lives of people in lower occupational categories, produced no difference between the occupational groups, is most interesting. It could be that Q.30 is not a distinct political

issue, whereas most of the other economic issues have political overtones, and the social solidarity of the Afrikaans-speaking group on matters related to politics may over-ride any difference that might otherwise have been found in terms of occupation.

Q.39, dealing with capital punishment, showed a significant relationship in terms of occupation. Though an overwhelming majority of the sample as a whole approved of capital punishment in principle, almost half of the professional group rejected this, while almost all in the other categories approved it.

(iv) Income (Column D chart 2)

Income was significantly related to the responses to two questions: Q.30, dealing with the poor, and Q.50, dealing with the use of alcoholic liquor. Two-thirds of the respondents in the three lower income categories did sometimes feel guilty about luxury spending while only one-third of those in the two upper categories did. The comment made under (iii) occupation, is equally relevant to the present discussion. Q.50 showed a very clear division in terms of income. The members of the three lower income categories had an overwhelming majority who regarded liquor as harmful at one of the five stages posited in the question. For the two upper income groups the position was completely reversed: an overwhelming majority did not regard liquor as harmful at any of the stages posited in the question.

(v) Education (Column E chart 2)

Level of education was significantly related to the responses to two questions, once again: one political, one social. In Q.43 "Do you accept the principle that a person

has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?" slightly half of those of the sample with an education up to and including Senior Certificate replied in the affirmative, while almost all of those with a college or university education said "No". This was a most unexpected response in the light of the present government's policy regarding "group areas".

There is, however, a possible explanation for this. Some of the respondents, when asked this question, said "Yes", then qualified their answer by adding, "Not the Bantu, of course". It could be that the Dutch Reformed sample has on the whole so absorbed the idea of separate development that "a person" in their thinking means "a white person". They, therefore, replied "Yes" to the question. The college and university educated group may be thinking in terms of separate development, but as a policy, not a fait accompli, and they, therefore, answered "No". It is thus possible that both sections hold the same attitude towards this issue. This question, clear and unambiguous though it was, may have produced a confused and unclear response in this way.

In Q.39, dealing with capital punishment, the group with a college or university education was significantly less traditional in outlook than were the rest of the sample. The sample as a whole supported the principle of capital punishment strongly, but almost half the college and university educated group rejected it.

Level of education was expected to bear a stronger relationship to responses than it appears to have done. It cannot be regarded as an important variable in the analysis of Dutch Reformed attitudes to issues requiring a moral

decision, but it is possible that a more influential variable is masking the influence of educational level.

Summary

Socio-economic variables do not appear to be very closely related to the responses of the Dutch Reformed sample to questions involving a moral decision. Certain variables appeared to be related to certain issues, but no pattern seemed to be evident, significant tables appearing, it would seem, at random. Possibly the influences of the variables considered is over-ridden by a more powerful influence, e.g. language or cultural group.

B. The Influence of Certain Variables related to Participation in Church Services and Activities and to Attitudes towards Religious Background

(i) Q.14 "How often do you attend church?" (Column F chart 2)

Level of church attendance did not appear to bear any significant relationship to the attitudes of the Dutch Reformed sample towards any of the issues presented. Since about a third of the members were core in attendance, half marginal and one-sixth dormant, there was a sufficient spread of attendance to reveal significant differences if such existed.

(ii) Q.15 "Do you think of your religious experiences as being (i) constructive and moulding your later life? (ii) purely incidental with no effects on you? (iii) negative and limiting?" (Column G chart 2)

Almost three-quarters of the Dutch Reformed sample (72 per cent) believed their religious experiences to have been constructive and moulding in later life. The minority group was large enough to reveal any differences that might have been found in terms of this variable, but none of any significance were found.

- (iii) Q.16 "Which would you say were the most influential in shaping your moral outlook? (i) the Church? (ii) the School? (iii) the University or College? (iv) the Family? (v) Others? (please specify . . . .)" (Column H chart 2)

The "sacredly" oriented members of the Dutch Reformed sample differed significantly from the "secularly" oriented on two issues only: Q.39, dealing with capital punishment, and Q.51, dealing with divorce. In both cases the sacredly oriented members of the sample were more traditional than the rest. Significantly fewer of them than the rest rejected capital punishment, and significantly more of them rejected divorce. In general, responses to Q.16 did not seem to bear a relationship to attitudes towards moral problems.

- (iv) Q.17(a) "Do you or did you take part in voluntary church affairs? (e.g. Women's or men's associations, Sunday School teaching, running a youth club, etc.)" (Column I, chart 2)

Dutch Reformed members were not very active in voluntary church affairs, but there were sufficient active members to make analysis in terms of this variable worthwhile. No significant differences in attitude towards moral issues were found in terms of this variable, though in Q.35, dealing with the franchise, core members of voluntary church associations seemed to support the qualified franchise, rather than the franchise for whites only, to a greater extent than did the rest of the sample. Unfortunately, however, this table did not meet the requirements for the  $X^2$  analysis.

#### Summary

Neither attendance at church services, membership of church associations nor attitude towards religious background appear to bear any significant relationship to the attitudes of members of the Dutch Reformed sample towards the moral issues presented.

Conclusions

Neither socio-economic variables nor variables related to participation in church affairs seemed important in the holding of attitudes towards moral issues as far as the Dutch Reformed sample is concerned.

In Q.55, dealing with racial segregation in education, the Dutch Reformed sample was almost unanimous in its support of the principle of racial segregation.

III. ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES OF THE METHODIST SAMPLE TO MORAL ISSUES PRESENTED, IN TERMS OF CERTAIN SELECTED VARIABLES (Chart 3 appendix H)

A. The Influence of Certain Socio-Economic Variables on Methodist Replies to Questions containing a Moral Issue

(i) Sex (Column A chart 3)

The women in the Methodist sample differed significantly from the men in their attitude towards the moral issue of a minimum wage, presented in Q.32(a). Where the men were completely divided on the issue the women were overwhelmingly in favour of the institution of a statutory minimum wage in principle. This was the only issue where a difference was found in terms of sex. Even on issues such as that of the deformed baby (Q.42) or divorce (Q.51), no statistically significant differences were found.

(ii) Age (Column B chart 3)

Age proved to be significantly related to attitudes towards three issues: that of the principle of equal pay for equal work by all racial groups (Q.33(a)), the moral justifiability of 90-180 day detention without trial (Q.36), and divorce (Q.51). In Q.33(a) respondents under fifty years of age were significantly more willing to accept the moral

principle of equal pay for equal work than were the group over fifty years of age. In South Africa it is possible that the older generation is pre-industrial in its thinking, (particularly in a country town such as Grahamstown), and is possibly more likely to regard the non-white person as a workman inferior to the white person, than are the younger age groups. Answers to Q.36, however, dealing with approval or disapproval of the 90-180 day detention without trial, revealed an opposite trend: significantly more of the people over fifty years of age rejected the 90-180 day clauses than did the group under fifty years of age. In Q.51, dealing with divorce, the younger generation was significantly more traditional than the older, but the response from the group as a whole was so clearly in approval of the moral acceptability of divorce that analysis was hardly justified.

Age did not appear to exert a consistent influence on responses, and in general age does not appear to be an influential variable in the study.

(iii) Occupation (Column C chart 3)

Occupation appeared to bear no significant relationship to the responses of the Methodist sample at all. In Q.33(a), dealing with equal pay for equal work, however, the  $X^2$  value nearly reached the 5 per cent level of significance, and reflected a difference between the more radical professionals and the less radical white-collar and manual workers. The radical group was in the majority in the sample as a whole.

(iv) Income (Column D chart 3)

The issue of job reservation (Q.33(c)) was the only question where the income of the Methodist respondents appeared to make a difference to their responses. Though the total

sample was overwhelmingly against job reservation, half the higher income groups believed it to be morally justified while only a small minority of the lower groups believed this. This was an unexpected result.

A possible explanation of this unexpected response might be that the wealthier Methodists were to a considerable extent the old-established people of the town. These were mainly people with a rural, non-industrial heritage, who possibly still hold a "paternal" attitude towards non-white people, believing that they should neither be permitted nor expected to compete with white people in the economic sphere. The Methodist Church was a "Settler" church, and had many of the old-established families on its membership roll.

(v) Education (Column E chart 3)

Education was expected to make a significant difference to many attitudes towards moral issues, but with the Methodist sample education seemed to be important with respect to one issue only: that in Q.39, dealing with capital punishment. Half the group with an education above matriculation level rejected capital punishment in principle, while just under a quarter of the rest rejected it. This was a clear difference, and no obvious reason for this relationship presented itself.

Summary

The socio-economic variables considered above do not appear to bear any patterned relationship to the issues presented. Significant tables seem to be haphazard. Although the Methodists were too unified in their response

to some issues for contingency table analysis to be justified, the group was divided on many issues and unanimity on issues cannot be regarded as an explanation of the lack of pattern.

B. The Influence of Certain Variables related to Participation in Church Services and Activities and to Attitudes towards Religious Background

(i) Q.14 "How often do you attend church?" (Column F chart 3)

This variable was significantly related to more responses than were any of the other variables considered. There was a significant difference between level of church attendance and response in seven issues, two concerning economic questions, two political and three social questions.

In Q.32(c) dealing with the minimum wage, and Q.32(d) dealing with the applicability of the minimum wage to the several racial groups, core church attenders were significantly more often in favour of both the introduction of the minimum wage and its applicability to all racial groups than were the rest of the sample.

The political questions producing a significant  $X^2$  figure were Q.36, dealing with 90 and 180 day detention without trial, and Q.55, dealing with racial segregation in education. In both questions the attitude of the sample as a whole was very clear, in Q.36 to the radical side and in Q.55 to the traditional side. However, almost every core member rejected 90-180 day detention without trial, while significantly more of the rest of the sample accepted it, and with regard to segregation in education, the core members of the sample had a significant few who rejected segregation in education, while all the rest accepted it in principle.

The three social issues wherein attendance at church seemed to make a difference to the response were Q.39, dealing with capital punishment, Q.50, dealing with the use of liquor, and Q.51, dealing with divorce. The sample as a whole, including core members, approved of the principle of capital punishment, but core attenders rejected the principle of capital punishment significantly more often than did the rest of the sample. Half the core members regarded alcoholic liquor as harmful in all circumstances, while almost all the rest of the sample tolerated liquor as far as its nightly consumption at home<sup>1]</sup>. The moral issue of divorce found most of the Methodist sample accepting divorce as sometimes morally justified. The core members had one person in five who considered divorce never justified, while all the rest believed divorce to be morally justified. The difference was statistically significant.

With regard to the economic and political issues where significant differences in terms of church attendance were found, core members were more radical than the rest, and this applied to the social issue of capital punishment, too. On the two remaining social issues the core members were more traditional than the rest.

The use of alcohol and the moral permissibility of divorce are both issues related to "private" morality. The other issues are all issues of "public" morality, concerned with how the society should be run. It might be suggested that the core members of the Methodist sample

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1] While the Methodist Church lays down no rules for its members regarding the use of alcohol, use of alcohol is discouraged and liquor may not be consumed on any church premises.

tend to be traditional in matters of private morality and radical in matters of public morality.

Attendance at church did seem to be related to a certain extent to the Methodist sample's attitudes towards moral issues, though there were many issues in which church attendance was not a significant factor<sup>1]</sup>.

- (ii) Q.15 "Do you think of your religious experiences as being (i) constructive and moulding your later life? (ii) purely incidental with no effect on you? (iii) negative and limiting?" (Column G chart 3)

Since 85 per cent of the Methodist sample believed their religious experience to have been constructive and moulding in later life, and since their attitude towards most issues were not unanimous, it would seem that this variable is not important in shaping the moral attitudes of the Methodist sample.

- (iii) Q.16 "Which would you say were the most influential in shaping your moral outlook? (i) the Church? (ii) the School? (iii) the University or College? (iv) the Family? (v) Other? (please specify ...)" (Column H chart 3)

Although Methodist responses to this question were not unanimous, (almost a third including theological influences as the most important,) no significant relationship appeared between responses to this question and responses to questions posing moral issues.

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1] Because of the small size of the Methodist sample (53 cases) it frequently happened that when "don't know" and "no answer" responses had been subtracted the N fell below the minimum required for  $X^2$ . When this happened it was not possible to assess the significance of the difference made by the particular variable concerned. Inspection of tables may, however, reveal trends.

- (iv) Q.17(a) "Do you or did you take part in voluntary church affairs? (e.g. women's or men's associations, Sunday School teaching, running a youth club, etc.?" (Column I chart 3).

Almost a third of the Methodist sample were core members of voluntary church associations, but on one issue alone did this factor appear to make a significant difference to responses. This was in the issue of the minimum wage, dealt with in Q.32(c), where core members were almost unanimous in their support of the principle and the rest were divided. Since no significant differences were found with respect to any other economic issues it would seem that this finding is not important.

#### Summary

Church attendance appeared to be related to attitudes in about a third of the issues, spread over the three sections, economic, political and social issues. None of the other three questions relating to participation in church affairs and attitudes to religious background seemed to bear any relationship to responses to questions posing a moral problem.

#### Conclusions

The socio-economic characteristics of the Methodist sample bear no consistent relationship to any of the issues presented, and apart from actual church attendance, which seems to be related to attitudes to a slight extent, none of the variables relating to participation in church affairs and attitudes towards religious background seem to do so either.

That church attendance should appear related to certain responses merits a more detailed study at a future date.

IV. ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SAMPLE TO MORAL ISSUES PRESENTED, IN TERMS OF CERTAIN SELECTED VARIABLES<sup>1]</sup>. (Chart 4, appendix H)

A. The Influence of Certain Socio-Economic Variables on Presbyterian Replies to Questions containing a Moral Issue

(i) Sex (Column A chart 4)

The sex of the Presbyterian respondents did not appear to make any significant difference to their attitudes towards the moral issues presented in the study. Even on issues such as those of the deformed baby (Q.42) and divorce (Q.51) which might have been expected to produce a difference in terms of sex, no significant difference was found.

(ii) Age (Column B chart 4)

Age appeared to be significantly related to responses to two issues, one economic, one political. In Q.32(a), dealing with the minimum wage, the respondents over fifty years of age accepted the moral principle behind the introduction of a minimum wage significantly more often than did the younger group (under fifty years of age). However, both groups had a clear majority in favour of the minimum wage. In Q.55, dealing with racial segregation in education, though they differed in their opinions as to the stage at which segregation should be enforced, every member of the Presbyterian sample who was over fifty years of age favoured the principle of racial segregation in education. Those under

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1] Because of the small size of the Presbyterian sample (49 cases) it frequently happened that when "don't know" and "no answer" responses had been subtracted the N fell below the minimum of 40 cases required for  $X^2$ . When this occurred it was not possible to assess the significance of the difference made by the particular variable concerned, at the statistical level. This can only be judged by inspection.

fifty years of age also favoured segregation strongly, but a significantly large minority group rejected the principle.

(iii) Occupation (Column C chart 4)

The occupation of respondents made a significant difference to the attitudes held by the Presbyterian sample in Q.43, dealing with residential segregation only. Though the majority of the sample favoured the moral principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction, the business executive and professional group were almost unanimous in support of the right while the rest had a large minority group who rejected the right. This result was not unexpected, since the occupational groups who felt more threatened by the economic advance of non-white people had a stronger tendency to accept the principle of Group Areas than had the business executive or professional groups, who have the means to withdraw should a lower income group encroach on their residential area. It was surprising, in view of the apparent connection between occupation and attitude towards the principle of Group Areas, that there was no relationship between occupation and job reservation, or the issue of equal pay for equal work.

In a few issues the response was too one-sided for a significant minority group to appear, but this was not generally the case.

(iv) Income (Column D chart 4)

There appeared to be no significant relationship between the level of income of respondents and their attitudes towards issues. The income of the Presbyterian sample was sufficiently spread over all groups to reveal differences if such were present.

(v) Education (Column E chart 4)

As in the case of income, the level of education of the Presbyterian sample showed a wide spread, sufficient to reveal significant differences in attitude in terms of this variable had such existed. However, no significant differences were found, which was an unexpected result.

Summary

The three variables related to the economic position of respondents, i.e. occupation, income and education, appeared to make no difference to the attitudes of the Presbyterian sample towards moral issues. Where the Presbyterian sample made a stand on an issue it was unlikely to be affected to any extent by socio-economic variables.

B. The Influence of Certain Variables related to Participation in Church Services and Activities, and to Attitudes towards Religious Background

(i) Q.14 "How often do you attend church?" (Column F chart 4)

Level of church attendance seemed to be relevant to two important issues, those of job reservation (Q.33(c)) and capital punishment (Q.39). While a large majority of the Presbyterian sample rejected the moral justification of job reservation, core church members rejected it significantly more often than did the rest of the sample. This particular issue may be regarded as the key economic issue, on which the occupational structure of the population depends.

The issue of capital punishment has been of serious concern to members of Presbyterian churches, the matter having been raised frequently at the General Assembly. It could be that this particular issue has been brought to the

special attention of the sample, where other issues have not been highlighted to the same extent. The sample as a whole accepted the moral justification of capital punishment. The core church attenders were divided into two, almost equal groups, one favouring the other rejecting the principle of capital punishment, while almost all the rest of the sample favoured the retention of capital punishment in principle.

- (ii) Q.15 "Do you think of your religious experiences as being (i) constructive and moulding in later life? (ii) purely incidental, with no effects on you? (iii) negative and limiting?" (Column G chart 4)
- (iii) Q.16 "Which would you say were the most influential in shaping your moral outlook? (i) the Church? (ii) the School? (iii) the University or College? (iv) the Family? (v) Others? (please rank...)" (Column H chart 4)
- (iv) Q.17(a) "Do you or did you take part in voluntary church affairs? (e.g. women's or men's associations, Sunday School teaching, running a youth club, etc.?" (Column I chart 4)

None of the three variables listed above appear to bear a significant relationship to responses to questions requiring a moral decision. In the case of Q.15, dealing with the influence of religious experiences, 75 per cent of the sample believed their religious experiences to have been constructive and moulding in later life. The remaining 25 per cent did not differ significantly from the majority in attitudes towards moral issues.

In Q.16 approximately 40 per cent believed that a Christian influence had been among the greatest influences on the development of their ideas of right and wrong, about 60 per cent holding to the secular point of view, but this variable, too, failed to show any significant influence on attitudes towards moral issues. Participation in church

affairs (Q.17(a)), showed a clear division between core, marginal and dormant members, but this variable also failed to produce a significant relationship between responses and attitudes to moral issues.

#### Summary

As far as can be assessed from the responses of the Presbyterian sample, variables related to participation in church affairs did not appear to be of importance in the holding of attitudes towards moral issues. The only variable showing any significant relationship at all was church attendance, and only two issues were involved.

#### Conclusions

As far as can be assessed from the data analysed, neither socio-economic factors, level of participation in church affairs, nor attitude towards religious background are important determinants of the Presbyterian sample's attitudes towards issues posing a moral problem.

#### V. ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SAMPLE TO MORAL ISSUES PRESENTED, IN TERMS OF CERTAIN SELECTED VARIABLES (Chart 5, Appendix H)

The Roman Catholic sample did not meet the statistical requirements for  $X^2$  analysis. Thus no measure of significant differences among variables was possible. However, it is of value to consider possible trends in attitudes as indicators of areas that might yield fruitful results in a future research project, and for this reason the cursory analysis below has been undertaken.

A. The Possible Influence of Certain Socio-Economic Variables on Roman Catholic Replies to Questions requiring a Moral Decision

(i) Sex (Column A chart 5)

The most noticeable phenomenon was the high frequency with which the women replied "don't know". Examples are seen in responses to Q.30, dealing with attitudes towards the poor, Q.31, dealing with the relationship between Christianity and great wealth, Q.33(c) dealing with job reservation, Q.34(a) dealing with the right to strike, Q.36, dealing with detention without trial, and Q.43, dealing with the principle of Group Areas. These issues were mainly economic and political issues. No difference appeared with regard to social issues, not even in the question of the deformed baby (Q.42), which might have been expected.

In Q.55, dealing with racial segregation in education and Q.34(a) dealing with the right to strike, the women were more traditional than the men, but in the political issue of detention without trial (Q.36), the women were more radical than the men.

(ii) Birthplace (See Appendix I)

Immigrants showed fewer members who "did not know" than the South African born members of the sample with regard to minimum wage in relation to different racial groups, (Q.32(d)), job reservation, (Q.33(c)), and the right to strike, (Q.34(a)). Immigrants felt more guilty about the poor (Q.30) than the South African born, and they favoured the introduction of a minimum wage more strongly. However, the South African born were stronger in their support of the right to strike, and the freedom of the press (Q.47), than were the immigrants. In the remaining three issues where birthplace seemed to bear

a relationship to attitudes the South African born were more traditional than the immigrants. These issues were Q.42, dealing with the deformed baby, Q.51, dealing with divorce and Q.43, dealing with a person's right to choose his place of residence without restriction. The first two of these are theological issues, and it could be that South African born Roman Catholics are more traditional than European Roman Catholics with regard to such issues. The third is of political importance in South Africa, which may account for a difference being found between South African born and immigrant members of the sample.

(iii) Age (Column B chart 5)

The only economic issue where age seemed to be of some importance was that of the right to strike (Q.34(a)), where the members of the sample under fifty years of age favoured the right more than the older members. They also had a higher "don't know" response than the older members.

A higher "don't know" response from the younger people was found in the attitude towards detention without trial (Q.36). Responses to two other political questions, Q.43, dealing with the right to choose one's place of residence without restriction and Q.47, dealing with the freedom of the press, were somewhat contradictory, in that older people were more radical than the younger in Q.43 and more traditional than the younger in Q.47<sup>1</sup>].

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1] See G. Lenski (1967): "Religion's Impact on Secular Institutions" in J. Brothers (Ed.) Readings in the Sociology of Religion, Pergamon Press, London, for a discussion of the finding in a Detroit study that Roman Catholic respondents tended to stress obedience rather than initiative.

In the two social issues where age seemed related to responses, the younger people were more radical than the older: Q.42, dealing with the deformed baby, and Q.52, dealing with divorce and children. Both these issues involve theological principles of great importance to the Roman Catholic Church and the fact that the younger members of the sample appeared less traditional in their attitudes towards them is an interesting trend.

(iv) Occupation (Column C chart 5)

Professionals seemed to feel less guilt than the rest about luxury spending in the midst of poverty (Q.30), and were divided in their attitude towards the minimum wage, while the rest of the sample favoured it. These were the only economic issues where occupation seemed related to responses. With regard to political issues, no clear pattern emerged. The professionals favoured the qualified franchise for all groups while the rest were divided between universal adult suffrage and the qualified vote (Q.35). In Q.36 the professionals had far fewer replying "don't know" to the question of detention without trial. Professionals seemed to support freedom of the press more than did the rest (Q.47), but were more traditional than the rest with regard to freedom to choose place of residence (Q.43).

There was greater consistency in response to social issues. The professionals denied the principle of the sanctity of human life more than the rest of the sample did in Q.39 and Q.42, dealing with capital punishment and the deformed baby, respectively, and they were less traditional than the rest with regard to divorce. Most of the sample were traditional in their attitude towards racial segregation in

education (Q.55), but the professionals showed a more radical attitude than the rest.

(v) Income (Column D chart 5)

Where income seemed to bear a relationship to responses, members of the sample in the three lower income levels had a more traditional attitude than members in the two higher income brackets. Such questions included one economic issue, that of job reservation (Q.33(c)), two political issues, Q.43 and Q.47, dealing with freedom to choose place of residence and freedom of the press, respectively, and four social issues, those of the deformed baby, (Q.42), the use of alcoholic liquor (Q.50), divorce (Q.51) and the issue of racial segregation in education, Q.55). These were expected responses. Q.35, dealing with the franchise, produced a more radical response from the three lower income levels. This was surprising, but as mentioned in section II of this chapter, the response to this question was surprising throughout the study, and deserves further investigation at some future date.

(vi) Education (Column E chart 5)

The members of the sample with an education higher than matriculation showed less guilt regarding luxury spending than the rest of the sample in Q.30. They were divided on the issue of a minimum wage (Q.32(c)), while the members with an education of matriculation or less favoured it. A radical response was received from members with a higher education to the issue of job reservation (Q.33(c)) and fewer of them than those of a lower education replied "don't know". The right to strike (Q.34(a)) revealed no difference between sample members of a higher or lower education level, but the

lower group had a higher "don't know" response than the higher group.

Those of a lower educational level favoured universal adult suffrage more than did the higher level, the post-school educated group favouring the qualified vote, (Q.35). Most rejected the present suffrage laws. In the economic setting of South Africa, this was a most surprising response. Though most members of the Roman Catholic sample rejected detention without trial (Q.36), the lesser educated had a higher "don't know" response than the rest.

Members of the sample with an education level of matriculation or less were more traditional than the rest of the sample with regard to four social issues: Q.42, dealing with the deformed baby, Q.50, dealing with the use of alcoholic liquor, Q.51 dealing with divorce and Q.55, dealing with racial segregation in education.

#### Summary

Generally speaking, differential socio-economic position did not appear to be related to an important degree to Roman Catholic responses to questions containing a moral issue. Attitudes to five issues only seemed to be related to certain socio-economic variables.

#### B. The Influence of Certain Variables related to Participation in Church Services and Activities, and to Attitudes towards Religious Background

##### (i) Q.14 "How often do you attend church?" (Column F chart 5)

Three-quarters of the Roman Catholic sample were core church attenders. Core members seemed to feel more guilt about the poor than the rest (Q.30), and were more radical with regard to the right to strike (Q.34(a)), but level of

church attendance did not seem to bear a strong relationship to any other economic issue. In Q.33(c) and Q.34(c), dealing with job reservation and unemployment respectively, the core members of the sample had a higher "don't know" response than the rest.

Attendance bore no relation to attitudes towards the franchise (Q.35), but on two of the other three political issues, i.e. detention without trial, (Q.36) and freedom of the press (Q.47), the core members appeared more radical in outlook than the rest. With regard to Q.43, dealing with freedom of choice of residence, they were more traditional than the rest. This inconsistency correlates with the similar response found in the analysis of the significance of occupation, discussed above.

As might have been predicted, core attenders upheld the principle of the sanctity of human life more strongly than did the rest, being more radical than the rest with regard to capital punishment (Q.39), more traditional with regard to the deformed baby (Q.42), and more traditional with regard to divorce (Q.50). The group as a whole was traditional towards the issue of racial segregation in education, Q.55, but core attenders tended to be more radical than the rest and this group also had a high "no answer" rate.

- (ii) Q.15 "Do you think of your religious experiences as being (i) constructive and moulding in later life? (ii) purely incidental with no effects on you? (iii) negative and limiting? (Column G chart 5)

Three-quarters of the Roman Catholic sample believed their religious experiences to have been constructive and moulding their later lives. The rest were divided evenly between those who regarded their religious experiences as purely incidental, and negative and limiting. No trends emerged suggesting

that this variable might have a bearing on attitudes towards moral issues.

- (iii) Q.16 "Which would you say were the most influential in shaping your moral outlook? (i) the Church? (ii) the School? (iii) the University or College? (iv) the Family? (v) Others? (please specify...)"  
(Column H chart 5)

Half the Roman Catholic sample declared that a Christian influence had been the strongest or among the strongest influences in the shaping of their moral attitudes. Had the Roman Catholic sample been adequate, the response to Q.30, dealing with attitudes towards poverty, might have shown a significant difference between the "sacredly" and the "secularly" oriented, the sacredly oriented feeling more guilt about poverty than the secularly oriented. The sacredly oriented also supported a minimum wage for people of all racial groups more than did the secularly oriented (Q.32(d)). Neither group accepted the principle of 90 or 180 day detention without trial (Q.36), but the sacredly oriented group rejected it more strongly, and had fewer who did not know, than had the secular group. The group as a whole accepted the principle of divorce, but the sacredly oriented group tended to reject it.

There are indications, therefore, that on a few issues those who look to their religious beliefs as the source of their moral attitudes differed in attitude from those of a completely secular orientation.

- (iv) Q.17(a) "Do you or did you take part in voluntary church affairs? (e.g. women's or men's associations, Sunday School teaching, running a youth club, etc.)" (Column I chart 5)

A quarter of the Roman Catholic sample were core members of voluntary church bodies. The figures indicate that with a more adequate sample, a significant relationship might have

emerged between participation in voluntary church affairs and attitudes towards the moral principle of the minimum wage (Q.32(c)). Core members were less in favour of the minimum wage than the rest of the sample. The sample as a whole was strongly radical with regard to the franchise issue (Q.35), but where the core group was divided between equal rights for all and equal rights for all civilised men, the rest favoured equal rights for all civilised men more strongly. Both groups rejected 90-180 day detention without trial, but the core group had fewer who did not know, than had the rest.

#### Summary

Save for church attendance itself, which appeared to be related to about a third of the issues, variables related to participation in church affairs did not seem to be very important in the holding of attitudes towards moral issues. Responses to questions 16 and 17(a) indicated a possibility that these variables might be important with regard to a few issues.

#### Conclusions

Apart from a possible relationship between church attendance and attitudes towards questions involving a moral decision, variables related to socio-economic level, participation in church affairs and attitudes towards religious background did not appear to be important determinants of the Roman Catholic sample's attitudes towards issues posing a moral problem.

VI. ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES OF THE SMALL CHURCH GROUPS SAMPLE TO MORAL ISSUES PRESENTED, IN TERMS OF CERTAIN SELECTED VARIABLES (Chart 6, appendix H)

The Small Church Groups sample did not meet the statistical requirements for  $X^2$  analysis. Thus no measure of significant differences among variables was possible. However, it is of value to consider possible trends in attitudes as indicators of areas that might yield fruitful results in a future research project, and for this reason the cursory analysis below has been undertaken.

A. The Possible Influence of Certain Socio-Economic Variables on Small Church Group replies to Questions requiring a Moral Decision

(i) Sex (Column A chart 6)

It seemed possible that sex might be related to responses to questions containing a moral issue in twelve questions presented to the sample. In three economic issues and one political issue the women tended to reply "don't know" more frequently than the men, and in two economic and one social issue the women were divided while the men were radical in attitude. The women were more traditional than the men with regard to job reservation (Q.33(c)), freedom of the press (Q.47), and the issue of the deformed baby (Q.42). They were more radical than the men in their attitude towards the franchise (Q.35) and to capital punishment (Q.39). On most issues where sex seemed related to the response the women tended to be more traditionally oriented than the men.

(ii) Language (See Appendix I)

Afrikaans-speakers were fairly represented in the Small Church Groups sample, and in a few issues, language appeared to be related to response. Afrikaans-speakers and

those speaking both languages at home, felt guilty about poverty (Q.30), while the English-speaking group was divided in attitude. By contrast the English-speaking group favoured equal pay for equal work (Q.33(a)) and the right to strike for all racial groups (Q.34(a)), while the Afrikaans-speaking group did not know on the issue of equal pay and rejected the right to strike. No language division arose over job reservation (Q.33(c)), both sides being divided with a large "don't know" response. Afrikaans-speakers refused to answer Q.35, dealing with the franchise. With regard to the freedom of the press (Q.47) the English-speaking group was divided and the rest rejected the principle strongly.

(iii) Age (Column B chart 6)

The people under fifty years of age appeared to be more guilty about poverty than the rest in Q.30, yet where the people over fifty supported the principle of a minimum wage most strongly, the younger people were divided (Q.32(c)). The older section of the sample also favoured the application of the minimum wage to all racial groups (Q.32(d)), where the younger group was divided, and they tended to reject job reservation (Q.33(c)), while the younger group was divided. The older people favoured the right to strike, and would have it for all racial groups (Q.34(a) and (b)), while the younger people were divided, and where most favoured state responsibility in time of unemployment (Q.34(c)), the younger group had a higher "don't know" response. Thus, in economic issues, the older members of the sample were more radical than the younger members.

The older members were more radical on political issues, too, the younger people being divided between retaining voting rights for whites only and granting them to all civilised men, while the older group had more favouring universal adult suffrage (Q.35). Both sides were against detention without trial (Q.36), but the younger section had a very large number reporting "don't know". The younger people rejected the right to choose place of residence without restriction, (Q.43).

Most would retain capital punishment in principle, in Q.39, but the older people had more who rejected the principle than had the younger section of the sample. The older group was more traditional with regard to the moral principle of divorce than was the younger group.

Thus, apart from their more traditional attitude towards divorce, the older members of the Small Church Groups sample appeared to be more radical in outlook than the younger members, which was an unexpected result, to be commented upon later.

(iii) Occupation (Column C chart 6)

The Small Church Groups sample had too few members in the categories "Professional" and "Business executive" to permit analysis in terms of these groups and "the rest", as was done in all the other samples considered in the study. For analytical purposes, therefore, it was decided to dichotomise the sample in terms of "business executive, professional, small business and white-collar workers" and "manual workers of all grades".

In these terms, occupation seemed to bear a relationship to three economic issues, the manual workers feeling more

guilty than the rest about poverty (Q.30) yet rejecting the minimum wage (Q.32(c)), and being divided over the right to strike while the rest favoured it (Q.34(a)). This is a paternalistic, rather than an inconsistent, response. It may also reflect the attitudes of a rather vulnerable privileged group.

Despite this, on the three political issues where occupation seemed relevant to response, the manual workers were more radical than the rest, tending to favour universal adult suffrage (Q.35) while the rest favoured granting equal voting rights to all civilised men, and tending to reject detention without trial (Q.36) while most of the others replied "don't know". Most of the sample rejected freedom of the press (Q.47), but manual workers were represented more strongly than the rest in the group that upheld freedom of the press.

Slightly more manual workers than others rejected capital punishment (Q.39), and accepted the principle of discretion being given to medical personnel in the case of the badly deformed baby (Q.42), but they were divided over the moral permissibility of divorce while the rest accepted it, (Q.51).

Basically, manual workers were more radical than the rest on most issues where occupation seemed to be relevant at all, but the differences between the groups were not great.

(iv) Income (Column D chart 6)

On account of the generally lower income of the Small Church Groups sample compared with the other church samples, for analysis purposes the five income levels were divided into the two lower and three higher groups, (as against the three lower and two higher of the other samples).

Income seemed to be related to attitudes towards five economic issues. People of the three higher income groups felt more guilt about poverty (Q.30) than the rest, yet were divided over the principle of the minimum wage while the lower income members of the sample accepted the principle of the minimum wage (Q.32(c)). The upper section were also less in favour of including all racial groups in the minimum wage than were the rest (Q.32(d)). Yet despite a high "don't know" response, they rejected job reservation more strongly than did the lower income group in Q.33(c). The lower income group accepted the right to strike more readily than the upper group did, but were divided over extending it to all racial groups (Q.34(a) and (b)). The upper group favoured including all people in the right to strike if it were admitted at all. Most accepted state responsibility in unemployment (Q.34(c)), but there were more who did not know in the upper than the lower group.

On political issues, as on economic issues, the upper group was more traditional than the rest. On the franchise issue (Q.35) they were divided while the lower group leaned towards the radical side. They accepted detention without trial more readily than the rest, but both sides had many who did not know (Q.36). Upper income members of the sample tended to reject freedom of choice in residential area, and also tended to reject freedom of the press, more strongly than did the rest, in Q.43 and Q.47.

Most members of the sample accepted the principle of capital punishment in Q.39, the majority of those rejecting it coming from the upper income level. Consistently, the upper income group rejected most strongly the principle of discretion being given in the case of the deformed baby (Q.42), while

the lower group was divided. The upper level tended to accept divorce in principle, while members of the lower level were divided (Q.51). Thus, no clear pattern emerges with regard to social issues.

It might be suggested that the rising material fortunes of the upper income levels tends to make members of the sample in that category more conservative in outlook than the lower levels, who are under less pressure to conform to the external societal norms.

(v) Education (Column E chart 6)

Again, on account of a generally lower educational level in the Small Church Groups sample as compared with the other church groups studied, the Small Church Groups sample was divided differently for analytical purposes from the other church groups. They were divided into those with an education above the statutory minimum level, i.e. above Junior Certificate, and those with an education up to and including the statutory minimum level.

Education seemed relevant to several economic issues. Where the three upper income levels felt more guilt about poverty, it was members of the lower educational levels who felt more guilt (Q.30). The probable explanation of this apparently inconsistent response is that the younger people, less established financially, are likely to be the better educated, and it is possible that this indicates an upwardly mobile group. The conservatism of the upper income group possibly relates to this phenomenon, too.

Most agreed on the moral claim for a minimum wage, in Q.32(c), but the better educated had more members who did not know than had the rest. The lesser educated were slightly

more in favour of equal pay for equal work than the rest, and were more in favour of state responsibility in unemployment (Q.33(a) and 34(c)). The upper group, however, were more in favour of the right to strike than the rest, (Q.34(a)). It is difficult to see any trend arising from these findings.

The position was clearer with regard to political issues. The better educated were clearly more traditional than the rest with regard to the franchise question (Q.35), detention without trial (Q.36) and the freedom of the press (Q.47), holding to votes for "whites only", accepting detention without trial (though with a high "don't know" rate for the sample as a whole), and rejecting freedom of the press.

Capital punishment, (Q.39), was accepted by most. The lower group, however, had more members rejecting it than had the higher educated group. Inconsistently, the better educated group rejected discretion being allowed the medical profession in the case of a badly deformed baby more strongly than did the rest in Q.42. However, in the case of divorce (Q.51) the better educated accepted the moral principle involved, leaving the lower group divided.

#### Summary

Socio-economic variables seemed to play a part in the holding of attitudes to many of the issues presented to the Small Church Groups sample. Sex, language and age appeared to be related to at least half of the issues. Occupation did not seem to be important, but income and education were. Women, Afrikaans-speakers, younger people, higher income group members and the better educated tended to be traditional

in outlook. Bearing in mind the likelihood that many of the Small Church Groups members are upwardly mobile, and consequently are likely to feel under pressure to conform to societal norms in their bid for a status of "respectability", this finding is not unexpected.

B. The Influence of Certain Variables related to Participation in Church Services and Activities and to attitudes towards Religious Background

- (i) Q.14 "How often do you attend church?" (Column F chart 6)

In questions where the response of the Small Church Groups sample was divided, church attendance is unlikely to be a significant variable, since 85 per cent of the Small Church Groups sample attended church at least once a week, i.e. were core members. However, where attitudes cohered on an issue, it is possible that church attendance might be a significant variable. On two issues only was the attitude united: on Q.50, dealing with the use of alcohol and Q.54, dealing with equal access to every type and level of education for all.

- (ii) Q.15 "Do you think of your religious experiences as being (i) constructive and moulding in later life? (ii) purely incidental, with no effects on you? (iii) negative and limiting?" (Column G chart 6)

The remarks made in paragraph (i) above, dealing with church attendance, apply equally to this variable, since 94 per cent of the sample looked on their religious experiences as constructive and moulding in later life.

- (iii) Q.16 "Which would you say were the most influential in shaping your moral outlook? (i) the Church? (ii) the School? (iii) the University or College? (iv) the Family? (v) Others? (please specify ...)" Column H chart 6)

While those who gave a theological response to this question, or a response including both the theological and

secular, were fewer than those who claimed core membership or declared their religious experiences to have been constructive and moulding in later life, the proportion, at 75 per cent, was very high.

Five issues appeared to be related to this variable. The theologically oriented felt more guilt about poverty than the rest (Q.30); were divided in attitude towards the minimum wage while the rest favoured it (Q.32(c)); were divided over the moral acceptability of the right to strike while the rest were more in favour of it, (Q.34(a)); and they were divided on the issue of divorce while the rest were more tolerant of divorce (Q.51). In the question of the deformed baby, (Q.42), those of a theological orientation rejected the proposition more strongly than the rest. Thus, at least as far as these few issues reveal it, the theologically oriented group was more traditional in outlook than the secularly oriented group.

(iii) Q.17(a) "Do you or did you take part in voluntary church affairs? (e.g. women's or men's associations, Sunday School teaching, running a youth club, etc. (Column I chart 6)

As in Q.16 above, membership of voluntary church associations seemed to bear a relationship to five issues only. As in Q.16, core members appeared to feel more guilt about poverty than the rest of the sample did (Q.30). Core members were divided while the rest of the sample were more in favour of equal pay for equal work for all racial groups (Q.33(a)), and the recognition of the right to strike (Q.34(a)). With regard to the right to strike in relation to racial group, the core group tended to reject the principle of the right to strike, while the rest favoured its extension to all racial groups.

Though the sample as a whole accepted capital punishment in principle (Q.39), the core group was divided between retaining capital punishment for murder only and retaining it for all three listed crimes, while the rest strongly favoured the retention of the status quo. Yet the few who believed capital punishment should be abolished also fell into the latter category. The overwhelming majority believed in the moral acceptability of racial segregation in education, but a quarter of the core group refused to answer the question. This was a most interesting response.

#### Summary

Since the Small Church Groups sample cohered strongly in response to Q.14 and 15, yet did not cohere in attitude to most of the issues presented, it is unlikely that either church attendance or attitude towards religious background are important factors in forming attitudes to moral issues. Responses to Q.16 and 17(a) seemed related to five issues only - not sufficient to indicate a really significant influence. It would seem, therefore, that participation in church affairs and attitudes towards religious background are not important variables in the holding of attitudes towards moral issues, in the life of the Small Church Groups sample.

#### Conclusions

Socio-economic position appears to be related to the responses of the members of the Small Church Groups sample to questions posing a moral problem. Their level of participation in church affairs and attitude towards religious background do not, however, seem very important in this regard.

This is an interesting finding in view of the importance attached to their religion by the sample members. The Small Church Groups merit fuller study.

S E C T I O N E

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES IN  
ATTITUDES TOWARDS MORAL ISSUES, FOUND AMONG  
THE SEVERAL CHURCH GROUPS

CHAPTER SIX

DESCRIPTIVE MEASUREMENT OF DIFFERENCES AND  
SIMILARITIES IN ATTITUDES TOWARDS MORAL  
ISSUES FOUND AMONG THE SEVERAL  
CHURCH GROUPS

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This chapter is concerned with the comparison of the responses of the various church groups to the questions asked. To facilitate this, a series of bar charts was drawn up displaying graphically the relationship between the response of each church and those of the others. These charts are found in appendix F, and relate to the models of Section C.

To every response there were at least four dimensions. The respondent giving a negative reply did not choose an alternative that merely lacked certain components of the positive response; the one who replied "don't know" had a different quality in his response from the one who refused to answer. It is extremely complicated to undertake comparative analyses of every response in favour of a proposition, every response against it, every "don't know" and every refusal to answer. Since the factor about which most is known is the positive response it was decided to extract this and to compare the groups in terms of their positive responses. In this way the complexities of multi-dimensional analysis were avoided, and the purpose of the present chapter was still served.

In most cases the positive response was the radical response. In three questions, however, the positive response was the traditional response. In these cases the negative was used in order to retain consistency in the descriptions. The three issues involved were Q.33(c) dealing with job reservation, Q.36, dealing with detention without trial, and Q.55, dealing with racial segregation in education.

In two questions, Q.35, dealing with the franchise, and Q.39, dealing with capital punishment, there were five possible responses. It was decided in these cases to compare each group in terms of the number of respondents who positively rejected the status quo. In the case of Q.35 this included all who would amend the franchise laws, and in Q.39, all who would amend the laws relating to capital punishment.

Q.50, dealing with the use of alcoholic liquor, being a cumulative scale, fell into a unique category and a special graph was drawn for this question.

For certain purposes it may be desired to compare responses of a specific group to several issues. To facilitate this the bar charts were drawn in alphabetical order of churches. For other purposes a rank order may be preferable, and the same charts were, therefore, redrawn in rank order.

A study of the charts reveals two major points:

- A. On many issues the churches were divided severely within themselves in attitude and opinion in respect of questions presenting an issue of public morality.
- B. On many issues there was a difference of standpoint between the churches when compared with each other on ethical and moral issues.

Analysis of responses in terms of these two points will reveal the information required for testing the hypotheses set up in this thesis. The bar charts of appendix F should be consulted.

Point A

To discover whether or not a church was divided within itself on an issue, and the degree to which this occurred, a method of measuring variability of values was required. No accepted procedure could be found, and, equally, no way of avoiding a decision as to when a group was showing internal variability seemed possible. In the assessment of degrees of internal dissonance or assonance the "don't know" and "no answer" rates were important, too.

To permit the development of a method of measuring variability of values two assumptions were made:

(a) that with respect to any issue a minority response of 20 per cent or more of a group can wield influence in a group;

(b) that a "don't know" and "no answer" rate of up to 10 per cent may be expected in any question dealing with an intellectually difficult, controversial or emotionally-laden issue, such a response not indicating dissonance in the group. Nearly all the questions asked were intellectually difficult, controversial or emotionally-laden.

In terms of the above two assumptions, "don't know" and "no answer" per centage points in excess of 10 per cent should be taken into account in assessing the level of assonance or dissonance in any response to an issue.

Thus, assonance in a group is indicated where:-

- (i) the positive response measures 80 per cent of the group, or more;
- (ii) the positive response measures 70 per cent of the group or more, provided that the sum of the positive response and the "don't know" and "no answer" rate reaches 80 per cent;
- (iii) the positive response measures less than 20 per cent, and provided that the sum of the positive response and the "don't know" and "no answer" rate does not exceed 30 per cent of the group.

In order to assess the levels of assonance in the several groups a list of the positive scores, in percentage points, abstracted from the frequency charts of appendix G was drawn up in respect of seventeen issues. "Don't know" and "no answer" scores, also in percentage points, were abstracted from the frequency charts as required. All these scores are recorded in Table 2 below.

On more than half of the issues all the churches showed internal dissonance, in terms of the criteria used. This indicates that in the "secondary" basis of religious life, the ethical level, there appears to be a wide range of variation in attitudes held within the churches.

#### Point B

Differential church affiliation may affect the holding of an attitude or opinion where one of the following three points holds:

1. Where several groups, identifiable by common church membership, show internal assonance on an issue, but in different directions.

Table 2.

Positive Scores in Response to Issues, in Percentage Points  
(Abstracted from Frequency Charts in Appendix G)

## Issues

Economic

Q.30 "When you spend money on luxuries, do you ever feel you should have spent it on the under-privileged?"

Q.32(e) "Do you consider that a minimum wage should be established by the government and no-one should be paid less?"

Q.32(d) "Do you consider that the minimum wage above should be applicable to: Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans?"

Q.33(a) "Do you consider that equal wages should be paid for equal work to Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans?"

! Q.33(b) "Do you consider that job reservation to any one race is justifiable? Unjustifiable?"

Q.34(a) "Do you consider that workers have a right to strike?"

Q.34(b) "If so, does this apply to: Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans?"

Q.34(c) "Do you consider that it is the duty of the state to provide employment for workers in the event of unemployment?"

Political

Q.35 "Do you accept the view that all men should have equal voting rights?" (response amending status quo)

! Q.36 "Do you approve of 90-180 day detention without trial?"

Q.43 "Do you accept the principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?"

Q.47 "In your opinion should newspapers publish what they wish? Only what is good for the country?"

! Q.55 "Do you accept the view that the races should be segregated (in educational institutions)?"

Social

Q.39 "Are you in favour of capital punishment for... (certain listed crimes) (response amending status quo)"

Q.42 "Is it permissible for a doctor to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity?"

Q.51 "Do you consider divorce ever justified?"

Q.64 "Do you accept the view that every person irrespective of race, colour or religion should have equal access to every type of education, from the primary to university levels?"

\* Responses that met the conditions for the presence of assonance.

xx Responses that were very close to meeting the conditions for the presence of assonance.

! Negative score taken, to retain consistency along the traditional-radical continuum.

Issues	Anglican		Dutch Ref		Method.		Presbyter.		Roman Cath.		Small Ch. G.	
	Score	D.K.	Score	D.K.	Score	D.K.	Score	D.K.	Score	D.K.	Score	D.K.
Q.30 "When you spend money on luxuries, do you ever feel you should have spent it on the under-privileged?"	63	-	48	-	43	-	43	-	35	-	60	-
Q.32(e) "Do you consider that a minimum wage should be established by the government and no-one should be paid less?"	68	-	62	-	60	-	65	-	60	-	44	-
Q.32(d) "Do you consider that the minimum wage above should be applicable to: Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans?"	*74	13	55	-	57	-	73	2	64	-	73	2
Q.33(a) "Do you consider that equal wages should be paid for equal work to Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans?"	67	-	46	-	51	-	55	-	75	5	50	-
! Q.33(b) "Do you consider that job reservation to any one race is justifiable? Unjustifiable?"	*76	18	23	-	55	-	*69	18	57	-	33	-
Q.34(a) "Do you consider that workers have a right to strike?"	60	-	43	-	40	-	43	-	46	-	46	-
Q.34(b) "If so, does this apply to: Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans?"	*81	-	57	-	55	-	67	-	71	2	54	-
Q.34(c) "Do you consider that it is the duty of the state to provide employment for workers in the event of unemployment?"	68	-	*74	4	*76	15	57	-	*69	22	67	25
Q.35 "Do you accept the view that all men should have equal voting rights?" (response amending status quo)	*36	-	44	-	*72	11	*79	6	*80	-	52	-
! Q.36 "Do you approve of 90-180 day detention without trial?"	*77	17	*20	-	62	-	*69	22	53	-	29	-
Q.43 "Do you accept the principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?"	*76	12	40	-	59	-	67	-	55	-	65	-
Q.47 "In your opinion should newspapers publish what they wish? Only what is good for the country?"	64	-	*10	10	45	-	47	-	51	-	31	-
! Q.55 "Do you accept the view that the races should be segregated (in educational institutions)?"	25	-	*3	7	*15	6	*14	10	*11	18	*6	17
Q.39 "Are you in favour of capital punishment for... (certain listed crimes) (response amending status quo)"	*69	12	46	-	57	-	73	4	60	-	48	-
Q.42 "Is it permissible for a doctor to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity?"	39	-	58	-	55	-	53	-	29	-	23	-
Q.51 "Do you consider divorce ever justified?"	*78	7	67	-	*74	19	*80	-	67	-	56	-
Q.64 "Do you accept the view that every person irrespective of race, colour or religion should have equal access to every type of education, from the primary to university levels?"	*96	-	*72	12	*85	-	*92	-	*86	-	85	-

2. Where a group, identifiable by common church membership, coheres on an issue, and members of other churches do not, one may assume that the first group is influenced by its church affiliation, despite the absence of any official church policy on the issue.

3. Where all the groups show internal dissonance with regard to an issue, yet differ markedly from each other in the size of the positive responses.

It may be seen from Table 2 above that no group met the conditions of the first of these three points, since in the only issue where all groups showed internal assonance (i.e. Q.54, examining respondents' attitudes to race and education), all groups held the same attitude.

Several groups met the conditions for the second point. The Anglican sample was the only group to show internal assonance on Q.32(d), dealing with the application of the minimum wage for all racial groups, Q.33(c), dealing with the justifiability of job reservation (though the Presbyterians came near to achieving internal assonance on this issue), Q.34(b), dealing with the right to strike and colour, Q.36, dealing with detention without trial, (though the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed samples nearly achieved it, the Presbyterians in support of the Anglicans and the Dutch Reformed against them), and Q.43, dealing with residential freedom. The Roman Catholic sample was the only one which showed internal assonance on Q.33(a), dealing with equal pay for equal work for all racial groups; all other groups showed serious internal dissonance. The Methodists were the only sample showing internal assonance on Q.34(c), dealing with the State's responsibility in unemployment, though the Dutch Reformed and Roman Catholic

groups came near to it, both being in the same direction as the Methodists. The rest showed a degree of dissonance, but most attitudes tended to be positive rather than negative in this issue. The Dutch Reformed sample was the only sample showing internal assonance on Q.47, dealing with the freedom of the press. The Dutch Reformed sample was strongly against the principle of the freedom of the press while the other groups were severely divided on the issue. Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics showed internal assonance and mutual support in Q.35, dealing with the extension of the franchise. The remaining two groups, Dutch Reformed and Small Church Groups, showed serious internal dissonance. All save the Anglican sample showed strong internal assonance and mutual agreement on Q.55, dealing with racial segregation in education. The Anglicans showed dissonance. Though none of the groups achieved internal assonance in their attitude to capital punishment in Q.39, the Anglicans came close to it. The Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian samples adopted the same cohesive attitude to Q.51, dealing with divorce. The Dutch Reformed, Roman Catholic and Small Church Group samples, who tended to be conservative on theological issues, showed dissonance on this question, which was not surprising.

Turning to the third point, i.e. that differential church affiliation may affect the holding of an attitude or opinion where all the groups show internal dissonance with regard to an issue yet differ markedly from each other in the size of the positive response, it was found that internal dissonance was present throughout the groups in their responses to Q.30, dealing with the poor, Q.32(c),

dealing with the minimum wage, Q.34(a) dealing with the right to strike, and Q.42, dealing with the deformed baby. In the last-named issue the Small Church Groups came near to achieving assonance.

The groups differed considerably among themselves with regard to Q.30, dealing with the poor, the Anglicans and Small Church Group samples coming much closer to internal assonance than the rest<sup>1]</sup>. In Q.32(c), dealing with the minimum wage, all but the Small Church Groups, though showing internal dissonance, tended to be positive in orientation. The latter group was severely divided. All the groups were severely divided with regard to Q.34(a), dealing with the right to strike, the Anglicans favouring the principle only a little more than the rest. Differential church affiliation does not appear to bear a real relationship to responses to this issue. In Q.42, dealing with the deformed baby, the Roman Catholic and Small Church Groups were clearly more against the principle of allowing the baby to die than were the rest, though no group showed internal assonance on the issue. Though these two groups are at opposite ends of most theological continua, in this issue they both tend towards fundamentalism, possibly because of the theological principle of the sanctity of human life.

The study indicates that difference in church membership does have a positive effect on the secondary, or ethical, basis of religious life.

It must be borne in mind that the responses described and compared above include the attitudes of all members of

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1] It is interesting that the Anglican sample had the highest socio-economic position and the Small Church Groups the lowest, among the samples.

the samples, regardless of possible differences among them in depth of commitment to Christianity or to a particular church, or due to differences in socio-economic position. That socio-economic variables, and variables related to church participation may be important influences in shaping attitudes is clear, and these are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EVALUATION OF THE INFLUENCE OF SELECTED SOCIO-  
ECONOMIC AND THEOLOGICAL VARIABLES ON MORAL  
ATTITUDES OF MEMBERS OF DIFFERING  
CHURCH GROUPS

A. Socio-Economic Variables (c.f. summaries of Sections C  
and D)

There were not very great socio-economic differences between and within the church groups. The Anglicans had the highest socio-economic position, the Small Church Groups the lowest, and the Dutch Reformed, Methodist, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic samples shared a more or less equal middle-class status. The Small Church Groups and Roman Catholics showed the greatest internal socio-economic variability.

The fact that the Anglicans, with the highest socio-economic position, are the most radical in their attitudes on social issues, and the Small Church Groups, who have the lowest socio-economic position, are conservative, tends to create the impression that there is a positive relationship between moral attitudes and socio-economic status. This, however, is misleading, since Dutch Reformed sample members, with a middle-class socio-economic position much the same as that of the Roman Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian samples, are the most conservative in their moral attitudes - more so than the Small Church Groups. The Roman Catholics are almost as radical as the Anglicans, and the Methodists and Presbyterians tend towards radicalism.

If the socio-economic level of respondents was an important complex of variables in the study, the more homogeneous a group socio-economically, the more cohesive

would have been its responses to moral issues. The Anglican, Dutch Reformed, Methodist and Presbyterian responses should have been more cohesive than those of the Roman Catholic and Small Church Groups if this were so. Study of the charts of appendix F, however, reveals that these groups did not cohere in their attitudes to most issues.

The Small Church Groups alone showed significant internal differences in the socio-economic status of members. Analysis of the responses of members of the Small Church Groups sample showed an interesting tendency. Younger people, people with higher incomes and education, women, and Afrikaans-speakers tended to be more traditional in outlook than the older, poorer, less educated, male and English-speaking members. The traditionalism of women and Afrikaans-speakers may be expected, that of the younger, higher income, and better educated is unexpected. This may be due to a desire by a low-status minority group for identification with the country's "power elite".

B. Theological Variables (c.f. summaries of Sections C and D)

For the purposes of this study we shall classify under "theological variables" attendance at church services and participation in special church associations such as prayer meeting or Sunday School, and the significance of the teaching of the church in the life of the individual as reflected in responses to Q.15 "Do you think of your religious experiences as being constructive and moulding in later life? purely incidental with no effect on you? negative and limiting?" and Q.16 "Which would you say were the most influential in shaping your moral outlook?"

the Church? the School? the University or College? the Family? Others? (please specify ...)"

In the Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian and Small Church Group samples, level of participation in church affairs did not appear to be related to attitudes towards moral issues. In the Anglican sample the relation appears limited to theological issues such as divorce and the sanctity of human life. In the case of the Methodist and Roman Catholic responses, level of church attendance tended to exercise some influence, being related to about a third of the moral issues presented.

The analysis tends to show that there is no relationship between attitudes to social issues and a member's active involvement in the church, either within a church or between different church groups.

The Presbyterian and Small Church Group samples were the only two groups found to be at all active in church affairs over and above formal services. The Small Church Groups tended to be conservative in their response to moral issues and the Presbyterians tended to be radical. The other four groups, while similar in their level of participation in church activities, reflected different attitudes to moral issues.

Of the two composite factors, the socio-economic and the theological, it may be suggested that the first probably has a closer relationship to moral attitudes, as seems to be indicated by the case of the Anglicans and the internal variations within the Small Church Groups sample. The absence of any true relationship between these two variables and moral attitudes may, however, be due to the fact that

they have been chosen at random, and that they have been studied in isolation. They may well be exercising an important influence if taken compositely with other variables. On the other hand, it may be suggested that the significant variable very probably lies outside both the economic and the theological, and is probably of a more direct political or cultural nature.

S E C T I O N F

CHAPTER EIGHT

INTERPRETATION AND INFERENCES

Wach stressed the importance of "the tremendous fomenting and integrating power possessed by religion"<sup>1]</sup>. Other writers<sup>2]</sup> maintain that the Sociology of Religion should study "the ways in which contemporary religious behaviour and even content are socially determined". Yinger would combine both approaches, concluding that "the Sociology of Religion is ... the scientific study of the ways in which society, culture and personality influence religion ... and, oppositely, it is the study of the ways in which religion affects society, culture and personality - the processes of social conservation and social change, the structure of normative systems, the satisfaction or frustration of personality needs, etc."<sup>3]</sup>.

While Yinger is right, the scale of the present study precluded concern with the influence of the normative system on the religious system, and attention was focused on the influence of certain characteristics of the religious system on certain aspects of the social system, following the orientation of Wach, Weber, Troeltsch and Durkheim.

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1] J. Wach, Sociology of Religion, Kegan Paul, London, 1947, p.6

2] See J. Brothers (ed) Readings in the Sociology of Religion, Pergamon Press, London, 1967, p.33 ff.

3] J. M. Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, Macmillan, N.Y., 1957, p.20 ff.

It may be argued that intrinsically ethics and morals are not an essential aspect of religion: that an individual may hold certain beliefs about spiritual life without being particularly ethical or moral in his earthly life, and, conversely, an individual may lead a highly moral life without claiming any religious belief. Yet the relationship between religion and ethics is, nonetheless, very close when practical issues are under consideration. Whenever a moral issue is raised organised religion is expected to pronounce on it, and religious groups are expected to uphold the behaviour or attitude deemed to be morally "right". At the personal level "Christian conscience" is invariably appealed to in Western society. At the practical level, therefore, religion is concerned with the moral life of the individual and group, and for religious people and groups concern with moral issues is part of religious life.

The present study investigated the secondary basis of orientation of the churches, i.e. the ethical system, setting up the following hypotheses:

1. That within the specific church members will vary in the ethical attitudes and standards they hold;
2. That despite variations among members within a church when different churches are compared the ethical attitudes of one church group may be identifiable from those of another;
3. That the variations in ethical orientation between the several church memberships results in a fragmented (and hence ineffectual) stand by the Christian Church as a whole, when confronted by controversial moral issues in social life.

It is clear from the models of Section C, the charts of appendix F and the summary of Table 2 p.147 that there is a wide range of variation in attitudes held within the

churches. The first hypothesis appears to hold. Not one of the samples studied showed internal assonance on even half of the moral issues presented. The Anglican sample showed internal assonance on almost half of the issues, which was considerably higher than any other group, but even in this case the range of variation was wide on many issues.

It is further maintained that the findings indicate that while all Christian groups accept certain basic theological standpoints and carry out certain basic acts in common (even though the rituals may differ), the several samples differed considerably from each other in the attitudes expressed towards ethical and moral issues. (Hypothesis No.2)

The bar charts of appendix F reveal that on almost every economic issue, clearly on every political issue, and on most social issues presented, the Anglican sample was obviously more radical in outlook than any other group.

Conversely, on most issues, though not nearly to the same extent, the Dutch Reformed sample and Small Church Groups sample were the most traditional in outlook. On all five political issues the Dutch Reformed sample very clearly held the most traditional attitude.

Where questions of private morality were involved, particularly Q.50, dealing with the use of alcoholic liquor, and Q.51, dealing with divorce, the Small Church Groups were clearly the most traditional. Possibly these groups are less concerned with issues of public morality and more concerned with issues of private morality than

are the other samples<sup>1]</sup>.

On most issues the Methodist and Presbyterian samples fell round about the mean of the Christian Group as a whole. Both of these samples were middle-class - not as socio-economically established as the Anglicans, not as upwardly mobile as the Dutch Reformed and Small Church Groups. The fairly high "don't know" response to most questions could indicate that the issues have been the subject of discussion and argument among the church members. However, where a group is severely divided, with a low "don't know" and "no answer" rate, severe conflict is likely to be present, and on most issues this does not appear to be the case with the Methodist or Presbyterian samples.

The Roman Catholic responses were interesting. Roman Catholic respondents tended to be radical rather than traditional (though not as radical as the Anglicans), but on issues closely related to theological beliefs, they were more traditional than most groups. They were further from the mean of the Christian Group than were the Methodist or Presbyterian samples.

The data above provides sufficient evidence to indicate that the second hypothesis holds, i.e. "That despite variations among members within a church, when different churches are compared the ethical attitudes of one church group may be identifiable from those of another."

Section D of the thesis introduced an analysis of the possible influence of certain socio-economic variables and

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1] Certain questions of private morality were asked in the study but were left for future analysis when the scope of the study was reduced. This would be a point worth pursuing in a future research.

variables related to participation in church affairs, on the attitudes held towards moral issues by different individuals and groups, and any conclusions drawn in this report should be drawn with Section D in mind. The summaries of the parts of Section D reveal that in most issues socio-economic differences within a group, and differences in the level of participation of members in church affairs did not produce many significant differences in response to questions. Though a more detailed study of the extent to which certain socio-economic variables and variables related to participation in church affairs affect attitudes towards moral issues might explain some of the differences found between the churches, it is nonetheless valid to say that differences in ethical and moral attitudes are found among the several groups studied.

The press and the general public talk about "The Church", and when a Christian speaker expresses his views, his particular attitudes and values are generally taken as reflecting those of "The Church". The present study has shown clearly that there is no unified "Christian attitude" towards ethical and moral issues in practice. A fragmented stand by "The Church" on ethical and moral issues is thus not surprising, and the third hypothesis also holds, viz. "that variations in ethical orientation between the several church memberships results in a fragmented stand by the Christian Church as a whole when confronted by controversial moral issues in social life."

However, comparison of the responses of the groups studied with those of a sample of the non-church public may indicate that there is an overall difference in attitudes

towards moral issues between those who are members of a Christian church and those who are not. The necessarily limited scope of the present study precluded investigation of this interesting aspect of the subject.

Further, the present study has not isolated the "committed" Christian: the questions asked have related purely to participation and to general positive or negative orientation towards the church. Should it be possible to design a study that differentiates between the nominal Christian and the committed Christian interesting findings may be revealed with regard to the relationship between Christianity and stands on ethical and moral issues.

This study has demonstrated what it set out to demonstrate. Evidence has been found in support of all three hypotheses. Together these uphold the thesis that the controversy and dilemma that faced Maurice, Ludlow, Kingsley and their supporters in nineteenth century England remains unsettled today. They saw ethical and moral wrongs perpetrated and tried to "apply Christianity". They were not supported by the majority of Christian people, nor by the organised churches, though they appealed to "Christian conscience". The findings of the present study indicate that at the "secondary level" of ethical and moral standards there is no clear "Christian ethic" and Christian individuals and groups are likely to continue in their divergent attitudes towards moral issues.

A P P E N D I X A

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE, AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF  
QUESTIONS DRAWN FROM PUBLISHED RESEARCH REPORTS

Acknowledgement is given below to writers of research reports whose ideas stimulated the asking of specific questions in the present study, or whose actual questions were used in the present study.

S. Rettig and B. Pasamanich: "Changes in Moral Values among College Students : A factorial study", American Sociological Review, Vol.24, 1959, p.856.

- (i) Q.42 "Is it permissible for a doctor to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity?"

This question was taken over unchanged. In the original study respondents were asked to rate their answers on a 10-point scale of approval-disapproval of the act described: "A doctor allowing a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity".

(ii) The following seven questions of the present study were stimulated by Rettig and Pasamanich's ideas:

- Q.32(b) Charging interest above a fair rate when lending money.
- Q.32(c) A prosperous industry paying workers less than a living wage.
- Q.33(b) A strong commercial concern selling below cost to crowd out a weaker competitor.
- Q.37 Refusing to bear arms in a war one believes to be unjust.
- Q.53 Betting on horse races.
- Q.56 Girls smoking cigarettes, using profane or blasphemous speech.

W.S. Salisbury: "Religion and Secularisation", Social Forces, Vol.36, No.3, 1958.

Q.15 of the present study was taken over from Salisbury's study with slightly changed wording: "As you look back on your childhood was your religious training constructive and positive, incidental, negative and frustrating, no answer?"

B.H. Stoodley: "Normative Attitudes of Filipino Youth Compared with German and American Youth", American Journal of Sociology, October 1957.

Questions incorporated unchanged in the present study:

- Q.44 "Which of these boys are in your opinion the worst:  
(a) the boy who tyrannises and beats up smaller children;  
(b) the boy who disobeys his superiors, his elder brother, parents, teachers, leaders, employers, etc.  
(c) there is no basic difference.
- Q.45 "Do you think it right for a boy to run away from home if his father is cruel and brutal?"
- Q.46 "Do elder brothers have the right to give orders to younger brothers and obtain their obedience by force?"

SCHEDULE

3. Race:
4. Sex: 1. M  
2. F
5. Home Language: 1. English  
2. Afrikaans  
3. Both  
4. Other
6. Birthplace: 1. Europe (state country) .....  
2. Africa ( " " ) .....  
3. Other ( " " ) .....
7. Age Group: 1. 18-20  
2. 21-30  
3. 31-40  
4. 41-50  
5. 51-60  
6. 61+
8. Number of children (if any): 1. 0  
2. 1  
3. 2  
4. 3  
5. 4+
9. Marital Status: 1. Single  
2. Married  
3. Widowed  
4. Divorced
10. Occupation or Profession: Self .....  
(at present) If married woman, of husband  
.....  
If housewife or retired,  
previous occupation  
.....
11. How would you rate your household income on the following scale?  
1 2 3 4  
R0 - R500 R501 - R1000 R1001 - R2500 R2501 - R5000  
5  
R5000+
12. Educational Level (highest level attained)  
1. Standard VI.  
2. Secondary to J.C.  
3. J.C. to Matric.  
4. College Diploma.  
5. University Degree or Diploma.
13. Church Affiliation .....

14. How often do you go to church?
  1. More than once a week?
  2. Every Sunday at least once
  3. Sporadically - now and again
  4. Not within the last three months
  5. Never (this includes those who only attend festivals such as Easter and Christmas, and rites like weddings)
  
15. Do you think of your religious experiences as being:
  1. Constructive and moulding your later life?
  2. Purely incidental with no effects on you?
  3. Negative and limiting?
  4. No answer
  
16. Which would you say were the most influential in shaping your moral outlook? (Please rank)
  - The Church
  - The School
  - The University or College
  - The Family
  - Others (please specify) .....
  
17. A. Do you or did you take part in voluntary church affairs? (e.g. women's or men's associations, Sunday school teaching, running a youth club, etc.) Do you attend:
  1. More than once a week?
  2. Every week once?
  3. Sporadically - now and then?
  4. Not within the last three months?
  5. Never

B. Do you take part in voluntary community affairs? Do you attend:

  6. More than once a week?
  7. Every week once?
  8. Sporadically - now and then?
  9. Not within the last three months?
  0. Never
  
18. Do you or have you held office in church bodies?
  1. Yes
  2. No
  
19. Do you or have you held any office in the church proper? (e.g. Elder, Deacon, Lay Preacher, etc.) If so, please specify .....
  
20. Have you always agreed with the minister/priest/pastor on all church matters?
  1. Yes
  2. No
  
21. How do you regard the Gospels and other Sacred Books?
  1. As the Law?
  2. As Law but after personal interpretation?
  3. As Law but after interpretation by minister/priest?
  4. As a guide only, to individual decision?

22. Do you consider the Church to be:
1. A purely religious body united to worship God?
  2. A source of morality only?
  3. Both the above together?
  4. Neither of the two?
23. Why should we maintain moral standards? (select one only)
1. Because the church commands and rewards obedience?
  2. Because society would collapse if not obeyed?
  3. Because violations lead to sanctions and to Hell on Earth?
  4. Other reasons? (please specify) .....
  - .....
24. Have you ever thought of changing your church affiliation?
1. Yes
  2. No
- If "yes" was it because you:
3. Disliked persons in the church?
  4. Disliked Doctrine in the church?
  5. Were attracted to persons in another church?
  6. Were attracted by Doctrine in another church?
  7. Disliked the lack of moral strictness in your church?
  8. Disliked the moral strictness in your church?
  9. Other reason? .....
25. To which churches do your three best friends belong?
- .....
26. How would you feel if your son/daughter wished to marry into a church group different from your own?
1. Approve if they are satisfied?
  2. Indifferent;
  3. Disapprove mildly?
  4. Disapprove strongly?
27. Do you consider it a part of a Christian's duty to take part in community affairs? (e.g. welfare societies, youth clubs, etc.)
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
28. Do you consider a State Church a good thing?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
  4. Undecided
29. Do you consider that churchmen should have concern with:
1. Social questions?
  2. Economic questions?
  3. Political questions?
  4. Race questions?
  5. All of these?
  6. None of these?

30. When you spend money on luxuries do you ever feel that you should have spent it on the under-privileged?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
31. Can one reconcile Christianity with the possession of great wealth?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
32. Do you consider that:
- (a) it is possible to derive too high a profit from a business transaction?
    1. Yes
    2. No
  - (b) it is possible to derive too high a rate of interest in a business transaction?
    3. Yes
    4. No
  - (c) a minimum wage should be established by the Government and no one should be paid less?
    5. Yes
    6. No
    7. Don't know
  - (d) the minimum wage above should be applicable to:
    8. Whites only;
    9. Whites and Coloureds;
    0. Whites, Coloureds and Africans;
33. Do you consider that:
- (a) equal wages should be paid for equal work to:
    1. Whites only;
    2. Whites and Coloureds;
    3. Whites, Coloureds and Africans;
    4. Do not accept the principle.
  - (b) it is unethical for a strong commercial concern (shop, firm, etc.) to sell below cost in order to handicap smaller competitors?
    5. Yes
    6. No
    7. Don't know
  - (c) job reservation to any one race is:
    8. Justifiable;
    9. Unjustifiable;
    0. Don't know.
34. Do you consider that:
- (a) workers have a right to strike?
    1. Yes
    2. No
    3. Don't know

34. (b) does this apply to:
4. Whites only?
  5. Whites and Coloureds?
  6. Whites, Coloureds and Africans?
- (c) it is the duty of the State to provide employment for workers in the event of unemployment?
7. Yes
  8. No
  9. Don't know
35. Do you accept the view that all men should have equal voting rights?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
- If not, should this apply to:
4. Whites only?
  5. Whites and Coloureds?
  6. All civilised men?
36. Do you approve of 90 or 180 day detention without trial?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
37. Do you consider there is such a thing as a "just war"?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
38. Can you see any circumstances under which the atom bomb should be used?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
39. Are you in favour of capital punishment for:
1. Murder
  2. Treason or Sabotage
  3. Rape
  4. Other (please specify) .....
  5. None
40. If you are not in favour, how would you punish the persons who commit the crimes above?  
.....
41. Is it morally right to deprive the dependents of a suicide of the proceeds of his insurance policy?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
42. Is it permissible for a doctor to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know

43. Do you accept the principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
44. Which of these boys in your opinion is the worse?
1. The boy who tyrannises and beats up smaller children?
  2. The boy who disobeys his superiors, elder brother, parents, teachers, leaders, employers, etc.?
  3. There is no basic difference between the two?
45. Do you think it right for a boy to run away from home if his father is cruel and brutal?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
46. Assuming they are not the family head, do elder brothers have the right to give orders to younger brothers and obtain their obedience by force?
47. In your opinion should newspapers publish:
1. What they wish?
  2. Only what is good for the country?
48. Should people who criticise the Government be imprisoned?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
49. Do you think the average man is stupid and easily misled by propaganda?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
50. Do you consider drink harmful:
- | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u>  |
|------------|--|
| 1.         | 6. In all circumstances?   |
| 2.         | 7. If used on social occasions only?                             |
| 3.         | 8. If a man has a drink once a week?                             |
| 4.         | 9. If a man has a sundowner every night at home?                 |
| 5.         | 0. If a man has a drink every night on his way home, in a hotel? |
51. Do you consider divorce ever justified?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
52. In the event of a divorce case going against one partner would you ever allow the guilty partner to have custody of the children?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know

53. Should betting be permitted: (Answer more than one if you wish)
1. Under no circumstances?
  2. Under all circumstances?
  3. On horse racing?
  4. On card playing?
54. Do you accept the view that every person, irrespective of race, colour or religion, should have equal access to every type of education, from the primary to university levels?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't know
55. Do you accept the view that the races should be segregated:
- | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> |                                       |
|------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| 1.         | 6.        | at pre-school (nursery school) level; |
| 2.         | 7.        | at primary school level;              |
| 3.         | 8.        | at secondary school level;            |
| 4.         | 9.        | at University and College level;      |
| 5.         | 0.        | compulsorily at all levels.           |
56. Do any of the following ever give you serious moral offence?
1. Girls smoking cigarettes?
  2. People seeking amusement on Sunday instead of going to church?
  3. Use of profane or blasphemous speech?
  4. Children's comic strips?
  5. Bioscope performances?
  6. The radio?
  7. Newspapers?
  8. Television?
  9. Modern Art?
  0. None of these?
57. Excluding unavoidable contacts at your place of employment, how much contact do you have with:
- (a) people outside your church?
1. Less than once a week?
  2. Approximately once a week?
  3. Several times a week?
  4. Every day?
  5. All the time?
- (b) people outside your race?
6. Less than once a week?
  7. Approximately once a week?
  8. Several times a week?
  9. Every day?
  0. All the time?
58. Would you like your present contact with people outside your race (excluding the employment situation) to be:
1. Increased;
  2. Decreased;
  3. Left as it is;
  4. Don't know.

A P P E N D I X B

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

"Good afternoon. I am from the Rhodes University Department of Sociology. My name is ..... We are undertaking a research project to see what the average church member thinks about certain ethical and moral problems. In order to include every point of view we have taken members from all the churches and are asking them a series of questions on these ethical and moral problems.

Your name has quite by chance been included in the number of names drawn from your church. Can you spare between 20 minutes and half an hour to go through these questions with me? The schedule will be quite anonymous and no opinion expressed by a person can be traced back to him.

INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERVIEWERS

1. Study the "patter" overleaf so you can explain briefly what the project is about. This "patter" also has the purpose of standardising the approach of interviewers in order to minimise bias in responses caused by interviewers introducing their own views while explaining.
2. Check name and address. You must interview the exact person. Spouse, son, etc. will not do.
3. If the person is not in or the house is empty, try to make an appointment to call again or leave a note asking when you can call. Ask them (say) to leave a

note on their door or gate for you as you will be calling back later.

4. If they are still unavailable on your second call back, try to find out why they are away or cannot be seen, e.g. on holiday till the end of the month, too ill to be interviewed, etc. Neighbours or other household members should be able to supply this information. Record the reasons in the space provided on the schedule. Call back a third time before abandoning that name. It is most important to keep the rate of non-response to a minimum.
5. Be very careful to give the schedule the correct number according to your list. Do not record the name and address if the respondent is unwilling - their number from your list will then suffice. Stress the anonymity of the investigation. No personal names or confidential material will be published.
6. If at all possible, please see the respondent alone. The presence of others influences the responses. If you cannot see him/her alone try and make an appointment to do so.
7. Give the respondent a copy of the schedule to follow for himself and fill in his responses on your copy. Read out the questions to him.
8. Please interview Afrikaans-speaking respondents in Afrikaans. We shall try to arrange that those interviewers most fluent in Afrikaans be given these names.
9. In question 26, if the respondent discriminates against any group at all, score him "disapprove strongly".
10. You may have to explain question 41. Many people do not know that suicides forfeit their life insurance.

11. In question 46 stress the "force", i.e. if someone says yes to the right to give orders and no to "by force", score "no".
12. Record any snags you find at the end of the schedule. Do this as soon as you have left the house.
13. Scoring is by ringing the number corresponding to the response given.

A P P E N D I X C

RECORD OF LOSSES IN TERMS OF DENOMINATION AND REASON

	Angl.	Bapt.	DRC	Meth.	Pres.	RC	SCG	Total
<u>Non-Response</u>								
Door "slammed"	1	2		1				4
Blank refusal	8	4	5	8	7	9	7	48
"Not interested"	3	2	3	4	3	6	1	22
"Too busy"	1			2		5		8
"Comes home late" (and would not make appointment)	2		1	2				5
Avoided interviewer (broke appointments)		2	1					3
Advised by others to have nothing to do with project		9			2	2	5	18
"questionnaire undesirable"		2						2
"questions nonsense"					1			1
"questions too personal"					1			1
"questions a waste of time"	1			1				2
"more socio-polit. than religious"							1	1
"related to religion"			1					1
Fed up with constant visits by Rhodes stu- dents	1				1			2
would have nothing to do with university			1				2	3
does not believe in any surveys of the population		1			1	1		3
feels too strongly to answer questions					1			1
"nuns would not approve" (employee of sisterhood)	1							1
feared schedule traceable to self				1				1
feared would get into trouble if schedule completed			2					2
Carry forward	18	22	14	19	17	23	16	129

	Angl.	Bapt.	DRC	Meth.	Pres.	RC	SCG	Total
Brought forward	18	22	14	19	17	23	16	129
Too old to be interviewed	2	3		1	2			8
Language difficulty			1					1
"gets flustered by questions"		1						1
"feels too ignorant and shy"					1	1		2
Obeys husband - see him			1					1
Nurse on night duty		1			1			2
Studying out of town					1			1
Newly arrived Rhodesian, not prepared to ans. political ques.		1						1
in deep mourning, emotionally incapable of interview			1					1
"withdrawn from world: not interested in anything any more"					1			1
incomplete schedule		1						1
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>149</b>
<u>Not Available</u>								
moved out of town	1	6	3	2	6	4	0	22
moved, no address known	5	10*	6	3	4	5	3	36
on holiday, overseas	4	1	1	4	2	2	0	14
ill, relative ill	1	2	4	4	4	2	0	17
never in (min. of 3 calls)	0	8	5	5	5	4	0	27
unknown to occupant	1	4	3	0	3	3	1	15
empty house	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
out of town indefinitely, traveller, cannot contact	1	1	2	1	0	2	0	7
says has already filled in form	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Carried forward</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>140</b>

	Angl.	Bapt.	DRC	Meth.	Pres.	RC	SCG	Total
Brought forward	13	32	25	20	24	22	4	140
deceased	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	4
non-existent address	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	5
denies membership	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	3
claims membership of different church from our list	4	1	-	5	5	3	4	22
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>174</b>

\* High Baptist figure accounted for by the fact that we were interviewing their whole population and ten people could represent three families or even less.

A P P E N D I X D

OCCUPATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS IN SAMPLE  
IN TERMS OF CENTERS' CLASSIFICATION<sup>1]</sup>

1. <u>Business Executives</u>	
1 merchant	
3 managing directors .....	4
2. <u>Professionals</u>	
41 teachers	
4 music teachers	
26 lecturers and professors	
1 research officer	
1 entomologist	
8 ministers of religion	
5 theological students	
1 missionary	
4 medical practitioners	
2 practising lawyers	
1 advocate	
1 law student	
2 civil engineers	
1 electrical engineer	
2 engineers	
1 pharmacist	
1 chemist	
2 architects	
1 quantity surveyor	
1 surveyor-general	
1 speech-trainer	
1 editor	
1 social worker	
1 chartered accountant	
1 wool expert	
5 undifferentiated college and university students .....	116
3. <u>Small Business</u>	
12 shopkeepers	
9 proprietors of businesses	
6 managers	
8 farmers	
3 cartage contractors	
2 nurserymen	
1 mine stock dealer and estate agent	
1 printer	
1 newsagent and proprietor of business	
1 farmer and trader	
1 building contractor	
1 cafe proprietor	
1 brickmaker	
1 shoemaker	
1 speculator	
1 carpenter	
1 livestock estate agent	
1 plumber	
1 watchmaker .....	53

1] R. Centers: The Psychology of Social Classes,  
Princeton University Press, Princeton N.J. 1949.

Brought forward ..... 173

4. White-Collar Workers

42 clerks  
8 accountants  
9 shop sales staff  
2 commercial travellers  
5 secretaries  
5 telephonists  
4 typists  
4 typist-clerks  
1 insurance agent  
2 civil servants  
1 administrative officer  
1 administrative assistant  
1 secretary/bookkeeper  
1 receptionist  
1 "official"  
1 bookkeeper  
2 library assistants  
1 health department assistant  
1 health inspector  
2 inspectors  
1 overseer, municipality  
1 senior postal official  
1 journalist  
1 S.A.B.C. programming assistant  
1 architectural assistant  
1 salesman/locksmith  
1 tractor salesman  
1 garage spares assistant  
1 spares storeman/clerk  
1 storeman/bookkeeper  
1 storekeeper/buyer  
20 nurses  
2 Permanent Force Officers  
1 soldier  
4 Police Officers  
1 policeman  
1 Railway Police Officer  
1 Fire Brigade Officer ..... 135

5. Skilled Manual Workers

4 printers  
1 compositor  
1 "printing trade"  
3 carpenters and joiners  
3 motor mechanics  
3 mechanics  
2 plumbers  
1 S.A.R. engine driver  
1 artisan  
1 master butcher  
1 cabinet maker  
1 "mine" overlooker  
1 Power Station foreman  
1 metal worker  
1 engineering technician  
1 hairdresser  
2 dressmakers  
1 blacksmith  
1 assistant dairy foreman  
1 foreman - government employee  
1 gas engineer ..... 32

Brought forward .....	340
<b>6. <u>Semi-skilled Manual Workers</u></b>	
6 housekeepers	
2 caterers	
2 technicians	
2 lorry drivers	
1 taxi driver	
1 workman/technician	
1 letter-press machine minder	
1 sports union foreman	
1 hostel matron .....	17
<b>7. <u>Unskilled Manual Workers</u></b>	
4 railway workers	
2 railway checkers	
1 railway porter	
2 handymen	
1 caretaker	
1 serves in restaurant	
1 laundry worker	
1 citrus sorter .....	13
<b>8. <u>Housewives, Retired and Other</u></b>	
16 housewives	
4 pensioners (no previous occupation given)	
1 unemployed (no previous occupation given)	
2 scholars .....	23
<b>Total in Sample</b>	<hr/> <b>393</b> <hr/>

A P P E N D I X E

DETAILS OF COLLAPSING OF CELLS OF CONTINGENCY  
TABLES TO PERMIT STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The small size of the six sub-samples necessitated the collapsing of certain cells in the contingency tables before statistical tests of the significance of differences could be undertaken. For purposes of statistical analysis, therefore, responses to the following questions were collapsed as indicated below:

- Q. 7 Age group: 2 cells: up to 50 years of age  
51 years and over
- Q.10 Occupation: 2 cells: business executive and professional  
small business, white-collar,  
manual workers of all grades
- Q.11 Income: 2 cells: up to R2,500 p.a.  
R2,501 p.a. and over
- Q.12 Education: 2 cells: up to and including Senior Certif.  
above Senior Certificate
- Q.14 "How often do you go to church?" 2 cells: "core", i.e.  
more than once a week, and every week at least once;  
"the rest", i.e. the marginal and dormant.
- Q.16 "Which would you say were the most influential in shaping  
your moral outlook?": 2 cells: respondents who included  
the theological; respondents who gave a purely secular  
response
- Q.17(a) "Do you or did you take part in voluntary church  
affairs?" 2 cells: "core", i.e. more than once a  
week, and every week at least once; "the rest", i.e.  
the marginal and dormant
- Q.33(a) "Do you consider that equal wages should be paid for  
equal work to ....?" For all except Dutch Reformed  
sample, 2 cells: for Whites, Coloureds and Africans  
do not accept the principle  
Dutch Reformed sample: 3 cells: Whites only; Whites  
Coloureds and Africans; do not accept principle
- Q.34(b) "Do you consider that this (right to strike) applies  
to:-?" 2 cells: for Whites, Coloureds and Africans  
do not accept principle
- Q.35 "Do you accept the view that all men should have equal  
voting rights?" 3 cells: all men; Whites only; all  
civilised men
- Q.39 "Are you in favour of capital punishment for...?"  
2 cells: accept the principle of capital punishment  
do not accept the principle of cap.pun.

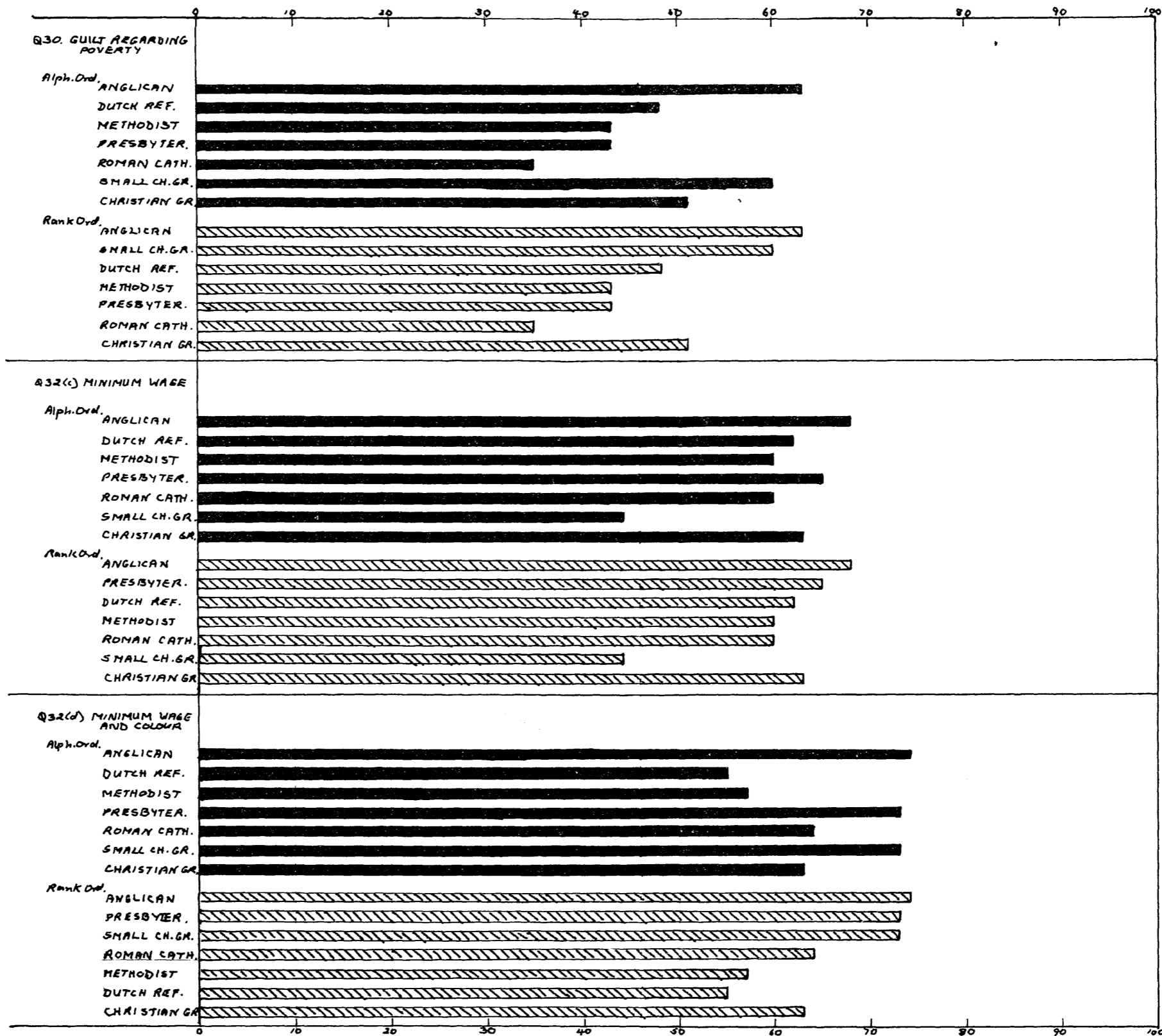
Q.50 "Do you consider drink harmful?" 2 cells: those who rejected liquor entirely; those who were tolerant of some use of liquor

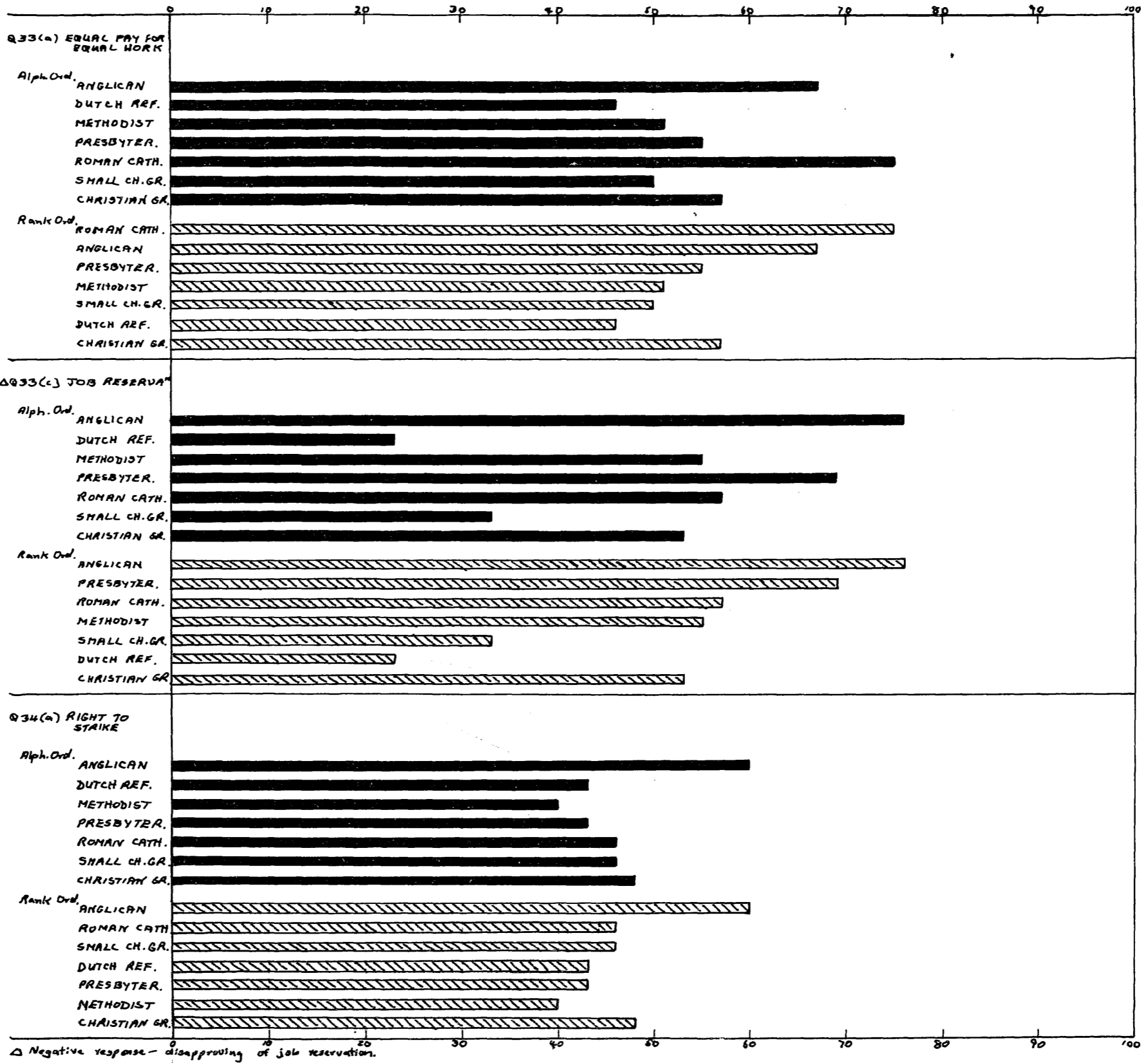
Q.55 "Do you accept the view that the races should be segregated (in educational institutions)?"  
2 cells: accept the principle  
do not accept the principle

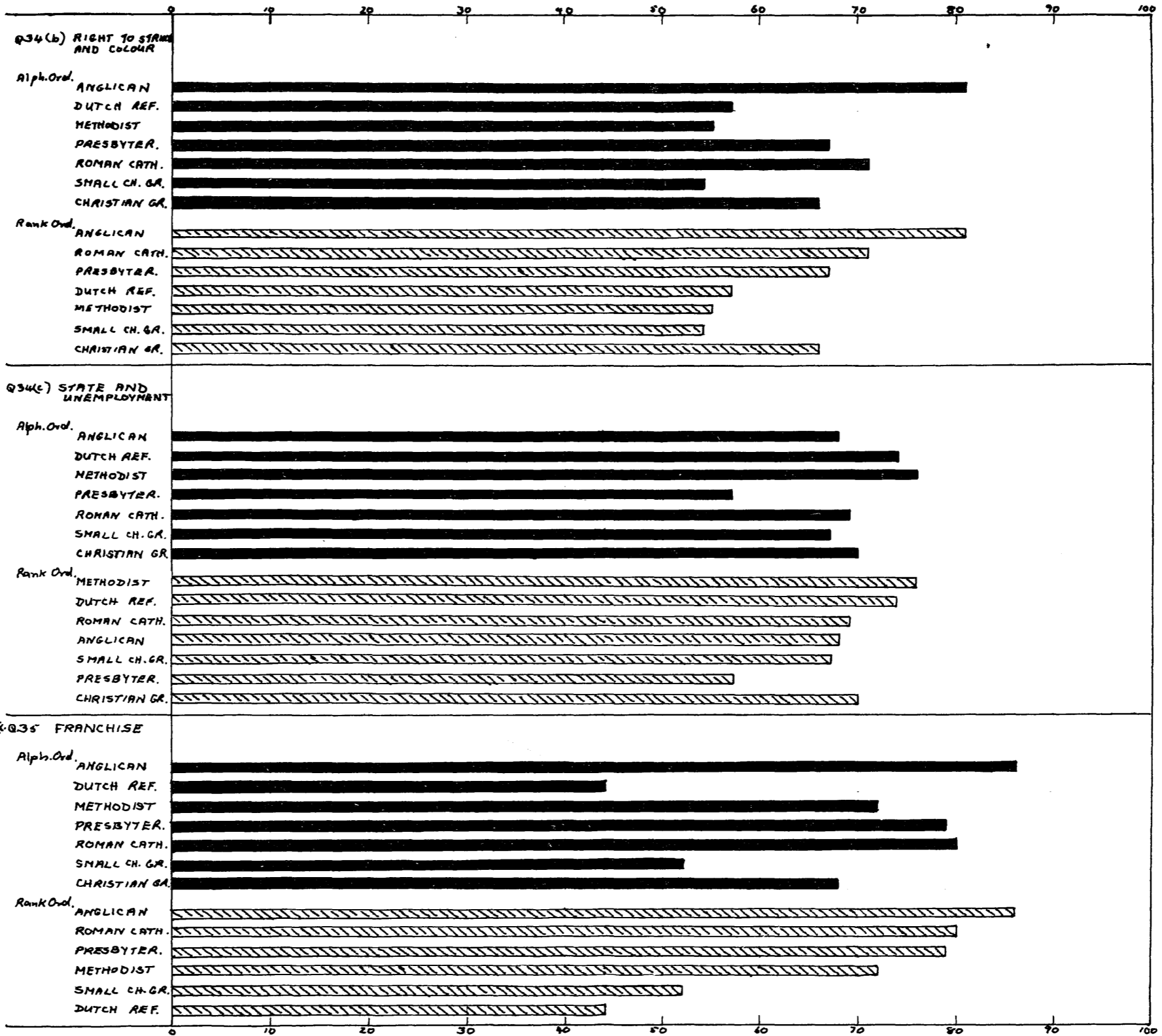
The remaining questions were already in the form of 2x2 or 2x3 tables, and did not require to be collapsed.

"Don't know" and "no answer" responses were ignored in the statistical analysis.

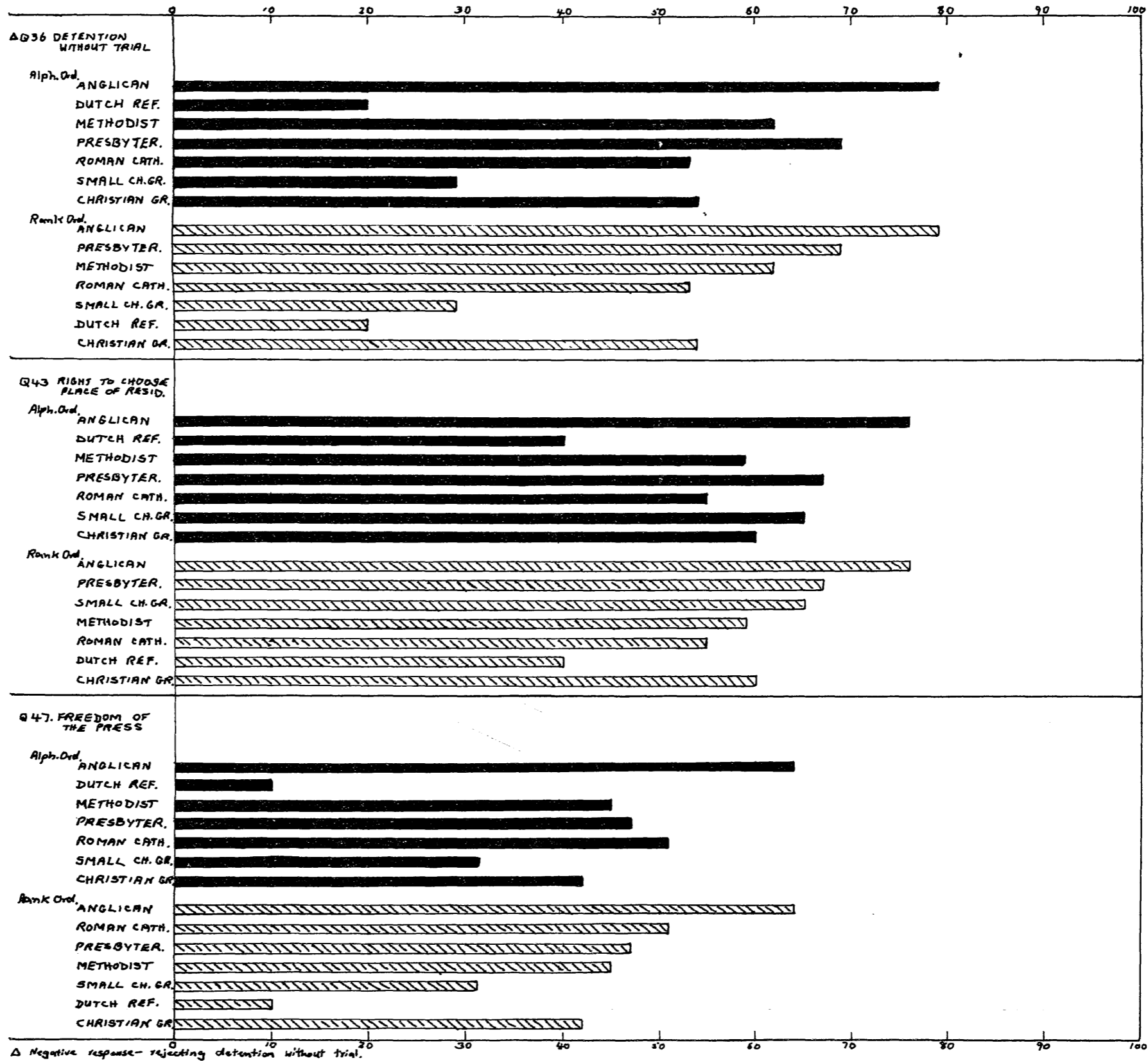
- 104 -  
**APPENDIX F** COMPARISON OF ETHICAL AND MORAL STANDPOINTS OF SAMPLES STUDIED, WITH RESPECT TO THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES PRESENTED, IN TERMS OF THE POSITIVE RESPONSES. (In percentage points)

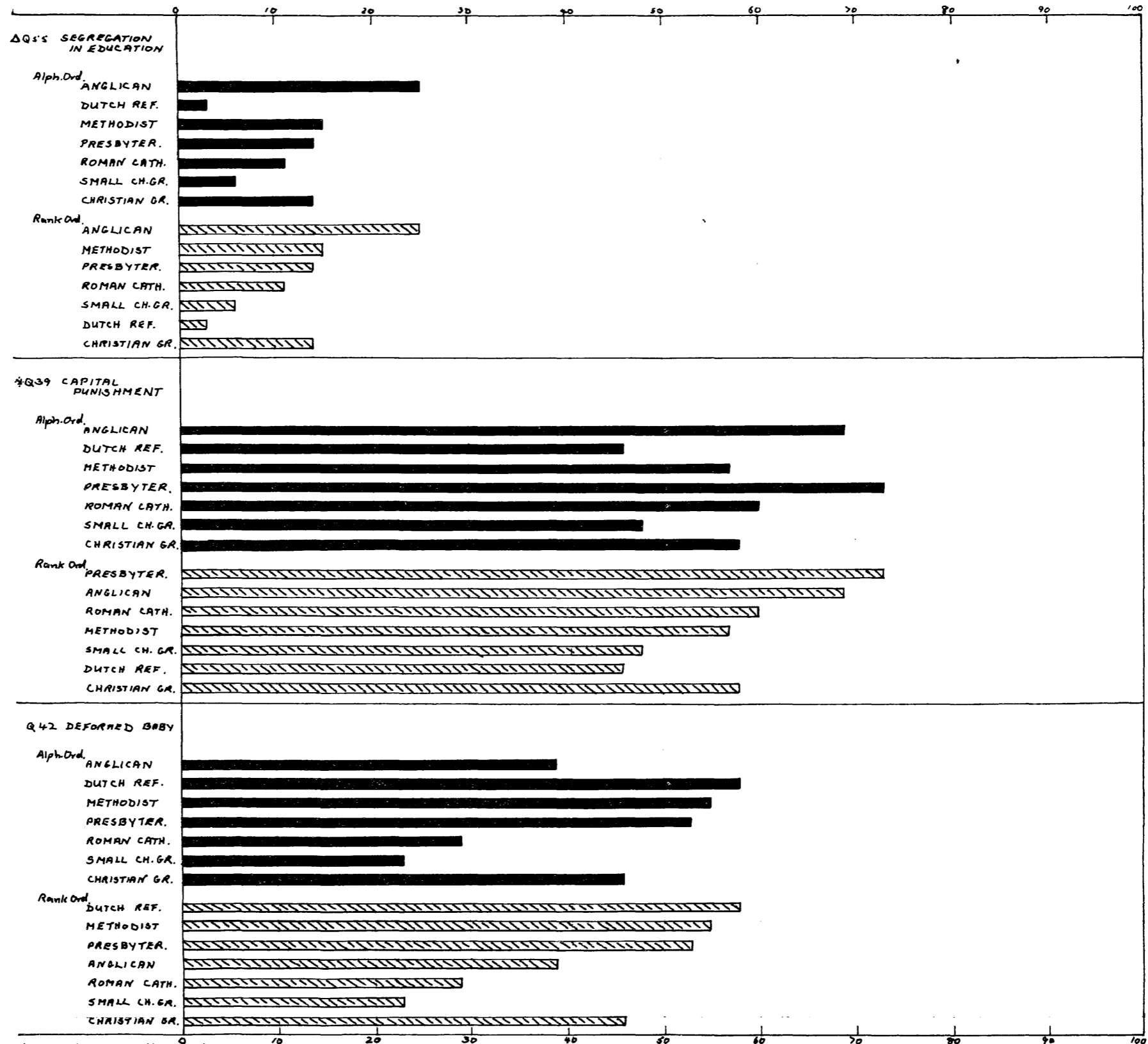




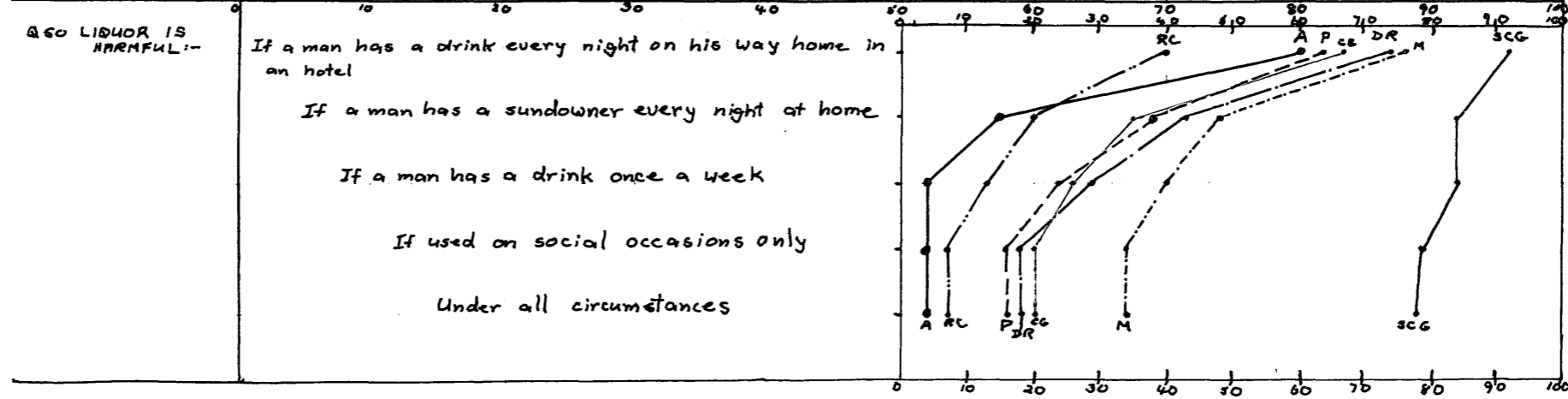
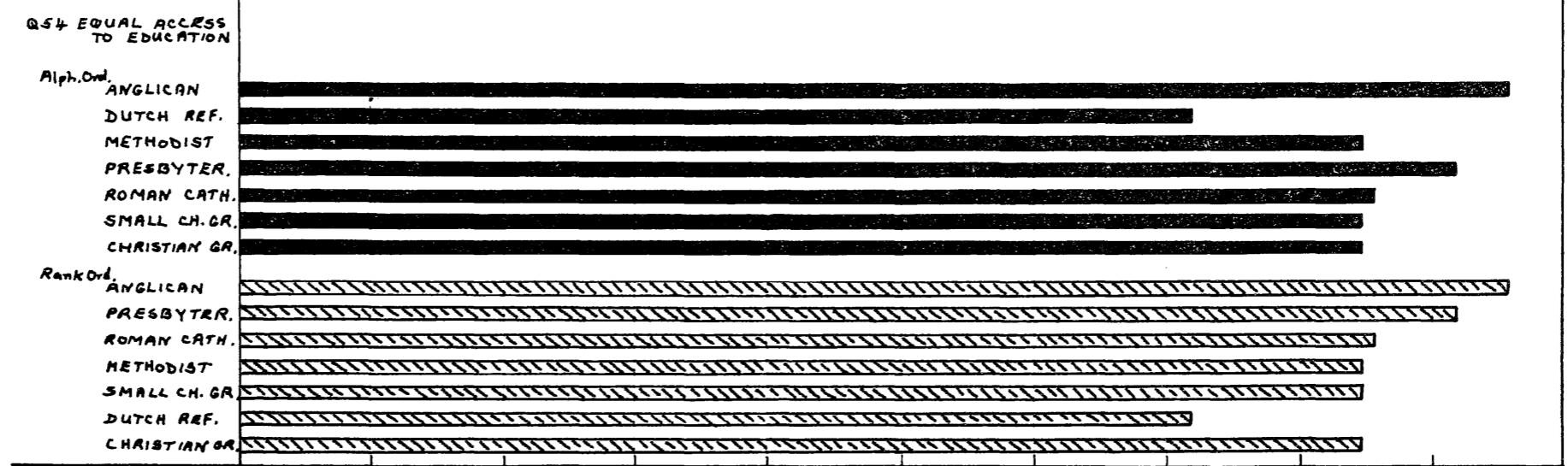
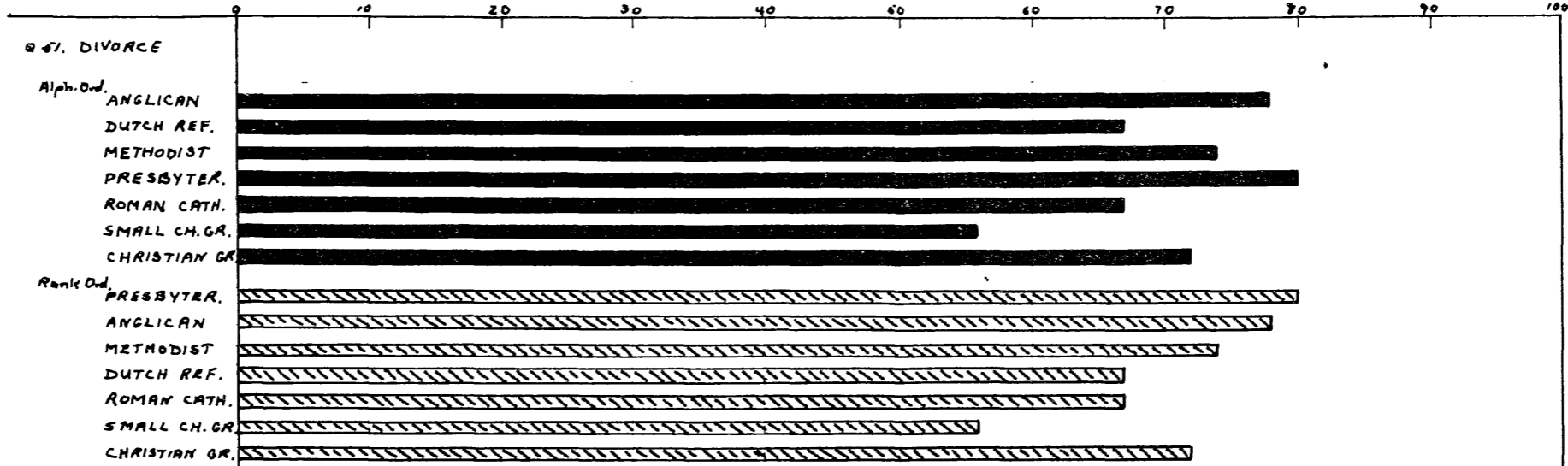


% Percentage rejecting status quo - Who would amend franchise laws





\* Percentage rejecting status quo - who would amend laws  
 Δ Negative response - disapproving of segregation in education



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APPENDIX I

	ANGLICANS BIRTHPLACE				ROMAN CATHOLICS BIRTHPLACE				SMALL CHURCH GROUPS LANGUAGE					
	SA	Eng	oth	Tot	SA	Eng	oth	Tot	Eng	AF	Bth	oth	Tot	
Q.30. When you spend money on luxuries do you ever feel that you should have spent it on the under-privileged?														
Yes	43	14	1		10	5	1		13	6	10			
No	18	8	1		15	4			12	3	1			
Don't know	6				6	4			2					
No answer		1		92				45	1				48	
Q.32(c) Do you consider that a minimum wage should be established by the government and no-one should be paid less?														
Yes	45	18			16	11			2					
No	14	4	2		11				19	3	3			
Don't know	8	1			4	1			3	1	7			
No answer				92		1		45	2	3			48	
Q.32(d) Do you consider that the minimum wage above should be applicable to:-														
Whites only?	3								9	2	3			
Whites and Coloureds?									11	3	2			
Whites, Coloureds and Africans?	47	20	1		19	10			8	2	6			
No answer	9	1			4	2			1	2			48	
Not applicable	6	2	1			8	1							
Don't know	2			92		1		45						
Q.33(c) Do you consider that job reservation to any one race is:-														
Justifiable	6	1			6	1								
Unjustifiable	52	17	1		16	9	1		17	2	7			
Don't know	9	3	1		8	2			10	7	4			
No answer	1	2		92	1	1		45					48	
Q.34(a) Do you consider that workers have a right to strike?														
Yes	37	16	2		14	6	1							
No	21	5			5	4								
Don't know	8	2			11	3								
No answer	1			92	1			45						
Q.42 Is it permissible for a doctor to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity?														
Yes	27	8	1		9	5								
No	24	11			19	6	1							
Don't know	14	4	1		4	2								
No answer	2			92	4	2		45						
Q.43 Do you accept that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?														
Yes	50	19	1		15	9	1							
No	9	2			8	2								
Don't know	7	2	1		6	2								
No answer	1			92	2			45						
Q.47 In your opinion should newspapers publish:-														
What they wish?	42	15	2		16	7								
Only what is good for the country?	14	6			8	5	1							
Neither	4	1			1									
No answer	7				4	1								
Don't know				92	2			45						
Q.51 Do you consider divorce ever justified?														
Yes	42	30			19	11	1							
No	6	8			11	1								
Don't know	3	2			1	1								
No answer	1			92	1			45						
Q.30. When you spend money on luxuries do you ever feel that you should have spent it on the under-privileged?														
Yes	13	6	10											
No	12	3	1											
Don't know	2													
No answer	1							48						
Q.33(a) Do you consider that equal wages should be paid for equal work to:-														
Whites only?	2													
Whites and Coloureds?	19	3	3											
Whites Coloureds and Africans?	3	1	7											
Don't accept the principle	3	2	1											
Don't know	2	3						48						
No answer														
Q.34(c) Do you consider that job reservation to any one race is:-														
Justifiable	9	2	3											
Unjustifiable	11	3	2											
Don't know	8	2												
No answer	1							48						
Q.34(b) Does this (right to strike) apply to:-														
Whites only?	1													
Whites and Coloureds?														
Whites Coloureds and Africans?	17	2	7											
No answer or not applicable	10	7	4											
Don't know								48						
Q.35 Do you accept the view that all men should have equal voting rights?														
Yes, all	8	2	3											
No, Whites only	5	1	2											
No, Whites and Coloureds														
No, all civilized men	9	1	1											
No, but don't know														
No, and no answer														
Don't know	5	1	2											
No answer	2	3						48						
Q.47 In your opinion should newspapers publish:-														
What they wish?	13	1	1											
Only what is good for the country?	13	6	8											
Neither		1												
No answer														
Don't know	1	1	1					48						

A P P E N D I X J

GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC  
VARIABLES AND VARIABLES RELATED TO  
PARTICIPATION IN CHURCH AFFAIRS STUDIED  
IN THIS REPORT

I. Socio-Economic Variables:

(i) Sex:

With the exception of the Dutch Reformed sample the sex ratio for all the groups in the study revealed a lower masculinity ratio than that of the population of the town as a whole. Many factors are likely to contribute to this phenomenon, and its effects are likely to be numerous, too.

The low masculinity ratio could indicate that the church today is more psychologically attractive to many women than it is to many men for various reasons: that young men are less attracted to the church than they once were, resulting in more women being found in the younger age groups, or it could mean that elderly ladies, particularly widows, seek companionship in their loneliness and boost the numbers of females at the higher age levels.

The higher masculinity ratio of the Dutch Reformed sample is possibly related to the identification of the church with the whole cultural complex of the Afrikaner. The lower level of church attendance in this group strengthens the possibility of this being so. In addition the patriarchal authoritarianism of the traditional Afrikaans family is probably still present to a certain extent, requiring the participation and leadership of the father of the family in religious matters. The Dutch Reformed sample did show a higher measure of authoritarianism in its attitude patterns

than did the other groups, which is, perhaps, evidence of this phenomenon.

The low masculinity ratio in most groups may be offset to some extent by greater participation by men than women in the running of some of the churches. Some churches bar women from preaching, from membership of church councils, from the choir, etc., and many women, particularly those with small children, may have less time than the men to spend on church activities - particularly in the evenings.

(ii) Home Language:

The analysis of the denominational samples indicated that all the churches are overwhelmingly of one language group only. The only sample with a significantly large number of both English and Afrikaans-speaking members was that of the Small Church Groups, which is, unfortunately, too small for statistical analysis. Examination of the possible influence of language group on the holding of attitudes towards moral issues is thus not possible. This is very unfortunate since language group is an extremely important social variable.

It may be possible to discover indications of the importance of language and the corresponding cultural milieu in the holding of moral values since the various English-speaking church groups differ from each other in belief and practice to some extent. Where they all agree in attitude towards an issue but differ from the Dutch Reformed sample, the difference may be due more to the language and cultural difference than to a church difference.

(iii) Birthplace:

Only the Anglicans and Roman Catholics possessed a large enough number of immigrants in their samples to permit adequate analysis in terms of this variable. The Dutch Reformed sample contained no immigrants at all. The possible influence of birthplace on the holding of moral attitudes was thus minimal in most cases. Where the fact of immigration appeared to make no significant difference to attitudes held it cannot be assumed that there is no difference between most South African attitudes and most immigrant attitudes. The additional variable of length of residence in South Africa would have to be considered, too, which opens a complete field of study beyond the scope of this analysis<sup>1]</sup>.

(iv) Age:

Since Grahamstown possesses a university and a teachers' training college, many young people who would otherwise be unable to undertake post-school study, and who would form part of the labour force of the town, are able to become students. Exclusion of the student group from the study resulted, therefore, in a great reduction in the number of 18-21 year-olds drawn in the sample. Unfortunately, the Census statistics do not reveal how many of the 18-21 year-olds are students, but it is clear that, quite apart from students, a dearth of career opportunities for young people in the town forces many young people to seek work elsewhere.

Students were excluded from the study for several reasons. Some churches include students as members of the Grahamstown church while others regard them as visitors

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1] P. H. W. Johnston, British Emigration to Durban, South Africa, unpublished M.Soc.Sc.thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1968.

from their "home" congregation. They are a floating and ever-changing population, who do not form part of the stable local congregation. The year before the present study was undertaken a survey dealing with attitudes towards religion was conducted among the university students, and it was felt that on this account inclusion of students would introduce additional uncontrollable variables into the present study. Finally, students are so numerous in Grahamstown relative to the size of the local population that a sample containing students would be a distinctly hybrid town/gown group: a situation it was desired to avoid.

Despite all these reasons for the paucity of young people in the sample, the possibility must not be overlooked that the church is no longer attracting young people to itself.

(v) Marital Status:

In an educational centre such as Grahamstown it is possible that a fair proportion of the unmarried members of the sample are lady teachers. The low masculinity ratio of the sample lends additional weight to this possibility.

The age distribution of the sample showed a large number of people in the 61+ age bracket. Many of the widowed fall into this category, and many of them are women, forming a source of bias to femininity found in most of the sub-samples.

(vi) Occupation:

In view of its lack of industry and its concentration of educational institutions, Grahamstown's occupational structure is not typical of a town of its population size. The method of classification of occupations used by the

Bureau of Census and Statistics was not suitable for the study, and it was decided to follow Centers' classification instead<sup>1]</sup>. The occupations were classified in terms of eight categories: business executive; professional; small business; white-collar; skilled manual; semi-skilled manual; unskilled manual; other. The schedule of actual occupational positions found in the samples, together with the heading under which they were classified is found in Appendix D.

The eight categories caused problems of statistical analysis since the individual church samples were too small to bear an 8 x n contingency table. For statistical purposes, therefore, the categories were collapsed into three groups; upper-middle, middle and lower, the upper-middle containing the business executives and professionals, the middle the small businessmen, white-collar and skilled manual workers and the lower the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. "Other" included housewives and retired people whose previous occupation was unknown; and was omitted from the classification.

The small number of business executives and of manual workers of all grades in the sample may reflect the lack of commercial and industrial enterprise in the town. It may also indicate the degree to which church congregations consist of people in the middle class - chiefly white-collar workers and professionals.

(vi) Income:

The remark above about the congregations being largely middle class is born out by the statistics for income. The churches may have few business executives in their ranks

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1] R. Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1949.

because the town possesses few business executives, but this explanation does not cover the lower income groups, since the town has a fairly large number of poor people. Comparison of the churches revealed that there is a difference between the general income level of the sample of members of some churches and that of the members of other churches, but it would still appear that on the whole the sample of members of the churches is more "middle class" than is the town.

(vii) Education:

Over a quarter of the total sample had an education above the Senior Certificate level, which is well above the average for the population of the country, and considerably above the statutory minimum school-leaving level.

This could be related to the economic structure of the town, since Grahamstown is an educational centre with hardly any industry, is a seat of the Master of the Supreme Court and the diocesan headquarters of the Anglican Church, among other services which require a large number of professional people. There may also be bias because of non-response among the less educated.

Though the presence in the sample of such a large college and university educated group may not be surprising in a city such as Grahamstown, it is interesting from the point of view of the notion that knowledge ousts faith, and that educated people have "outgrown" the need for a faith in God - unless, of course, they attend church for reasons other than worship.

II. Variables Related to Participation in Church Affairs and to Attitudes towards Christian Background:

(i) Attendance at Church Services:

The rate of attendance at church services was very high, even when the expected over-estimation had been allowed for. The number in the sample who claimed never to attend church was very low.

Though such a high attendance rate was unexpected, it should be remembered that Grahamstown is a small country town where traditions survive; that the town was a missionary centre of the Methodist Church and is still a conference centre and stronghold of Methodism; that it is the seat of the Bishop of the Anglican Church; that the town has a large Afrikaans-speaking minority group for whom the church is an important bastion of culture; that there is a Faculty of Divinity at the University and a Theological Seminary in the town, with their stimulus of ideas and personnel. The church is also an important source of social contact for the many elderly people of the town. Bearing in mind all these points, a high church attendance rate is not surprising. In addition, unlike larger centres, Grahamstown has relatively few recreational facilities to attract people away from church on Sundays<sup>1]</sup>.

It is realised that the opinion of everyone drawn in the sample, regardless of his level of attendance at

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1] When a crazy-golf course in the centre of the town was mooted and it was suggested that this be open on Sundays as one way of keeping the youngsters off the streets, one minister was approached and asked to head a formal petition against the proposal of opening the course on Sundays. He refused to do so on the ground that if the church could not meet the challenge of a crazy-golf course it was time it reviewed its raison d'etre.

church or support of the church, is included in the responses to questions. It was thus important to analyse the responses in terms of level of attendance to see whether regular attendance made any difference to the moral outlook of the people. Unfortunately no "control group" of non-church people could be obtained because of the small scale of the study.

Church attendance is only a rough-and-ready guide as to whether degree of participation in church services has any significant effect on the attitudes of members with regard to ethical and moral problems. It should be reiterated, too, that no attempt is made to define "a Christian". The study is concerned with the members of groups which call themselves Christian, whether other groups regard them as such or not, and regardless of the conditions of membership imposed by the various groups, with the exception that a minimum age of 18 years was required for inclusion of a member in the sample.

It is realised, too, that church attendance is no real measure of Christian belief or practice in itself, but it does indicate to some extent support of the church and at least lip-service to Christian belief and practice and as such was an important variable in this investigation.

An interesting tailpiece in this connection is found in Irving and St. Leger's study of a sample of male readers of the East London Daily Dispatch: 96 per cent of the respondents drawn in the sample claimed affiliation to a Christian church. Taking the membership lists of the Grahamstown churches in relation to the voters' roll of the town it was found that only about half the adult White

population was in reality affiliated to a Christian church in any way.

(ii) Attitude towards Religious Background:

Q.15 "Do you think of your religious experiences as being (i) constructive and moulding your later life? (ii) purely incidental with no effects on you? (iii) negative and limiting"

Answers to this question may be "lip service" - "sanctimonious piety" that does not mean much to the individual's practical life, the sort of "constructiveness" that feels church is good for the children and "we never stop them from going", while not encouraging them, either. However, a positive reply to this question would indicate goodwill towards the church and recognition of the church as being of some use in society and of some influence for the benefit of mankind. Negative replies would indicate disillusionment, and a church with a large number of members who feel either that their religious experience is purely incidental with no effect on them, or negative and limiting, will not be a very stable, cohesive body.

The high number who replied "don't know" could indicate an attitude of critical consideration, which augurs well for the future of the church. It could, of course, indicate that respondents had accepted their Christian heritage and experiences without really thinking much about it at all. Comparison of groups whose members are required to testify to a definite religious experience before acceptance into membership with those who require intellectual acceptance of doctrine would be interesting, the former bodies possibly being regarded as more cohesive and self-conscious than the larger, more cosmopolitan groups of the latter type.

Comparison of the answers given by members of the four "ecclesia", i.e. the Anglican, Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic churches, with the answers given by the groups of sectarian origin, i.e. Methodists and Small Church groups should prove interesting, too. The four ecclesia are likely to draw to themselves a number of people, not really committed to the Christian faith, who feel that they "ought" to belong, somehow, to "the church". Depending on the country of origin of their forebears they thus claim they are Anglican, Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian or Roman Catholic. This is less likely to happen in the case of the churches of sectarian origin, since, fully denominational though they are today, and despite having lost most of the outward characteristics of "sects" they are not the established church of any community of people.

Despite the above discussion, the church members drawn in the sample had a strong matrix of goodwill towards their church groups, which is likely to contribute to the maintenance of cohesion in the groups.

Q.16 "Which would you say were the most influential in shaping your moral outlook? (Please rank): The Church; The School; The University or College; The Family; Others (please specify) ....."

While several alternative answers to this question were suggested to the respondents, it was an open-ended question and a great variety of replies were given. Replies were analysed in terms of three categories: the purely sacred, e.g. "The Lord", "The Bible", "The Church", "Our priest/minister/paster", etc., the mixed replies, e.g. "I had a Christian home", "The chaplain at my church school", etc., and the secular, e.g. "family, school, college/university", "an old friend", "reading", etc.

The aim in this question was to isolate the people who look to God or to the church as the guide in problems of ethics and morals from those whose orientation is entirely secular. The question was poorly phrased in that it might have been expected that a large number of people, both sacredly and secularly oriented, would reply "family". To some this represents a secular reply, to others it is sacred in that the things of God are an integral part of the home.

The value of the question was not entirely lost, for a quarter of the sample gave purely sacred replies and a further eighth gave mixed sacred/secular replies despite a concentration of "family" in the secular category. It cannot be said, however, what proportion of the sample look to the church or to Christianity for the shaping of ethical and moral ideas and ideals. All that can be said is that 38 per cent of the sample regarded the Christian religion and the church as important in this regard, and that the church seems to possess some degree of authority in matters of this nature.

Q.17(a) "Do you or did you take part in voluntary church affairs? (e.g. women's or men's associations, Sunday School teaching, running a youth club, etc.) Do you attend (i) more than once a week? (ii) every week once? (iii) sporadically, now and then? (iv) not within the last three months? (v) never?"

Some churches had more voluntary church affairs than others, but almost every church had at least one organisation catering for each category of person in the congregation. If a respondent was active in any one group he or she counted as an active participant in voluntary church affairs for the purposes of this study.

About a third of the respondents were core members of voluntary church organisations, about a third were marginal and a third dormant. This is a high level of participation. As with church attendance it is probable that the level is an over-estimate. That voluntary church bodies should receive such strong support was not expected. The town has many clubs and societies attracting people to evening meetings, etc., though public entertainment is not very well developed.

The general impression was that the sample had a favourable and positive attitude towards the church and its religious background.

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APPENDIX - G

FREQUENCIES OF RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS

QUESTIONS <i>Responses as coded. For full interview schedule see appendix. Qu. Nos follow schedule.</i>	CHRISTIAN GROUP (Weighted freqs.)		ANGLICANS		BAPTISTS		DUTCH REFORMED		METHODISTS		PRESBYTER.		ROMAN CATHOLICS		SMALL CHURCH GROUPS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	4. Sex: Male Female Total	6055 1273 2308	44.8 55.2 100.0	40 52 92	43.5 56.5 100.0	11 26 37		41 28 69	59.4 40.6 100.0	19 34 53	35.8 64.2 100.0	16 33 49	32.6 67.3 99.9	17 28 45	37.8 62.2 100.0	19 29 48
5. Home language: English Afrikaans Both Other Total	1530 510 234 35 2309	66.3 22.1 10.1 1.5 100.0	38 . 4 . 42	95.7 . 4.3 . 100.0	36 . 1 . 37	ABANDONED	2 53 14 . 69	2.9 16.8 20.3 . 100.0	49 . 3 1 53	92.5 . 5.7 1.9 100.0	46 . 3 . 49	93.9 . 6.1 . 100.0	34 . 3 8 45	70.6 . 6.6 17.8 100.0	28 9 11 . 48	58.4 18.7 22.9 . 99.9
6. Birthplace: Europe Africa Other Total	289 1998 21 2288	12.5 86.6 0.9 100.0	23 67 2 92	25.0 72.8 2.2 100.0	4 33 . 37	BECAUSE	. 69 . 69	. 100.0 . 100.0	2 51 . 53	3.8 96.2 . 100.0	7 42 . 49	14.3 85.7 . 100.0	13 31 1 45	28.9 68.9 2.2 100.0	1 47 . 48	2.2 97.8 . 100.0
7. Age group: 18-20 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61+ Total	43 300 428 616 478 444 2309	1.8 13.0 18.5 26.7 20.7 19.2 100.0	. 9 19 21 20 23	. 9.8 20.7 22.9 21.8 25.1 100.0	2 3 5 7 4 16 37	NON-RESPONSE	2 11 14 25 12 5 69	2.9 15.9 20.3 36.2 17.4 7.2 100.0	. 8 7 11 12 15 53	. 15.1 13.2 20.8 22.7 28.3 100.0	4 4 6 12 15 8 49	8.2 8.2 12.2 24.5 30.6 16.3 100.0	2 6 10 13 8 6 45	4.4 13.3 22.2 28.8 17.7 13.3 100.0	. 10 9 12 10 7 48	. 20.8 18.7 25.0 20.8 14.6 100.0
9. Marital Status: Single Married Widowed Divorced Total	340 1637 302 30 2309	14.7 70.9 13.1 1.3 100.0	12 66 14 . 92	13.1 72.0 15.3 . 100.0	6 24 7 . 37	WAS TOO HIGH	10 53 5 1 69	14.5 76.8 7.2 1.5 100.0	8 34 7 2 49	15.1 64.2 17.0 3.8 100.0	13 27 9 . 49	26.5 55.0 18.4 . 100.0	6 32 6 1 45	13.3 71.2 13.3 2.2 100.0	5 39 3 1 48	10.4 81.2 6.2 2.2 100.0
8. Number of children: 0 1 2 3 4+ Total	549 245 550 565 379 2309	23.9 10.8 24.0 23.8 17.5 100.0	18 11 19 33 11 82	19.6 11.9 20.8 35.8 11.9 100.0	10 7 5 6 9 37		16 4 21 11 17 69	23.2 5.8 30.5 15.9 24.6 100.0	16 4 13 11 9 49	30.2 7.2 24.5 20.8 17.0 100.0	16 7 10 7 9 49	32.6 14.3 20.4 14.3 18.4 100.0	9 10 7 14 5 45	20.0 22.2 15.5 31.1 11.1 100.0	12 6 14 8 8 48	25.0 12.5 29.1 16.7 16.7 100.0
10. Occupation: Business Executive Professional Small business White collar Skilled manual Semi-skilled manual Unskilled manual Housewife, retired, other Total	31 766 315 723 167 96 65 145 2309	1.3 33.2 13.7 31.4 7.2 4.1 2.8 6.3 100.0	2 52 11 19 4 1 . 3	2.2 56.7 11.9 20.7 4.4 1.1 . 3.3 100.0	. 4 8 14 4 2 2 3 37		1 10 10 27 7 4 5 5 69	1.5 14.5 14.5 39.1 10.2 5.8 7.2 7.2 100.0	. 14 8 20 2 3 . 6 49	. 26.4 15.1 37.7 3.8 5.7 . 11.3 100.0	1 19 6 16 3 2 . 2 49	2.0 38.7 12.2 32.6 6.1 4.1 . 4.1 100.0	. 13 8 15 5 2 . 2 45	4.4 28.8 17.8 33.3 11.1 4.4 . 4.4 100.0	. 5 4 16 8 4 6 5 48	. 10.4 8.3 33.3 16.7 8.3 12.5 10.4 100.0
11. How would you rate your household income on the following scale (per annum): R0 - R 500 R501 - 1,000 R1,001 - 2,500 R2,501 - 5,000 R5,000 + Don't know or varies No answer Total	211 294 666 724 228 185 2309	. 12.6 22.3 31.3 9.8 7.9 8.0 100.0	9 10 13 41 12 5 2	9.8 10.9 14.2 44.8 13.1 5.0 2.2 100.0	5 7 12 6 . 2 5 37		4 6 26 20 7 1 5 69	5.8 8.7 37.7 29.0 10.2 1.5 7.2 100.0	8 8 23 11 1 . 2 49	15.1 15.1 43.4 20.8 1.9 . 3.8 100.0	3 8 14 11 6 1 4 49	6.1 16.3 28.5 22.4 12.2 2.0 12.2 100.0	1 9 12 11 9 1 2 45	2.2 20.0 26.6 24.4 20.0 2.2 4.4 100.0	7 10 16 10 1 . 4 48	14.6 20.8 33.3 20.8 2.2 . 8.3 100.0
12. Educational level (highest attained): Up to Standard VI Secondary to Junior Certif. J.C. to Matriculation College Diploma University Degree or Diploma Total	340 466 844 227 432 2309	14.7 20.2 36.6 9.8 18.7 100.0	8 9 32 13 30	8.7 9.8 35.0 14.2 32.8 100.0	11 14 18 2 2 37		12 22 23 5 7 69	17.4 31.9 33.3 7.2 10.2 100.0	12 9 21 5 6 49	22.7 17.0 39.6 9.4 11.3 100.0	3 12 21 3 10 49	6.1 24.5 42.8 6.1 20.4 100.0	3 5 26 3 8 45	6.6 11.1 57.7 6.6 17.7 100.0	14 16 13 4 1 48	29.1 33.3 27.1 8.3 2.2 100.0
14. How often do you go to church? More than once a week Every Sunday at least once Sporadically, now and then Not within the last three months Never (incl. those who only attend festivals such as Easter and Christmas and rites like weddings) Once a month or more but not every Sunday No answer Total	1191 718 76 153 159 2309	52.1 31.1 3.3 6.6 6.9 100.0	18 26 31 2 7 8 15	19.6 28.3 33.7 2.2 7.6 8.7 100.0	13 19 3 1 1 . 37		3 23 26 3 5 8 1 69	4.3 33.3 37.7 4.3 7.2 11.6 1.5 100.0	2 25 20 3 2 1 . 49	3.8 47.2 37.7 5.7 3.8 1.9 . 100.0	4 28 11 1 3 2 . 49	8.2 57.1 22.4 2.0 6.1 4.1 . 100.0	6 28 5 . 6 . . 45	13.3 62.2 11.1 . 13.3 . . 100.0	30 11 4 2 . 1 . 48	62.5 22.9 8.3 4.2 . 2.2 . 100.0
15. Do you think of your religious experiences as being: Constructive and moulding your later life Purely incidental, with no effects on you Negative and limiting Don't know, no answer and ambivalent Total	1805 153 60 289 2309	78.3 6.6 2.6 12.5 100.0	69 6 2 15	75.5 6.6 2.2 16.4 100.0	35 2 . . 37		51 5 3 10 69	73.9 7.2 4.3 14.5 100.0	45 4 . 4 49	85.0 7.5 . 7.5 100.0	37 3 2 7 49	75.4 6.1 4.1 14.3 100.0	36 3 2 4 45	79.6 6.6 4.4 8.8 100.0	45 1 1 1 48	93.7 2.2 2.2 2.2 100.0

5. Do you think of your religious experiences as being:																
Constructive and moulding your later life	1805	79.3	69	75.5	35	51	73.9	45	85.0	37	75.4	36	79.6	45	93.7	
Purely incidental, with no effects on you	153	6.6	6	6.6	2	5	7.2	4	7.5	3	6.1	3	6.6	1	2.2	
Negative and limiting	60	2.6	2	2.2	.	3	4.3	.	.	2	4.1	2	4.4	1	2.2	
Don't know, no answer and ambivalent	289	12.5	15	16.4	.	10	14.5	4	7.5	7	14.3	4	8.8	1	2.2	
Total																
16. Which would you say were the most influential in shaping your moral outlook. (ranked)																
Theological influences	596	25.8	19	20.7	21	15	21.7	11	20.8	15	30.6	15	33.3	31	64.5	
Mixed theological and secular influences	290	12.6	13	14.2	2	9	13.0	5	9.4	6	10.2	8	17.7	5	10.4	
Secular influences	1381	59.8	56	61.0	14	45	65.3	36	68.0	29	59.0	22	48.6	12	25.0	
Don't know and no answer	341	1.8	4	4.1	.	.	.	1	1.9	.	.	.	.	.	.	
Total																
17a. Do you (or did you) take part in voluntary church affairs? (eg. Women's or men's assoc, Sunday School teaching, running a youth club, etc?) Do you attend:																
More than once a week	239	10.4	8	8.7	14	4	5.8	4	7.5	4	8.2	3	6.6	23	47.9	
Every week once	437	18.9	18	19.6	10	9	13.0	14	26.4	13	26.5	8	17.7	4	8.3	
Sporadically, now and then	347	15.0	14	15.3	3	9	13.0	9	17.0	5	10.2	11	24.4	8	16.7	
Not within the last three months	343	14.9	15	16.3	1	14	20.3	7	13.2	4	8.2	5	11.1	1	2.2	
Never	841	36.2	30	32.6	7	33	47.9	17	32.1	18	36.7	16	35.5	12	25.0	
Once a month or more but not every week	79	3.4	5	5.4	1	.	.	2	3.8	4	8.2	2	4.4	.	.	
No answer	22	1.0	2	2.2	1	.	.	.	.	1	2.0	.	.	.	.	
Total																
17b. Do you take part in voluntary community affairs? Do you attend:																
More than once a week	174	7.5	10	10.9	1	2	2.9	4	7.5	4	8.2	4	8.9	5	10.4	
Every week once	295	12.8	16	17.4	1	7	10.2	8	15.1	5	10.2	3	6.7	3	6.2	
Sporadically, now and then	436	19.8	19	20.3	4	9	13.0	13	24.5	6	12.2	13	28.8	10	20.8	
Not within the last three months	182	7.9	9	9.8	2	4	5.8	7	13.2	2	4.1	1	2.2	2	4.2	
Never	1099	47.6	31	33.7	27	44	63.7	20	37.7	27	55.0	23	51.2	27	56.2	
Once a month or more but not every week	95	4.1	5	5.4	.	3	4.3	1	1.9	4	8.2	1	2.2	.	.	
No answer	27	1.2	2	2.2	2	.	.	.	.	1	2.0	.	.	1	2.2	
Total																
21. How do you regard the Gospels and other Sacred Books?																
As the Law	485	21.0	5	5.5	24	24	34.8	11	20.8	5	10.2	6	13.3	25	52.0	
As Law but after personal interpretation	287	12.4	14	15.3	3	9	13.0	7	13.2	5	10.2	2	4.4	2	4.2	
As Law but after interpretation by minister/priest	232	10.0	8	8.7	4	5	7.2	5	9.4	4	8.2	14	31.1	5	10.4	
As a guide only, to individual decision	1046	45.3	51	55.6	5	26	37.7	26	49.1	27	55.0	14	31.1	14	29.0	
Other, none	139	6.2	11	11.6	1	1	1.5	1	1.9	5	10.2	3	6.6	.	.	
Don't know, no answer	119	4.1	3	3.3	.	4	5.8	3	5.7	3	6.1	6	13.3	2	4.2	
Total			92		37		69		53		49		45		48	

QUESTIONS	CHRISTIAN GROUP (Weighted freqs.)		ANGELICANS		BAPTISTS		DUTCH REFORMED		METHODISTS		PRESBYTER.		ROMAN CATHOLICS		SMALL CHURCH GROUP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
22. Do you consider the Church to be:																
A purely religious body united to worship God	870	37.7	26	28.4	25		32	46.4	19	35.8	14	28.5	19	42.0	24	50.0
A source of morality only	42	1.8	1	1.1	.		1	1.5	1	1.9	1	2.0	4	8.9	.	.
Both the above together	1230	53.3	56	60.6	12		33	47.8	28	52.9	29	59.3	21	46.7	22	46.7
Neither of the two	31	1.3	.	.	.		.	.	.	.	4	8.2	.	.	2	4.7
Both, plus fellowship, service, the Body of Christ	65	2.8	4	4.4	.		1	1.5	2	3.8	1	2.0	1	2.2	.	.
Don't know	34	1.5	[ 5	5.5	.		1	1.5	2	3.8	.	.	.	1	2.2	2.2
No answer	36	1.6	.	.	.		1	1.6	1	1.9	.	.	.	1	2.2	2.2
Total																
23. Why should we maintain moral standards?																
Theological reasons	697	30.2	15	16.4	27		25	36.2	18	34.0	12	24.5	15	33.3	28	58.0
Secular reasons	1000	43.3	56	61.1	2		22	31.9	24	45.3	20	40.7	18	40.0	5	10.0
Individual (or selfish) reasons	242	10.5	10	10.9	3		8	11.6	4	7.5	6	12.2	4	8.9	6	12.0
Mixed theolog./secular	178	7.7	8	8.7	3		4	5.8	4	7.5	6	12.2	4	8.9	2	4.2
No answer	97	4.2	2	2.2	2		3	4.3	2	3.8	3	6.1	4	8.9	4	8.5
Don't know	94	4.1	1	1.1	.		7	10.2	1	1.9	2	4.2	.	.	3	6.5
Total																
27. Do you consider it a part of a Christian's duty to take part in community affairs, (e.g. welfare societies, youth clubs, etc.)																
Yes	1941	84.1	81	88.5	30		56	81.3	47	88.7	40	81.5	34	70.6	36	75.0
No	325	14.1	10	10.9	6		11	15.9	5	9.4	9	18.4	10	22.2	11	22.9
Don't know	23	1.0	.	.	1		2	2.9	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2.7
No answer	19	0.8	1	1.1	.		.	.	1	1.9	.	.	1	2.2	.	.
Total																
29. Do you consider that churchmen should have concern with:																
Social questions only	406	17.6	11	12.0	6		14	20.3	14	26.4	6	12.2	9	20.0	8	16.7
Economic " "	2	0.1	.	.	.		.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2.2
Political " "	.	.	.	.	.		.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Race " "	120	5.2	.	.	.		.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
All of these	935	40.5	51	55.6	14		13	18.8	13	24.5	21	42.8	23	50.9	15	31.2
None of these	243	10.5	8	8.7	7		21	30.4	10	18.9	10	20.4	5	11.1	16	33.3
No answer	51	2.2	2	2.2	2		1	1.5	1	1.9	1	2.0	1	2.2	3	6.2
Don't know	170	7.4	.	.	.		15	21.7	4	7.5	7	14.3	2	4.4	3	6.2
Social and Economic questions only	107	4.6	7	7.6	5		1	1.5	4	7.5	1	2.0	1	2.2	3	6.2
" " Political " "	9	0.4	.	.	.		1	1.5	4	7.5	1	2.0	2	4.4	3	6.2
" " Race " "	60	2.6	1	1.1	2		1	1.5	4	7.5	1	2.0	2	4.4	.	.
Economic and Political " "	12	0.5	1	1.1	.		1	1.5	.	.	.	.	1	2.2	.	.
" " Race " "	28	1.2	.	.	.		.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2.2	.	.
Political " " " "	158	6.9	11	12.0	1		3	4.3	6	11.3	3	6.1	1	2.2	2	4.2
Social, Economic and Race " "	7	0.3	.	.	.		.	.	1	1.9	.	.	.	.	.	.
" " Political and Race " "	.	.	.	.	.		.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Total																
30. When you spend money on luxuries do you ever feel that you should have spent it on the under-privileged?																
Yes	1188	51.5	58	63.3	14		33	47.8	23	43.4	21	42.8	16	35.4	29	60.0
No	881	38.2	27	29.4	18		30	43.5	23	43.4	21	42.8	19	42.0	16	33.3
Don't know	225	9.7	6	6.5	3		6	8.7	7	13.2	7	14.3	10	22.2	2	4.2
No answer	14	0.6	1	1.1	2		.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2.2
Total																
31. Can one reconcile Christianity with the possession of great wealth?																
Yes	1301	56.4	61	66.5	24		33	47.8	25	47.2	31	63.2	25	55.3	25	52.1
No	733	31.8	21	23.0	10		32	46.4	17	32.1	13	26.5	9	20.0	18	37.7
Don't know	269	11.6	10	10.9	12		4	5.8	11	20.8	5	10.2	10	22.2	5	10.0
No answer	55	2.2	.	.	1		.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2.2	.	.
Total																
32a. Do you consider that it is possible to derive too high a profit from a business transaction?																
Yes	1352	58.5	65	71.0	18		35	50.7	29	54.7	28	57.0	21	46.4	27	56.0
No	667	28.9	18	19.6	7		25	36.2	18	34.0	14	28.5	17	37.8	14	29.0
Don't know	212	9.1	7	7.6	9		8	11.6	3	5.7	6	12.2	3	6.6	5	10.0
No answer	77	3.3	2	2.2	4		1	1.5	3	5.7	1	2.0	4	8.8	2	4.0
Total																
32b. Do you consider that it is possible to derive too high a rate of interest in a business transaction?																
Yes	1341	58.1	60	65.5	16		39	56.5	31	58.5	21	42.8	21	46.4	30	62.0
No	621	26.9	21	23.0	9		20	29.0	14	26.4	17	34.6	14	31.1	14	29.0
Don't know	278	12.1	10	10.9	8		9	13.0	6	11.3	9	18.5	5	11.1	2	4.0
No answer	68	2.9	1	1.1	4		1	1.5	2	3.8	2	4.1	5	11.1	2	4.0
Total																
32c. Do you consider that a minimum wage should be established by the Government and no-one should be paid less?																
Yes	1446	62.6	63	68.5	15		43	62.4	32	60.4	32	65.2	27	59.9	21	47.8





47. In your opinion should newspapers publish: What they wish? Only what is good for the country? Neither? No answer Don't know	959 1066 65 179 39	41.5 46.2 2.8 7.8 1.7	59 20 5 7 1	64.0 21.7 5.5 7.7 1.1	13 20 . 3 1	7 54 1 7 .	10.2 78.1 1.5 10.2 .	24 26 . 2 1	45.3 49.1 . 3.8 1.9	23 18 2 3 3	46.8 36.7 4.1 6.1 6.1	23 14 1 5 2	50.9 31.1 2.2 11.1 4.4	15 27 1 3 2	31.2 56.2 2.2 6.2 4.2
Total															
50. Do you consider drink harmful: Yes, in all circumstances No, but yes on social occasions No, but yes if a man has a drink once a week No, but yes if a man has a sundowner every night at home No, but yes if a man has a drink every night on his way home, in a hotel No Don't know No answer or unusable answer	452 11 127 227 735 661 3 92	19.6 0.5 5.5 9.8 31.8 28.6 0.1 4.0	4 1 1 8 41 34 . 3	4.3 1.1 1.1 8.7 44.6 37.0 . 3.3	28 . 2 2 4 . . 1	12 . 7 10 20 15 . 5	17.4 . 10.2 14.5 29.0 21.8 . 7.2	18 . 3 4 15 12 . 1	34.0 . 5.7 7.5 28.3 22.7 . 1.9	8 . 4 7 13 15 1 1	16.3 . 8.2 14.3 26.5 30.6 2.0 2.0	3 . 3 3 9 26 . 1	6.6 . 6.6 6.6 20.0 57.7 . 2.2	37 1 2 . 4 2 . 2	77.1 2.2 4.2 . 8.3 4.2 . 4.2
Total															
51. Do you consider divorce <u>ever</u> justified? Yes No Don't know No answer	1665 388 223 32	72.1 16.8 9.7 1.4	72 14 5 1	78.4 15.2 5.4 1.1	24 8 4 1	46 12 9 2	66.5 17.4 13.0 2.9	39 4 10 .	73.6 7.5 18.9 .	39 8 2 .	79.5 16.3 4.1 .	30 12 2 1	66.6 26.6 4.4 2.2	27 19 2 .	56.2 39.5 4.2 .
Total															
52. In the event of a divorce case going against one partner would you <u>ever</u> allow the guilty partner to have custody of the children? Yes No Don't know No answer	665 1146 441 86	28.8 49.6 19.1 2.4	43 30 17 2	47.0 32.7 18.5 2.2	7 19 8 3	9 51 7 2	13.0 74.0 10.2 2.9	11 28 13 1	20.8 52.8 24.5 1.9	14 20 15 .	28.5 40.8 30.6 .	16 14 14 1	35.4 31.1 31.1 2.2	8 28 10 2	16.7 58.4 20.8 4.2
Total															
54. Do you accept the view that every person, irrespective of race, colour or religion should have equal access to every type of education, from the primary to university levels? Yes No Don't know No answer	1969 184 130 25	85.3 8.0 6.6 1.1	89 3 1 .	95.7 3.3 1.1 .	23 6 6 2	50 11 6 2	72.4 15.9 8.7 2.9	45 4 4 .	85.0 7.5 7.5 .	45 2 2 .	91.8 4.1 4.1 .	40 1 3 1	88.5 2.2 6.6 2.2	41 3 4 .	85.4 6.2 8.3 .
Total															
55. Do you accept the view that the races should be segregated: (analysed responses produced -) Yes, at all school and college levels, but <u>not</u> compulsorily Yes, but not at pre-school (nursery-school) level Yes, from above primary only Yes, but only at university No Yes, but <u>only</u> at preschool level Yes, but <u>only</u> up to end of primary Yes at school, <u>not</u> at university Yes throughout, <u>and</u> compulsorily Free choice Undecided Don't know No answer Yes, at high school only	213 42 . 32 249 18 16 214 1169 75 19 49 181 31	9.2 1.8 . 1.4 10.8 0.8 0.7 9.3 50.7 3.3 0.8 2.1 7.8 1.3	12 1 . 3 19 1 1 13 24 4 2 4 6 2	13.0 1.1 . 3.3 20.7 1.1 1.1 14.1 26.1 4.4 2.2 4.4 6.6 2.2	2 2 . . 1 . 1 . 22 1 1 1 6 .	3 3 . . 2 1 . 1 54 . . . 5 .	4.4 4.4 . . 2.9 1.5 . 1.5 78.1 . . . 7.2 .	5 . . . 4 . . 6 30 4 . . . 3 3 1	9.4 . . . 7.5 . . 11.3 56.6 7.5 . . . 5.5 1.9	3 . . . 5 . . 7 26 2 . 3 2 1	6.1 . . . 10.2 . . 4.3 52.9 4.1 . 6.1 4.1 2.0	6 . . 2 4 . 1 7 15 1 . . 8 1	13.3 . . 4.4 8.8 . 2.2 15.5 33.3 2.2 . . 17.7 2.2	5 1 . . 3 . 1 29 . . . 1 7 .	10.4 2.2 . . 6.2 . 2.2 2.2 60.4 . . 2.2 14.6 .
Total															







DUTCH REFORMED QUESTIONS	A. SEX		B. AGE						C. OCCUPATION								D. INCOME							E. EDUCATION							F. Frequency of CHURCH ATTENDANCE							G. RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE				H. GREATEST INFLUENCE				I. Participation in VOLUNT. CHURCH AFF.						
	1	2	Tot	1	2	3	4	5	6	Tot	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Tot	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Tot	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Tot	1	2	3	4	Tot	1	2	3	4	Tot	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32a. When you spend money on luxuries do you ever feel that you should have spent it on the under-privileged? Yes No Don't know No answer Total	16	17		2	3	4	13	7	4	2	7	13	1	2	4	4	3	4	13	6	3	4	3	4	13	6	3	4	12	11	1	2	6	1	24	3	6	6	8	19	1	2	7	9	14	2669						
32c. Do you consider that a minimum wage should be established by the government and no-one should be paid less? Yes No Don't know No answer Total	27	16		1	8	8	14	9	3	1	4	5	21	4	1	4	3	4	3	18	12	4	2	6	16	16	1	4	3	14	20	2	4	32	4	1	6	11	4	28	4	4	6	10	19							
32d. Do you consider that the minimum wage above should be applicable to:- Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites Coloureds and Africans? No answer Not applicable Don't know Total	3	4		4	2	1	4	2	1	1	3	2	1	4	3	1	3	2	1	1	4	1	1	4	1	4	1	2	4	1	2	7	1	1	2	3																
33a. Do you consider that equal wages should be paid for equal work to:- Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites Coloureds and Africans? Do not accept the principle Don't know No answer Total	6	3		1	3	2	2	1	1	3	2	1	4	2	1	4	2	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	4	3	1	7	1	1	2	5	3	1	4																	
33c. Do you consider that job reservation to any one race is:- Justifiable Unjustifiable Don't know No answer Total	26	11		1	8	5	12	8	2	1	4	7	14	3	2	3	2	2	3	11	10	5	5	8	12	10	2	4	2	12	9	3	2	7	1	27	4	3	2	11	6	19	3	5	3	3	22					
34a. Do you consider that workers have a right to strike? Yes No Don't know No answer Total	20	10		1	5	7	12	4	1	6	5	11	2	2	2	2	1	1	11	12	4	1	5	8	10	4	3	1	8	14	1	2	4	24	1	5	7	5	18	1	3	3	6	17								
34b. Does this apply to:- Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites Coloureds and Africans? Don't know No answer Total	1	7		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1																		
34c. Do you consider that it is the duty of the State to provide employment for workers in the event of unemployment? Yes No Don't know No answer Total	28	23		1	8	12	17	9	4	1	8	6	20	4	3	5	5	3	4	20	16	5	1	3	10	15	16	4	6	2	15	21	2	4	7	38	5	1	7	11	6	34	4	8	5	10	24					
35. Do you accept the view that all men should have equal voting rights Yes, all men No, Whites only No, Whites and Coloureds only No, all "civilised" men No, but don't know No, and no answer Don't know No answer Total	7	6		2	7	3	1	1	3	3	3	1	2	1	1	6	1	1	3	4	4	4	1	1	3	4	1	2	1	1	9	4	3	10	2	2	2	7														
36. Do you approve of 90-180 day detention without trial? Yes No	19	9		6	7	9	3	3	1	4	3	12	3	2	1	2	1	2	8	11	3	1	2	5	10	8	2	3	2	8	10	1	1	5	1	23	1	3	1	11	3	14	1	5	4	3	15					

Don't know No answer Total	9 11 5 3	1 1 3 7 6 1 1 3 4	4 3 7 1 3 1 1 2 3 1 1	1 1 8 5 2 2 1 4 1 1	4 8 3 1 3 1 5 2	1 1 5 1 2 2 2 3 1 1 1	1 4 2 2 4 4 1 3	1 2 1 1 1 2 2 5	2 3 2 4 8 2 3 3
39. Are you in favour of capital punishment? For					* $\phi = .3915$				
Yes, for murder only	5 4	1 2 3 2 1	2 4 1 1 1	1 5 3	2 4 3 1	2 1 4 1 1	5 2 2	2 7	1 1 2 5
Yes, for treason and sabotage only	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Yes, for rape only	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Yes for all three listed crimes	21 10	2 6 7 8 6 2	2 5 3 3 2 4	2 3 10 8 4 3	5 11 12 12	12 8 2 16 1	24 2 2 3	10 5 16	3 3 3 5 17
Yes murder and sabotage	6 6	1 3 4 1	3 3 2 1	1 3 5	1 3 2 2 1	3 3 2 1	7 1 1	1 1 7	2 2 2 3
Yes murder and rape	1 2 3	1 1 1 2	2 1 1	2 1 1	2 1 1	1 1 1	3 1 1	3 1 1	1 1 2
Yes sabotage and rape	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Yes all three, plus others	5 4	1 2 5 1	5 3 1	1 1 4 2	1 1 2 3	5 3 1	7 2	1 9	3 1 3 2
No none	1 2	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Don't know	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
No answer	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Total	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
42. Is it permissible for a doctor to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity?									
Yes	24 16	2 7 9 12 7 3	1 6 7 12 6 2 3 3	1 6 14 11 3 1 5	10 11 12 3 4	1 11 16 1 3 7 1	29 4 2 5	9 7 24	2 3 6 9 21
No	14 6	3 3 9 4 1	4 2 10 1 2 1	2 1 6 8 3	2 6 7 2 3	1 9 6 2 1 1	17 1 1 1	4 2 14	2 5 2 2 9
Don't know	2 5	1 2 2 1 1	1 1 1 1 1	1 5 1	5 2	1 2 3 1	4 3	2 5	1 2 1 3
No answer	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Total	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
43. Do you accept the principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?					* $\phi = .2706$				
Yes	15 13	2 7 5 8 4 2	2 3 13 3 2 2 3	1 4 12 8 1 2	8 9 9 2 1	9 12 2 5	18 3 2 5	6 6 16	1 3 4 6 14
No	23 9	3 9 12 5 3	1 7 5 11 3 3 2	2 2 9 11 6 2	4 10 9 3 6	3 10 11 3 2 3	26 2 1 3	8 3 21	2 5 1 5 19
Don't know	2 4	1 2 3	1 1 2 1 1	1 3 1	3 2 1	3 1 1 1	5 1	1 6	1 1 3 1
No answer	1 2	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Total	1 2	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
47. In your opinion should newspapers publish:-									
What they wish?	5 2	3 3 1	2 1 4	1 5 1	1 4 1 1	2 4 1	6 1	2 5	1 2 2 2
Only what is good for the country?	53 21	2 11 7 18 11 5	1 7 7 20 6 3 5 5	4 6 18 15 5 1 5	12 19 14 3 6	3 19 17 3 4 7 1	39 4 3 8	11 9 34	3 6 7 8 30
Neither	3 4	1 1 1	1 2 1 1 1	1 6 1	1 5 1	2 5	5 2	1 6	1 2 3 1
Don't know	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
No answer	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Total	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
50. Do you consider drink harmful?					* $\phi = .2614$				
Yes in all circumstances	7 5	1 2 1 2 4 2	2 3 2 1 2 2	1 7 2 1 1	5 5 2	4 5 1 2	9 2 1	4 3 5	1 1 1 1 8
Yes on social occasions	4 3	1 2 2 1 1	4 1 1 1 1	1 3 1 2	1 2 1 3	4 1 1 1	6 1	3 1 3	1 1 1 4
Yes if taken once a week	5 5	1 2 5 1 1	2 4 1 1 2	3 4 2 1	1 3 4 1 1	4 3 1 1 1	7 2 1	3 2 8	1 3 1 3 3
Yes if taken at home every night	12 8	3 6 8 3 1	1 5 9 2 1 1	1 1 7 7 3 1	4 7 7 2 1	4 8 2 2 4	15 2 3	3 2 15	2 2 3 13
Yes if taken in a hotel every night	11 4	3 3 5 3 1	3 1 8 2 1	2 5 6 1 1	1 4 6 1 3	2 5 6 1 1	10 1 4	3 1 11	2 3 2 4 4
No for all categories listed	2 3	1 3 1	1 2 1 1	1 3 1	1 4 1	2 3 1	4 1	2 3	1 2 2 1
Don't know	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
No answer	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Total	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
51. Do you consider divorce ever justified?									
Yes	30 16	1 4 11 19 9 2	1 8 8 20 3 4 2	2 5 14 16 6 1 2	8 14 14 4 6	1 15 18 2 3 6 1	33 4 2 7	9 5 32	3 7 5 9 22
No	7 5	4 2 1 2 3	2 1 4 1 1 2	1 1 5 3 2	3 4 3 1 1	1 4 4 1 1 1	11 1	5 3 4	1 1 2 2 6
Don't know	3 6	1 3 1 3 1	2 3 3 1	1 6 1 1	1 4 4 1	1 3 3 1 1	6 1 2	1 1 7	1 2 1 5
No answer	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Total	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
52. In the event of a divorce case going against one partner would you ever allow the guilty partner to have custody of the children?									
Yes	7 2	3 4 2	3 2 3 1	2 4 3	1 3 2 3	1 4 2 2 2	8 1	3 2 4	5 1 2 1
No	28 23	2 11 8 16 9 5	6 7 20 6 4 4 4	3 4 21 16 1 1 5	12 18 15 3 3	2 15 19 3 5 6 1	37 5 3 6	11 7 33	3 4 7 10 27
Don't know	5 2	3 3 1	1 3 1 1	1 4 2 1 5	3 3 1	3 4 1 1	5 2	1 6	1 1 5
No answer	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Total	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
54. Do you accept the view that every person irrespective of race colour or religion should have equal access to every type of education from the primary to university level?									
Yes	31 19	1 6 12 17 10 4	1 10 8 20 2 2 4 3	2 3 16 19 6 1 3	8 13 17 5 7	2 15 21 2 3 7	40 3 1 6	13 7 30	3 7 5 11 24
No	9 3	1 4 1 4 1	1 3 4 1 2	1 2 5 1 2	3 4 4 1	1 4 2 1 1 1	5 1 2 3	2 1 8	1 2 1 7
Don't know	1 5	1 2 2	1 3 1 1	1 4 1	1 5 1	3 2 1 1	5 1 1	1 5	1 1 2 2
No answer	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Total	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
55. Do you accept the view that the races should be segregated:-									
Yes throughout, but not compulsorily	1 2	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 2 1	1 2	1 1 1 1	2 1	1 2	1 2
No for pre-school, yes thereafter	3 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 2 1	2 1	1 1 1 1	3 1	3 1	1 2
No till end of primary school, then yes	1 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 2 1	2 1	1 1 1 1	3 1	3 1	1 2
No for school, yes for university	1 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 2 1	2 1	1 1 1 1	3 1	3 1	1 2
No throughout	2 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 2 1	2 1	1 1 1 1	3 1	3 1	1 2
Yes for pre-school, then no	1 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 2 1	2 1	1 1 1 1	3 1	3 1	1 2
Yes for primary school, then no	1 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 2 1	2 1	1 1 1 1	3 1	3 1	1 2
Yes for school, no for university	1 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 2 1	2 1	1 1 1 1	3 1	3 1	1 2
Yes throughout and compulsory	31 23	1 9 12 17 11 4	1 8 7 21 5 3 4 5	4 5 19 17 4 1 4	9 19 17 5 4	2 19 21 3 3 6	40 4 3 7	13 5 36	4 7 5 11 27
Choice at all levels	3 2	1 1 3	1 3 1	1 3 1	2 3	2 2 1	2 3	2 5	2 2 1
Don't know	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
No answer	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Didn't fit scale	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Total	1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1

Note: Tables marked \* showed a  $\chi^2$  value significant at the .05 level or better when cells were collapsed in terms of the categories listed in Appendix A "C" or  $\phi$  coefficient value of approximately .3 represents a fair, though not very, important relationship between the variables.

METHODISTS	A. SEX	B. AGE	C. OCCUPATION	D. INCOME	E. EDUCATION	F. CHURCH ATTENDANCE	G. EXPERIENCE	H. INFLUENCE	I. CONTRIBUTION IN VOLUNT. CHURCH AFF.
QUESTIONS	1 2 Tot	1 2 3 4 5 6 Tot	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Tot	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Tot	1 2 3 4 5 Tot	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Tot	1 2 3 4 Tot	1 2 3 4 Tot	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Tot
30. When you spend money on luxuries do you ever feel that you should have spent it on the under-privileged? Yes No Don't know No answer Total	10 13 6 17 3 4 .	. 4 4 4 6 5 . 3 3 6 4 7 . 1 . 1 2 3 .	. 7 3 8 1 2 . 2 . 6 3 8 1 1 . 4 . 1 2 4 . . . . .	3 4 10 5 1 . . 3 2 11 5 . . 2 2 2 2 . . . . .	4 3 11 1 4 6 4 8 3 2 2 2 2 1 . . .	1 9 10 . 2 1 . 1 4 7 1 . . . . . 2 3 2 . . . . .	21 1 . 1 18 3 . 2 6 . . 1 .	6 4 13 . 4 1 17 1 1 . 6 . .	1 5 5 3 8 1 . 2 7 4 3 6 1 . 1 2 . 1 3 . . .
32c. Do you consider that a minimum wage should be established by the government and no-one should be paid less? Yes No Don't know No answer Total	* φ = .4135 8 24 9 4 2 6 .	. 4 4 7 8 9 . 3 2 3 3 2 . 1 1 1 1 4 .	. 10 4 11 2 . . 5 . 2 3 6 . 2 . . . 2 1 3 . 1 . . .	4 5 15 6 1 . 1 1 3 6 3 . . . . 3 . 2 2 . . . . .	9 6 10 3 4 2 2 7 1 1 1 1 4 1 1 .	* φ = .5253 2 9 9 . 1 1 . . 1 9 2 1 . . . . . 5 2 1 . . . . .	29 3 . . 11 . . 2 5 1 . 2 .	8 4 19 1 1 . 12 . 2 1 5 . .	3 12 4 6 7 . . . . 3 1 8 1 . 1 2 2 . 2 1 . .
32d. Do you consider that the minimum wage above should be applicable to:- Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites Coloureds and Africans No answer Don't know Total	1 4 . 11 19 7 9 2 .	. 2 . 2 1 . . . . . . . 2 5 8 6 9 . 4 2 3 3 4 . . . . 1 1 .	. 2 . 2 . . . 1 . . . . . . 10 5 9 2 . . 4 . 2 3 8 . 3 . . . . . 1 . . 1 .	. 1 2 1 . . 1 . . . . . 3 4 15 6 1 . 1 4 3 5 4 . . . . 1 . 1 . . . . .	. 1 2 2 . . . . . . 9 5 9 2 5 2 2 10 1 1 1 1 . . . . .	* φ = .4251 . 4 1 . . . . . . . . . 2 17 9 . 1 1 . . 3 9 3 1 . . . . . 1 1 . . . . .	3 1 . 1 . . . . . 28 2 . . 12 1 . 3 2 . . . . .	1 . 4 . . . . . . 6 5 18 1 3 . 13 . 1 . 1 . .	. 3 . . 1 1 . . . . . . 3 9 5 6 7 . . 1 1 3 1 9 1 . . 1 1 . . . . .
33a. Do you consider that equal wages should be paid for equal work to:- Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites Coloureds and Africans? Do not accept the principle Don't know No answer Total	2 4 8 19 8 9 1 2 .	* φ = .3494 . 2 2 1 . 1 . 3 4 9 3 8 . 2 1 1 8 5 . 1 . . 1 1 .	. 2 1 2 1 . . . . . . . . . 11 3 8 . 1 . 4 . 1 3 10 1 1 . 1 . . . 1 . . 1 .	2 1 2 1 . . . . . . . . 4 4 13 3 5 . 1 2 3 7 4 1 . . . . . 1 1 . . . . .	1 1 2 1 1 7 5 8 3 4 3 3 9 1 1 1 . 2 . . . . .	. 2 3 1 . . . . . . . . . 2 15 9 . 1 . . . 7 6 2 2 . . . . . 1 2 . . . . . .	4 2 . . 25 1 . 1 13 1 . 3 3 . . . . .	. 1 4 1 . . . . . 9 2 16 . 2 2 13 . . . 3 . .	. 2 1 1 2 . . . . . . . 3 6 7 5 4 2 . 1 5 1 1 9 . . . 1 . . 2 . . .
33c. Do you consider that job reservation to any one race is:- Justifiable Unjustifiable Don't know No answer Total	2 8 13 16 4 9 1 .	. 3 . 2 4 1 . 3 6 5 7 8 . 2 1 3 1 6 . . . 1 . . . .	. 1 2 6 . 1 . . . 9 5 9 1 1 . 4 . 3 1 5 1 1 . 2 . . . . . .	. 2 3 4 1 . . . 6 4 14 5 . . . . 2 2 6 1 . . . . . . . 1 . . . . .	1 1 6 2 . 7 6 10 . 6 4 2 5 2 . . . . 1 . . . . .	. 4 3 1 2 . . . 2 12 13 1 . 1 . . . 9 3 1 . . . . . . 1 . . . . . .	8 1 . 1 26 2 . 1 10 1 . 2 1 . . . . .	2 . 8 . 6 5 18 . 3 . 9 1 . . 1 . .	. 5 . 1 4 . . 2 5 8 5 9 . . 2 4 1 1 3 2 . . . . . 1 . . . .
34a. Do you consider that workers have a right to strike? Yes No Don't know No answer Total	9 12 9 11 1 10 1 1 .	. 3 4 6 5 3 . 3 1 3 6 7 . 2 2 1 1 5 . . . 1 . . . .	. 9 4 4 1 2 . 1 . 3 3 11 . 1 . 2 . 1 1 5 . . . . 3 . . . . . .	3 3 11 4 . . . 3 4 7 4 1 . . 1 2 . 5 2 . . . . . . . 1 . . . . .	2 4 10 . 5 6 4 6 4 . 4 . 5 1 . . . . . . .	1 9 10 1 . . . . 1 8 7 1 2 1 . . . 8 2 1 . . . . . . . . . . .	19 1 . 1 16 3 . 1 9 . . 2 1 . . . . .	4 3 13 1 5 . 15 . 2 . 2 7 . . . . . . .	2 7 4 2 6 . . . 4 2 4 9 1 . 2 3 3 . 1 1 . . . . . . .
34b. Does this apply to:- Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites Coloureds and Africans? Don't know No answer Total	1 . 14 15 4 19 . .	. . . . 1 . 4 6 7 8 4 . 4 1 4 4 10 . . . . . .	. . 1 . . . . . . 9 4 11 1 2 . 2 . 5 3 9 1 1 . 4 . . . . . .	1 . . . . . 3 3 16 7 . . . . 4 5 7 4 1 . . 2 . . . . . .	1 . . . . . 5 4 13 2 5 6 5 8 3 1 . . . . . . . . . .	. . . 1 . . . . . . . . . 1 11 16 1 . . . . 1 14 4 1 2 1 . . . . . . . .	1 . . . . . 25 3 . 1 19 1 . 3 6 2 15 . . . . . . .	. . . 1 . . . . . . . . . 5 3 20 1 6 2 15 . . . . . . .	. . . . 1 . . . . . . . . . 1 8 5 4 11 . . . 3 6 4 2 6 2 . . . . . . . .
34c. Do you consider that it is the duty of the State to provide employment for workers in the event of unemployment? Yes No Don't know No answer Total	15 25 3 2 1 5 1 2 .	. 6 6 8 10 10 . 1 1 . 1 2 . 1 . 3 . 2 . . . 1 1 .	. 11 4 16 2 3 . 4 . 1 2 2 . . . 1 . 2 1 2 . . . 1 . . 1 . . . . 1 .	6 4 20 8 . . 2 1 2 1 . 1 . . . 1 2 1 2 . . . . . . 1 1 . . . . .	8 7 15 4 6 1 1 3 . . . . 3 1 1 1 . . . . . . 2 . . . . . .	1 2 17 . 1 . . . . 2 . 1 1 1 . . . 1 2 2 . . . . . . 1 1 . . . . . .	35 4 . 1 4 . . 1 5 . . 1 1 . . . . .	9 4 26 1 1 1 3 . 1 . 5 . . . 1 . .	2 11 8 5 12 2 . 1 1 . 1 2 . . . 1 1 1 1 2 . . . 1 1 . 2 1 . . . .
35. Do you accept the view that all men should have equal voting rights? Yes, all men No, whites only No, whites and Coloureds only No, all "civilised" men No, but don't know No, and no answer Don't know No answer Total	3 9 3 4 2 1 8 15 2 7 1 2 .	. 2 1 4 2 3 . 4 1 . . 2 . 1 . . . 2 . 4 5 8 6 . 1 . . . . . . 1 . . . 2 .	. 3 1 2 1 2 . 3 . 2 1 3 . 1 . . . . 1 1 1 . . . . . . 7 3 10 . . . 3 . . . 2 . . . . . . 1 1 2 1 . . . . .	3 1 5 3 . . . . 1 1 4 1 . . . . 1 1 2 . . . . . 2 4 10 4 1 . 2 . . . . 2 . . . . 2 1 2 1 . . . . .	4 1 4 1 2 1 1 4 1 . . . . 1 1 . . 1 . . . 4 6 8 2 3 . . . 1 1 . . . . . . . 1 1 . . . . 2 . 3 . . . . . .	1 7 3 . 1 . . . . 3 4 . . . . . . 2 1 . . . . . 1 10 10 . 1 1 . . . . . 1 1 . . . . . . . 1 1 . . . . 3 . 2 . . . . . .	11 1 . . . 5 1 . . 1 3 . . . . . 21 1 . 1 . . . . . . 1 . . 1 4 . . 1 1 . . . . .	6 . 5 1 1 . 6 . 1 1 2 . 3 3 17 . . . . . . . . . 1 . . . . . 1 4 . . . 1 . .	1 4 4 . 3 . . . . 2 1 1 3 . . . 1 7 2 3 8 2 . . . . . . 1 1 . . . 1 1 . 2 1 . . . . . . . 1 . . . . .
36. Do you approve of 90-180 day detention without trial? Yes No Total	2 5 13 20 .	* φ = .3524 . 3 2 1 1 1 . 4 4 5 9 11 . . . . . .	. 2 1 4 . 2 . 5 . 7 6 13 . 2 . 5 . . . . . .	5 1 2 3 1 . . 2 5 8 15 6 . . . . . . . . . .	10 5 4 2 1 2 17 11 1 1 1 . . . . . . .	* φ = .3289 4 2 . 1 30 1 . 2 7 3 24 . . . . . . .	1 1 5 . 7 3 24 . . . . . . .	2 1 1 1 4 2 . 4 9 4 4 10 2 . . . . . . .	

No answer Total	4 2	1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1 1	2 2 6 1	2 4 4 1	7 3 1	10 1 1	3 2 5 1	4 4 2 1
39. Are you in favour of capital punishment? For						* $\phi = .2932$			
Yes for murder only	3 7	1 3 2 4	2 1 6 1	2 1 6 1	3 2 4 1	1 7 1 1	10	3 1 6	1 4 1 2 1
Yes for treason & sabotage only									
Yes for rape only									
Yes for all three listed crimes	9 8	3 1 2 6 4	3 4 5 1 1 2	1 2 7 4 1 1	2 3 7 4	5 8 1 2	11 2 3	2 13 1	3 3 2 7 1
Yes murder and sabotage	2 3	1 1 1 2	1 2 1 1	2 2 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 4	4 1	1 2 5	2 1 1 3
Yes sabotage and rape	1 1	1 1 1 2	1 2 1 1	2 2 1	1 2 2	1 1 1	1 1	1 2 2	1 1 2 3
Yes all three, plus others	3 9	1 3 5 2 1 2	7 1 3 1 1 2	1 2 4 5	3 2 4 1 4	7 5	11 4	3 2 7 1	3 2 3 1 3
No, none	2 2	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 2	2 1 1	3 1	1 1	1 2 1	2 1 1
Don't know									
No answer									
Total	2 7	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1 1	1 2 6 1	2 4 4 1	7 3 1	10 1 1	3 2 5 1	4 4 2 1
42. Is it permissible for a doctor to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity?									
Yes	9 20	3 4 8 6 8	8 4 9 2 2 4	5 5 13 4 1 1	7 6 8 4 4	2 13 12 2	24 4 1	5 2 21 1	2 8 5 4 10
No	7 6	3 3 1 3 3	4 2 7	1 3 5 4	3 8 2	6 6 1	12 1	3 10	1 3 2 1 6
Don't know	2 8	2 2 3 3	2 1 4 1 2	1 5 3	1 3 5 1	6 2 1 1	8 2	6 4	1 3 2 1 2
No answer	1								
Total									
43. Do you accept the principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?									
Yes	13 18	4 5 4 8 10	9 6 10 1 2 3	4 6 15 4 1 1	8 5 11 1 6	1 17 9 2 2	29 1 1	5 4 21 1	3 8 6 3 10 1
No	5 13	4 2 6 2 4	3 2 9 1 1 2	4 2 7 5	4 3 9 2	1 5 10 1 1	13 3 2	5 1 12	1 4 3 4 6
Don't know	1 3	1 2 1	2 1 1 1	1 1 2	1 1 2	3 1	3 1	1 3	2 1 1
No answer									
Total									
47. In your opinion should newspapers publish:									
What they wish?	8 16	4 5 5 3 7	9 3 9 2 1	2 5 11 5 1	5 3 8 3 5	1 11 8 1 2 1	22 1 1	5 3 16	4 3 3 2 11 1
Only what is good for the country?	9 17	4 2 5 7 8	4 4 10 2 1 5	6 2 11 5	7 5 11 2 1	1 14 9 2	20 3 3	6 2 17 1	11 5 5 4 1
Neither									
Don't know	2	2	1 1	1 1	2	2	2	2	2
No answer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total									
50. Do you consider drink harmful?									
Yes in all circumstances	6 12	3 1 3 4 7	5 2 4 1 2 4	4 3 9 2	5 2 7 2 2	1 12 3 1 1	15 1 2	3 2 13	1 6 2 4 3 2
Yes on social occasions	1 2	1 1 2	1 1 1 1	1 2	2 1 1	2 2	3 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
Yes if taken once a week	1 3	1 1 1 1	2 1 1 1	1 1 1 2	2 1 2 1	2 2	3 1	2 1 1	2 1 1
Yes if taken at home every night	8 7	2 3 3 6 1	5 4 9 1	1 1 8 4	2 4 8 1	2 11 1 1	13 1 1	1 13 1	4 2 1 8
Yes if taken in a hotel every night	3 9	2 2 3 1 4	5 2 5	1 3 3 5	2 2 4 1 3	6 4 2	10 1 1	3 1 8	2 1 2 2 5
No for all categories listed									
Don't know									
No answer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total									
51. Do you consider divorce ever justified?									
Yes	13 26	5 5 9 9 11	10 7 14 2 3 3	5 4 18 10 1 1	8 7 15 4 5	1 15 18 2 2 1	32 4 3	4 4 30 1	2 9 7 7 14
No	1 3	1 1 2 3 4	1 2 1 1 2	2 2 2 1	1 3 3 1 1	1 3	4 1	2 1 1	3 1 1
Don't know	5 5	2 1 3 4	3 1 4 2	3 2 3 1	3 2 3 1 1	7 2 1	9 1	5 5	2 2 2 3 1
No answer									
Total									
52. In the event of a divorce case going against one partner would you ever allow the guilty partner to have custody of the children?									
Yes	3 8	2 2 5 2	6 2 3 2 2 2	4 1 5 5	2 4 1 4	1 4 4 1 1	9 2	3 3 5	1 5 2 2 1
No	11 17	4 3 5 9 7	4 4 14 2 2 2	4 4 13 5	6 7 12 3	12 14 1 1	24 3 1	5 1 21 1	1 7 3 4 12 1
Don't know	4 9	2 2 1 2 6	4 1 3 1 4	4 3 5 1	6 4 1 2	9 1 1 1	11 1 1	3 1 9	3 6 1 1 2 2
No answer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total									
54. Do you accept the view that every person irrespective of race colour or religion should have equal access to every type of education from the primary to university levels?									
Yes	19 27	7 6 9 10 13	10 6 18 2 3 6	7 8 17 10 2	10 6 20 3 6	2 22 15 3 2 1	38 3 4	10 5 29 1	4 10 8 6 15 2
No	4 4	1 1 1 1 1	3 1 1 1 1	1 4 4	2 1 1	2 2 1 1	3 1	4 4	2 1 1 1
Don't know	1 3	1 1 1 1	1 2 1	1 2 1	3 1	1 3	4	1 3	2 1 1
No answer									
Total									
55. Do you accept the view that the roads should be segregated:-									
Yes throughout but not compulsory	1 4	1 2 2	1 1 2 1	1 3	2 3	4 1 1	5	1 1 3	1 2 1 1
No for pre-school yes thereafter									
No till end of primary school then yes									
No for school, yes for university									
No throughout	3 1	1 2 1	2 1 1	4	1 2 1	1 1 2	4	1 1 2	1 1 1 1
Yes for pre-school then no									
Yes for primary school, then no									
Yes for school, no for university	3 3	1 1 2 1	2 1 2 1	1 2 1	2 2 1 1	4 2	4 1	6	2 1 1 1
Choice at all levels	9 21	4 3 7 6 10	6 4 11 1 3 5	6 4 13 7	8 6 10 3 3	1 11 14 2 1 1	25 3 2	8 2 19 1	2 9 6 4 9
Don't know	1 3	1 1 1 2	2 2	3 1	2 1 1	4	4	1 1 2	1 1 2
No answer	2 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 2	2 1	2 1	2	3	1 1 3
Didn't fit scale									
Total									

Note: Tables marked \* showed a  $\chi^2$  value significant at the .05 level or better when cells were collapsed in terms of the categories listed in Appendix A. A "C" or  $\phi$  coefficient value of approximately .3 represents a fair, though not very important, relationship between the variables.



Don't know No answer Total	2 9	1 1 2 7 1	1 1 2 6 1	4 5 1 1	2 5 3 1	2 6 1 1 1	8 1 2	3 1 7	1 3 2 4 1
39. Are you in favour of capital punishment? For						* $\phi = .2993$			
Yes, for murder only	4 11	2 1 5 3 4	4 3 5 1 1 1	1 1 6 4 3	5 8 2	9 4 1 1	11 1 3	4 3 8	1 3 3 8
Yes, for treason & sabotage only									
Yes for rape only									
Yes for all three listed crimes	6 5	1 3 4 2 1	2 6 2 1	2 2 3 2 1 1	2 6 1 1	1 6 3 1	6 2 1 2	5 6	2 1 2 3 2 1
Yes murder and sabotage	2 3	1 1 2	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	1 2 1	2 2 1	2 3	1 1 1 1
Yes murder and rape									
Yes sabotage and rape									
Yes all three, plus others									
No none	3 13	1 3 2 2 5 3	9 2 4 1	2 2 5 2 4 1	2 4 4 1 5	3 11 1 1	4 1 1	4 10	3 6 1 2 3 1
Don't know									
No answer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total									
42. Is it permissible for a doctor to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity?									
Yes	7 19	2 3 3 5 9 4	1 9 5 7 3 1	3 5 8 4 3 3	3 8 10 5	2 14 7 1 2	18 1 2 5	5 2 19	2 9 4 1 6 3 1
No	7 8	2 1 1 6 3 2	6 1 6 1 1	2 4 4 2 1 2	3 9 1 2	2 11 2	13 1 1	6 3 6	2 4 2 6 1
Don't know	2 6	2 1 3 2	4 3 1	1 2 3 1 1	1 2 2 3	3 2 1 2	6 1 1	4 4	1 1 6
No answer									
Total									
43. Do you accept the principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?									
Yes	10 23	2 3 4 8 9 7	1 15 4 10 1 2	3 6 9 9 4 2	2 9 11 2 9	3 20 7 1 2	27 2 1 3	11 3 19	4 8 5 2 12 2
No	6 8	2 1 2 3 5 1	2 2 6 2 2	2 4 2 1 1 4	1 2 10 1	1 7 4 1 1	8 1 1 4	4 1 9	4 2 5 2 1
Don't know	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1
No answer									
Total									
47. In your opinion should newspapers publish:-									
What they wish?	9 14	3 1 4 7 6 2	10 1 9 2 1	1 3 5 7 4 1 2	4 12 2 5	3 11 4 3 2	17 2 1 3	9 1 13	1 5 2 3 10 2
Only what is good for the country?	5 13	1 2 2 2 6 5	5 4 5 1 1 2	2 3 6 3 1 3	3 5 7 1 2	1 10 6 1	13 1 1 3	5 1 12	3 4 3 1 5 1 1
Neither	2 3	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	2 3	2 3	1 1 2	1 1 2
Don't know									
No answer									
Total									
50. Do you consider drink harmful?									
Yes in all circumstances	1 7	1 3 1 3	4 2 2	2 1 3 2	1 5 2	1 5 2	6 1 1	1 2 5	3 3 1 1
Yes on special occasions	2 2	1 2 1	1 3	2 1 1	1 2 1	2 1 1	3 1	2 1 1	3 1 1
Yes if taken once a week	3 4	1 1 1 1 3	2 1 3 1	2 1 2 2 3	1 4 1 3	1 6 5 1 1	6 1 4	4 1 2	1 4 1 1
Yes if taken at home every night	2 11	2 1 2 2 5 1	7 2 3 1	2 5 4 2 1 3	1 6 2 1 3	1 6 5 1 1	6 1 4	4 2 11	1 4 1 1
Yes if taken in a hotel every night	6 9	2 1 1 4 6 1	7 3 3 1	2 5 4 2 1	3 7 5	2 7 3 2 1	11 1 1 2	5 10	2 3 1 2 6 2 1
No for all categories listed	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1
Don't know									
No answer									
Total									
51. Do you consider divorce ever justified?									
Yes	13 26	4 4 5 8 11 7	18 4 12 2 1 2	2 6 12 8 5 6	3 18 15 3 10	3 22 8 1 3 2	31 3 1 4	11 5 23	3 10 1 3 17 4 1
No	3 5	3 4 1	1 2 4 1	1 2 1 3 1	3 5	1 6 1	6 2	4 4	1 3 3 1
Don't know	2	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	2	1 1	2	1 1
No answer									
Total									
52. In the event of a divorce case going against one partner would you ever allow the guilty partner to have custody of the children?									
Yes	6 8	1 1 4 2 5 1	9 1 3 1	3 1 6 4 2 1 2	3 2 4 1 7	10 2 1 1 1	12 1 1	5 3 6	2 1 1 8 1 1
No	6 14	2 2 2 4 7 3	5 4 8 1 1	3 4 4 4 2 1 2	3 6 9 2	1 11 6 1 1	11 2 2 5	5 1 14	2 7 3 1 5 2
Don't know	4 11	1 1 6 3 4	5 1 5 1 1 2	3 4 3 2 3	4 8 2 1	3 7 3 1 1	14 1 1	5 1 9	2 4 1 2 5 1
No answer									
Total									
54. Do you accept the view that every person, irrespective of race colour or religion should have equal access to every type of education from the primary to university level?									
Yes	15 30	4 4 6 10 13 8	19 6 14 2 2 2	3 7 12 10 6 1 6	3 9 20 3 10	4 24 11 1 3 2	33 3 2 7	13 4 28	4 10 5 3 19 4 1
No	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	2 1	2 1	1 1	1 1
Don't know	2	1 1	1 1	1 1	2	2	2	1 1	1 1
No answer									
Total									
55. Do you accept the view that the races should be segregated:-									
Yes throughout but not compulsorily	2 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	2 1	1 1 1	1 2	3	1 1 1	2 1 1
No for pre-school, yes thereafter									
No till end of primary school, then yes									
No for school, yes for university									
No throughout	5	1 2 1 1	5	2 2 1	2 1 2	3 2	3 1 1	5	1 1 1 2
Yes for pre-school, then no									
Yes for primary school, then no									
Yes for school, no for university	2 5	2 1 1 3	5 1 1 1	1 1 2 1	1 2 2 2	3 3 1 1	6 1 1	1 1 5	1 1 5 4 1
Choice at all levels	9 17	1 3 8 9 5	4 4 12 3 1 1	2 4 9 5 2 1 3	3 9 12 2	1 19 4 1 1	20 1 1 4	10 3 13	1 7 4 4 5 4 1
Don't know	1 2	1 1 2 2	2 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 2	1 1 1	3 1 1	1 2 2	1 1 2 1
No answer									
Didn't fit scale	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total									

Note: Tables marked \* showed a  $\chi^2$  value significant at the .05 level or better when cells were collapsed in terms of the categories listed in Appendix A "C" or  $\phi$  coefficient value of approximately .3 represents a fair, though not very important, relationship between the variables.

ROMAN CATHOLICS	A. SEX	B. AGE	C. OCCUPATION	D. INCOME	E. EDUCATION	F. Frequency of CHURCH ATTENDANCE	G. RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE	H. GREATEST INFLUENCE	I. Participation in VOLUNT. CHURCH AFF.
QUESTIONS	1 2 Tot.	1 2 3 4 5 6 Tot.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Tot.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Tot.	1 2 3 4 5 Tot.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Tot.	1 2 3 4 Tot.	1 2 3 4 Tot.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Tot.
30. When you spend money on luxuries do you ever feel that you should have spent it on the under-privileged? Yes No Don't know No answer Total	6 10 9 10 2 8 . .	1 3 3 4 3 2 1 2 4 8 3 1 1 3 1 2 3 . .	2 3 7 2 1 . 1 10 2 3 2 1 . 1 1 3 5 1 . . . . .	5 3 4 2 . 2 1 . 7 4 6 1 . 4 2 3 1 . . . . .	2 2 9 1 2 1 1 11 1 5 2 6 1 1 . . . . .	2 11 2 . 1 . . 2 10 3 . 4 . . 2 7 . . 1 . . . . .	13 1 2 . 13 2 . 4 10 . . . . .	9 3 4 . 1 3 15 . 5 2 3 . . .	1 2 6 3 3 1 . 2 3 3 1 9 1 . 3 2 1 4 . . . . .
32c. Do you consider that a minimum wage should be established by the government and no-one should be paid less? Yes No Don't know No answer Total	11 16 5 6 7 5 . .	2 2 5 8 6 4 3 2 3 2 1 1 2 2 . 1 . .	6 6 8 5 1 . 1 5 . 4 . 1 . 1 1 2 3 . . . . . .	1 6 6 9 4 1 . 2 4 2 3 . . . 1 2 . 1 . 2 . .	3 2 17 . 5 2 2 5 1 3 1 4 1 . . . . .	5 4 3 . 5 . . 8 2 . 1 . . . 1 5 . . . . . . .	20 3 1 3 10 . . 1 5 . 1 . . .	9 5 13 . 2 1 8 . 4 2 . . . .	4 7 4 10 2 . 3 2 2 1 3 . . 2 2 2 . . . . .
32d. Do you consider that the minimum wage above should be applicable to:- Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans? No answer Not applicable Don't know Total	4 20 4 20 3 3 5 4 . .	. . . . . 2 2 6 8 7 4 1 2 2 1 3 2 2 1 1 . .	. . . . . 9 6 9 3 1 . 1 1 1 2 2 . . . 3 4 . 1 . 1 . .	. . . . . 6 5 10 6 1 1 1 2 . 1 . 1 1 5 1 2 . . . . .	. . . . . 1 2 20 1 5 1 2 2 1 . . . 1 4 1 3 . . . . .	. . . . . 5 17 2 . 5 . . 1 3 1 . 1 . . 7 2 . . . . . . .	. . . . . 23 3 2 1 4 . . 2 8 . . 1 . .	. . . . . 10 7 12 . 2 1 3 . . . 2 . 7 . . . . .	. . . . . 1 4 10 4 8 2 . 1 . . 5 . . . 2 3 1 3 . . . . .
33a. Do you consider that equal wages should be paid for equal work to:- Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans? Do not accept the principle Don't know No answer Total	. . . . . 12 23 4 4 1 1 . .	. . . . . 2 5 8 10 6 4 1 1 2 2 2 1 1 . . . . .	. . . . . 11 7 13 2 1 . 1 1 1 2 2 1 . 1 1 . . 1 . . . . .	. . . . . 9 9 7 7 1 2 1 2 3 2 . . . 1 1 . . . . . . .	. . . . . 2 4 19 3 7 1 6 . 1 . . . 1 1 . . . . . . .	. . . . . 5 2 3 . 5 . . 1 5 1 . 1 . . 1 1 . . . . . . .	. . . . . 29 3 2 1 6 . . 2 1 . . . . . . .	. . . . . 13 6 16 . 2 2 4 . . . 2 . . . . . . .	. . . . . 2 6 8 5 12 2 . 1 2 3 . 2 . . . 2 . . . . . . .
33c. Do you consider that job reservation to any one race is:- Justifiable Unjustifiable Don't know No answer Total	2 5 12 14 2 8 1 1 . .	. 2 1 1 3 . 1 4 4 9 3 5 1 4 2 2 1 . .	. 1 1 3 1 1 . . 9 5 8 1 1 . 2 2 2 4 2 . . . 1 . . 1 . . . . .	. . 6 1 . . . . 8 4 7 7 . . . 1 1 1 2 2 1 2 . .	. . 6 . 1 . . . . 2 2 14 2 6 3 5 1 1 . . . 1 . 1 . . . . . .	1 4 2 . . . . . 5 14 2 . 5 . . . 9 . . 1 . . . . 1 1 . . . . . . .	6 . . 1 22 2 1 1 7 1 1 1 . .	3 . 4 . 9 5 12 . 3 3 4 . . .	1 1 2 1 1 1 . 2 5 6 4 8 1 . 1 2 3 . 5 . . . . .
34a. Do you consider that workers have a right to strike? Yes No Don't know No answer Total	11 10 2 7 4 10 . .	1 4 7 3 4 2 1 1 4 3 1 1 2 6 1 3 . .	7 3 7 2 1 . 1 2 3 3 1 . . . 3 2 5 2 1 . 1 . .	5 5 5 5 1 . . 2 4 3 . . . . 1 2 3 2 4 . 2 . .	2 1 12 2 6 1 4 2 . 2 . . 3 7 9 1 . . . . .	3 14 2 . 2 . . . 6 1 . 2 . . . . 7 2 . 2 . . . . . .	18 2 . 1 7 1 1 . 10 . 1 3 . .	9 2 10 . 2 2 5 . . . . 4 4 6 . . . . . .	2 4 5 3 7 . . 1 3 2 1 3 . . . 1 1 4 1 5 2 . . .
34b. Does this apply to:- Whites only? Whites and Coloureds? Whites, Coloureds and Africans? Don't know No answer Total	. . . . . 15 17 2 10 . .	. . . . . 2 5 8 7 5 5 1 2 5 3 1 . .	. . . . . 10 7 9 3 1 . 2 3 1 6 2 . . . . .	. . . . . 8 7 9 6 1 1 1 1 4 2 3 1 . .	. . . . . 2 2 18 2 8 1 3 7 1 . . . . .	. . . . . 4 20 3 . 5 . . . 2 8 1 . 1 . . . . .	. . . . . 26 3 2 1 10 . . 4 . .	. . . . . 12 4 16 . 3 4 5 . . . . . .	. . . . . 3 7 8 5 9 . . . 1 3 . 6 2 . . . . .
34c. Do you consider that it is the duty of the state to provide employment for workers in the event of unemployment? Yes No Don't know No answer Total	11 20 3 1 3 6 . .	1 3 6 11 7 3 1 1 1 1 . . . 2 2 1 1 2 . .	9 7 9 3 2 . 1 1 . 1 1 . . . 2 1 5 1 . . . . .	6 8 10 5 . 2 1 1 1 . 2 . . . 1 2 3 1 . 2 . . . .	2 3 18 1 7 1 1 1 1 1 . . 1 1 6 2 . . . . .	3 19 4 . 5 . . . 1 2 1 . 1 . . . 2 6 . . 1 . . . . .	25 2 2 2 3 . . 1 7 1 . 1 . .	10 7 14 . 1 . 1 3 . . . 4 1 4 . . . . . .	2 6 8 4 9 2 . 1 . 1 . 2 . . . 2 2 1 4 . . . . .
35. Do you accept the view that all men should have equal voting rights? Yes, all men No, Whites only No, Whites and Coloureds only No, all "civilized" men No, but don't know No, and no answer Don't know No answer Total	4 8 1 1 10 14 1 1 1 4 . .	1 1 2 3 1 4 1 . . . . . 1 5 6 7 4 1 . .	1 2 4 3 1 . 1 1 . . . . . 10 4 8 . 1 . 1 . .	1 3 5 1 1 . 1 1 . . . . . 4 4 9 6 1 1 . .	1 3 7 1 . . . . 1 1 . . . . . 17 1 6 . . . . . .	1 8 2 . 1 . . . 2 . . . . . 4 13 2 . 5 . . . . .	9 1 . 2 2 . . . . . 19 2 2 1 . .	5 2 5 . 2 . . . . . 6 5 13 . . . . . .	1 4 2 1 4 . . . 1 . . . . . 2 2 6 3 9 2 . . .
36. Do you approve of 90-180 day detention without trial? Yes	4 .	3 1 . . . .	2 . . . . .	2 2 . . . .	2 . 2 . . . .	2 1 . 1 . . .	3 . 1 . . . .	1 . 3 . . . .	1 . 2 . 1 . . .

Don't Know No answer Total	4 12	2 2 2 6 3 1	2 2 2 1 1 2	2 2 2 1 1 2	4 4 3 3 1 1	2 2 1 1 1 1	4 10 2 2	20 2 2	2 5 7	1 1 5 1 8
39. Are you in favour of capital punishment? For										
Yes for murder only	3 6	2 . 3 2 2 .	. 3 1 3 . 1 . 1	. 1 2 3 2 1 .	. . 7 1 1	. 6 1 . 1 . .	6 2 . 1	1 3 5 .	1 1 2 . 5 . .	
Yes for treason & sabotage only	1 . .	. 1 . . . . .	. 1 . 3 . . . . .	. . 1 . . 2 . . .	. . 7 1 1	. 1 . . . . .	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	
Yes for rape only	4 9	. . . 2 3 3 5	. 1 3 5 4 . . .	. 1 3 3 3 2 . 1	. 4 6 1 1	. 2 8 1 . 2 . .	10 1 . 2	6 3 4 .	. 2 4 2 4 1 .	
Yes murder and sabotage	2 2	. . 1 1 2 3	. 4 3 5 4 . . .	. . 1 2 1 . . .	. . 2 . 2	. . 3 . 1 . .	3 . . . . .	. 1 3 . . .	. 2 1 . . . .	
Yes murder and rape	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Yes all three, plus others	1 . . . .	. . . 1 . . . .	. . . 1 . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
No, none	5 8	. . 2 3 4 3 1	. . 2 4 5 . 1 . .	. . 3 4 2 3 . 1	. 1 1 9 . 3	. 2 9 1 . 1 . .	12 . . . . .	6 1 6 .	1 3 4 1 3 1 .	
Don't know	1 2	. . 2 1 . . . .	. . 1 . . . . .	. . 2 . . . . .	. . 1 2 . . . .	. 1 2 . . . . .	3 . . . . .	2 . . . . .	. . . . .	
Total										
42. Is it permissible for a doctor to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity?										
Yes	5 8	1 3 3 5 1 .	. 5 4 1 1 1 . 1	. 2 2 3 4 1 1	2 . 7 . 4	1 7 3 . 2 . .	8 1 2 2	3 2 8 .	2 1 3 2 4 1 .	
No	10 16	1 2 6 6 5 6	. 7 3 11 4 1 . .	. 1 6 8 7 4 . .	1 4 15 2 4	5 17 2 . 2 . .	23 1 . 2	12 4 10 .	. 7 7 3 8 1 .	
Don't know	2 4	. . 1 1 2 2 .	. 1 1 3 . . . . 1	. 1 2 1 1 . . 1	. 1 4 1 . .	. 4 . . 2 . .	5 1 . . .	. 2 4 . . .	1 . . . . 4 . .	
No answer										
Total										
43. Do you accept the principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?										
Yes	12 13	2 2 6 4 5 6	. 7 2 8 5 1 . 2	1 5 5 7 6 1 .	2 4 12 3 4	4 14 3 . 4 . .	19 3 1 2	9 4 12 .	2 5 6 2 8 2 .	
No	3 7	. 2 2 4 2 . .	. 4 3 3 . . . . .	. 1 5 3 1 . . .	1 . 7 . 2	1 7 1 . 1 . .	9 . . . 1	3 1 6 .	1 2 3 2 2 . .	
Don't know	2 8	. . 1 2 4 1 . .	. 1 3 3 . 1 . . .	. 2 2 1 1 . . 2	. 1 6 . 1	. 6 1 . 1 . .	6 . . . 1	2 3 3 .	. 1 2 . 5 . .	
No answer	2 .	. . 1 . . . . .	. 1 . 1 . . . . .	. 1 . . . . .	. . 1 . 1	. 1 1 . . . . .	2 . . . . .	1 . . . . .	. . . . . 1 . .	
Total										
47. In your opinion should newspapers publish -										
What they wish?	8 15	2 2 8 7 2 2	. 7 5 6 3 1 . 1	. 4 6 5 6 1 1	1 1 17 2 2	4 14 2 . 3 . .	19 1 1 2	7 4 12 .	2 4 7 2 7 1 .	
Only what is good for the country?	5 9	. 2 . 3 5 4	. 3 2 6 2 . . 1	1 3 5 4 1 . .	2 3 6 1 2	1 8 2 . 3 . .	10 2 1 1	6 2 6 .	1 2 4 2 4 1 .	
Neither	1 . .	. . 1 . . . . .	. 1 . . . . .	. . . 1 . . . . .	. . . . 1 . .	. 1 . . . . .	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Don't know	3 2	. . 2 1 2 1 . .	. 2 . 3 . 1 . . .	. 2 . 1 . 2 . . 1	. 1 2 . 2	. 1 4 . . . . .	5 . . . . .	2 1 2 .	. . . . . 1 4 . .	
No answer	2 .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 . .	
Total										
50. Do you consider drink harmful?										
Yes in all circumstances	2 1	. . . . 1 . 2	. . . 1 1 1 . . .	1 . . 1 1 . . . .	. 1 2 . . . . .	1 . . 1 . 1 . . .	1 . . . 2	1 . 2 . .	. 1 . . . 2 . .	
Yes on social occasions	1 2	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . 3 . . . . .	. . 1 2 . . . . .	1 2 . . . . .	3 . . . . .	3 . . . . .	. 3 . . . . .	
Yes if taken once a week	1 2	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . 1 1 . . . . .	. . . 1 1 . . . . .	1 2 . . . . .	3 . . . . .	4 1 1 . .	. 1 1 . . . 1 . .	
Yes if taken at home every night	3 6	. . 1 2 1 1 3	. 2 1 4 1 . . 1	. 5 1 1 2 . . . .	2 2 4 . 1	1 2 . . . . .	3 1 . . . .	4 1 5 .	1 4 1 3 . . .	
Yes if taken in a hotel every night	9 17	2 5 5 8 5 1	. 8 6 8 2 1 . 1	. 4 6 8 5 1 2	1 1 16 3 5	2 16 3 . 5 . .	20 2 2 2	6 7 13 .	2 3 6 4 10 1 .	
No for all categories listed	9 17	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Don't know	1 . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
No answer	1 . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Total										
51. Do you consider divorce ever justified?										
Yes	12 19	1 2 4 12 5 6	. 10 3 10 4 2 . 1	1 4 9 7 7 1 1	2 5 15 2 6	3 17 4 . 6 . .	22 3 1 4	7 6 17 .	1 6 8 2 12 1 .	
No	5 7	. 4 3 1 3 . .	. 1 4 5 1 . . 1	. 5 3 3 1 . . 1	1 . 9 . 2	3 8 1 . . . . .	12 . . . . .	7 2 3 .	2 2 2 3 2 1 .	
Don't know	2 .	. . 2 . . . . .	. 1 1 . . . . .	. . . . .	. . 1 1 . .	. 2 . . . . .	1 . . . . .	1 . 1 . .	. . . . . 1 . .	
No answer	1 . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 . .	
Total										
52. In the event of a divorce case going against one partner would you ever allow the 'guilty' partner to have custody of the children?										
Yes	5 11	. 7 3 7 1 1	. 7 2 5 . 2 . .	. 4 2 5 4 . 1	. 2 7 1 6	3 7 3 . 3 . .	13 . 1 2	3 4 9 .	1 2 3 2 7 1 .	
No	4 10	. 1 4 4 4 1	. 2 4 6 2 . . .	. 2 7 3 1 . 1	1 1 11 . 1	2 11 . . 1 . .	13 . 1 . .	9 . 5 . .	. 4 5 2 2 1 .	
Don't know	8 6	2 1 2 2 3 4	. 3 2 4 3 . . 2	. 3 3 2 4 1 .	2 2 7 2 1	1 9 2 . 2 . .	9 3 . 2	3 4 7 .	2 2 3 1 6 . .	
No answer	1 . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 . .	
Total										
54. Do you accept the view that every person, irrespective of race, colour or religion, should have equal access to every type of education from the primary to university level?										
Yes	15 25	2 6 9 10 8 5	. 12 7 14 4 1 . 2	1 8 9 11 8 1 2	2 4 23 3 8	4 27 3 . 6 . .	33 3 2 1	13 7 20 .	3 7 9 5 14 2 .	
No	1 2	. . . 3 . 1	. . . 1 . . . . .	. 1 . . . . .	. 1 . . . . .	1 . . . . .	1 . . . . .	1 . . . . .	. . . . . 1 . .	
Don't know	1 2	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . 2 . . . . .	. 1 2 . . . . .	. 1 2 . . . . .	1 . . . . .	1 . 2 . .	. . . . . 1 . .	
No answer	1 . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 . .	
Total										
55. Do you accept the view that the races should be segregated:-										
Yes throughout, but not compulsorily	3 3	. . . 2 1 2 1	. 1 3 . 1 1 . .	1 1 . 3 1 . . .	. 1 4 . 1	1 3 1 . 1 . . .	5 . . . 1	1 2 3 .	. 1 1 2 1 1 . .	
No for pre-school, yes thereafter	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
No till end of primary school, then yes	1 1	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
No for school, yes for university	3 1	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
No throughout	1 1	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Yes for pre-school, then no	1 1	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Yes for primary school, then no	1 1	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Yes for school, no for university	1 6	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Yes throughout and compulsory	5 10	1 2 2 5 4 1	. 4 2 6 1 1 1	. 4 6 2 2 1	2 2 8 1 2	1 9 3 . 2 . .	6 1 . . . .	2 2 3 .	1 3 2 1 . . .	
Yes at all levels	1 1	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Don't know	3 5	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
No answer	3 5	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Didn't fit scale	1 . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
Total										

Note: This sample is inadequate for statistical analysis.



Don't know No answer Total	6 18 3 2	7 3 6 4 4	2 2 10 2 4 2 2	3 8 6 5 2	8 7 7 2	13 7 3	22 1 1	13 4 7	12 1 3 1 7
39. Are you in favour of capital punishment? For									
Yes for murder only	4 8	2 2 3 3 2	2 1 3 1 1 2 2	4 3 2 3	2 5 3 1 1	8 3	12	10 2	7 2 1 2
Yes for treason & sabotage only									
Yes for rape only									
Yes for all three listed crimes	11 8	5 4 4 3 3	2 2 6 4 1 3 1	3 5 7 4	7 6 4 2	11 5 2 1	17 1 1	12 2 7	9 1 4 5
Yes murder and sabotage	1 1	1 1	1 1 4 1 3 1	3 5 1	7 1 1	2	2	2	2 1 1
Yes murder and rape	1 1	1 1	1 1 2	1 1	1 1	1 1	2	1 1	1 1
Yes sabotage and rape	1 1	1 1	1 1 2	1 1	1 1	1 1	2	1 1	1 1
Yes all three plus others	1 6	2 1 3 1	1 2 1 1	1 4 1 1	4 2 1 1	5 1 1	7	5 2 1	2 1 2 3
Don't know	1 4	1 1 1 1	1 2 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 2 1 1	2 1 1	3	5 2 1	2 1 2 3
No answer	1 1	1 1 1 1	1 2 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 2 1 1	2 1 1	3	5 2 1	2 1 2 3
Total									
42. Is it permissible for a doctor to allow a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity?									
Yes	6 5	4 3 3 1	5 1 4 2 1 2 1	3 5 3	6 4 1	5 1 3 1 1	9 1 1	6 1 4	4 1 3 3
No	11 21	4 9 7 5	5 3 11 3 3 4 3	3 5 11 9 1 3	7 11 9 4 1	22 8 1 1	31 1 1	23 4 5	17 2 4 1 8
Don't know	2 3	2 2	1 3 1	1 2 1 1	1 1 3	3 2	5	2 3	2 1 1 1
No answer									
Total									
43. Do you accept the principle that a person has a fundamental right to choose his place of residence without restriction?									
Yes	12 19	4 7 6 7 7	3 2 10 3 4 5 4	7 6 10 6 2	10 10 8 2 1	17 9 3 1 1	30 1 1	21 2 8	12 3 6 1 9
No	5 6	2 2 5 2	2 2 3 3 4 5 4	7 3 4 3 1	4 3 2 2	8 1 1 1	9 1 1	6 3 2	6 3 2 3
Don't know	2 3	4 1 1	2 2 1	1 2 1 1	2 3	4 1	5	3 2	4 1 3
No answer									
Total									
47. In your opinion should newspapers publish:-									
What they wish?	7 8	1 4 4 4 2	1 5 3 1 3 2	4 3 4 3 1	5 7 3	10 3 1 1	14 1	12 3	5 2 4 4
Only what is good for the country?	9 18	6 4 6 6 5	4 3 7 4 3 3 3	3 7 10 5 2	9 8 6 3 1	17 7 2 1	25 1 1	17 4 6	14 1 4 8
Neither	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1	1 1	1 1
Don't know	1 2	1 1 1	2 1	1 1 2	3 1	1 1 1	3	1 2	2 1 1
No answer	1 1	2 1 1	2 1	2 1	1 1	1 1	2	1 1	1 1 1
Total									
50. Do you consider drink harmful?									
Yes in all circumstances	14 23	6 7 8 9 7	4 2 11 6 4 6 4	5 8 13 6 1 4	12 14 8 3	24 10 2 1	36 1 1	26 4 7	18 3 5 11
Yes on social occasions									
Yes if taken once a week	2	2	1 1	1 1	2	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1
Yes if taken at home every night									
Yes if taken in a hotel every night	1 3	1 2 1	1 2 1	1 1 2	1 2 1	2 1 1	4	3 1	2 2
No for all categories listed	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1
Don't know	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	2	1 1	1 1
No answer									
Total									
51. Do you consider divorce ever justified?									
Yes	12 15	8 6 6 5 2	3 3 10 7 2 1 1	1 7 9 7 1 2	3 10 11 2 1	19 4 3 1	25 1 1	16 2 9	14 2 6 1 4
No	6 13	2 3 5 5 4	2 1 6 2 5 3	5 3 6 3 2	10 5 2 2	10 6 1 1 1	18 1 1	14 3 2	9 2 1 7
Don't know	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	2	1 1	1 1
No answer									
Total									
52. In the event of a divorce case going against one partner, would you ever allow the guilty partner to have custody of the children?									
Yes	4 4	3 1 2 2	2 2 1 1 2	1 5 2	2 3 2 1	6 1 1	8	6 2	4 1 1 1
No	10 8	3 6 6 8 5	3 2 8 4 3 3 5	6 6 8 7 1	9 10 5 3 1	18 8 1 1 1	27 1 1	19 4 5	13 1 5 9
Don't know	4 6	4 1 4 1	2 4 3 1	1 3 3 1 2	3 2 5	5 2 2 1	8 1 1	5 1 1	4 2 2 2
No answer	1 1	1 1	2	1 1	1 1	1 1	2	1 1	2
Total									
54. Do you accept the view that every person, irrespective of race, colour or religion, should have equal access to every type of education from the primary to university levels?									
Yes	16 25	8 9 9 8 7	5 4 13 7 2 5 5	7 8 13 8 1 4	10 15 11 4 1	25 10 4 1 1	39 1 1	27 5 9	19 3 8 1 10
No	1 2	2 1	2 1	1 1 1	2 1	2 1 1	3 1	2 1	2 1 1
Don't know	2 2	2 1 1	3 1	1 2 1	2 1 1	3 1	3 1	2 2	2 1 1
No answer									
Total									
55. Do you accept the view that the race should be segregated:-									
Yes throughout, but not compulsorily	2 3	1 2 1 1	1 1 2 1	1 1 1 2	2 2 1	4 1	5	4 1	1 3 1
No for pre-school yes thereafter	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
No till end of primary school, then yes									
No for school, yes for university	1 2	2 1	2 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1	2 1 1	3	2 1	2 1 1
Yes for preschool, then no	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Yes for primary school, then no	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Yes for school, no for university	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Yes throughout and compulsory	9 20	6 4 7 8 4	1 2 12 2 4 4 4	4 7 10 7	11 9 8 1	15 9 4 1	26 1 1 1	19 1 9	12 2 3 1 11
Choice at all levels	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
No answer	4 3	2 1 2 2	3 1 2 2	1 1 2 1	1 1 2 3	6 1	7	4 2 1	6 1
Didn't fit scale									
Total									

Note: This sample is inadequate for statistical analysis.