SPECIAL REPORT

PERS 251

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SCALE TO ASSESS MODERNIZATION AMONG SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR PERSONNEL RESEARCH COUNCIL FOR SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

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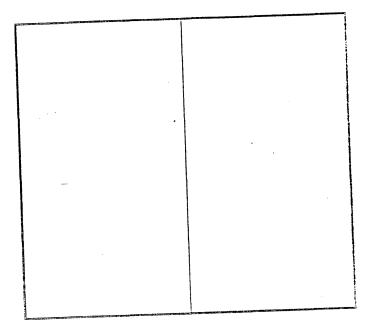
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SUMMARY

Work published on modernization by various social scientists has revealed a considerable consensus of opinion on the similarity of attributes of "modern" men in whatever society they live and an amount of agreement on the modernization of the less developed areas of the world. Several scales to measure individual modernity have been devised. These have been assessed and a draft scale to measure individual modernity among South African Blacks has been developed and is being tested.

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Change is a fundamental condition of life on this planet. Change that occurred before recorded history has been deduced by archaeologists during their investigations. Since man learnt to write and keep records, it has been possible to make some assessment of the difference between contemporary and past eras by consulting the records of times gone by.

In all societies at all times there must have been some citizens who displayed an eagerness for change, a desire for experimentation and others who were conservative and resisted change, clinging to established ways and customs. Today the contrasting types of people are generally referred to as "moderns" or "progressives" and "traditionalists" or "conservatives". Ronald Cohen¹ states "No matter whether it is viewed as the ultimate conclusion of the industrial revolution now spreading itself around the globe or a set of individual cases of nationalism and social change, the modernization of economy, society and culture presently affecting the majority of the earth's inhabitants is one of the largest scaled changes to have occurred in human history. Only the development, spread and acceptance of agriculture can be compared with this present change in terms of the transformation that it is bringing to the lives of those involved." Black ² states "For the first time in history a universal pattern of modernity is emerging from the wide diversity of traditional values and institutions and people of all nations are confronted with the challenge of defining their attitudes toward fundamental changes that are world-wide in scope." Black goes on to pinpoint some of the difficulties that have confronted and advantages that have accrued to countries that started modernizing about the middle of the present century. The following quotation is particularly relevant to the South African context. "The juxtaposition of societies differing widely in degree of modernity cannot but exert a disruptive influence on less modern societies, although the extent of this disruption depends on the circumstances under which modernization is introduced. In any event, where the jet plane and the oxcart exist side by side, the strains of modernization are immeasureably greater than where the development of the various aspects of a society have been more gradual and

balanced." ³ He also states "While all the countries of the world tend increasingly to perform the common functions characteristic of modernity – such as the promotion of knowledge, political integration, economic development and social mobilization – the means by which they perform these functions depend to a great extent on the traditional institutions of each country. Thus, the countries that developed fendal institutions in their traditional phase such as those of Western Europe have tended to evolve representative political institutions in the modern era. Those that traditionally had autocratic institutions seem to function better in modern times with centralized political controls."

Van Zyl Slabbert ⁴ presents an argument similar to that presented in the first quotation from Black when he states "A considerable degree of concensus exists among social scientists that the degree of modernization cannot only be measured in economic terms. ... The underlying assumption is, of course, that whatever the original differences between traditionalistic societies, they begin to exhibit common structural characteristics when drawn into the process of modernization."

This universal change is undoubtedly exercising a deep impact on the Black people of South Africa today and the "strains of modernization" are, indeed, being manifested in a society where White and Black are not integrated and yet the social and psychological gulf between modernized and tradition-oriented Blacks is greater than that between modernized Blacks and Whites.

2. SOME POST-WAR THINKING ON MODERNIZATION

During the past three decades social scientists of the western industrial nations have devoted much of their time, thought and resources to studying modernization among the less developed peoples of the world. Initially, because the problem was generally viewed as one of poverty, the major part of the work was carried out in the field of economics, but later, when it became apparent that non-economic factors contributed largely to the success or failure of economic policies, sociologists and psychologists were drawn in to study the human

aspects.

Hagen ⁵, an economist, was one of the first to realise that purely economic theories were inadequate to explain why some "traditional" societies adapted quickly to attempts to modernize while others, with apparently similar endowments were either slow to adapt or resisted change entirely. He put forward the proposition that there were "traditional" and "modern" personality types. A traditional individual was one who

- (a) was group-directed rather than individualistic in his attitude to land and food production
- (b) experienced feelings of impotence in controlling the human and natural forces surrounding him
- (c) resorted to religio-magical explanations of misfortune because he saw the universe as operating in an arbitrary manner not amenable to logical analysis
- (d) was dependent on the extended family rather than the nuclear family unit for psychological security
- (e) accepted group pressures as the prime element of social control because membership of the group was the individual's only means of survival
- (f) unquestioningly obeyed authority figures
- (g) was suspicious of strangers
- (h) saw the social structure as immutable and not amenable to change.

In contrast, Hagen viewed the innovative or "modern" person as one who

- (a) was open to new phenomena, techniques and relationships
- (b) perceived phenomena as symptoms of interacting forces whose actions were explicable
- (c) had a creative imagination
- (d) was confident of his own ability to evaluate positions and make decisions
- (e) derived satisfaction from solving problems and resolving confusion in his environment

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(f) experienced a drive for individual achievement.

From this he argued that a change in the basic personality of the individuals of a traditional society was a pre-requisite for successful economic modernization.

Traditional personalities had to be replaced by innovative personalities if successful technological and economic development was to occur.

One of the earliest sociological studies was that undertaken by Lerner ⁶ in the Middle East. Lerner found that the tempo of social change varied widely from country to country and that some countries, such as Turkey, managed to remain stable despite rapid change whereas others, like Egypt pursued "an erratic course of violent fluctuations involving personal anguish and social dislocation." (Introduction, p viii).

Lerner concluded that modernity was a behavioural system. He stated that modernization in the West and, when he wrote, in the Middle East, followed a definite sequence, viz : urbanization -- increase of literacy and increase of exposure to mass media wider economic (per capita income) and political (voting) participation. Salcedo ⁷ represented the sequence diagramatically thus

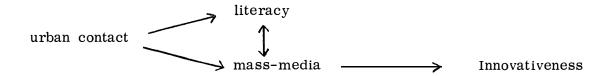
increase of literacy. wider economic and Urbanisation political participation exposure to mass media _____

Lerner went so far as to claim that this "basic model appears in virtually all modernizing societies on all continents of the world, regardless of variations in race, colour or creed." (p 46) Steyn says "According to Lerner, modernization is the social process of which development is the economic component. If economic development produces "rising output per head" modernization produces the societal environment in which rising productivity is effectively incorporated."

Lerner also perceived two distinct personality types, the modern "empathetic" personality being in contrast to the "traditional".

In Lerner's view, the outstanding characteristic of the modern man was his capacity to "empathise", or put himself in the position of others far removed from himself socially and geographically. Implicit in this empathy was the ability to perceive the world as composed of countries and races geographically and socially distant from one's own. One's horizon was not bounded by the village and one could conceive of living in other places. One was prepared to accept that ideas different from one's own and those of one's close kin and neighbour's were worthy of consideration and could have merit. Lerner sees a modern society as participant, mobile and highly-urbanised and stresses (p 72) that "transition to participant society hinges upon the desire among individuals to participate." Salcedo⁹ disputes Lerner's claim regarding the inevitability of the sequence in which the phenomena culminating in modernization occur. Quoting results he obtained from research conducted in Nigeria he proposes a modification to Lerner's model which allows for more varied interaction between the factors, which he terms urban contact, literacy, mass-media and innovativeness.

Diagramatically portrayed, Salcedo's model appears thus :-



In his article Salcedo quotes other authors, namely D McCrone and C Cnudde W Schramm and L Ruggels, L Sen and A Stepan, who all found that Lerner's model was not universally applicable. It would seem that both these propositions are true for the societies respectively observed by Lerner and Salcedo. Lerner did, perhaps, overgeneralize as to the world-wide sequence he observed.

Stephenson ¹⁰ voices further criticism of Lerner ¹¹ for concluding that the "western model of modernization exhibits certain components of sequences whose relevance is global " when he (Lerner) also reports that not every society that he studied accepted the message of modernity in the same way.

Moore 12 defines modernization as the "total transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the types of technology and social organization that characterize the advanced, economically prosperous and relatively stable nations of the western world." (p 94) He goes on to state that "Modernization may start in a great variety of ways or in various aspects of a social structure and may operate inconsistently in several of them simultaneously. Thus in colonial areas governed by a "pluralistic" metropolitan power, private schools sponsored by religious missionaries may turn out students with varying degrees of education for which there is in fact no effective use in the existing system of occupational recruitment. \mathbf{Or} under the same political conditions the civil service, representing an official manifestation of colonial policy, may systematically recruit native employees on the basis of merit while private businessmen are permitted to follow a "colour bar" principle in personnel policies."(p 95) He points out that industrialization, which is frequently taken as a starting point for modernization, is not only the extensive use of inanimate sources of power for economic production, but that it also includes the mechanisation of agriculture and the ancilliary services of transportation and communication which are essential to the operation of a specialised and therefore interdependent economy,

Smith and Inkeles ¹³ define a "modern" state as one characterized by a complex of traits including urbanization, high levels of education, industrialization, extensive mechanisation, high rates of social mobility and the like. A "modern" individual is one with "a set of attitudes, values and ways of feeling and acting, presumably of the sort either generated by or required for effective participation in a modern society."

Once more Stephenson ¹⁴ adopts the rôle of critic and questions the validity of Smith's and Inkeles' assumption ¹⁵ "that all modern cultures are basically similar in content and that all persons who can be said to be 'going modern' share the same traits, regardless of what culture they are part of or out of what past they have moved. What is defined as modern for one population is assumed to be indicative of modernity for any other."

Stephenson ¹⁶ himself defines modernization as "a personal and cultural expression of one type of social change, namely movement of persons along a dimension from what is defined by the cultural norms as traditional to what is considered modern by the same culture." Stephenson's standpoint is that the group or groups being studied should define, for themselves what constitutes traditionalism and modernity and that any investigation must be in terms of these definitions. Thus any scale used to measure modernity must be culture-specific. This would obviously preclude any cross-cultural comparisons as each scale would measure a different construct.

Doob ¹⁷ holds the opposite view, claiming, as do Smith and Inkeles, that modernity is a universal feature with a similarity across cultural divisions. It would therefore be meaningful to measure individual modernity in different countries with the same scale.

Bendix ¹⁸, developing Smelser's suggestion that "structural differentiation" is the key variable in modernization, sees traditional societies as achieving intense solidarity in small multi-functional groups isolated from one another. In contrast, modern societies achieve little solidarity within such groups but as a result of communication and advanced technology, inter-dependence, coupled with differentiation within institutional structures, develops among them at an impersonal level. Advanced technology or industrialization is viewed by many, as by Moore and Bendix quoted above, as inseparable from modernization. Industrialization is coupled with a high degree of specialisation and division of labour. Classical theories hold that a necessary concomitant of wide-scale industrialization is the detachment of the nuclear family and the individual from the economic and moral control of the wider descent group

or lineage, thus giving him the necessary mobility and freedom of choice to participate fully in industrial employment and to pursue his own goals free of responsibilities to his kin. Inkeles and Smith ¹⁹ argue that the factory is the most effective modernizing agent for adults.

However, the break up of the extended family network has not been found to occur universally. Recently Schwab ²⁰ found in Oshogbo in Nigeria that the lineage still exercised considerable social control over its members, particularly in the ritual sphere through ancestor worship. He also found that in Gwelo where residents were forced to live in standardized houses designed for nuclear family units, kin ties remained important.

Implicit in much of the work quoted above and in other writings (e.g. Peshkin and Cohen ²¹) on modernization is the assumption that all modernizing states tend to develop in the pattern of western industrial societies, particularly the United States of America. Blacking ²² and Lengermann ²³ among others, are critical of this assumption, regarding it as ethno-centric. Despite such criticism, it does seem that there is considerable agreement among the majority of writers that a modern society is highly urbanized and industrialized with a literate population who make use of mass-media communications and who are individualistic and participative.

3. <u>THE MEASUREMENT OF INDIVIDUAL MODERNITY</u>

In Chapter 2 mention was made of how two scientists, Hagen and Lerner, defined a modern man. To recap briefly, Hagen felt a modern man was one who was open to new phenomena, techniques and relationships, felt that natural phenomena were subject to logical explanation, was self-confident and derived satisfaction from facing and solving problems. He termed the modern personality as he saw it "innovative". As described by Lerner, the outstanding characteristic of a modern man was "empathy" the ability to put oneself in another's place and to see things from his point of view. Lerner also thought a modern man had a high capacity to identify with new aspects of the environment and hold opinions on a wide range of topics outside his normal round of private affairs. Doob ²⁴ defined a modern man as one who, in his temporal orientations, laid emphasis on the future rather than the past or the present; who believed that a country's legal government had important beneficial functions to perform for its citizens; who felt that life in general was pleasant and that people controlled their own destiny; who were patriotic thus having strong feelings of attachment and loyalty to their mother countries; who believed in science and that most phenomena were intelligible; who had a generous trusting concept of human nature and one's fellow men; who approved of their country's leaders and of their specific policies and who de-emphasised or discredited traditional values and practices. Armer and Youtz ²⁵, in their work, defined a modern man as one who was rational, receptive to change, open to new ideas, believed in the future, trusted mankind, was independent of family claims and ties, believed in man's mastery over his environment, in the equality of mankind and women's rights.

Schnaiberg ²⁶ conducted a survey among married Turkish women in Ankara and four villages in Ankara province. From the results of this survey he defined the characteristics of modernity among these women as

- (a) wide use of mass-media;
- (b) rejection of extended family ties and obligations;
- (c) rejection of dominance of husband in nuclear family structure and expectation that the wife should share in decision making;
- (d) laxity of religious observance;
- (e) being egalitarian and rational in outlook;
- (f) ownership of capital goods;
- (g) tendency to purchase household consumption goods (clothes, foods, preserves) rather than to make them at home.

Lengermann 27 , following Weber, suggests that modern man

- (a) is this worldly;
- (b) sees himself as master of his environment;
- (c) is practically oriented to problem solving;

- (d) tolerates change;
- (e) is future-oriented;
- (f) is work-oriented;
- (g) is individualistic;
- (h) negatively evaluates tradition and ascription.

Inkeles ²⁸ defines a modern man as one who

- (a) is ready for new experience;
- (b) holds opinions on a wide range of topics outside his immediate environment;
- (c) is oriented to the present and future rather than the past;
- (d) values planning;
- believes in the concept of efficacy i.e. believes man is able to dominate the natural environment;
- (f) believes in calculability i.e. believes the world runs according to laws which are subject to human prediction and control;
- (g) is aware of the dignity of others;
- (h) has faith in science and technology;
- (i) believes that values and rewards should be distributed according to achievement rather than ascription.

It is evident from the above that individual modernization is viewed in a basically similar manner by several investigators. For example, Lerner's "holds opinions on a wide range of topics outside his normal round of private affairs" is basically the same as Inkeles' "holds opinions on a wide range of topics outside his immediate environment"and that Lengermann's "sees himself as master of his environment" is virtually the same as Inkeles' 'efficacy"and that Lengermann's "future oriented," Inkeles' "is oriented to the present and future rather than the past," and Doob's 'temporal orientations" are to all intents and purposes, identical.

Those authors whose definitions are outlined above devised scales to measure individual modernity as they defined it.

Inkeles and Smith ²⁹ after an extensive review of the literature defined attitudinal modernity as that set of attitudes, values, ways of feeling and acting of the sort generated by or required for effective participation in modern societies. They defined modern societies as highly urbanised and industrialised with a high degree of social mobility. Their nine-point definition of the characteristics of modern man has been outlined above. They found psychological modernity to be a coherent phenomenon. In all the six countries (viz : East Pakistan, Nigeria, Chile, India, Argentina and Israel) in which they conducted their fieldwork, the same set of attitudinal and behavioural items related to the external criterion variables they used in a comparable fashion. The external criterion variables were education, length of urban living and industrial experience, and urban or rural origin.

Inkeles and Smith admit that the judgement of the value or validity of a scale for measuring individual modernity depends ultimately on the theoretical model which is used. Their model and their scale appear to be the most comprehensive. Moreover, they describe in detail the statistical processes they used for validation.

Doob's ³⁰ scale, although he also works on the premise that modernity is a universal feature with similarity across cultural division that makes it meaningful to measure individual modernity in different countries with the same scale used a much shorter scale than did Inkeles and Smith (80 items as compared to 159) and tested it only in East Africa. Lerner's scale consisted of 117 items with strong emphasis on communication and empathy.

Several of the authors whose work on modernization we have been discussing have found that individual modernity is linked with various demographic factors. Lerner, Inkeles and Smith, Armer and Youtz and Salcedo all found a close relationship between education and modernization. Holsinger ³¹ in a study conducted in Brazil found the elementary school was a powerful modernizer.

11.

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Occupation and income have also often been found to be linked with modernization (note especially Inkeles and Smith), but as education frequently determines a man's occupation and thus also, in many cases, his income, this is not necessarily an independent correlation. Length of continuous urban residence was found to be linked to modernization by Armer and Youtz, Doob, Inkeles and Smith, Lerner, Lengermann, Salcedo and Schnaiberg. Industrial commitment was found by Inkeles and Smith to be closely linked to modernization. Indeed, they found that among men who were rural born and bred, the factory was undoubtedly, for those who worked in it, a most effective school for modernity.

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NIPR DRAFT MODERNIZATION SCALE

From the literature review briefly described in the preceding chapters and an examination of the available modernization scales, it appeared that the scale devised by Inkeles and Smith was the most comprehensive and thoroughly tested. Therefore, having obtained their permission to use their scale as a basis for the development of a modernization scale for South African Blacks, a draft questionnaire comprising 166 items was developed. Before this questionnaire was drafted, a nine-point model of an ideal-type modern man was defined.

This model is set out hereunder.

Readiness for <u>new experience</u> and openness to innovation and change.
 Modern man is thus oriented to the present and future, rather than the past, and tends to favour new innovations, not traditional customs and techniques.

(ii) <u>Range of Opinions</u> - he is disposed to hold opinions about and have knowledge about a large range of problems and issues that arise both inside and outside his immediate environment. (iii) <u>Democratic in Opinions</u> – he does not automatically accept the ideas of those above him, and reject those of those below him in social status. Similarly he is prepared to recognize that the opinions of others may differ from his own.

(iv) <u>Autonomy</u> (or Individualism). The individual is seen as freed from ties and obligations to extended kin. It is up to him to "make his own way in the world" to which end he should not have to feel obliged to aid and support kinsmen and women or follow the career plans laid down for him by elder kinsmen.

(v) <u>Planning and Temporal Organization</u>. He accepts fixed hours, timeschedules etc. as sensible and appropriate and tries to be punctual and orderly in the temporal organization of his affairs. Thus he is oriented towards planning ahead as a means of effectively organizing his life.

(vi) <u>Efficacy</u> - he believes that man can learn to dominate the environment to advance his own purposes. Thus, he has faith in Science and Technology in that they discover the laws and give him the means whereby the world can be humanly controlled. The following of religious prescriptions, luck, fate or destiny are thus not sufficient explanations for fortune or misfortune.

(vii) <u>Calculability</u> – he values dependability and predictability in human relationships.

(viii) <u>Dignity</u> - he is aware of the dignity of others, and he is willing to respect them. This attitude particularly affects his relationship to women and children.

(ix) <u>Rewards and Status</u> - should be distributed according to achievement, not ascribed according to criteria such as age, birth or sex. Smith and Inkeles take pains to emphasize that the qualities identified in their model, or rather, some of them are often to be found in members of societies not usually identified as "modern", "civilized" or "western" in the everyday senses of these terms. Similarly, it can be pointed out that some members of "modern" societies (i.e. industralized, urbanized, educated, etc.) often display individual attitude structures that can only be considered "traditional" if one judges them by Smith and Inkeles's yardstick. (For example, many S A whites would fall into the traditional category if rated on items (1), (3), (8) and (9)).

Thus the ninepoint model of modern man we put forward represents an <u>ideal-type</u>, and we must realize that no person is, or can be, totally modern as defined therein. Nevertheless, we feel that citizens of the developed industrial countries of the west approach more often more closely to the modern pole of the traditional-modern continuum than do those of developing or under-developed Third World countries. Although this view appears ethno-centric, to some writers (e.g. Bendix 1967)³², we feel that this is realistic in the case of South Africa. Thus our assumption is that as S A Blacks become more "modern" they more closely resemble in <u>certain</u> institutional areas at least, the value and attitude structures of their white countrymen.

This opinion is borne out by informal observations of our Black colleagues as well as by observation in other parts of Africa. Pool³³ states "Modernization indicates social change generally derived from Western models and leading to non-traditional patterns of economic and social behaviour."

5. PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

The 166-item scale was applied to a small sample (n = 14) of factory employees and was found to be too long for use, even for a pilot study as it took from four to four and one-half hours to administer. Besides the difficulty of obtaining permission from employers to occupy the time of individual workers for so long a period, our subjects themselves became restive and ceased to answer attentively after about two hours.

Consequently considerable time and thought were devoted to the abbreviation of the scale and to reconsideration of the nine sub-scales. We found some overlap, and set ourselves the task of clearer definition of the themes and sub-scales we had adapted from those of Inkeles and Smith. The themes as redefined, together with the two letter codes used for identification are given below.

Code	Theme_	Definition
AC	Political Activism	Rather than being concerned with the politics of his extended family group or tribe, it is possible that "modern man" will broaden his outlook to national issues. Not only will he have opinions on current political issues, but he will actively participate in debate and will attempt to improve the situation. This individual will be prepared to take an active political stance on important issues.
AG	Role of the Aged	Is the old person treated with respect? This theme concerns dignity. It is possible that "modern man" would not regard old age as the only criterion for giving respect. In traditional situations, the opinions of the aged carry considerable weight. The "modern man", being well-informed, might feel he could form his own opinions and would rather not be dictated to by the aged.
AS	Educational Aspirations	"Modern man" would regard education as a vital requisite for advancement. He would value education for his children and would show respect for those who have been well-

educated.

Code	Theme	Definition
CA	Calculability	"Modern man" prefers dependable, pre- dictable human relationships. He likes to know that he can rely on others to fulfil promises or obligations.
СН	Perception and Valuation of Change	Change would be seen as desirable. The traditional man would prefer a retention of the old traditional way of life. The "modern man" sees that technological change could produce a better world. Change would be described as good.
CI	Citizen's Political Reference Group	The individual will see further than the extended family, clan or tribe. His political reference group will be greatly enlarged. He will adopt a national identity and with exposure to the mass-media, will start to appreciate the political relationship between his nation and other nations.
CO	Consumption Aspirations and Values	"Modern man" is possibly more materialistic than the traditional. It is possible that he will value modern consumer articles and aspire to obtain them.
DI	Dignity Valuation	"Modern man" is aware of the dignity of others, particularly women and children.
EF	General Efficacy	"Modern man" does not put his faith in super- stition or fate. Rather, he believes that man can use his advanced technology to control his environment. He feels science can help to

Code	Theme	Definition
EF	General Efficacy (continued)	advance the condition of man.
FS	Family size	"Modern man" looks to the future and appreciates that he can play a part in keeping world population down to a manageable size. He has faith in modern birth control methods and would consciously attempt to control the size of his family.
GO	Growth of Opinion Awareness	"Modern man" is better informed than "traditional man". He would thus be aware of the variety of opinion in circulation. He would accept that others will have opinions that differ from his own.
ID	Political Identifi- cation	This is very similar to the theme CI - Citizen's Political Reference Group. The individual has a broader political identification than clan or tribe.
IN	Information Questions	This is to test whether a person who reads widely is, in fact, taking anything in. These questions will indicate how well- informed the individual actually is.
КО	Extended Kinship Obligations	We feel that "modern man" will not be as tied by kinship obligations as "traditional man". The influence of the extended family will be weaker on the "modern man", who will feel his strongest obligations lie with his own nuclear family.

Code	Theme	Definition
LT	Literacy and Education	Here we wish to find the level of education and the ability to read or write. The more literate, better-educated man we would classify as modern.
MM	Information Media	"Modern man" is aware of and uses the mass-media. He will not simply rely on hearsay if he wants the latest news. The man who reads widely, listens to the radio and/or watchs T V will be better informed and more "modern" in outlook.
NE	New Experience	The "modern man" is open to innovation and change. He is prepared to accept new ideas and practices. Change is not regarded with fear or described as necessarily bad.
PL	Planning Valuation	"Modern man" looks to the future and plans accordingly. He believes that by planning he can live more efficiently and avoid pit falls. He is future-oriented.
RE	Religious- Secular Orientation	One would expect "modern man" to be aware of various religious beliefs and to tolerate the beliefs of others. "Modern man" would accept that illness or certain disasters (e.g. floods or drought) are not necessarily caused by some inevitable higher force.
TI	Time Valuation	"Modern man" accepts the value of timetables and punctuality. He would appreciate the value

of working to a schedule.

Code Theme Definition Technical Skill Technical skill would be regarded by TS Valuation "modern man" as a valuable measure Technical skill would be reof status. garded as important in advancement in the work situation. Women's Rights WR "Modern man" will be more democratic in his attitude towards women than his traditional counterpart. He will respect their opinions and accept that they have

Having more clearly and precisely described the 22 themes, we next redefined the sub-scales, reducing them in number from nine to eight. The definitions of the sub-scales are given hereunder.

Sub-

the right to improve their status.

scale NoTitleDefinitionINew ExperienceReadiness for new experience and openness
to technological innovation and change. This
is described by Inkeles and Smith as a "state
of mind". "Modern man" would see techno-
logical change as desireable. He is oriented
towards the present and future rather than
the past.

The following themes are considered to be part of this scale – Perception and Valuation of Change (CH); Consumption Aspirations and Values (CO); Information Media (MM) and New Experience (NE). In response to questions in these four areas we feel that a "modern

Sub- scale No	<u>Title</u>	Definition
Ι	New Experience (continued)	man" will show a readiness for change, will accept and use the information media and value new experience.
II	Democratic in Opinion	"Modern man" is democratic in his opinions. He does not automatically accept the ideas of those above him and reject those of people below him in social status. He is prepared to recognize that the opinions of others may differ from his own.
		Themes included here are Growth of Opinion Awareness (GO) and Political Activism (AC), "Modern man" would respond to questions around these themes in such a way as to indicate active citizenship. He would be aware of opinion variation and be well-informed.
III	Individualism	The individual perceives himself as freed from ties and obligations to extended kin. It is up to him to make his own way in the world and he does not feel obliged, under all circum- stances, to aid or support kinsmen. He feels free to make his own career plans.
		Here questions relate to the themes of Family Size (FS); Citizen's Political Reference Group (CI); Political Identification (ID) and Extended Kinship Obligations (KO). It is felt that ''modern man'' will follow a pragmatic line with regard to family size rather than the dictates of his extended family. His identity

Sub- <u>scale No</u>	<u>Title</u>	Definition
III	Individualism (continued)	will broaden from the extended family to a national identity. "Modern man" is regarded as being more objective in iden- tifying with particular groups.
IV	Time Valuation	<pre>"Modern man" values time as a resource with an inherent value. As a result of this time valuation, he accepts fixed hours, time- schedules etc. as sensible and appropriate. He tries to be punctual and orderly in the temporal organization of his affairs. Here it is felt that questions relating to the theme of Time Valuation (TI) would be relevant.</pre>
V	Efficacy	"Modern man" believes that the world he lives in is amenable to rational explanation. He therefore accepts personal responsibility for his own well-being and advancement. He attempts to be rational and objective in his daily life. "Modern man" believes in a rational control of the environment using his advanced technology. Technical skill is viewed as a means to progress. Here questions relating to the themes of General Efficacy (EF); Religious-Secular Orientation (RE) and Technical Skill Valuation (TS) are considered relevant.

Sub- scale No	Title	Definition
VI	Social Reliability	"Modern man" is dependable and reliable in his human relationships. He values this quality in others,
		Here questions relating to the theme Calculability (CA) would be relevant. Dependability would be described as a desirable characteristic in others.
VII	Dignity	"Modern man" values humans and accords them dignity because they are human. He believes that rewards and status should be distributed according to achievement, not ascribed according to criteria such as age, birth or sex.
		Here we include the themes Role of the Aged (AG); Dignity Valuation (DI); Women's Rights (WR) and Educational Aspirations (AS). Modern man tries to be objective in his assessment of others and attributes merit in relation to achievement. For example, he believes that women can attain status and deserve respect.
VIII	Planning Valuation	"Modern man" is oriented towards the future. He thus plans ahead and regards planning as a means of effectively organizing his life.
		The theme of Planning Valuation (PL) is rele- vant to this scale.

Having redefined our model of "Modern man", we planned to select eight to ten items for each sub-scale from the original draft scale. After considerable discussion, we selected 71 from the original 166 items and designed four new items. This gave us a scale of 75 items to test attitudinal modernity. In the final draft scale the items measuring the sub-scales have been randomized. In this scale items derived from Lerner and Schnaiberg, as well as from Inkeles and Smith, are included.

Certain basic biographical information was considered necessary, so the scale itself has been preceded with 29 questions which will elicit these data. Five validation questions have been added at the end of the scale. Thus the complete questionnaire comprises 109 items.

6. CURRENT PROGRESS AND FUTURE ACTION

It was decided that a sample of 150 men and 150 women, giving a total n of 300 would permit of sound statistical analysis of the scale. Collection of data on the men should be complete by the end of September 1976. Interviewing of the women will commence in October 1976, and collection of data for the pilot study should be completed by the end of the year. Scoring and coding of the questionnaires is completed as they are received. Thus analysis will start early in 1977.

The data from the pilot study will be subjected to factor and item analyses. These processes will enable us to decide which items in each sub-scale best tap the aspects being measured.

From this we will be able to develop a ± 35 item scale of attitudinal modernity which can be linked to the biographical data and should result in a practicallyusable scale of individual modernity. This scale can then be applied to selected samples drawn from each of the major ethnic groups so that norms for each group and for the Black population as a whole can be developed.

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