COMMUNITY SELF SURVEY
IN LAMONTVILLE

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1982

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'There is a continuous line of possibilities between two extreme types of survey activity. At the one extreme is a survey conducted by outside experts, which is scientifically accurate and reliable, but is destined only for library shelves. At the other, is an unscientific, hastily put-together survey of community needs; a survey short on facts and long on generalisations but enthusiastically carried into action by a well-organised, high-spirited citizen's group. But there is no reason why widespread, interested participation and support should be separated from scientific accuracy, and no reason why an enthusiastic desire for action should militate against the validity of the study.'

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The major part of this report describes a community self survey undertaken in 1981 in Lamontville, a residential area in Durban. My involvement followed an approach to the Centre for Applied Social Sciences by the Christian Community of Youth Trust for help with a community survey, and for three months I worked closely with the community workers and the interviewing team.

The shift from participant to objective reporter has been a difficult one. I have attempted to monitor and record the process accurately. The community workers were given the opportunity to read and comment on the report, but I assume responsibility for its contents.

My colleagues at CASS were used many times as sounding boards about various aspects of the self survey as a research method. Two former staff members, Davine Shaw and Shadi Williams, were especially supportive, with their enthusiasm and sound critical advice. Loretta van Schalkwyk read the draft and offered helpful suggestions.

Rosemarie Fraser, Nikki Wells, Mary Mbhiza and Mutyi Wokhu undertook the typing and administrative work connected with the survey itself, and Nikki Wells typed this final report.

My sincere thanks go to Siphiwe Madondo and Sandile Gulu, the Christian Community of Youth Trust community workers, for giving me the opportunity to take part in a rewarding and exciting project.

The trustees of the Christian Community of Youth Trust gave support whenever it was needed. In particular, the Chairman, Pastor J. Dondo, was generous and flexible in allowing the survey team to use the Assemblies of God Church as a venue.
The self survey was sponsored by the Anglo American and De Beers Chairman’s Fund.

The interviewing team were Nomandla Buthelezi, Nonhlanhla Buthelezi, Boysie Madondo, Nonhlanhla Mosea, Johannes Mlongo, Fikile Molefe, Zonke Ntolo, Busi Nxele, Nobantu Qu’lu, Daisy Sosibo and Casa Wati. From them, and from Sandile and Siphiwe, I gained so much. They led me to new insights into conditions in a black 'township'; they forced me to think critically about the nature of social survey research.

My involvement with them has reaffirmed my belief in the validity of experience-based learning, and in the contribution that small, local community organisations can make to the broader movements for change in our society.

FRANCIE LUND
Centre for Applied Social Sciences
November 1982
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SECTION 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1981, a group of unemployed young people, led by two community workers, conducted a community self survey which investigated the problems of youth in their area, Lamontville. The survey took three months to complete. The results were used to clarify a new direction for the community organisation involved, and to gain sponsorship for skills training courses.

The self survey is a form of social research that has been put to good use in other countries, though unfortunately there is a dearth of documentation on the subject. It has not been used extensively in South Africa until recently. The last few years have seen the growth of community and civic organisations in many black areas. The self survey has come to be used as one way of gathering facts by these local groups, and interest in this method has grown.

The chief aim of this report is to document one example of a community self survey in South Africa. As is well known by people working in the field of community organisation, there is very little indigenous community work literature available, of either a theoretical or case study nature. Circumstances have thus dictated a reliance on material from other countries, particularly from the United States and the United Kingdom. More recently, material from developing countries has become more accessible.

It is hoped that this report will be useful as a local case study to:

Practising community workers

The self survey is not a technique that is usually taught in training courses, and many workers are not aware of its potential usefulness. This report illustrates how one relatively small community organisation undertook a self survey, and community workers may consider its appropriateness to their own working situation.
2.

Training bodies

Bodies which train community organisers, youth leaders, health workers and social workers, may consider building techniques in self survey into their training programs.

Social Science departments and social research institutes

Students are being trained in social research methodology by Social Science departments and social research institutes. The self survey is one research method which provides an alternative, in some situations, to the standard data-gathering approach. This report attempts to point out under what conditions its use is appropriate. It is suggested that in the right circumstances it can provide some solutions to problems encountered in applied social research in South Africa today.

Outline

The report begins with a brief discussion of the relationship between Community development and social research (Section 2). The experience of the Community Development Projects in the United Kingdom is used to highlight the difficulties encountered when social researchers and community workers attempt to co-operate.

Section 3 considers the Community self survey as a form of social research. Different phases of the research process are identified, and the comparison made between conventional social survey procedure and the process of a self survey. It can be seen how the latter differs from the former chiefly in its emphasis on citizen participation, and in the orientation towards a social learning process for the participants.

This leads on to Section 4, The 'fit' between community self and community development, where some principles of community development are isolated. It is shown that there is a considerable overlap between characteristics of the self survey and community development.
3.

The bulk of the report is then taken up with the description and analysis of the Lamontville Community Self Survey (Section 5). A Background to the previous work of the Christian Community of Youth Trust (CCYT) is given, followed by an account of the process whereby the community workers approached the Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS) for guidance with a broad community survey. After discussions between the community workers and myself, we decided on a community self survey as the most appropriate form of research for their needs.

The Training given to interviewers is described in some detail. It is hoped that this will be helpful to community workers and community organisations who might consider undertaking such an exercise. The report outlines both the modules of the training phase, and specific content of some of the sessions, with the underlying rationale for their inclusion. This section includes a detailed account of how the interview schedule was devised, as this provides interesting insights into how a group of people with no previous research training modified, and in some cases dismissed, the 'outside expert's' guidelines. This resulted in a survey schedule which was acceptable to them as interviewers and to the local community as respondents.

There follows an account of the Field work phase. Problems encountered by the interviewers are described, as well as the role and function of the daily evaluation sessions.

The Analysis of results includes an account of the debate that emerged in the group as to whether the data should be analysed manually or with the use of a computer. This had a bearing on the group's sense of the research being 'theirs', and reluctance to hand control over to outsiders.

The Interviewers' experience of the self survey are given in Section 6. Short pieces which they had written for a newspaper article have been included verbatim. They provide a lively and sobering account of their experiences in the field, and their perceptions of community problems.
4.

An Evaluation of the Lamontville self survey is given (Section 7). First there is an assessment of whether it met its own short term objectives and long term goals. Some failings of this self survey are then discussed.

Section 8, entitled Some comments about community self survey as a research method, deals with some arguments which have been presented against the reliability and accuracy of data collected using this method. It is suggested that a self survey might in some circumstances in fact ensure a higher degree of reliability and accuracy. This hinges particularly on the commitment of the interviewers to the research process when involved in a self survey.

The report concludes with a brief final comment about the potential of the community self survey both as research method and as a strategy in community development.

Important note

It must be pointed out that this report concentrates on the process of this particular self survey. It does not contain any analysis of the data obtained, nor conclusions drawn from the results, except in so far as these results affected the change in policy of the CCYT, and the subsequent approach to the sponsors. The group involved decided that they would themselves handle the report back of results to the community by way of fact sheets, a community report, and meetings with respondents, and to sponsors by way of a formal report.
SECTION 2

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

'Fact-gathering, observation, rational formulation of aims and methods, and reliable ways of testing the validity of results - whether of success or failure - are essential processes of good community work of all kinds, ranging from the most consensual to the most militant, and of good research of all kinds, ranging from rapid, one-off micro-studies to long term programs of macro research.'

(Greve, 1975 : 169)

In a general sense, community workers are using knowledge derived from the social sciences constantly. Fields of investigation such as community studies, social stratification, ethnic studies (race relations), social pathology, the structure of local government - these all contribute to a community worker's understanding of the characteristics of a community and possible avenues for social change.

In a more direct way, social researchers have most commonly contributed to community work in terms of:

- providing base-line data on communities, and identifying local needs;
- taking part in 'action research'; and
- evaluative studies of community projects.

Yet despite the overlapping of knowledge and skills which Greve points to above, an uneasy relationship has existed between the two parties.

The experience gained by the Community Development Projects (CDP's) in Britain usefully illuminates the difficulties encountered when researchers and community workers attempt to collaborate.

The CDP's were set up by the Home Office to tackle community problems of areas identified as particularly deprived. Social research was built into the program from the outset, and this move was welcomed by both researchers and community workers. A research team was appointed to each area, usually drawn from a nearby university or
polytechnic. The function of this team was:

1. collaborating with the project action team in the assessment of the locality's needs and how they might best be met;
2. monitoring and evaluation of the project and identifying its lessons, both as a continuous guide to action during the life of a project, and for feeding back to the local authority itself and to other local and central interests.' (Home Office Press Release, 1971, as cited in Lees, 1975b : 156).

Lees (1975b, and Specht (1976) among others, have documented the conflicts that arose between the research and the action teams.

The research teams stressed rigorous, scientifically-based data collection, in order to identify needs objectively. They also sought a sophisticated analysis of social indicators and community structures.

The actions teams, on the other hand, were more concerned with gathering just enough information to provide a rough and ready guide to initiate projects. They wished to involve local people wherever possible in the collection of those facts. A community worker, in order to be effective, needs the flexibility to respond quickly when a felt need is expressed by a group within a community. In this way his or her credibility is enhanced, and commitment demonstrated. There is less concern with slower, more methodical data collection.

Another area of conflict concerned program evaluation. The primary requirement for an effective evaluation design of a social program is that specific objectives are set. The plan of action is then drawn up according to these objectives, and it is implemented. The program is then assessed in terms of whether the stated objectives have been reached or not.

The CDP experience confirmed what a wealth of literature has demonstrated: the requirements of evaluative research contradict two basic requirements or principles of community work. These are:
- that projects should not be imposed 'from above', i.e. from a person or persons outside the community. Citizens should participate in their formulation and implementation;
- that projects must be flexible, and able to accommodate changing community needs and circumstances.

In areas where the research and action teams were appointed simultaneously, they jointly worked out project objectives (even though in general terms) in terms of which the evaluation would be done. However, once the action teams became involved in community groups, and more familiar with local needs and problems, their focus and objectives and the nature of their work changed. The evaluation design consequently could not be put into effect.

The community workers themselves found the monitoring of their work threatening. There is widespread reluctance in many spheres of employment to evaluation of worker performance. In community work this reluctance may be particularly marked because the process goals are relatively intangible. A worker may feel justified in spending time in the local café 'building up relationships'. The relevance of this to researchers unfamiliar with the nature of community work may be hard to see, and community workers are aware of this.

The Community Development Projects reflect the difficulties involved when social researchers and community workers have attempted to cooperate. One aim of this paper is to show that, in appropriate circumstances, the community self survey is a process in which these difficulties can be overcome.
SECTION 3

COMMUNITY SELF SURVEY AS A FORM OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

A community self survey follows the logical steps of empirical social research. It differs chiefly in terms of the involvement of those people whose problems are being investigated, and in its stress on change in the participants through the fact-gathering process.

Van der Lest (cited in Robertson, 1976: 5) describes the self survey as:

'A form of social investigation carried out with the assistance of members of the public who are themselves the object of the investigation, so that they may get to know and understand their own situation differently and better'.

Robertson (1976: 6) has pointed out the link between the principles of self survey and Freire's 'generative themes'. Freire holds that learning takes place most effectively when it is focussed on the social reality of the learner. This is also sometimes termed 'experience-based learning'.

Other writers, such as Warren (1969), have been more concerned to stress the usefulness of the self survey as a strategy for social mobilisation and community action. Through the survey process, a group of citizens learn to work together in identifying a social problem, investigating it, and formulating a plan of action to solve it.

In order to clarify how a self survey differs from more conventional social survey research, it may be useful to distinguish phases of the research process, and how they are implemented in the different situations.

It must be stressed that this has been done treating community self survey and, say, a community study contracted to a body outside the community, as ideal types in the Weberian sense. In reality, commissioned researchers may consult with and involve citizens to a greater or lesser extent; and any
one self survey may depend more or less on the services of outside experts.

3.1 Identification, and defining the boundaries of the problem

In a community self survey a group of local people decides to do the study to tackle a problem identified by them as needing intervention. The local group decides which aspects of the problem are important. They investigate the problem in terms of their own experience.

An outside research team, removed from the community under investigation, and most probably with different socio-economic backgrounds, may well define the problem in a different way.

An example which illustrates this point is that of a research team from the University of the Western Cape Institute for Social Development which was appointed by a Community Relations Committee in the Cape. The Committee had decided that the major problem facing a Coloured community in its area was liquor abuse, and that this merited a research study. The researchers found, during the interviews on drinking patterns, that the community defined its problems in quite a different way: although there was concern about a certain level of alcohol abuse, it was not such that intervention was perceived by them as a 'felt need'. Respondents were, however, very clear that inadequate housing was their chief community problem, and the recommendations emanating from this research reflect the community's own definition of the problem. (Louw, 1980)

3.2 Developing the schedule

The contracted researcher, or research team, having identified the area to be investigated, develops a survey schedule which will elicit needed information.

The people involved in a self survey on the other hand, having identified the problem, then work together on framing the questions to be asked, and they themselves devise the interview schedule.
It is clear from the literature on self surveys that this stage, and the stage where results are analysed, present most problems to groups with little or no previous experience in research methods. There is commonly some degree of reliance on an advisor with research skills.

3.3 Training of interviewers

In conventional survey research, the training of field interviewers is usually task-oriented: it concentrates on teaching skills in interviewing, in filling in interview forms, and other practical field work techniques.

In a community self survey there is a strong emphasis on social learning, as well as on practical research skills. Discussions about the identified problem, its sources, and possible solutions, form a continuing part of the training process.

3.4 Interviewing

Interviewing in a self survey is undertaken by community members, as opposed to the situation where outside fieldworkers are sent in to an area. Apart from the data collection that ensues, a process is set in motion whereby community members talk to one another, during the interviews, about pressing community concerns.

In a research project on community facilities in a mining town in Namaqualand, local housewives were trained by the research team from the University of Cape Town to conduct the interviews. The research team had not intended to do a self survey - it was the only realistic alternative given constraints of both cost and distance. The unintended side effect was that women from all sections of the white community for the first time started discussing their grievances concerning facilities provided by the mining company in a structured, directed way. This process enabled them to work out a way, with management, of improving facilities.
3.5 Analysis of results

The normal practice in survey research is that the researcher, or research team, codes and analyses the data. Self surveys differ in the extent to which results are analysed by the self survey team. In principle, the team should do this analysis themselves. In practice, this is dependent on how sophisticated the analysis needs to be, which is generally determined by the intended use of the data.

3.6 Use of results

The self survey team decides how the results will be used; this is in fact determined at the beginning of the survey, and influences the questions asked.

It is common to find at least two different types of report emanating from one survey. The one, couched in more academic terms, and written by, or with the help of, the adviser, is sent to the authority concerned with the problem: a housing office, city council, employment bureau, for instance. The other type, often in simpler language, is distributed within the community, providing feedback to those who were interviewed and other interested people. In addition, fact sheets may be drawn up and distributed as a way of generating attendance at public meetings where the salient issue will be discussed.

The difference between this control over, and dissemination of, research results, and the situation of the more usual research study, is apparent. Most social research reports express, pro forma, in the introduction or conclusion, acknowledgement of thanks to 'all those who gave their time so willingly in being interviewed', and express the 'hope that these results will be read by community leaders'. However, the language used often puts the reports beyond the reach of lay people's understanding (and sometimes, it must be added, beyond the understanding of other social scientists). Insufficient attention is paid to the effective communication and dissemination of the findings either to the affected community, or to appropriate authorities and policy makers.
It can be seen, then, that a community self survey follows the methodological steps of conventional social research procedure. Where it differs is in the orientation towards learning and growth of the participants, as they work together to act on a local problem. In this orientation, the self survey process shares certain elements of the process of community development. It is this 'fit' between the self survey and community development which will next be outlined.
What community development is, is notoriously difficult to define. It is a mistake to look for a single all-encompassing definition. Many approaches and schools of thought exist, each with their own conventional wisdom about what it is that community development is about. Vogues come and go, and with them changes in terminology. There is inconsistency in the use of terms both between countries and within one country over time. Thus community development, community work, community organisation, and community action have different connotations, depending on the user. 1)

Differences in approach can be analysed according to the potential aims of community programs or organisations (Lund and van Harte, 1980: 10). Programs differ according to the emphasis laid on
- an improvement in material conditions
- a change in personal and social attitudes
- a change in local power structures.

Which aim is emphasised by the community worker and his or her organisation dictates the range of strategies used in community development. But no matter how diverse the approaches, aims and strategies within community development may be, it is possible to identify some basic principles, based on underlying values, which are common to the different approaches.

In what follows, some of these fundamental principles have been isolated, and the 'fit' between these and the central characteristics of community self surveys is shown.

1) It is interesting to note that the term 'community organisation' seems to be undergoing some revision in South Africa at the time of writing. 'Community organisation' used to be regarded with disdain during the 70's by those groups concerned with assertive strategies for social change: it was regarded as reformist and paternalistic. 'Community development' was the 'relevant' term with its connotations of inducing changes in local power structures that affected people's lives. Now it appears the community development is 'out' amongst a section of community workers, and a recent article in Work in Progress (1981) argues that it is 'community organisation' that is non-reformist and more 'relevant'. In this paper 'community development' and 'community work' are used interchangeably.
4.1 Felt needs

A central tenet of community development is that work should proceed on the basis of what people perceive as their own felt needs. The philosophical value underpinning this is that people have the right to identify their own priorities for action. But it is a principle based partially on pragmatism: success in a project is more likely to be ensured if people are working on something that they identify as worthwhile. Working in one's own self-interest (albeit on a group or community basis) increases motivation and identification with a project.

Many development projects (particularly those formulated as part of a national program) have failed through disregard of this principle. Organisations, or community development officers, have decided in advance what people should want or need - the 'what-you-need-is' syndrome - only to find that little (uncoerced) support is forthcoming.

A community self survey, by definition, incorporates this principle of community development. The people involved in the study have identified the problem they are investigating as a priority for themselves or for their community, and wish to organise to solve it.

4.2 Participation

The notion of participation is likewise central to the community development process. In developed areas, where the emphasis in community development has been on refining the democratic process and bringing it up to date, the ideal of participation has been revived in the belief that people have the right to take part in, and influence, the decision-making processes that affect their lives.

In less developed areas, participation in national community development programs has typically meant contributing labour or other resources to a more task-oriented community project, such as building a well, establishing community gardens, or building a clinic.
Evaluation reports on community projects reflect how often the reason for failure has been neglect of this principle, either in project formulation or implementation. As one cynic put it, participation can be defined as:

'you tell us what you want from the choices we give you and we might bear it in mind in deciding what you are going to get.'

Wormser (1949:5) has pointed out the role of citizen participation in the self survey:

'The distinctive feature of the self survey is that the citizens of a community are responsible for and participate in every phase of the investigation.'

4.3 Twin goals: task and process

A differentiation is made in community development between task and process goals. Rothman (1968:29) defines task goals as entailing 'the completion of a concrete task or the solution of a delimited problem pertaining to the functioning of a community social system - delivery of services, establishment of new services, passing of specific social legislation.' Process goals have 'aims such as establishing co-operative working relationships among groups in the community, .... improving the power base of the community, stimulating wide interest and participation in community affairs.... and increasing indigenous leadership.'

The community self survey combines both task and process goals. On the one hand, some concrete action is foreseen as a result of the gathering of information. The community self survey was used in the U.S.A. in the Fifties as a way of showing up racial discrimination in the allocation of housing, the information being used to lobby for revised legislation; a Saskatchewan self survey described by Larsen (1963) used information gathered in a self survey to get a more adequate road system; a self survey undertaken in 1977 by the Foundation for Social Development in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town, was used to pressure the governing housing
authority to undertake housing improvements.

On the other hand, process goals are built into the very nature of a self survey, through the emphasis on increasing people's understanding of their community, on developing the ability to work together for a common cause, and on the involvement of citizens in the process.

4.4 Self help/self reliance

'Teach the people to help themselves.'

'Give a man a fish, and he will eat for a day.
Teach him to fish, and he will eat for the rest of his life.'

These two adages must surely be among the most often quoted in community development. They speak to the central principle of self help or self reliance. Its importance is sometimes argued in terms of the dignity of autonomous action, or the personal fulfillment arising from solving a problem and meeting one's needs oneself.

However, the principle also speaks to the economic reality of countries which either have insufficient resources to provide for basic needs such as food, shelter, clean water supplies, and health, or such resources as exist are unequally distributed. Many third world governments have advocated self help as one way of attempting to tap the labour of the unemployed and underemployed in programs designed to meet these needs. The call for self-reliance is often also linked to the process of nation-building.

In South Africa, some community organisations have now associated self help with the perpetuation of injustice and discrimination. Why should black communities be encouraged to build their own pre-schools and community centres when these facilities are provided by the authorities for whites, they ask? The term self help is being replaced by self reliance, with its connotations of building strong community organisations whose long term goal is a democratic society with equitable distribution of resources and services.
A characteristic of the self survey is that citizens learn how to undertake a structured investigation of a community problem themselves, and explore ways of solving it. This without doubt qualifies it as an exercise in self reliance.

4.5 Transfer of skills

The long term goal of a community worker is to 'work him or her self out of a job.' The implication of this is that the skills of the worker should be transferred to the groups working on development projects, local leadership should be supported and encouraged, and the projects should ultimately be taken over by the community.

The self survey emphasises such a transfer of skills. Local people learn that the process of research can be undertaken by them themselves, and that they can decrease their reliance on 'the experts'. The skills learned can be put to use in future self surveys.

This is linked to the related community development principle of using local resources wherever possible, to foster participation and encourage independence and self reliance.

Thus it can be seen that a self survey, while being a form of social research, is intrinsically also a process of community development.
SECTION 5

THE LAMONTVILLE COMMUNITY SELF SURVEY

5.1 Background

5.1.1 Christian Community of Youth Trust

The Christian Community of Youth Trust was established in 1976. It employs two community workers, and is governed by a Board of Trustees, who are predominantly church leaders in Lamontville. The formation of the organisation was due chiefly to the efforts of the community workers: committed Christians who were concerned with problems affecting young black people in their area. They sought, and obtained, sponsorship from the private sector, and before the Trust was established had worked under the auspices of Diakonia, an agency of Christian social concern.

The target group of the Youth Trust, as stated in the constitution, was youth. The community workers, however, experienced the dilemma so well known to general community workers. They were working in a residential area with limited facilities, few full-time social workers, and no full-time paid community organisers. They thus felt obliged to respond, on an ad hoc, crisis intervention basis, to general issues of concern to the community as they arose. Their need to respond was based partially on their own concern with urgent issues, and partly in order to establish the credibility of the Trust.

Some examples of activities they undertook during the first four years of the Trust's existence were: acting as negotiators between parents and school principals when children were refused permission to enter schools, attempting to organise services for the sick and elderly, helping to organise a petition directed at bus companies operating in Lamontville, and referring people to social work...
services. In 1978 a free school was organised in the wake of the school disturbances in Durban, and this project ran for the better part of a year before it was closed down by the authorities.

By the end of 1980 there was concern by the Trust, shared by the community workers themselves, that their energies had been spread too thinly, and that it was time to re-evaluate the policy and direction of the organisation.

This concern coincided with the end of the 'honeymoon period' between community organisations and their sponsors in the private sector.

5.1.2 Sponsorship of community organisations

The early 1970's saw the formation of many small community organisations whose orientation was towards grassroots community work. Organisations approached the private sector for sponsorship. There was, at the same time, a move in some businesses towards exercising 'corporate social responsibility' - to allocating some portion of corporate profit to projects which aimed to increase the quality of life in black communities. The formation of the Urban Foundation, following the events of 1976, was a major and obvious manifestation of this concern.

For a while, then, community organisations found it relatively easy to get financial support from foundations and companies. The difficulty of evaluating these projects - of measuring their effectiveness or success - seemed on the whole to be accepted by sponsors at first. Large sums of money were given to groups pursuing somewhat intangible goals: the 'process goals', in community work terminology. By this is meant such relatively unmeasurable goals such as:
Money was given in good faith, and little emphasis was placed on thorough, regular evaluation (which one may presume would be a usual prerequisite by industry for allocating money).

Recently the major non-church sponsors of community organisations seem to have been concentrating more intensely on 'task goals' - they are expecting to be able to 'see' the results of local efforts which they have financed. Sponsors do differ greatly in the flexibility and leeway allowed to recipients of their aid. However, one suspects that projects with clearly formulated, precisely budgetted task goals are now finding it easier to receive funding. These may, for example, take the form of a building (e.g. community centre, clinic, classroom), small scale creation of employment opportunities, or training courses which will affect people's ability to improve their income.

Thus the Youth Trust had been funded for some years with little attention paid by the sponsors to measuring success. Work had been done on a by and large ad hoc basis, in response to local felt needs as they arose. The community workers felt that their financial support would be in jeopardy unless some concrete goals could be stated and met. As mentioned, this concern coincided with their feeling that their work had become diffuse and undirected.

5.1.3 Deciding on a community self-survey

They decided that a social survey would help them clarify their approach and direction. This decision was based on their knowledge of a study of Sparks Estate - Sydenham, undertaken in 1976 by Professor L. Schlemmer and a research team from the Centre for Applied
Social Sciences at the University of Natal (Schlemmer et al., 1978.) This was an extensive and thorough survey of wide-ranging aspects of a residential area, including housing, education, employment, facilities, administration of the area, leadership, etc. The research was designed to be a 'comprehensive study of the ...community, in order to achieve a full understanding of the people and their aspirations and problems'. (Schlemmer et al., 1978:i1.)

It was undertaken to establish the initial basis of a community program.

The Lamontville community workers approached CASS and asked for help with doing a similar broad survey in their area. After discussion it emerged that their own needs were quite different from those of the Sydenham community organisation which had commissioned CASS to do the community research study.

They had lived and worked in Lamontville for years, and knew it intimately. One research study had in fact already been undertaken within the past few years, and this had not enabled them to narrow down the focus of their work. They had well-informed hunches about local dynamics and problems. What they needed to do was to set priorities for their own, relatively small, project. A large survey would require extensive personnel, time and money, and would mean that projects already underway would have to be dropped while the research was underway.

The workers had felt that research per se - the act of fact-finding, of embarking on a scientific study - would illuminate Lamontville's problems and help them find direction. But this is not always the case, and is a trap too easy to fall into: the uncritical acceptance that in a given situation research will enlighten, when it may merely postpone the day when concrete decisions have to be made, and practical work started. 'Feasibility studies' and 'research projects' have joined the ranks of ad hoc committees and steering committees as potentially great procrastinators.
On the other hand, it is also true that research in community development has commonly been neglected. Projects have been formulated on a large dose of faith, and visions of improved quality of life, or socio-political change, but with little basis in objective information regarding needs, resources, authority structures etc. that could facilitate the grounding of a plan of action in terms of practical constraints and possibilities.

We thus discussed the role of research in community organisation, and under what conditions different types of research are appropriate. It commonly takes one of the following forms:

- The organisation undertakes, or commissions an outside body to undertake, a comprehensive community study, as happened in the Sparks Estate - Sydenham project.
- The community worker consults archives, official documents and records, and any available literature on the area.
- The worker talks to local leaders, and taps their knowledge about social structures, key problems, divisions within the community, etc.
- In certain circumstances, a community self survey may be undertaken, in which case fact-finding coincides with mobilising the community.

We agreed that the community workers should narrow down their own priorities and goals, in consultation with their Trust committee and the groups they worked with, and then ask the question: is research appropriate, and if so, how could it help us meet our goals?

After deliberations with their committee and other community groups, they decided to narrow the focus to one target group: early school leavers - people who had dropped out of school before matriculating, and who were unemployed. The situation of this group had been a concern for some time, particularly since the closing of the school project. There was a pressing need for some kind of skills training program in the area. The community workers had referred some young people to a typing school in central Durban, but had not embarked on anything further than that.
With their target group and identification of the problem more clearly defined, they decided that a community self survey would be the most appropriate form of research. Not only would this enable the gathering of specific information about the problems of unemployed early school leavers, but young people themselves would be involved in investigating their problems. A list of the short term objectives and long term goals set out at this stage in our discussions will help to make this point clear:

**Short term objectives.**

1. To investigate the needs and problems of unemployed young people in Lamontville, by undertaking a self survey.

2. To identify their preferences for skills training courses in Lamontville.

3. To establish, through the self survey, a network of contacts with people perceived by youth to be helpful local youth leaders, and with people working in the informal sector whose skills might be drawn on in courses to be set up by the Christian Community of Youth Trust.

4. To make the work of the Christian Community of Youth Trust more widely known in Lamontville.

5. To appoint ten local young unemployed people to conduct the survey thereby:
   1. providing temporary employment
   2. giving them skills in social research
   3. creating a core of voluntary workers who could assist the Christian Community of Youth Trust.

6. On the basis of information gathered, to motivate for sponsorship of skills training courses identified as priorities by the young people of Lamontville.
Long term goals

1. To institute two or three training courses, identified by the survey.
2. To work towards the building of a Training Centre in Lamontville.

Once the decision to go ahead with a self survey had been made, a budget was drawn up and submitted to sponsors. The sum was granted, with the sponsors making it clear that their future funding of Christian Community of Youth Trust would be conditional on the use of the survey results for clarifying the future direction of the Trust. In other words, the workers knew that practical recommendations arising from the survey were a priority.

The decision was made to pay interviewers for their work. This decision followed a great deal of discussion between community workers and myself. They held that

- payment would ensure a higher level of motivation by interviewers and that
- Christian Community of Youth Trust would in this way be providing employment, although temporary (three months), for ten people.

My concern was chiefly whether an organisation, on a stretched budget could afford to pay interviewers (this was the major cost of the survey), and also stemmed from previously working as a community worker where the idea of voluntary commitment was emphasised. During the course of the survey I became convinced that they had made the correct decision, particularly in terms of the standard of work delivered by interviewers. This is discussed in more detail later. It was important to stress to the interviewers that this was a short term job, and that no future employment could be offered.

The positions were advertised through churches and community groups. Applicants were interviewed and ten selected. Nine of them had lived in Lamontville most of their lives, with only one being relatively new to the area.
The survey program was drawn up, consisting of three phases of a month each:
1. Training
2. Field work
3. Analysis of results and submission of report to the sponsor.
5.2 Training

The group met with the community workers in a church hall eight hours a day, five days a week. The training was broad based, in line with the emphasis in a community self survey on social learning as well as technical skills. The content fell into three categories:

- social knowledge
- personal and group development
- practical skills in social research and interviewing, including devising the interview schedule and drawing a sample.

These categories overlapped, but the distinction serves here for purposes of clarity.

5.2.1 Social knowledge

A fundamental principle of community self survey is that there should be change in the participants themselves in terms of their awareness of social, economic and political structures of their community and society. A corollary of this is that participants come to relate 'private ills to public issues', to use C. Wright Mills' phrase.

In many community development programs, agencies focus on a particular community's housing problem, health problem, etc. By stressing an analysis and 'cure' at the local level, the broader causes of social problems are obscured. When this is done, community development is rightly criticised for obstructing and retarding, rather than promoting social change.

Thus during the training, an attempt was made to place Lamontville and its problems in the context of South African society.

5.2.1.1 A community profile of Lamontville

We tried to identify the main social and economic characteristics of the area. Demographic characteristics, housing, education, services and

1) The interviewers are sometimes referred to as 'the group'.
amenities, religious groups, health services and voluntary organisations were discussed. As the group did not have much detailed information at its disposal, we identified possible sources of information available to community groups.

5.2.1.2 Who administers Lamontville?

A session on formal authority structures and their areas of jurisdiction was held. The role and functioning of the Port Natal Administration Board and the Lamontville Community Council were considered.

5.2.1.3 Social stratification

A talk was given on how societies are stratified, with special reference to South African society. One of the interviewers commented in the written evaluation after the training:

'The stratification was not a helpful session to go through, since we only had to be taught of the way of our daily living here in South Africa although we are quite aware of it.'

This is an indication perhaps, of the importance of allowing participants themselves to contribute from their own daily experience!

5.2.1.4 Welfare services

A social worker from Lamontville talked about welfare services and community facilities available in the area.

5.2.1.5 Understanding social problems

In two sessions discussions were held on the links between poverty, wages, housing, health, and education in South African society.
5.2.2 "Personal and group development"

The content of this section of the training was not pre-planned, as opposed to the sections covering social knowledge and practical research skills. The exercises which follow arose in response to problem or conflict situations which appeared during the structured sessions.

The two workers had attended various youth and leadership training courses in the past. They had considerable group work skills which were useful here.

5.2.2.1 Setting rules

After an interviewer arrived at work late one morning, the group spontaneously decided to draw up its own rules regarding attendance, behaviour, and expectations, which would be binding on the whole group. They spent an afternoon doing this and the exercise had two important effects:

- it increased the commitment of members to, and their identification with, the group, as they themselves had to consider what was for the good of the group
- it provided a standard against which members could be 'brought into line', and shifted the weight of the disciplinary role from the community workers squarely onto the peer group itself.

5.2.2.2 Communication

During the role-playing of interviews in the practical skills training section, it became clear that many interviewers lacked confidence about talking to strangers, and that some had negative attitudes towards unmarried mothers.

A person with skills in teaching communication in interviewing was invited, and gave two very successful sessions. With the use of role play (and a good deal of humour) the group was exposed to the
importance of clear communication, how attitudes affect behaviour, and the effect of this on interviewees.

Most interesting was how in this and another unrelated session, the group steered the discussion towards sex education, male-female relationships and family planning. These were areas of great concern to them, as there are few occasions on which they can talk freely with someone with reliable information. Schools do not deal with these subjects, and mothers and older sisters were reported to steer clear of such 'delicate' topics. There is a pressing need for this gap to be filled.

5.2.2.3 Handling group conflict

In any small group, conflicts will arise over time, and this group was no exception. The community workers attempted to discuss these conflicts openly and supportively. Interviewers said it was the first time they had discussed feelings openly in this structured way. It was particularly difficult for them at first to criticise the community workers, who were both senior to them, and were respected church members.

The emphasis on group dynamics continued throughout the survey process. It was enlightening to see the growth that took place in the group - from shy individuals, lacking in confidence, who found it difficult to contribute in an ethos which was so unlike the schooling situation they had experienced, to a group who participated and contributed to discussions freely, and who were not afraid to challenge the workers or outsiders with whom they disagreed.

5.2.2.4 Urban plunge

This training exercise was run by a member of Diakonia. The urban plunge is used by change organisations as a 'conscientising' experience for participants. The interviewers were taken to various residential
areas unfamiliar to them. They had no money, and their task was to find out all they could about that area's problems, and make their own way home by day's end.

Most people found this a very valuable experience, though three found it intimidating. One described her experience with poignance:

"On our first day we made a plunge. Fortunately it was not a blue Monday, but a cold Monday it was. It was so unfortunate according to my views to be dropped at Lotus Park, an Indian area at the Isipingo outskirts. I was looking forward to what will happen. The first house, second and third in the same street, I was refused. I could not even be let to come into the house, only to be spoken to through the windows. I decided to leave for another street. Again, I'm refused in. Why? In one house before I could even utter a word, a lady peeped through the window saying 'Ayikho kalomsebenzi,' which means no job available. She could not even try to listen to my explanation. 'Why on earth should I be treated that way?' So I decided to leave that area with no transport fare. Fortunately I got a lift. I left the place so disappointed and feeling a failure. I had a beautifully furnished answer in my mind for all the above behaviour: Racial Discrimination. If an Indian sees me, an African, in his area, he thinks of nothing else but 'Looking for unskilled labour'. I wondered when shall Brotherhood come into play.'

5.2.3 Practical research skills

More time was spent on this section of the training than the other two sections. After some initial discussions about the nature of social research, and the forms it can take, we concentrated on:
- a simulated community self survey
- developing the interview schedule
- interviewing skills
- sampling
- pilot interviews.
5.2.3.1 Simulated community self survey

In order to clarify the difference between a survey done by the community, and commissioned research, the community workers conducted a simulation exercise with the group, based on the survey described in Larsen, 1963.

An imaginary community, Phembumuzi, had a problem with control over recreational facilities. The potential of a self survey for investigating and acting on this problem was considered by the group. In this way they familiarised themselves with the self survey process. This simulation exercise lasted approximately two days.

5.2.3.2 Developing the schedule

A characteristic of the community self survey is that the people involved identify the area to be investigated, and participate in formulating the questions to be asked. The community workers had, prior to the training, drawn up a set of questions which they thought should be covered: these were presented to the group in the form of a rough draft. The group spent two three-hour sessions going over these questions for modification and alteration, and this resulted in a radical restructuring of the draft. The following issues arose which were solved in the final schedule:

The breadth of the survey

As the group went through the questions, they became increasingly enthusiastic about the potential of such a study for broadening their understanding of their own community. They wanted many additional questions included - attitudes to school teachers, the role of Inkatha in Lamontville, special problems of single mothers, amongst many others. Someone suggested interviewing all unemployed people in Lamontville (which provided the opportunity to start a session on the function of sampling in research).
Two of the interviewers had had previous field work experience, administering a very long schedule. They had experienced the restlessness of interviewees, and the decrease in quality of information, towards the end of a long interview.

We decided that each question had to be tested for inclusion in terms of the following guidelines:

- Each question costs time and money, and these are both limited.
- What answer do you think might be given to this particular question? How will this answer be helpful in terms of the aims of the survey?
- Do we have to ask this question of every interviewee, or can we get this information easily from another source?

This was an effective technique for narrowing down the range of questions to be asked, and in helping to formulate the questions accurately, without ambiguity. It also helped with exploring different sources of data, and consolidated the group's understanding of the objectives of this particular survey, and research in general.

**Age of interviewees**

The group felt that it would be offensive for them, as young people, to ask strangers in their community their age directly, particularly in a cross-sex situation. They found that by asking two or three questions related to age of starting and leaving school, and how long out of school, a close enough estimation of age could be made.

**Family income**

The community workers were keen to have information on household income. The interviewers felt it would be impossible to get this from young people, partly because they simply would not know what their parents were earning, and partly because it would be impolite to ask. They agreed that the following questions relating to income
were acceptable: how many earners are there in this household; what informal ways of earning money do you have? The latter question elicited data on informal sector activities in the area, and many respondents provided the names and addresses of people with a range of skills.

'Feelings' questions and probing

In the rough draft, questions relating to respondents' problems appeared towards the beginning. The group felt that these should be moved further on in the interview, thus giving time to establish rapport. What happens, one asked, if a person just refuses to open up? The idea of probing was discussed, and the need for sensitivity: the group decided that the right not to comment has a higher priority than the interviewer's need to turn in a fully completed schedule. The role playing showed up how easy it is to ask leading questions, and put answers into people's mouths.

Confidentiality

It is standard practice in social research to give undertakings to respondents that all information given will be kept confidential. In a community self survey such as this, a problem arises because of the need to share the results of the survey with respondents, and also to contact them if any action is taken (in this case, if a skills training course were to be offered).

The group came to a compromise solution. At the beginning of the interview, assurance of confidentiality was given, as the group felt this would enable people to speak more frankly. At the end of the interview, people were asked whether they wanted further contact with Christian Community of Youth Trust, and if so, would they mind their name and address being written on the form. This would enable the community workers to put all people with interest in a particular skill in touch with each other and with
the trust. Only five out of the final sample of 350 refused to allow this.

5.2.3.3 Interviewing skills

It had been planned to defer training on interviewing skills till after the schedule was completed, so that we could role play with the actual questions which would be used. I had drawn up 'Ten guidelines for Interviewers' (see Appendix 2) for discussion by the group.

However, as the group worked on the schedule, they came up spontaneously with all of these guidelines save one (that of privacy in the interviewing situation) which they found unacceptable for Lamontville.

What follows are some issues raised in the sessions on interviewing skills. They indicate the importance of sensitivity in social research, particularly in cross-cultural research. The interviewers felt their way in to the interviewing situation, helped by role playing. Common sense, based on their own knowledge of community norms and values resulted in a better learning experience, and a more acceptable research schedule, than an 'expert' could have provided.

Introduction to interviewees

The first issue which arose from the role plays was how to handle the crucial moment when a respondent answers the door, and the introduction has to take place. The group was sensitive to the reticence of local people towards strangers, and agreed that the most important questions that the interviewee needs to have answered as soon as possible are:

- who are you?
- where are you from?
- what do you want from me?
- why are you at my home? (i.e. how was I chosen?)

They devised an introduction which answered these questions in as speedy and simple a manner possible.
It was interesting to note that the group agreed that they should identify themselves as being, not only from Lamontville, but from a particular street ('I am Miss X from Radebe Street'). They felt this identification with the local area would put people at their ease. Also, they agreed that if a young person opened the door, a parent or senior household member should be asked for. The interviewer should explain his or her presence to that person and get permission for the interview to proceed.

Privacy in the interview

The group found the idea of one-to-one interviewing unacceptable. They argued this partially on practical grounds - where, in the overcrowded township houses, could one hope to find space to interview a person alone? Their chief objection, however, was that it would be offensive to the Lamontville community to have a young person interviewing a stranger without others present, again particularly in a cross-sex situation. This would transgress local norms.

Thus an interviewing situation with more than the young person present was accepted, after discussion about the introduction of bias by other people. The compromise reached was that, if a parent was speaking for the respondent, the interviewer should listen and take notes, and then probe the respondent again. A note should be made on the schedule as to who was contributing which responses.

This problem arises often in social research in rural areas, where whole families participate, and the interviewer who wants to probe, say, women's attitudes, will find him or herself getting senior men's attitudes on what women think!

Raising respondents' expectations

'But if we ask them what kinds of training courses they would like to attend, then they will be very angry if there aren't any training courses at the end.'
'What happens if they ask us to help them get a job?'

'What must I do if I see a hungry child - can we give them money from the church?'  (Some comments by interviewers.)

Much of the research in applied social science investigates problems of 'the poor' - and in South Africa this by and large means black communities. Townships have been exposed to teams of sociologists, economists, and political scientists, inter alia; in recent years they have been joined by the market researchers, investigating consumer patterns and behaviour.

Social researchers, and especially their field workers, have for a long time been concerned with the fact that people's expectations are raised during the interview process. And more recently, some community groups have realised there is too often no return to the group being studied. The question is being asked: 'What's in it for me?' One interviewer wrote of her field experience:

'Other people were giving us false information. I think this was because they said many researches were rendered and they didn't get any help from them and they also think that we are going to do the same thing.'

An advantage of the community self survey is that it has an action goal, usually a short term one. Interviewers can thus link the questions they are asking with potential tangible benefits to the community. In this way the problem of raising expectations is in principle overcome (however, see p.59 for qualifications in this study). Interviewers in such a study, coming as they do from the area under investigation, are very sensitive to this issue. They know they will see respondents again, and feel accountable to them. An interviewer, three months after the end of the survey and before the skills training had started, wrote:

'I'm a little bit worried because I meet many interviewees, and they ask me about it, mostly boys, and if I'm not telling the truth I can be in danger. They ask me about this centre, when it will be there, and what to do about it if they want to enter the situation.'
Linguistic problems

As I could not speak Zulu in these training sessions, the schedule was drawn up in English, and most of the role plays done in English. When the time came to translate into Zulu for final role playing, some problems came to light. One example is to do with the word 'skills': it is not open to simple interpretation, and the intended question 'What skills do you have' had to be broken down into three questions. 'Self help groups', 'Skills training courses', 'Informal sector' also presented problems, and these concepts had to be discussed and explained thoroughly before any consensus was reached on a correct and unambiguous translation.

5.2.3.4 Drawing the sample

The sample size was determined by the time and number of interviewees available. The group had decided to work in pairs in the field for reasons of safety, and if each conducted thirty interviews, and attended the partner's thirty, three hundred interviews would be possible in twenty working days (three interviews per day was considered a feasible target).

The sample was drawn on a rough and ready basis, relative to the sophisticated techniques commonly used in social research.

Our main concern was to get a sample which was more or less representative of the different socio-economic groups in Lamontville. A map of the area was sketched, and the different zones within it named by the group. They then categorised the area in terms of housing types, which in a township such as this reflects socio-economic characteristics (in that the group readily agreed on who lived in each area: the poor, the not so poor, and the relatively well-off). Five zones were identified, and a rough estimation made of their relative size. It was decided to spend a proportionate amount of interviewing days in each zone in order to get the 300 interviews.
Streets were allocated to each pair, and every attempt was made to cover as wide an area in each zone as possible. It was decided that interviewers would go from house to house in each street, asking whether there were household members who fitted the sample description. If so, that person or persons would be interviewed.

This system would be a methodological horror story to rigorous social scientists! However, given the nature and aims of this particular survey, it was felt to be adequate.

5.2.3.5 Pilot interviews

Interviewers conducted two or three interviews with acquaintances in order to familiarise themselves with the schedule, test the questions for adequacy and ambiguity, and to build their confidence in interviewing skills. Some ambiguities came to light, and the order of some questions was found to be unsatisfactory. Changes were made and the final schedule was printed.
5.3 Field work

At the beginning of each day, each pair of interviewers was given a list of streets to cover. They started at one end of a street and moved along it, enquiring at each house whether anyone was present who was an unemployed, early school leaver between 15 and 30 years old. Interviews took between one and two hours to complete, and each pair usually completed three or four interviews each day.

The group worked ahead of schedule, and eventually did an extra fifty interviews to substitute for some early ones which they felt had been of poor quality owing to their lack of experience, for some which had been only partially completed because of interruptions, and for some where they felt household members had prevented the respondent from contributing his or her own opinions.

5.3.1 Some problems encountered in the field

Every pair, in every area, encountered suspicion from families and young unemployed people, that they were from the Port Natal Administration Board, and were there to check on registration.

Two quotes from interviewers:

'There were times when I had to probe so much specially when I was interviewing guys because they seemed reluctant to be interviewed. The reason being the Port Natal threat to the unemployed guys. They first thought I was a Port Natal agent going looking for them. Well, I could not blame them for their suspects'.

'The youth can't discuss their needs easily. If a person is unemployed there is one thing she or he thinks of: that the security may come and pick him or her up in the morning.'

Interviewers found that, once they were granted access to one household, the word soon spread through the neighbourhood, and they had few refusals after that. They were often asked back to houses which had initially declared that no unemployed people were present.

The implications of this widespread suspicion for social research in black residential areas are obvious. This is specially so when one considers that this suspicion was experienced by a peer group from the community being investigated.
After a few days of interviewing, it became clear that females were being overrepresented in the sample. This may be related to the suspicion (males possibly 'disappeared') and also to the possibility that more men were out looking for work.

With no transport, the interviewers decided against working at night to correct this bias. Thus in the final sample, there was a male to female ratio of 1:2.

It rained heavily on two of the four days set aside for interviewing in Gijima, one of the five areas. As it was far from project headquarters, and no transport was available, only half the projected interviews for this area were undertaken.

The interviewers encountered eighteen people who insisted on being interviewed, even though they fell outside the sample definition. They had matriculated, but could not find employment, and felt so strongly that their problems should not be ignored by this survey, that the interviewers felt bound to interview them.

5.3.2 Daily evaluation sessions.

An important component of the interviewing period was the evaluation session held at the end of each day. The content of these sessions reflected the emphasis throughout the self survey process on growth and learning for the participants. The evaluation sessions served the following functions:

5.3.2.1 Quality control of interviews

The group checked each other's interviews to ensure that each question had been filled in, and that the written responses were intelligible. Problematic questions were discussed. The group could compare their own work with the others', and differences in quality or depth were pointed out. The group discovered certain inconsistencies in the interview schedule which had not come to light in the small pilot study. They discussed these in the
first two evaluation sessions and modified the schedule accordingly.

5.3.2.2 Supportive function: discussion of the difficulties of field work

Some interviewers felt a lack of confidence about talking to strangers, and in the evaluation sessions different ways of handling this were explored.

Conflict arose between the community workers and the interviewers early in the field work. Interviewers felt that the community workers had unreasonably high expectations in terms of the amount and depth of the information required. The interviewers put this down to the fact that the community workers had no first hand experience of the difficulties involved in field work.

On the first day of field work, two of the women were threatened with assault:

'My first experience was a horrible one because I was nearly cut down by a bush knife. I even said to myself, if things would continue that way, I would rather change my line of work.'

Their anxiety was dealt with in the daily session, with a discussion about the physical dangers of field work, as well as the responsibility of Christian Community of Youth Trust towards the interviewers and their families.

Some interviewers found their exposure to the poverty-stricken conditions of some families they encountered very difficult to handle. Here, the supportive function of the evaluation sessions was useful.
5.3.2.3 Social learning function: discussion of community conditions

During these evaluation sessions, the interviewers raised community problems mentioned by respondents. The community workers facilitated discussions of the interrelationship of Lamontville's social and economic problems, and put them in the context of South African society.

During the first week of interviewing, the evaluation lasted from 1 to 1½ hours daily. As the group became more familiar with the schedule, and as they became more confident, less time was needed. By the final week, the main function served was that of quality control.
5.4 Analysis of results

A month was set aside for this stage of the survey. A characteristic of self surveys is the participation of interviewers in the analysis, for two reasons:

- People have the opportunity to learn basic skills in data organisation and analysis - these skills can then be used in any future research exercises in the community.
- Working with the results contributes to their understanding of community issues thrown up in the survey. Interviewers learn to generalise from information obtained in their particular interviews, to interpret the data, and they contribute to recommendations arising from the research.

An issue facing the organisers of any such survey, particularly with a relatively large sample size, is whether to opt for manual or computer analysis. This was put to the group for discussion, and the following points were considered:

- Manual tabulation is easily learned by people with no research background.
- Simple frequency distributions can be calculated rapidly and accurately by hand. This gives rapid feedback to the group on the results of their work.
- Manual tabulation is restricting in that, with a large sample, it does not easily allow for cross tabulations.
- Computer analysis on the other hand allows for a more complex and sophisticated analysis.
- The choice of conceptual categories for computer coding requires experience, but once that has been done, people with simple training can order the data, complete the code sheets, and decide which cross tabulations would make sense in terms of intended use of the data.
- The 'reading' of computer results requires training and experience.
In the discussion a heated debate emerged with a clear division in the group. Half of them felt that the data should be computerised, on three different grounds:
- that this would of itself 'make the research more scientific'
- that it would 'make the research look more scientific' (a different point from the first)
- that they would like to become familiar with coding and code sheets: they were attracted to the idea of 'working with computers'.

The attitude of the other half of the group was summarised by one member:

'So far we have made the questionnaire ourselves, we have made the interviews - if we give it to a computer now, we give it to someone else, and we do not control it any more'.

I myself believed that computer analysis was not necessary at this stage, in terms of the intended use of the data; the two community workers were divided on the issue.

A compromise was reached, primarily because there was some urgency about preparing an interim report for a sponsor's meeting within two weeks of completion of the interviews.

It was decided to hand tabulate frequency distributions for key questions, so that some interesting survey results could be included in the report to the sponsors, to indicate progress. Thereafter, part of the schedule would be prepared for coding.

The group worked on the data in pairs, and did simple frequencies for age, sex, area, standard of education, reasons for leaving school, whether employed since leaving school, and preferences for skills training courses in Lamontville.

A simple 5-bar counting system was used, with each pair working on a batch of 60 schedules at a time. After completion of each batch, the results were cross-checked by another pair.
The group progressed with the tabulations very rapidly. Some degree of inter-pair rivalry was present, but more important was that the group thoroughly enjoyed tackling a systematic, practical task after the arduous period of field work.

After manual tabulation was completed, a few days were spent on coding for the computer analysis. The workers then decided that, with the limited time left (one week), it was important that they order and systematise those parts of the information which gave names and addresses of local leaders, people active in the informal sector and organisations active in Lamontville. This information could provide a network of contacts for Christian Community of Youth Trust in terms of feeding back the survey results, getting help in setting up courses, and identifying skilled people in the area who might be helpful.

The three months of the survey thus ended with all information hand tabulated, parts of the information coded, a long list of contacts in hand, and a braaivleis.
SECTION 6

THE INTERVIEWERS' EXPERIENCE OF THE SELF SURVEY.

During the third month, while the data were being analysed, the community workers were approached by a community newspaper, and asked to write an article about the self survey.

We decided that this should be a joint effort, and each interviewer was asked to write a page or two about their experiences.

The article was never, in fact, completed, but the interviewers' contributions are included here. They reflect an immediacy of experience with the research process, and with their own perceptions of community problems. They contain lively descriptions of the community's response to the survey, and of the rigours of field work.

They have not been edited, except where parts have been quoted in other sections of this paper, or where expedience has dictated the omission of names of people or organisations.

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'The survey which we are doing is a community self survey. It is being conducted by the members of the Christian Community of Youth Trust in order to find out how many early school leavers are here at Lamontville, the reason why they left school, and their main problems facing them. The offices of the Christian Community of Youth Trust are found at the back of the Assemblies of God Church. After the survey there would be a centre for these people but its a long term goal.

This survey is valid for only three months and there are only ten early school leavers who are involved. But before we were involved
we had an interview first so as to test us whether we do qualify for this job or not.

In the first month we were being trained so that we can have more understanding of what we were to do as well as to develop ourselves personally. We were being visited by some enablers so as to give us more information and understanding. Before the end of the first month most of us were plunged at Umlazi and some near Umlazi. We were dropped early in the morning and scattered all over the place, nobody was accompanying one another. This was part of training because we were having a practice of what we were going to do the following month. It was quite interesting as it was our first time to do such a thing, but I did learn a lot out of it.

Then in the second month we invited some members of the community so as to introduce ourselves to them. We did this so they will not suspect us when we are doing the survey. The questionnaire we were to carry was being made by us, but Francie Lund typed them for us. She helped us a lot because she had done some research before. After all this we then started our survey in this second month, but there was still that fear of people, because in that meeting which was held we did not invite all members of Lamontville. So there were some people who are not informed about this survey. But as the time goes on our survey was spread all over the location.

On my own point of view this survey was quite interesting because I have learned a lot out of it and it had made me to be open and be able to communicate with different types of people as well as share ideas with them. When doing this survey we did find some problems and difficulties because some people refused to be interviewed thinking that we are the informers. Most of the ones that are not working they have the attitude that we are tracing them and they will be arrested.
In the third month/last month it is where we are dealing with evaluation.

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'When we went out for a survey we discovered the problems of a community...People are not understanding their rights. They are not able to use their minds. They think of one thing. They can't find jobs because jobs are for those who are educated. Some leave school because they are not intelligent enough. That person will not be able to improve his life because there are no advice offices or places for recreation. The youth can't live together and discuss their need. If a person is unemployed there is one thing that he or she thinks of: the security may come and pick him up in the morning. Still again if they don't find a job they will be arrested. What happens, he gets a bad influence in jail. When he comes out he's just thinking of bad deeds.

The houses are too small for a living people. You can't stay in a four roomed house when we are about 8 persons thinking there will be an improvement to that person.

Schools are not enough for the community. They are crowded. If you do not have the permission for living in Lamontville you can't find a job'.

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'How I knew about it: I heard about the survey from Bro Sandile. I was so curious to know about it. He told me not to worry about it - because there will be a training course for us.

Training: The organisers explained the survey to us and they told us about Francie Lund from the Department of Social Sciences at Natal University. They told us she has knowledge about this and she will help us. They also told us about Thami Dumisa from Diakonia:
when we were doing plunging he delivered us out of Lamont and he collected us. He explained to us about alienation, exploitation and depersonalisation.

Experience in the community: Many people are unemployed and some do not even know where to go and look for jobs. Others are not permitted to work in Durban. They are not registered. Some people who have left school are unemployed but have skills. They are underage, and have no reference books. Great families live in small houses. Some are not allowed to extend their houses since they are not theirs which I see as depersonalisation by the authorities.

Importance of the work: I see it is going to be helpful to the people I have been talking about since they may get opportunities to work. I see it as very interesting for a person to do a job in which one is skilled.

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In order to become a successful and helpful community worker one has to adapt oneself in many situations favourable and unfavourable. One has to develop flexibility otherwise one will be easily crushed into pieces if one becomes stiff-necked.

The training session conscientised me of the sicknesses which exist in the black community. Now who is the cause of all the existing sicknesses? It is easy for everyone to throw the blame on the next person.

In the training I learned to be a listener (receiver) at the same time giving guidelines.

During the first days of the researching, it was rather difficult to approach people because I was not yet used to it. But when I had adapted myself to speaking with people irrespective of their way of living, it was a bit easier.
I was so happy to learn that most of the interviewees would like to learn some skills to compensate for the education they got deprived of for varying reasons. Some even wish the Centre was open already so that they could start learning.

Staying with the group for three months I have learned a lot as far as one has to behave oneself. I know that when I am speaking to someone I should speak unhurtingly and creatively. I should not act according to the will of my heart. I have grown spiritually. I have learned to work independently and responsibly.

I'm now worried where I will use and improve the skills I have received especially coding skills. I'm happy I will enter community work being clear as to what is going on in the community.'

****************

'The survey has helped me a lot because now I know many things about this community which I didn't realise were existing. Now I know how to interpret people's attitudes and how to communicate with them which was the last thing I thought I could do.

What I have found out about Lamont's people is that there are problems they are aware of and other problems which are not known about. Other people are not even concerned about others: they just sit and look not realising that these problems may affect them as time goes on. These people have an empty pride.

People don't know what they need unless somebody from outside suggests it, like the Youth Centre which the Christian Community of Youth Trust is proposing. But as the survey went on they started to respond positively to it claiming that the existence of the Centre will even eliminate the high rate of hooliganism here in Lamontville.'

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'What I have observed in the township: Our black community is dehumanised. There are many families that are overcrowded in match box houses. They live like cows in the kraal or chickens in a cage.

Some of these houses haven't got enough space for a lawn. They are also clustered in such a way that there is not even a path that is leading straight from a house to the road. Some are far from the road. They are just planted at the foot of a hill and what is worse is that the soil is easily eroded when there is heavy rainfall. It is difficult because water gets in the shoes.

To prove the point that the black community in the townships is exploited is that they are paying a very high rental that they should not be paying for these match box houses. They are not even allowed to improve these houses.'

'Il for one recommend this survey which we have rendered here in Lamont. Firstly I can say I was so pleased to be aware of the sickness which our community was suffering from. It happened that I was able on my own to diagnose the sickness among the community like alienation.

I found that alienation is existing in our community. Alienation exists between man and man, and between man and his environment, between man and his God. Because people here in our community we are not united. Here houses are not the same and they have different patterns of houses and this is another cause of alienation because those who are staying in big houses they have big walls and big dogs in their homes because they feel that they can't communicate with a person who is staying in a 3-roomed house.

There is another sickness here in our community that is exploitation. In this case people are being exploited by the authorities. The
people who are working are not satisfied with their earnings. They are paying a big sum of money for the houses which have no electricity.

Here in our community drop-outs or early school leavers are mainly caused by unemployment which leads to financial problems. Really I don't know how this can be resolved. Another thing which causes so many drop-outs in our community is that many people are registered and they don't have permission to work here, in Durban, and this is really frustrating many people....

What I have noticed in our community there are many unmarried mothers (teenage) but I feel we never dealt with the causation. I'm really not satisfied with what we have acquired as far as teenage unmarried mothers are concerned. I think it is very important to know why there are so many young mothers in our community.'

'A community survey was organised by the community workers known as Sandile Qulu and Siphiwe Madondo with aid in organising it by the Youth Trust Board. The survey itself is hoped to provide the needs of the people and is hoped to open the eyes and give better opportunities to the black nation.

In the first month the interviewers have undergone a training, in preparing to meet strangers since we are just community people who know nothing about the conduct of a research before....

The main aim of the survey is to find skilled people from the community who do not know how to help themselves and to make people find ways of making a living for themselves without being dependant, by attending some proposed courses.
53.

From the beginning of July we started to go out to the community. People appreciated very much the work we were doing and many who have skills were excited about the whole thing and some were greatly prepared to give themselves in order to give out the knowledge they have to the community. Everything was most fantastic.

The survey helped us as interviewers in getting to know better the views of the community since of course we had been quite aware of the problems and difficulties of the black community. I personally do not know the better remedy to cure the sufferings of the people, since the South African government is depriving us of the right of using our minds in order to help ourselves.'

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'Aims:

1. The aims of the project was to get the number of dropouts in Lamontville.
2. A dropout is a person who has left school early due to certain problems whilst schooling, then they can't find a job due to their poor qualifications.
3. To know the reasons for leaving school early. To get the needs and problems of young people and get suggestions and solutions for their problems.
4. To find out their skills and interests.

How: The first month in June we had a training course. After training we went out for field work. We went out door to door with questionnaires that we had prepared ourselves during the course. We had an urban plunge for one day when we experienced many things.

Observation: When I was conducting the survey I noticed that many young people left school because of a) bored of school (laziness) b) shortage of schools c) lack of parental care d) academically/
physically poor e) bad friends and pregnancy. I noticed ignorance about community things.

Comments: This survey helped me understand my community better, and even get to know their needs, especially young people. The survey helped me to understand the importance of young people to be involved in community activities. My feeling was that I felt good because I have learned a lot about working with different people with different behaviours and opinions. I also felt good because I have learned the importance of communication, and about approaching people.

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In this section the Lamont self survey will be assessed in terms of its specific objectives as described on p. 23. I will then go on to specify principles which usually pertain to self surveys which were not followed in this case.

7.1 Short term objectives

7.1.1 'To investigate the needs and problems of young employed people in Lamontville, by undertaking a self survey.'

This paper has outlined how this objective was achieved.

7.1.2 'To identify their preferences for skills training courses in Lamontville.'

This information was gathered during the interviews, and analysed.

7.1.3 'To establish, through the self survey, a network of contacts with people perceived by young people to be helpful local youth leaders, and with people working in the informal sector whose skills might be drawn on in courses which the Christian Community of Youth Trust would set up.'

The schedule was constructed to include questions which identified both of the above groups of people. The Christian Community of Youth Trust has a list of names and addresses in hand.

7.1.4 'To make the work of the Christian Community of Youth Trust more widely known in Lamontville.'

This undoubtedly happened, through the interviewing process itself, and through leaving a contact form with each interviewee.
7.1.5 'To appoint ten local young unemployed people to conduct the survey, thereby
1) providing temporary employment
2) giving them skills in social research and
3) creating a core of voluntary workers who could assist the Christian Community of Youth Trust in its future work.'

1) and 2) above were achieved. The third objective has been only partially met. On the one hand, some of the interviewees have taken up formal employment or left Lamont temporarily to further their education. On the other hand, the Christian Community of Youth Trust has not yet structured a role description for voluntary workers. The community workers have been giving their full attention to implementing the training courses. Informal contact is kept with interviewees through various church and youth activities.

7.1.6 'On the basis of information gathered, to motivate for sponsorship of skills training courses identified as priorities by the young people of Lamontville.'

A report, based on survey results, was sent to the sponsors, with a budget motivation for two initial courses.
7.2 **Long term goals**

7.2.1 'To institute two or three training courses, identified by the survey.'

The results showed that women respondents wanted two types of course: clerical skills, and sewing skills. Some of them were already earning money informally through making and selling hand-made items, whether knitwear, crocheted goods, or dresses. They felt they could increase their earning capacity by being taught how to improve their skills, or by diversifying into other handcraft areas. Others, who were not making and selling garments, felt that this would be a realistic way to earn some money.

Those wanting to learn clerical skills perceived that more clerical positions are becoming available to black women. Existing clerical courses are offered in the city only, far from Lamontville, and are expensive.

The majority of men wanted to learn skills related to the building industry - plastering, carpentry, plumbing, painting. Some knew of men working in the informal sector as freelance handymen, doing local repair work, and they thought that with some training they could get jobs in the community outside of the formal sector.

The workers decided that it would be most appropriate to start the courses in sewing and clerical skills. Training courses in building are controlled by industrial legislation and trade associations, and it was felt that it was beyond the scope of the Christian Community of Youth Trust to tackle this area in the immediate future. The two courses for women, on the other hand, could be started fairly soon.

Thus a report was sent to the sponsors, giving survey results, with a budget motivation to cover these two courses. A grant was awarded, and at the time of writing (August 1982) the clerical course is underway.
7.2.2 'To work towards the building of a Training Centre in Lamontville'.

It is difficult to assess how far the self survey has contributed towards this long term goal. It has certainly generated local interest in the idea of such a centre. That it is a major need has been proven by the difficulties encountered by the workers in finding a venue for the two training courses. This has been the major obstacle in the way of starting the sewing course: the workers have found people who are willing to provide the instruction, they have a list of people who wish to do the course, and they have received a handsome donation of sewing machines and materials. But they have no suitable accommodation, and there is little likelihood that a venue will be acquired in the near future. The clerical course has been started, but has been run in a variety of premises in and outside Lamontville, which has been unsettling and unsatisfactory.
7.3 Some failings of this self survey

7.3.1 Raising respondents' expectations

A claim made for self surveys as opposed to other community surveys, is that they can offer tangible benefits to community members who are interviewed (see p.36 for a discussion of this point).

In the Lamontville survey, the problem of raising interviewee's expectations was only partly overcome. It was solved in the interviewing situation itself, as interviewers were able to offer a possible training course in response to the question: 'What's in it for me?'

However it is clear that not all interviewees have benefitted in the short term from this survey. The two courses cater for the needs of a small minority of all women interviewed, and for none of the men.

We should have anticipated the problems that arose with courses for male respondents. The question asked about course preference was open-ended. Given the high unemployment rate (which was one catalyst of the survey) we should have foreseen that the expressed need of men would be for 'hard' training, such as in the building trade. It has been pointed out that the provision of such training is way beyond the scope of the Christian Community of Youth Trust, a small private organisation with limited funds and resources.

The question should have been more narrowly phrased, to elicit responses for courses which the Trust conceivably could cater for.

If the long term goal for a Training Centre is met in future, more ambitious courses may then be offered. Until then, the survey will have failed to provide for the needs felt by the men, and the expectations they expressed.
7.3.2 Feedback to interviewees and the community

The community workers had intended to hold meetings with the interviewees when the results were available, to inform them of the results, and to initiate group discussions about how to meet the needs of young people in the area.

Two meetings were held, but they were not well attended. This may have been due to insufficient pre-planning and publicity. In addition, the community workers had planned to draw up fact sheets, with basic survey results, for general community distribution. This was not done, owing to the pressure to set up the training courses as soon as possible after the survey.

Hence this important objective of the self survey process - relaying results back to the respondents and to the community - was not realised in this particular exercise.

7.3.3 Involvement of other community organisations

Many groups undertaking a self survey will use it as an opportunity to mobilise public support for an issue by informing community organisations of the self survey, and involving them in it.

The Lamontville workers had hoped to advertise the self survey, and generate support for the Christian Community of Youth Trust, by having a number of community meetings with representatives of organisations active in the area.

Only one such meeting was in fact held, attended by about thirty people, though the community workers made individual contact with many other community leaders and organisations. The community workers have felt that they neglected this aspect of the survey process. They have wondered if, by involving more organisations earlier on, they may have received more support in finding a venue for their courses. Their representations to Community Council may have been strengthened with more broad-based support from a variety of community organisations.
SECTION 8

SOME COMMENTS ABOUT COMMUNITY SELF SURVEY AS A RESEARCH METHOD

8.1 Accuracy of the data

Social researchers may be sceptical about the accuracy of data obtained through a self survey. This research enterprise is supposed to be the domain of skilled, experienced people with substantial training in methodology. How reliable can information collected by the layman be?

I am not aware of any reports of self surveys where an independent check has been made on the reliability of the data. This is the only way in which accuracy could be fully determined.

Presumably, much would depend in the depth of information being sought, and the nature of the questions asked. These would be determined by the intended use of the data. Van de Lest, as cited by Robertson (1976:9) writes:

'The questions to be answered and the degree of refinement expected of the answers should be fixed beforehand. Otherwise there is a danger that the aims and problem formulation of the survey will demand results which just cannot be attained by using this method.'

Van de Lest is intimating that data obtained in a self survey can only attain a limited "degree of refinement." It has been asked whether the fact that interviewers are local community members creates a problem when eliciting information of a sensitive, personal nature. The existence of gossip networks might make interviewees feel that the assurances of confidentiality would not hold much water.
A perusal of theoretical literature pertaining to self surveys, and case studies, enables one to conclude that they are usually relatively simple investigations. They do not aim for complex and subtle measurement of feelings and attitudes.

In this self survey, most of the information required was factual (e.g. age, reasons for leaving school, last standard passed), expressed preferences for courses, and names and addresses of leaders, informal sector workers, and organisations active in the area. Interviewers found that the great majority of respondents, once an interview had been granted, were quick to open up, and forthcoming about their perceived problems.

It is well known that field workers encounter difficulties from people who have seen no benefit to themselves from past involvement with social research. It has been pointed out that a self survey will usually offer a tangible benefit to the respondent. One may imagine that this would facilitate open and honest responses.

Within the limited goals of a self survey, I believe that an argument can be made for the possibility that it may afford greater accuracy of information than a survey conducted by field workers from outside the area.

8.2 Performance of field workers

Social research institutes are familiar with the difficulties of forming, training, and keeping, a team of well-motivated field workers who consistently turn in high quality work. The high turnover rate is well known; stories about ‘fudged’ interview schedules are legion.

Some reasons for these difficulties may be the following:
8.2.1 Rates of pay

There is variation between universities, and between university departments, in interviewer rates of pay. However, academic research budgets are hard put to compete with the rate offered by market research companies.

In Durban, (and this may well be true for other regions as well), there is an informal network operating between university institutes and market research firms, whereby an overlapping pool of known field workers are used by both. Thus interviewers are well aware of the difference in rates. They may leave university projects if they hear of market research positions.

It has also been found that interviewers who have worked with briefer, more superficial market research schedules find difficulty adjusting to the depth of information, the 'probing and feeling questions', required in university research projects.

8.2.2 Demands of field work

Field work in social research is demanding and rigorous. Often, evening and weekend work is necessary to fulfil sampling requirements. Interviewers may have to walk through areas unfamiliar to them, and enter strange households. It has sometimes happened that interviewers have not been paid for the time spent in training. The time involved in getting one schedule completed (in terms of transport, finding the correct household, checking the completed schedule), is too often under-estimated by both the researcher and the interviewer.

8.2.3 Interviewer's realm of meaning

In most research projects, the problem to be investigated is determined by the researcher, who then designs the schedule. More
or less attention may be given, in the interviewers' training, to the purpose of the project, and the significance of the questions to be asked.

Thus interviewers are sometimes in the position where they cannot make sense to themselves, or to the respondents, of the nature of the research, the reason why any particular question is being asked, and why it is important to press the respondent to answer each question accurately and thoroughly. This can result in incomplete schedules.

In a self survey this problem is obviated because of the very nature of the exercise. Interviews are conducted by people who themselves have experienced the problem being investigated; they themselves develop the schedule and refine it until all questions are found to be acceptable in the local situation; they are motivated to turn in high quality work because any solutions to the problem found through the survey process may benefit them. The survey becomes 'our survey'; they are working for themselves. It falls squarely within their realm of meaning.

This was most certainly the case in Lamontville. The interviewers' dedication to, and pride in, their work comes across clearly in the pieces they wrote for a newspaper article (see Section 6). They cross-checked each other's work for high quality, and the group feeling created through the training sessions generated a high level of commitment to, and understanding of, the study.
SECTION 9

FINAL COMMENT

As has been pointed out in other sections of this report, the community self survey is but one research alternative, appropriate only in some situations. It seems to work best when the target for investigation is fairly narrowly defined. It presupposes the commitment of a group of people who want to undertake research into a problem affecting their community. It requires indigenous leaders who can mobilise local people to get involved.

Where these conditions are met, the community self survey undoubtedly has much to offer. Some fields in South Africa where one may imagine the self survey being put to good use, or where this has already been done, are the following.

Community health

There has been a growing interest in community health projects in both rural and urban areas. Much of the related literature stresses how important it is that the primary health care team should base its efforts on base-line data about health per se, and social and economic indicators which affect the particular population. There is also an emphasis on participation of people in their own health care.

This would seem to be a ripe area for self survey use, involving community members in investigating their own health problems. Data on undernutrition, sanitation, disease prevalence, health facilities could be obtained using this method. This would be accompanied by a heightened awareness of health as a problem.

The Child Health Screenings undertaken by the Phoenix and Tongaat Child Welfare Societies (Environmental Development Agency, 1980; Community Research Unit, 1981) shared many elements of community self surveys. The aim was to give a free health examination to every child under the age of eight.
Local volunteers were trained to conduct a large part of the screening themselves, and the health screenings were designed to strengthen local community organisations.

Civic associations

Residents and ratepayers associations in black areas frequently organise around issues such as rate and rent increases, public transport fares, electricity and water payments. Such groups have found the self survey an effective strategy for combining rapid collection of information and mobilisation. Their petitions and protests to local authorities are given increased credibility when they can base their arguments on facts.

The self survey in rural areas

I have not come across any examples of self surveys being undertaken in rural areas, either in South Africa or elsewhere.

In principle, it could be potentially useful, to counter some of the problems of rural research. It has often been noted that standard interview procedures conducted by an outside team are found offensive by people in rural areas. Research teams have encountered suspicion and reluctance. Such problems may be heightened in those areas which have been seriously affected by mass resettlement of entire communities, and where there is a wariness of 'forms' and officialdom.

While it is known that self surveys can be conducted by people with a relatively low level of formal schooling, how much schooling is required has not been established. Basic literacy and numeracy are obvious minimal requirements, and this may present a problem where the level of education is extremely low.

With this reservation, one may yet imagine the use of a self survey in a rural development project. It could be a method of gathering
information about an area of particular concern, and of getting people to establish felt needs on a group basis.

As a community development strategy, the potential of a community self survey is clear. People, in learning about their community, devise an action plan to solve a particular problem. They learn research skills which can be put to use in tackling future problems or issues. Where it is appropriate the self survey offers a viable and challenging alternative to other forms of social research, and a real contribution to the development of a community.
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Select Bibliography Continued.


LAMONTVILLE COMMUNITY SELF SURVEY

NUMBER:  
AREA:  

INTERVIEWER:  

SEX  
Tick:  
AGE  

SCHOOLING

1. What schools did you attend? (Names of all schools)

2. How old were you when you started school?

3. How old were you when you left school?

4. What year did you leave school?

5. What was the last standard that you passed in school before leaving?

6. There are many reasons why people leave school early. Will you tell us the most important reason why you left school when you did.

Any other reasons?
7a) Have you applied for any jobs since leaving school? Yes ___ No ___

b) If no: Probe why ______________________________________________________

(then go to Q.12)

8. If yes to Q.7a: How did you hear about the last job you applied for? ______________________________________________________

9. Were you successful in getting the job? Yes ___ No ___
   (if no, go to Q.11)

10. If yes: How long did you work at that job? ____________________________

   (go to Q.12)

11. If no to Q.9: Could you tell me why you have not been successful in finding a job? _________________________________

12. Although we know you are not working now, we are interested to find out how people with no fixed income earn money from time to time. Can you tell us what ways you have of doing this?

13. How many people in the house where you stay get regular wages or salaries?

______________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________
JOB ASPIRATIONS

14. What work would you most like to do?

15. What further education or training would you need to do this?

16. Not everyone can do what they would most like to do, because they have not had the right education or training. Of all the jobs you could do with the education you have now, which appeals to you most?

17. What hinders you from getting such a job?

18. Would you tell me two or three things that you have done in your life that you have been most proud of.

(PROBE)
SELF EMPLOYMENT/SELF HELP

19. We want to find out what ways people have of supporting themselves outside of a fixed job. Are there any people you know - family or friends or acquaintances - who earn money for themselves outside of a regular job, to increase their income?

Yes  No

20. If yes: would you tell us the type of thing they do?

1. ___________________________________________
2. ___________________________________________
3. ___________________________________________
4. ___________________________________________

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21. We would like to get in touch with such people in Lamontville as they may be able to help us at the Youth Trust. If you are able to do so would you give their names and addresses?

1. ___________________________________________
2. ___________________________________________
3. ___________________________________________
4. ___________________________________________

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CLUBS AND ORGANISATIONS

22. Are you a member of any clubs or organisations in Lamontville?

Yes  No

(If 'no', go to question 25)

23. If yes: what are their names?

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24. What do you most enjoy about belonging to each club?

25. If no to 22: Are there any clubs or organisations you have considered joining? Yes  No

26. If yes: What has stopped you from joining?

COURSES AND CENTRE

27. There is a possibility that the Youth Trust will set up day or evening courses for people in Lamont. We would like to find out what kinds of things young people would be interested in learning about, what they would find useful.

What courses do you think would be most useful for young people in Lamontville?

What courses would you yourself most like to attend?
28. The community hall in Lamontville is very overbooked and can't cater for everyone's needs and interests. If there was another community centre, mainly for young people here, what do you think it should be used for? (PROBE)

29. We want to find out what skills people like yourself have - what things they are good at doing which could contribute to a youth program.

Things to do with hands:

Other gifts and talents:

30. Would you tell me the names of any organisations or groups you know of who offer training courses which have been helpful to you or your friends or family (in or out of Lamontville)
PROBLEMS

31. Think of any young person or people you know who have also left school early. What do you think are the main problems facing them?

32. What are the main problems facing you in your life? (PROBE CAREFULLY: if interviewee has child, probe child care arrangements)

33. What person or people do you think has/have done most for young people in the community in Lamontville? (get address/name of organisation if possible/relevant)

34. What is it they have done that you think is helpful?
35. We would like to have some meetings and groups with people like yourself, to discuss further what comes out of this survey. Would you be willing to attend such groups or meetings, when we talk about what to do about the problems of young people?

Yes ______ No ______

36. If we do start any courses or activities in Lamontville, would you like to be informed about this?

Yes ______ No ______

37. If the answer to either of these questions is yes, we would like to have your name and address so that we can get in touch with you.

Here is a form with the name and address of our organisation, and the names of the community workers. Please contact us if you wish.

Thank you for your time.

26 June 1981.
Here are some points we have discussed during training sessions which you should keep in mind at all times.

1. When you arrive at the interviewer's house, don't start with the questions straight away. Take a little time to put the person at ease: perhaps you could comment on some local event, or the children in the house - find something in common to chat about which establishes an open friendly atmosphere.

2. Remember: the questions are guidelines only. In this sort of interviews, you don't have to read each question exactly the way it stands on the schedule.

3. Also, it is not necessary to follow the order of questions exactly. If the person brings up a subject which appears later on in the questions, go straight to that and draw him or her out, then return to where you were.

4. It is important that people are not left with false hopes about what your interviewing will do for them. You must be absolutely clear on this - for example, the Youth Trust will not be able to give them money, or find employment for them.

5. The interview must be conducted privately with the young person, even though this may be difficult to achieve. If family members gather around to listen, explain what the nature of the interview is, and then explain politely but firmly that it is not a public interview. You may have to conduct the interview outside if necessary.

6. Confidentiality: The person must understand that you will not write his or her name and address on the form - no one will know (apart from you) what he or she has said. At the end of the interview, if the person is interested in keeping in touch with the Youth Trust, you can ask their permission to give name and address.
7. **Observation**: be very alert to what you see as well as what you hear. Things you see may enable you to probe further about any of the questions.

8. Do the first few interviews with people you know - brothers, sisters, friends who are early school leavers between 15 and 30 years old. This should help you gain confidence and become familiar with the flow of the interviews.

9. The questions are in English, but you will be conducting interviews in Zulu. We will spend one session on this, getting consensus about the correct translation and expression of questions in Zulu.

10. Your attitude to the person and his or her problems is the most important key: don't cut them short and talk at length about what you think, and treat their ideas seriously and with respect.

F. LUND

23rd June 1981