

DIRECTOR'S ANNUAL REPORT

JUNE 1958 - JUNE 1959

For I.S.R.
Circulation

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

2) Indian Educational Study (N.C.S.R. - Carnegie):

Likewise under heavy pressure from his normal duties, Mr. Ramphal produced the first of this three loosely related studies of scholastic performance among Indian school children, a critical and careful comparative analysis of morning and afternoon school sessions.

A short summary of his findings is included in the Annexure of my report.

Two further studies involving the bulk of the research material, on the effect of (a) bilinguality and (b) late school entry, are in an advanced state of preparation, and will undoubtedly be a credit to scholar and Institute.

3) Culturally Mixed Community (N.C.S.R. - Carnegie):

The completion of Miss Phillips' study has been delayed, partly due to the decision, reached at draft-report stage, to give her material a broader treatment than had originally been envisaged. I do hope it will soon see its completion as a valuable contribution to a highly topical problem of social study.

4) African Responses to Advertisement (Carnegie and other sponsors):

Miss Papp's study on certain aspects of advertising appeal, supported from our own financial resources and those of the University Research Fund, with contributions from Messrs. Hind Bros, United Tobacco, and P.N. Barrett's Advertising Agency, has also outgrown its original scope as a baby-project, and is being turned into something much more ambitious. This, inevitably, also means a delay in the completion of her full report. Two preliminary reports, however, indicating the trends of the principal findings, were completed and presented to the sponsors before the end of last year.

A summary of this study will be found in the Annexure.

5) Shongweni Pilot Study (N.C.S.R. - Carnegie):

The social aspect of this project, which ran into trouble when the fieldworkers originally assigned to it, left the country, was virtually started de novo by Mr. Laredo with

the assistance of Mr. Zuma. The results were formulated in a substantial preliminary report in January this year (a summary is included in the Annexure). It has become a valuable cornerstone for the wider Umgeni Project, to which I shall return later.

6) Study of Judicial Process among the Zulu (N.C.S.R.):

Mr. Torres planned the fieldwork for this study over a period of three years, making use of the University vacations for this purpose. This year he spent some time at and around Mahlabatini, but he will extend his field of work to other parts of Zululand.

Very little of this kind of study has been done in the Union, and the results may be of considerable practical and theoretical value.

Excerpts from his progress report can be found in the Annexure.

7) Aspects of Migratory Labour (Nuffield):

Mr. Mbatha has completed the bulk of his fieldwork among the Nyuswa in their rural and urban environment, and is now writing up his material. The study is expected to throw light on the problems by the migratory labour system on African family life.

8) African Independent Churches (Ford Foundation):

Our last annual meeting derived its special flavour from Professor Sundkler's inspired address on the Concept of Christianity in African Independent Churches, one of the fruits of his research carried out under the aegis of this Institute. His address has been issued as one of our Reports and has found a wide and interested audience in and outside the Union.

I have hopes that he will return to us in the not-too-distant future. In the meantime we have been keeping contact with a few of the African Churches: last month, for instance, the Institute despatched a minor expedition to cover (with the help of Mr. Newman, the School of Architecture's photographer) the annual festival of Bishop Cekwana's Church near Heimville, in the Bergville district.

Professor Sundkler's new book on the African Independent Churches may be completed before the end of this year.

9) New Meyrick Bennett Project (University Research Fund):

This project is still in its infant stage. The idea is to develop it into a critical appraisal of the effect of therapeutic work done at the Meyrick Bennett Child Guidance Clinic over a period of five years, turning it into a comparative study of Indian and European subjects. The project should have considerable practical and theoretical value. A grant from the University Research Fund was obtained to enable the Clinic's Director to assess the practical difficulties of the project in a pilot study, and to form the basis for estimating cost, necessary staff and probable duration of the main project before framing an application to N.C.S.R. or other sponsoring body. A late start of the pilot project, mainly due to staffing difficulties, and the Director's illness, have prevented such an application from being submitted this year.

10) The Joint Umgeni Project (N.C.S.R. and other sponsors):

In this multi-disciplinary undertaking the National Council for Social Research is supporting the social anthropological and sociological studies; the C.S.I.R., with a Research Fellowship underwritten by the Natal Regional and Town Planning Commission, is engaged on a biochemical water survey; the Division of Botany has seconded a plant ecologist to the area; the University's Department of Geology without outside support, has carried its long-term survey in the area a bit further.

In my previous progress report I described the University's predicament as the result of the indecision of the Durban Corporation with regard to its financial support of the project, without which support the important economic and demographic studies could not be undertaken. It was then decided by the University members of the Steering Committee (with the moral support of Dr. Robbertse) to launch the anthropological and sociological studies in the hope of an early and favourable reply from the Corporation whose decision (it was thought) could not possibly be much longer delayed.

In August 1959, that is, after yet another twelve months of strenuous efforts (especially by Professor Horwood

from without, and Councillor Nagle and the Town Clerk (from within), the City Fathers passed the decision which adds £10,000 to the research funds for this project, still a fair compensation for twenty-four months of anxiety and frustration, and for the enormous advantage of including a full-scale economic and demographic study in this joint research undertaking.

For the year under review the following progress can be reported:-

a) Social Anthropology:

Mr. J.E. Laredo, with one African assistant, started his fieldwork under the scheme in July 1958, completing the Shongweni pilot study (see above) early in December, writing his preliminary report during December and January, subsequently starting his fieldwork in the Ndwedwe Reserve, where he is still engaged. He has largely followed the original research plan, concentrating on land tenure and patterns of authority. A conscientious worker, he has made considerable progress, and especially his information on subsistence economy subsidized by cash earnings may prove to be particularly valuable.

His next area may well be Inanda, where this dual economy and its social implications may be even more fruitfully studied.

b) Sociology:

Professor L. Kuper started his urban fieldwork in the Durban area with two African assistants in January, 1959.

The first stage of this work, of necessity exploratory, mainly concerns the African middle classes, and is approached from several angles:-

1. Subjective aspects of class (linked with occupational ratings by school children and their occupational aspirations);
2. Traders;
3. Nurses;

4. Background, occupational history and attitudes of graduates of Natal University;
5. Functioning of the Advisory Board System;
6. Leadership in Lamontville (to be extended to other locations).

This fairly loose initial pattern is designed first of all to get an overall view of the African middle classes.

c) Demography:

In spite of the lack of funds for the full development of this study (see above), Dr. C. Jooste, with students' assistance, made a preliminary study of some population data during December-January, supported by funds advanced by the Institute for Social Research. The work involved:-

1. Population growth figures by race for each magisterial district, 1936, 1946 and 1951. Post-censal estimates are still to be done.
2. Distribution of the population by race for each magisterial area:-
 - Rural-urban residence;
 - Size and growth of towns, 1921, 1936, 1946 and 1951;
 - Table showing the distribution of the Bantu population in detail, 1951;
 - Post-censal estimates still to be done.
3. Demographic and social characteristics by race for each magisterial area:-
 - Sex ratio in urban and rural areas;
 - Age structure, 1946;
 - Tables prepared so far show numbers and percentages.

A list of publications by the Bureau of Census and Statistics on the 1936, 1946 and 1951 Censuses has also been prepared.

d) Geography:

Last year the University's Department of Geography decided to participate in the project, and assumed as its main responsibility the provision of a land use map of the area. In the first quarter of 1959 and during the Easter vacation, staff and students, financially supported by the University Research Fund, mapped an area around Howick for a start.

Two more potentially important advances can be reported:-

1. In January, 1959, Dr. J.F. Holleman (Institute for Social Research) and Mr. R. Davies (Department of Geography) had discussions with the Director of the Trigonometrical Survey in Cape Town with a view to ascertaining the possibility of an aerial photographic survey of the region covered by the research project. It is gratifying to know that such a survey is likely to be carried out this year. Its value will extend far beyond the field of geography and its benefit for the project as a whole may be very great indeed.
2. The Director of the Institute for Social Research discussed with representatives of the Natal Regional and Town Planning Commission the possibility of the Commission contributing a Fellowship (in the Department of Geography) for the purposes of this research project. As a result, a formal application has now been submitted for the consideration of the Commission.

Owing to the uncertain fate of the economic and demographic studies, no meeting of the full Steering Committee has as yet been convened, since any discussion on co-ordination of research efforts at this stage would have been merely speculative and a waste of time for the external members. But a number of ad hoc discussions with participating members of the University staff, and with Mr. Harris (C.S.I.R.) were held during the year.

11) Copperbelt Study:

Early in the year your Director was approached with the request to collaborate with the National Institute for

Personnel Research on an important research assignment among the European mineworkers on the Copperbelt, which the N.I.P.R. was considering on behalf of the Northern Rhodesian Chamber of Mines. It involved a study of attitudes to conditions of service, to life on the Copperbelt as such, and to prospects of permanent settlement in that region. It was obvious that such a project could only be carried out with full support of the three major parties involved: Management, the salaried staff association and the European Mineworkers' Union.

As the relations between Management and labour had been strained for some time, the assignment called for careful manoeuvring on the part of the research team, and a field-director of sufficient status and experience was therefore required. The Director of the N.I.P.R. (Dr. S. Biesheuvel), unable to take personal charge on account of his existing commitments, requested me to act in his place, in charge of a research team he would provide.

In March this year he and I, accompanied by one of his assistants, paid a visit to the Copperbelt in order to assess the measure of co-operation that could be expected from the three above mentioned parties, at the four major mining centres. The result of this reconnaissance was reasonably favourable, and I re-visited the Copperbelt for some five weeks in June/July, during which time I tried to get an impression of the wider background against which the statistically controlled survey of specific aspects of life and employment, by the research team, could be projected. I shall have to go back towards the end of September to continue this work.

The Copperbelt project came out of the blue, at a time when the Swaziland project was rapidly outgrowing its original scope, and also other commitments (see below) began to exert considerable pressure upon me. Yet I felt, and the Executive Committee agreed, that the Institute should participate, for it meant (a) close and fruitful collaboration with a research institute of international reputation which has a wide experience of this type of social and industrial research, (b) through this association our Institute might become better known to people who may have the resources to sponsor possible further research which we could undertake, (c) this being a commissioned assignment, the Institute would at any rate derive immediate and substantial financial benefit from its participation - an important consideration in view of our meagre resources.

Apart from this, the project itself, and my own share in it, is interesting and may be of both fundamental and practical value. Later in the year, if time permits, I may put some of its problems before you in a seminar.

12) Swaziland Survey:

Last year I reported to you that a few of us met representative heads of the Swaziland Administration to help them find ways and means of organizing a reasonably effective statistical fact-finding apparatus. From these discussions developed what is fast becoming by far the biggest project the Institute has ever undertaken. To substantiate this claim I must give you a few details.

The Swaziland project started modestly enough as Colonial Development Welfare Fund Scheme No. R.661 with one full-time social anthropologist (Mr. A.J.B. Hughes) in the field on a three-year basis. His main task was two-fold: a study of land tenure in relation to the present political and social structure; a demographic study of population trends.

The first part alone, if it is to be done well, would already tax a single research worker, the second part, it was recognized from the beginning, could only be done on the basis of a well-organized sample survey involving a fairly large team of trained enumerators, an exercise which would need, from the Administration's side, more than benevolent moral support. It was therefore decided that Mr. Hughes first concentrate on the first aspect (about which you will find some aspects in the Annexure to this report).

In the meantime Mr. J. Daniel (Department of Geography) with an N.C.S.R. grant, got busy on a study of the country's economy working in close collaboration with Mr. Hughes.

The opportunity for widening the scope of our studies was presented when not only Mr. Daniel, but also one or two heads of Swaziland Government Departments, felt the need of reliable statistical data. This need was given additional stimulus by the Government's commitment to provide information for next year's stock-taking by the World Food and Agricultural Survey. It was then that we formulated the idea of combining our various requirements in a single scheme of organization, aiming at a country-wide sample survey which would collect data of use to every Government De-

partment as well to ourselves: population trends, family composition, etc.; educational standards and school requirements; resources, pattern and distribution of labour; land use and agricultural yields.

The main problem was to find a basis of sampling which (a) would be fairly reliable, (b) within manageable proportions as far as limited staff and finances were concerned, (c) of such a nature that it could be used for subsequent surveys, in order to provide a picture of growth and continuity.

The fact that ecologically and from a settlement point of view the country is far from homogeneous, and that Administrative and financial resources are strictly limited, posed a difficult problem of compromise.

We finally decided upon a 'grid-system', based on the topographic map, in which we divided the territory into some 1,800 squares of 3000 x 3000 meters (\pm 2x2 miles) each, covering four main strata, High, Middle, Lowveld and the Lebombo region. As half this area is Swazi rural area, about 80 squares randomly selected within the four strata, would constitute a fair-sized sample.

It sounds quite simple in theory, and our team (ably assisted by Messrs. Daniel and Cruise) persuaded the Administration to adopt it in principle.

The second half of last year was spent in preparing and debating the type of information which should be collected, and the specific form which the questionnaires would have to take (again an exercise in getting as full a return as the limited staff position and the quality of enumerators would permit). These details too, were more or less finalized (under high pressure) by the end of December last, when Mr. Cruise left for the United States on a well-deserved leave, and the rest of the team met at Mbabane to clinch matters with the Administration who would, from then onwards, take responsibility for the execution of the Scheme under our benevolent guidance. The Swaziland Government seconded one of its officers to administer the scheme and tried, at our advice, to make provisions for its own statistician on its establishment.

Instead of being able to sit back and enjoy the fun we had so generously planned for them, the practical problems

involved in the execution of this so admirably simple paper scheme, pulled us back into the thick of it before we had grown one month older. Mr. Hughes in Swaziland, Mr. Daniel and I in Durban, loyally assisted by Dr. Jooste (who came to the rescue during Mr. Cruise's absence) had to help translate our own theoretical exercise into practically feasible tactics which were to be tested in a large-scale pilot exercise last July. This involved, first of all, the transposition of some eighty times four corner-points of our sample squares, from pinpoints on the map to recognizable landmarks on the steep mountain slopes, the undulating middle veld, and the flat lowlands of Swaziland, a country where roads are few, and the terrain often rugged.

When we were told that even with the help of aerial photos this presented some formidable difficulties, we were inclined to scoff. But when, last July, we made some inspections in loco, we scoffed no more. Looking from a distance at a brilliantly white cross painted on a rock on the other side of a deep valley (one of so many corner points) I was delighted with this visible result of our planning. But the extension officer, who had been responsible for 'pegging' a few squares in this almost unaccessible mountaineous country, was too weary to share my excitement, because in this area 3,000 meters between two points had meant for him up to $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, or nearly four hours of climbing and footslogging with a pot of white paint. Where in this particular area visibility was fine but the physical exercise a trial, in the lowveld again the fairly easy going was bedevilled by lack of visibility from point to point, because the vegetation was just too high and the land too flat, to see more than fifty yards ahead. And yet, our ingenious method demanded that the enumerators stick rigidly to the areas bounded by the straight lines between the four points of our sample squares: only the residents and cultivations within these strict limits must be recorded.

Quite another problem were the enumerators, already a great number of them for the pilot survey alone, working in pairs, who first had to be trained (Mr. Hughes' responsibility), then transported to often almost unaccessible places, and there dumped with tents and equipment until they had finished the job on foot in mid-winter.

And this is only the Swazi rural area. There are the urban and peri-urban areas, the special settlement schemes, the few industrial concentrations, and those Swazi living on

the large and scattered parts of Swaziland where the European farms are, varying in size from 20 to 150,000 morgen. For each of these areas another sampling method had to be worked out, in order to provide a reasonably full coverage of the whole of Swaziland.

The Administration has played a magnificent game and has tried to meet our exacting standards, often, I suspect, with blind trust in our scientific infallibility.

But we have had to make one further concession. Unable to secure the special staff they had hoped for, the Administration has asked us to accept the responsibility for the processing of the results of the pilot survey. This itself will be a big task. We have accepted this, partly because we are morally bound to do so under the circumstances (if only to find out for ourselves whether our sampling basis is sound, before the full survey is launched next year), but partly also because this is indeed high adventure in the field of science.

As in all good adventure, the risk of partial failure is as real as the chance of achieving something worthwhile in a bold and imaginative manner. But this part of the challenge we have accepted. Apart from everything else, this is a joint effort in which scholars in various disciplines in this University (Sydney Cruise, applied statistics; John Daniel, economic geography; Douglas Sloan, economics; Chris Jooste, demography; Hughes and Holleman, social anthropology with the occasional advice solicited from other helpful colleagues) are combining with a small and enterprising Administration, to create a fact-finding apparatus which may contribute towards the future development and well-being of a proud but underdeveloped African nation. There can be few things which better justify the existence of our Institute for Social Research.

B. MISCELLANEOUS:

1) Inter-University Contact:

Considerable efforts from our side last year to persuade the N.C.S.R. to sponsor regular nation-wide meetings of social scientists to exchange views on problems of current research, met with a rather disappoint-

ing reception. The Committee of University Principals, whose recommendation as a body would have carried great weight, was not inclined to act in this manner. And although the majority of colleagues approached in other Universities supported the idea in principle, there was also, in at least one case, strenuous opposition. The net result was that the Council rejected the idea in the form submitted to it, but declared its willingness to consider on its merits individual proposals concerning special conferences of a much more restricted nature than the type we had envisaged.

The earliest date at which such an application could take effect, would be in 1960, the year of the massive International Conference organized by the University. I have not, therefore, pursued the matter further, but may do so later, if the time and mood seem favourable.

2) Director's movements:

I have been away from headquarters a great deal this year. A number of times in connection with conferences at which I represented this Institute or both the University and this Institute. My observations at last year's conference of the Institute of (Urban) Administrators of Non-European Affairs, resulted in an analytical and widely publicized report ('The Tightrope Dancers') on the uneviable intercalary position of the urban African Administrator. This provoked considerable reaction (not always very pleasant). The debate is bound to be resumed at this year's conference, at which my attendance has been thoughtfully secured by an invitation that I myself deliver a paper (on 'Bantu marriage', itself a provocative issue).

I did not issue a report on the S.A.B.R.A. conference in Durban this year, partly because I found it a disappointing anti-climax after last year's conference, partly because I lacked the (very considerable) time, which the writing of such a report requires - this is also the reason why I did not write about the Race Relations Conference which took place in Cape Town earlier in the year.

Our greatly increased research activities, in fields lying a few thousand miles apart, have also necessitated my repeated absence from Durban for shorter

or longer periods. Whilst this is inevitable, and in a sense a good thing, it has made it difficult to keep up some of the 'home activities' of the Institute.

I here particularly refer to our seminar programme which last year we maintained in spite of a sometimes embarrassing lack of interest from the side of our members. Unless this interest really exists in a measure which makes it possible for me or a seminar committee to arrange speakers and meetings without too much difficulty, it is bound to remain an irregular and speculative feature of our Institute's activities. The seminar in connection with Mr. John Laredo's paper 'White Administration and Tribal Adjustment' was not very well attended and as such doubtful encouragement.

With both Laredo and Hughes it has been possible to arrange a number of more intimate seminars on specific aspects of their fieldwork.

3) Library:

A catalogue of our small library was prepared by Miss Kuyper during the year and has led to a greater volume of borrowing.

I am happy to announce that, through the good offices of the Consul for Portugal, Dr. H. Gomes, the Institute has acquired a valuable series of books dealing with administrative, economic and social aspects in the Portuguese Overseas Territories. As a counter-gesture the Institute is presenting to the Board of Geographical Missions and Overseas Investigations, Lisbon, some of the products of this University. A formal exchange of these gifts will be made later during this meeting.

4) Sponsors:

The funds which largely enabled this Institute to function during the first five years of its life, have nearly dried up and very soon we shall have to rely almost completely on a hand to mouth existence.

I am extremely glad that the Medical School and the Department of Economics are now making regular use of our excellent sorting equipment (Powers-Samas). Not

only does this help to defray the heavy maintenance expenses, but it gives the Institute the satisfaction of facilitating research efforts in sister departments and faculties. There, is, however, scope for considerable extension of these facilities.

Our indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and Ford Foundation remains great for it has been these monies which afforded (and to some extent still affords) the Institute that measure of financial flexibility which spells the difference between undertaking or not undertaking a promising venture of modest proportions (for instance, the support of Professor Sundkler's research).

But there is no doubt that from now on we shall have to rely on support from within our country. In this respect the N.C.S.R. have given sterling help. If we acquit ourselves well of our present obligations towards this sponsor, and are able to maintain our present cordial relations and sympathetic understanding of our mutual problems, there is no doubt that we can count on their continued support.

Yet it would be of enormous benefit to us if we could undertake research on a commission basis, which would enable us to budget realistically. In this respect our participation in the Copperbelt study is a step in the right direction, but a much more radical shift is needed to secure the future of this Institute as a dynamic research centre.

At present our parent body, the University, is carrying the main burden of our establishment, and, while it should be a matter of course for any University to maintain both a research and a teaching establishment, the fact that in this respect the University of Natal presents the exception rather than the rule in this country, is a cause for pride as well as gratitude.

5) New accommodation:

During the coming year the Institute will move into new quarters in the Tower Building. Although the total floor space allotted to us will not be greater than we have been used to, the utilization of this space

will greatly increase the degree of privacy we can offer to a larger number of research scholars. The cost of the necessary alterations and partitioning will kindly be borne by the University.

6) Acknowledgments:

To the members of the Executive Committee, who willingly sacrifice time and effort to the affairs of the Institute, I must tender my thanks.

To Miss Kuyper, our Secretary, who at times has been very hard pressed indeed, my thanks and appreciation for what she has achieved without protest.

A special word of thanks to Sydney Cruise, John Daniel and Chris Jooste for their splendid co-operation and much hard work in the Swaziland adventure.

And to the Registrar and Administrative staff for their ever-willingness to help out and make things easy for us; the University accountant and his staff, in particular, are never better than in the emergencies we seem to have a habit of presenting to them.

I have left to the last a word about our late chairman, Professor Jack Krige, who died in harness in February this year.

All who have met and worked with him will retain the inspiring memory of a man of rare quality, whose wide scientific knowledge matured into a wisdom which, blended with his great humanity and high moral courage, made him an ideal arbiter in any situation of conflict, and a standard against which one could at any time measure the shortcomings of one's own judgment.

To lose such a man, particularly at the present time of conflict and moral confusion, is grievous loss; but to have known and to have been associated with him was a rare privilege for which I personally shall remain deeply grateful.

MENTAL EFFICIENCY IN INDIAN MORNING AND
AFTERNOON SCHOOLS

(C. Ramphal)

Inadequate school facilities for Indian youth has necessitated a system of double sessions, part of the pupils attending school in the morning, and the rest in the afternoon. It has been the firm conviction of experienced teachers that the pupils in the afternoon schools are at a disadvantage: having lost their 'morning freshness' (sometimes through long hours of waiting) they did not and could not exploit their full mental potential.

This study set out to prove or disprove the validity of the teachers' belief. Tests were applied to 144 pupils of an afternoon school. These pupils were tested on intellectual tasks in the morning and in the afternoon, in order to ascertain whether there were any significant differences in performance between the two sessions. The tests involved vocabulary, intelligence, mechanical arithmetic, and paragraph comprehension.

Performance during the two sessions took into account a comparison in respect of actual scores, accuracy, gross output, and variability on the four tests. For comparative purposes the data were further broken down on the bases of age, intelligence, and level of attainment of the pupils. In all, 168 tests of statistical significance were carried out.

The results were rather striking, if unexpected. On no score was morning work found to show superiority over afternoon work (taken at .01 level of significance). On the contrary. In six aspects in which differences in morning and afternoon performance was recorded, these differences significantly favoured the afternoon session!

From these findings we may conclude that neither the morning nor the afternoon possesses any inherent advantage over the other for school work of an intellectual nature. The apparent superiority of afternoon work on six of the differences (actually eleven, on a .05 level of significance) was attributed to the fact that the pupils tested in this study were conditioned to schooling in the afternoon.

It must be stressed that motivation is of crucial importance in studies of this kind. Moreover, the results of this study would suggest that a clear distinction between fatigue and impairment of mental performance would do much to clear the confusion that has characterised previous work done in this field.

AFRICAN RESPONSES TO ADVERTISEMENTS

(Charlotte Papp)

The investigation attempts to compare the responses of urban and rural Africans to advertisements depicting various themes. Five themes were incorporated in the series of advertisements used in this study and a basic 'black-white' comparison ran through all. That is, every advertisement had both an 'European' presentation and a very closely matched 'African' counterpart.

The five themes used were:

- i) 'The Bonny Baby'
- ii) 'The Happy Family'
- iii) 'Expert Guidance'
- iv) 'Scenery' (abstract-biased: urban (European) as against rural (African))
- v) 'Abstract design' (unbiased: but one predominantly light, the other predominantly dark in colour).

Three products were depicted:

- i) a well-known brand of baby food;
- ii) a well-known brand of cigarette;
- iii) a gramophone (of no particular brand).

Each product series consisted of 10 advertisements. All advertisements were of the same size, and all the original drawings were photographed in black and white. In each advertisement the product was presented in exactly the same position and in the same size. There was no text apart from the name of the product on the advertisement itself. All the advertisements were designed for the investigation, so that none of the subjects had seen any of them previously.

A total sample of 1200 adult Africans was drawn from urban and rural areas in Natal. There were 400 Africans tested on each of the three product series of advertisements. They were divided into four groups of 100 Africans each, according to whether they were male or female, urban or rural. Different subjects were used for each of the series of advertisements.

Here are some of the results:

The Baby-Food, Cigarette and Gramophone Series all three seem to indicate that on the whole, both rural and urban Africans alike, preferred the advertisements with the European presentation to those depicting African subjects. In the Cigarette Series the preference was particularly strong in relation to the advertisements depicting 'the baby' and 'the family'; in the Gramophone Series this preference was very strong in all instances.

In the Baby-Food and Cigarette Series there was no positive preference on the part of urban and rural Africans for either the advertisement depicting the urban ('European') or the rural ('African') scene, but in the Gramophone Series the rural females showed a marked preference for the urban scene.

In the Baby-Food Series, both urban and rural groups showed a significant preference for the advertisement with the dark abstract design to the one with the light one. In the Cigarette Series, the urban groups showed a statistically significant preference for the circular to the angular abstract design, while the rural Africans showed no marked preference for either. In the Gramophone Series, both urban groups, again, showed a significant preference for the circular design, but the rural males, in this instance, also showed a significant preference for this design.

In the Baby-Food Series, urban-rural differences occurred only for the advertisements depicting some form of family-life. For example, the urban groups showed no significant preference for either the European or the African baby, while the rural groups showed very significant preferences for the European baby. With the advertisements depicting the family, the results were the same.

The results of the Cigarette and the Gramophone Series were similar in that there were no significant differences between rural and urban Africans except for the advertisements

with the angular and circular designs. The urban groups of both Series preferred the circular designs markedly more than the rural groups.

From the results it would appear, firstly, that there are in general few differences between the preferences of urban and rural Africans, and markedly none between urban males and females, or between rural males and females.

The remarkable consistency of results obtained on each of the three Product Series, despite the fact that different subjects were used for each Series, seems to indicate that the product advertised is subservient to the theme with which it is presented.

Secondly, the fact that there were very few differences between urban and rural preferences seems to imply either:

- i) that changes effected by urbanisation are not reflected in a comparison of urban and rural responses to particular advertisements, or
- ii) that urbanisation has not wrought changes in the African's attitude to what the various advertisements represent.

SWAZILAND STUDY

(A.J.B. Hughes)

The Swazi are faced with the same problems facing the majority of Bantu peoples in Africa; that of adjusting their way of life to the technical exchange economy into which they are increasingly being drawn, and that of accommodating a rapidly increasing population on a fixed amount of land. The basic research problem was to discover what adjustments had been made in their traditional social organization to meet these changing conditions, and to what extent this organization was tending to inhibit changes that might seem otherwise desirable.

Several anthropological studies have already been made of the Swazi. The present exercise could be described with some truth as an attempt at applied anthropology; an investigation of the social organization with particular emphasis on those aspects which might affect, or be affected by, the adjustments to meet changing conditions. In this context the role of land is of paramount importance.

Two obvious hypotheses suggest themselves, namely -

1. That the increasing scarcity of land might stimulate a natural evolution towards a more individualized type of tenure than has been customary hitherto.
2. That, since the relationship between political authority and land has been, and still is, very close, and tendency towards a greater individualization of tenure must have a profound effect on the political structure at all levels.

In the second hypothesis there is the implicit assumption that there was in the traditional system a close link between rights over land and an individual's position in the political system. This assumption is supported by the existing literature, and was amply confirmed soon after field investigations started. In addition, it soon became clear that the Swazi people themselves were perfectly aware of this connection, and that the problem exercised a good deal of their thought.

The first of our hypotheses likewise soon found considerable evidence to support it. The growing scarcity of land and other natural resources, to which an individual was traditionally entitled as a member of one of the political subdivisions of Swaziland, had caused many Swazi to seek more individually defined rights for themselves and their families. In some cases people had even left the Swazi area (where traditional tenure operates) and acquired land on freehold tenure in other parts of the country. In other cases, inside the Swazi area, widespread and clear evidence of greater individualization was found, from a proliferation of fences, to private timber plantations and some cases of year-round cropping under irrigation; all of which were unknown in the old traditional system, and which tend to make a resumption of rights by the community over these developed lands a matter of much greater consequence than it was in the past.

This process obviously has not gone unnoticed. Many Swazi see in it a threat to their whole social order. As a result, there have been many deliberate efforts to check it. These have taken the form of rulings by the Swazi political authorities (not all of which have been observed) and protests by individuals or small groups to specific actions of their neighbours, such as fencing their arable lands or the refusal to throw them open to common grazing during the winter season. Many Swazi with agricultural ambitions claim that the traditional system inhibits agricultural progress; while their opponents argue that only a retention of this system can assure the continued existence of the Swazi as a unified people.

Apart from this type of resistance to change, there have also been conscious efforts to adapt the traditional system to changing conditions. These adaptations range from local adjustments of traditional rules to meet situations created by the growth of private timber plantations, to attempts to devise whole new sets of rules, based on traditional concepts and terminology, to cover considerable areas of country. Thus, about one third of the Swazi area (or about one sixth of all Swaziland) now comprises lands placed in a special category, and here special, new rules and customs regarding land tenure, and political control are expected to operate.

Another aspect of the problem is the effect of the existing Swazi social and political organization on those Swazi who have acquired land on individual tenure outside the Swazi area. As in many other parts of Africa, this development has not automatically resulted in these individuals becoming advanced peasant farmers. In many cases such land is as far as agricultural techniques or settlement patterns are concerned, indistinguishable from the Swazi area.

The research problem is first to work out in detail what the traditional rules of land tenure are, and how they are interconnected with the rest of the traditional social organization. Secondly, it is essential to see how these rules vary according to their political context. There are, for instance, apart from the special category of land already mentioned above, at least three different kinds of chiefdom, and these introduce a number of other complications on account of the particular relationship which exists between such chiefdom and the Paramount Chieftaincy. Thirdly, there is

is the need to find out how these rules are being adjusted to meet modern conditions, how these adjustments affect other aspects of the Swazi way of life, and how in turn, they are in practice modified by Swazi society.

SHONGWENI PROJECT

(J.E. Laredo)

The Institute has completed its pilot survey of the Shongweni area. The report was ready at the end of January.

The study raised a number of interesting points. It appeared from the data that this seemingly rural-tribal area, which lies off the main road and rail link exactly halfway between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, did not fall easily into this classification. A full-time study and analysis would no doubt underline the transition from a rural peasant economy to a cash labour economy.

The basis of recruitment for the tribe, which occupies the area, is ideological (i.e. members must be Christians). Further because of its Mission-Christian heritage land is held under a system of individual freehold tenure. Agriculture is eschewed in favour of a landlord tenant relationship which not only implies an incipient class structure but also an urban context. Labour and cash wages take precedence over land tenure and land usage. New forms of political expression are competing with and through the traditional tribal offices. For want of a more detailed and conclusive analysis we called the area a peri-urban area.

Agriculture where it is practised is practised perfunctorily and without much attention to results. Land is held in lots of varying size (the administration latterly not allowing smaller lots than 5 acres). All land is held by individuals (mostly African). Most of the people in the area live as tenants paying an annual rent to their African landlord for the right to build a house. No tenant is allowed more ground than a small kitchen garden.

The main reason for the influx of tenants into the area appears to be due to the proximity to the Durban-Pinetown

industrial complex. More than 80% of the males in the area work within this complex. Here is a steady and clearly traceable drift from outlying rural towns, European farms and Native reserves. The main concern is for a place where the family can be left with some security so that the breadwinner is able to concentrate on a full-time job. In March last year a clothing factory was opened on the edge of the area. This will in time affect more than just the possibility of work locally but it is too early to view any but the more superficial effects.

The influx of tenants underlines the social patterns which we discovered in the area. Coming as they do from widely scattered parts of the province they tend to express themselves through such institutions as churches (particularly Separatist Churches) - or clubs (largely organized by women). Neighbourhood ties appear to take the place of the kinship ties of the traditional society. This is reflected by the fact that marriages and births (and occasionally deaths) take place outside the area. People prefer to go back to their original homes for these occasions. The original inhabitants of the area are a very small group and are not easily distinguished from either small holders or tenants.

The political life of the people universally excludes the tenants (and therefore the major portion of the population). It revolves largely round the office of chief of the Amakholwa (Christian) tribe. As happens in most tribal politics today, the manoeuvring which takes place carefully sees that it does not attract the interest or the attention of the administration. There is extant an organisation which represents the landholders of the area. This organisation is well organised and well run but the extent of its membership is doubtful. It is largely controlled by people who also live busy lives in Durban. It is a completely new form of political association and though it was willing to indulge in manoeuvres involving the chieftainship, it acts in its own right in the area. It has conducted a very long and skilful battle first to thwart an administrative attempt for rural local government and secondly to have itself recognised as a unit of local government. This association is possibly the most striking institution in the sociological maze which constitutes Shongweni.

UMGENI PROJECT

(Fieldwork in the Ndwedwe District)

(J.E. Laredo)

This work is part of the joint Umgeni Project. Our task here is to enquire into "... a broad outline of the social structure of a rural African community" with special reference to leadership and responses to leadership; rights to and utilization of resources (this last has been interpreted particularly as a study of land tenure and the sociological significance of migratory labour); lastly, a study of the role of women in the contemporary society.

The Ndwedwe district was chosen for strategic as well as practical reasons. Fieldwork started in March 1959 and entails a detailed study of two 'tribal' areas. After a breathing period for the collation and digestion of the first few months' material, a study of another 'tribal' area is contemplated.

In all cases 'tribes' are groups of people recognized as such by the administration. Thus far it has been found that the boundaries which the people themselves accept concur largely with those recognized by the administration. It is one of our problems to decide whether this is cause or effect.

The method of investigation has been to choose a "ward" (isigodi) within a tribal area (isifunda) and to make a detailed study of this ward. The findings are then tested for relevance in the other wards of the tribe. Information is collected by visiting imizi, attending sessions of the chiefs court, attending ceremonies which take place in the area, and of course by general observation.

The information in its present unsorted state suggest that in practice the people still largely accept the tribal context in which they live. Land is held under communal tenure (Under the Land Act of 1913 Ndwedwe was one of the 'original reserves').

Though there appears to be a fair amount of political activity especially surrounding tribal offices, people appear more concerned to fill the existing offices rather than to create new political forms, as has been the tendency in the

peri-urban Shongweni area. In how far the offices which do still exist correspond to the original conception of these offices and in how far they reflect the effect of White Administration, we hope will emerge from this study. Attention has been paid not only to the office of chief but to the subsidiary offices, especially those of the chiefs' advisers and the executive heads of isigodi (Indunas). It would appear from the information available that there has been a shift not only of emphasis but also of power within the tribal organization. This again is in response to the changes brought about by White Administration.

A communal system of tenure still prevails but agriculture must be considered in terms of a largely absent male population. It is rare for a family (umuzi) to be self supporting in terms of food production. Moreover, cash is required for an ever increasing range of commodities, all implying and underlining the need for a cash income. (Even 'traditional dress' such as the ibeshu and isidwabu are more often than not bought in Durban and not made in the home; clothes are also extensively worn; dietary habits include sugar bread and tea as a matter of course).

Inevitably this means that most men (and a sprinkling of women) go out to work. Unemployment appears to be a factor of rising importance, aggravated by the government's influx and efflux control policy.

The patterns of social life are still largely lived in terms of their kinship obligations, which in most cases still coincide with the spatial units which they occupy. Communal ceremonies appear to be limited, and principally involve kin (e.g. marriages and Buyisas). For the Christians there is also the church - whether orthodox or schismatic.

The last part of the project, involving the role of women, has been most difficult. It is doubtful whether it can be fruitfully submerged as part of this general study and possibly it could only be effectively undertaken by a female fieldworker.

U N I V E R S I T Y O F N A T A L

I N S T I T U T E F O R S O C I A L R E S E A R C H

Statement of expenditure from 30th June, 1958 till
30th June, 1959.

BAUMANNVILLE SURVEY

To Balance at 30/6/58	15. 6. 5.	By Balance 30/6/58	15. 6. 5.
		" Sale Report	6. 0.
			<u>£15.12. 5.</u>

SPARKS ESTATE SURVEY

To Haliburton & Glover	2..0..0.	By Balance 30/6/58	359. 9. 3.
" Travelling (Mr.H.F. Dickie-Clark)	24.16.11.		
" J.T. Rennie (Air- freight)	1.16. 0.		
" Typing services - Report	29. 1. 0.		
" Binding Report	1.16. 0.		
" Stationery	8.10.		
" Balance at 30/6/59	<u>299.10. 6.</u>		
	<u>£359. 9. 3.</u>		<u>£359. 9. 3.</u>

INDIAN SURVEY

To Travelling	22.19. 0.	By Balance 30/6/58	272.11. 8.
" Fieldworkers	39. 4. 0.		
" Contingencies	16. 2. 2.		
" Printing and Sta- tionery	21. 1.10.		
" Typing services - Report	11.12. 0.		
" Clarks Machine Ac- counting Bureau	29.13. 4.		
" Balance at 30/6/59	<u>131.19. 4.</u>		
	<u>£272.11. 8.</u>		<u>£272.11. 8.</u>

MIXED EUROPEAN STUDY

To Stationery and Printing	8.18. 5.	By Balance 30/6/58	195.13. 6.
" Travelling	21.14. 3.		
" Fieldworkers	4.11. 3.		
" Typing services	9. 8. 0.		
" Balance at 30/6/59	<u>151. 1. 7.</u>		
	<u>£195.13. 6.</u>		<u>£195.13. 6.</u>

SHONGWENI SURVEY

To Travelling Mr. E. Mayisela	5.16. 8.	By Balance 30/6/58	5. 9. 2.
" Salary Mr. E. Zuma	<u>25. 0. 0.</u>		
	£30.16. 8.		

OVERSPENT £25.7.6.

To be paid out of Institute funds.

UMGENI, UMBILO AND UMLAZI
CATCHMENT AREAS SURVEY

To Salary Mr. Laredo	1000. 0. 0.	By Balance 30/6/58	1050. 0. 0.
" Salary Mr. Zuma	334. 0. 0.	" Grant received	
" Salary of two African Assistants	450. 0. 0.	30/11/58	1050. 0. 0.
" Travelling	140. 1. 2.		
" Contingencies	25. 6. 2.		
" Stationery	9.12. 2.		
" Field Research	80. 3. 5.		
" Subsistence	9. 4. 8.		
" Research Assistant (European)	55. 0. 0.		
" Secretarial and Administration fee	200. 0. 0.		
" Typing services	<u>24. 5. 0.</u>		
	£2327.12. 7.		£2100. 0. 0.

OVERSPENT £227.12.7.

N.C.S.R. GRANT : RUNNING EXPENSES

To Salary Miss M. Phillips	291.13. 4.	By Balance 30/6/58	822. 2. 3.
" Balance 30/6/59	530. 8.11.		
	<u>£822. 2. 3.</u>		<u>£822. 2. 3.</u>

NUFFIELD GRANT : MRS. TWALA

To Photographic prints	20. 2. 0.	By Balance 30/6/58	62.11.10.
" Balance 30/6/59	42. 9.10.		
	<u>£62.11.10.</u>		<u>£62.11.10.</u>

SWAZILAND SURVEY

To Advertising costs	240.16. 8.	By Grant received	
" Secretarial services	2. 2. 0.	27/2/59	240.12. 3.
" Travelling (Mr. S. Cruise)	10.10. 0.	By Balance	12.16. 5.
	<u>£253. 8. 8.</u>		<u>£253. 8. 8.</u>

COPPERBELT SURVEY

To Travelling expenses	<u>£164.15. 3.</u>
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OPPENHEIMER FUND

To Travelling expenses	<u>£115. 5. 8.</u>
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CARNEGIE FUND

To Salary Mr. Zuma	12.12. 7	By Balance 30/6/58	1977. 6. 2.
<u>Bursaries:</u>		" Refund Fort Hare	13. 0. 0.
L. Ngakane	80. 4. 6.		
C. Papp	107. 0. 4.		
M. Phillips	50. 0. 0.		
" Balance 30/6/59	1740. 8. 9.		
	<u>£1990. 6. 2.</u>		<u>£1990. 6. 2.</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT

To	Motor expenses	78. 1.10.	By	Balance 30/6/58	56.16.11.
"	Printing and Stationery	64.17. 1.	"	Transfer of Maintenance Office Equipment	16.13. 0.
"	Secretarial Services	1.12. 6.	"	Interest received	200. 0. 0.
"	Maintenance Powers-Samas	121. 9. 0.	"	Secretarial and Administration fee (transfer from Umgeni Fund)	200. 0. 0.
"	General Office Maintenance	19. 6. 0.	"	Sales Professor Sundkler's address	1.14. 3.
"	Photographs	5.19. 6.	"	Refund S.A.B.R.A.	3.12. 6.
"	Licence Willys	11. 4. 0.	"	Transfer printing and Stationery	3. 7. 5.
"	Motor Claims	5. 0. 0.			
"	Travelling	6.11.10.			
"	Repairs tent	24.10. 6.			
"	Postages	3. 5.10.			
"	Printing	15. 4. 8.			
"	Films	3. 7. 6.			
"	Balance 30/6/59	121.13.10.			
		<u>£482. 4. 1.</u>			<u>£482. 4. 1.</u>

FORD FOUNDATION

To	Books	107. 5. 9.	By	Balance 30/6/58	1308.17. 2.
"	Printing and Stationery	2. 8. 0.	"	Insurance tent	53.15. 0.
"	Photographic equipment	61.19.11.	"	Sales Social Science Report	13.17. 3.
"	Roneo duplicator	171.10. 0.	"	Refund Car accident	405. 0. 0.
"	Typewriter	63.12. 0.	"	Refund travelling	160. 7. 1.
"	Camping equipment	63.13. 0.	"	Sale typewriter	40. 0. 0.
"	Travelling	122. 1. 3.			
"	Subscription Inst. of Race Relations	10.10. 0.			
"	Subscription SABRA	10. 0. 0.			
"	Balance at 30/6/59	1358.16. 7.			
		<u>£1971.16. 6.</u>			<u>£1971.16. 6.</u>

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
KING GEORGE V AVENUE - DURBAN

I-60

SUMMARY OF FUNDS AVAILABLE

	<u>Balance at 30/6/1958</u>		<u>Balance at 30/6/1959</u>	
	<u>Cr.</u>	<u>Dr.</u>	<u>Cr.</u>	<u>Dr.</u>
Baumannville Survey	15. 6. 5.		15.12. 5.	
Sparks Estate Survey	359. 9. 3.		299.10. 6.	
Indian Survey	272.11. 8.		131.19. 4.	
Mixed European Survey	195.13. 6.		151. 1. 7.	
Shongweni Survey	5. 9. 2.			25. 7. 6.
Umgeni, Umbilo and Umlazi Catchment Areas Survey	1050. 0. 0.			227.12. 7.*
N.C.S.R. Grant: Running Expenses	822. 2. 3.		530. 8.11.	
Ford Foundation	1308.17. 2.		1358.16. 7.	
Carnegie Corporation	1977. 6. 2.		1740. 8. 9.	
Nuffield Grant: Mrs. Twala	62.11.10.		42. 9.10.	
Swaziland Survey		240.16. 8.		12.16. 5.
General Account	56.16.11.		121.13.10.	
Oppenheimer Fund	-----			115. 5. 8.
Copperbelt Survey	-----			164.15. 3.
	<u>£6126. 4. 4.</u>	<u>£240.16. 8.</u>	<u>£4392. 1. 9.</u>	<u>£545.17. 5.</u>
Balance Available	<u>£5885.17.8.</u>		<u>£3846.14.4.*</u>	

*(excl. 1959-60 allocation of £2800 due)



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