DIRECTOR'S ANNUAL REPORT

OCTOBER 1959 - NOVEMBER 1960

For I.S.R. Circulation

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# UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

#### INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

DIRECTOR'S REPORT FOR THE PERIOD OCTOBER 1959 - NOVEMBER 1960

During the past twelve months the Institute has been busier than it has ever been before. This was largely due to the fact that in this year we had to harvest the crop of work which we had diligently sown and cultivated during the preceding two-three years. Even so, when in July not only the big Swaziland survey and the Copperbelt studies required full time attention, but in addition to this, we also had to cope with the effect of the University's Educational Conference and the partial disruption of our already cramped accommodation, the state of greatest activity came dangerously close to becoming the greatest disorder. That we managed to survive the next two months under sometimes appalling working conditions was largely due to the spirit of give and take among the principal associates of the Institute and the equanimaty with which scholars and staff stuck to their tasks in spite of many disruptions.

The constant plan of moving the Institute's quarters to specially prepared accommodation in the central block of the Tower Building was abandoned for two measons: the interior alterations to the rooms set aside for as would before much longer than we had expected. Even more important were the weighty demands for more accommodation from other departments whose functioning would have been seriously impaired had we not been prepared to make sacrifices. It is the peculiarity of a research institute like ours that, during long periods of fieldwork, base quarters are only occasionally used, but that upon the completion of fieldwork there is

problem of over-crowding of rooms which might have been vacant for ks or months, during which they could have served the pressing and more stant requirements of other University staff. By recognizing our diverse ds, a <u>modus vivendi</u> was accepted among colleagues in which other detents would be prepared to accept some measure of 'doubling up', at es of spasmodic expansion of Institute staff.

By the provision of specially designed cupboards and furniture rooms left to us were functionally improved, while air-conditioning two of the western rooms will undoubtedly help to increase efficiency ing the summer months.

Let me now turn to our activities.

#### RESEARCH:

# 1) <u>Coloured Community Study</u> (N.C.S.R. - Carnegie):

I reported last year that Mr. H.F. Dickie-Clark, after completing his sociological research report on the marginal aspect of the Sparks Estate Community, had decided to broaden the frame of reference and to produce a fuller study of this community for his doctor's thesis. With this he has made steady progress in spite of his teaching and other University duties. The modest additional research and secretarial expenses are borne by the Institute.

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

Mr. C. Ramphal, likewise burdened with teaching duties, made good progress this year and the bulk of his multiple report is now completed.

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

When Miss Phillips' Carnegie scholarship expired, the University Research Fund kindly stepped in with a grant to enable her to complete her study. Miss Phillips has now completed the main body of her report, to the satisfaction of her supervisor. This report, after retyping, can now be made available to the N.C.S.R. The final draft of her thesis is, moreover, expected by the end of this year. Knowing the often difficult circumstances under which she had to work, Miss Phillips does, I think, deserve a pat on the back for trying to see her task through. A special word of thanks is due to her supervisor, Professor Leo Kuper, for his understanding and guidance in this study.

# 4) African Responses to Advertising (Carnegie and other sponsors):

This is an example of a modestly conceived and tightly designed project, which outgrew its original proportions until it became of threatening size. Miss Papp has turned it into a sizeable thesis which is not yet completed. In the meantime, however, she has managed to produce an abbreviated version containing the main factual results. The inclusion of specially prepared pictorial material, and very great other demands on the secretarial staff, has held up the production of this report for an embarrassingly long time, for which I sincerely apologise to Messrs. Hind Bros, the University Research Fund and others who kindly gave this study financial support.

## 5) Zulu Judicial Process (N.C.S.R.):

Mr. Torres is still engaged on fieldwork for this study, and has reported on certain aspects of it in the Annexure to this report.

# 6) African Independent Churches (Ford Foundation):

I very much regret that it has so far been impossible for Professor Sundkler, who was with us in 1958, to pay us a return visit this year, as we had hoped he would do. He was invited to take part in the

University's Educational Conference but the death of a colleague at a sister university in Germany made it necessary for him to act as a stand-in during the very time of our Conference, and undoubtedly also affected progress of his new book on the African Independent Churches. I have recently seen the draft of a new chapter, which very much indicates that this is not merely a question of bringing his study of 1948 up to date, but of re-thinking and re-working his material in the light of wider views and deeper insights gained during his 1958 research visit. It is a privilege for the Institute to have been able to contribute to this important study.

#### Meyrick Bennett Project:

It has not, so far, been possible for the Director of the Meyrick Bennett Clinic to expand into a full-scale project the pilot study on the appraisal of the effect of therapeutic work done at the Clinic over a five-year period, for the purpose of which the University Research Fund made a preliminary grant.

The Institute has, however, given support to the Clinic by making a small grant available to Dr. Wilker, to enable him to continue his research on the so-called 'tree-test'.

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

Planned in 1957 as a multi-disciplinary undertaking it was, until recently, only Sociology and Social Anthropology (supported by the N.C.S.R.) in which, from the University's side, substantial progress could be made. Economics, Geography and Demography are only now in a financial position to pursue their tasks with full vigour. The Durban Corporation paid its first instalment of a total contribution of £10,000 earlier in the year; the Natal Provincial Regional Town Planning Commission awarded a Fellowship to the Department of Geography. There are still some formalities to be cleared before the Fellowship

becomes available. A temporary set-back in this respect is that Dr. Young, who was to have carried out this work, has left the University.

The upshot of the uneven start of work in this joint scheme has been that Social Anthropology had completed, and Sociology largely completed, their fieldwork before the other mentioned disciplines could really get under way. This inevitably will make co-ordination very much more difficult than had originally been anticipated, and it poses a problem which will require serious consideration at an early date.

The position with regard to the Social Anthropological aspect, for which the Institute is responsible, is briefly as follows. Mr. Laredo, assisted by Mr. Zuma, has completed his fieldwork, which involved an initial period of 4 months in the peri-urban Shongweni area, 9 months in the Ndwedwe Reserve, and 3 months in the Inanda Reserve. These localities provide a wide variety in the social and economic structure of the African communities in the project area, and different stages in the process of transition of the present-day African population.

The study is focussed mainly on the interplay between 'tribal' authority (or what is left of it) and Government authority, and the shifting balance in the power structure as it affects the African communities and their leadership at various levels. The changing economic basis of African rural society and the orientation towards land as a basis of subsistence and a prime factor in the political and social ramifications, will loom large in this study.

In the Sociological study Professor Kuper has confined himself to the emergent urban African middle class in Durban, concentrating on class consciousness and differentiations, as well as the basis and nature and manifestations of urban leadership. Although differently conceived and executed from Mr. Laredo's study it is expected that, especially with regard to the latter aspect, the two studies will be complementary to each other, and together cover a wider span of some of the most vital aspects of African transition.

#### Copperbelt Study:

Last year I reported how we became partners with the N.I.P.R. in this important study. I now have to give you a broad outline of the project itself, which was completed in October. Worried about the recurrent and disturbing expressions of apparent discontent among the European mineworkers on the Copperbelt, the Northern Rhodesian Chamber of Mines requested an investigation into the factors which might possibly influence the stability of White labour and mining communities. It was clear from the outset that such an investigation should not be confined to working conditions, but have to take the wider aspects and future prospects of Copperbelt life into consideration.

Dr. Biesheuvel (Director of N.I.P.R.) and I therefore planned a two-pronged approach: a background study of the development and present structure of White Copperbelt society, with special reference to mining society; and a statistically controlled interview study of mine employees and their wives on a carefully designed random sample basis. On the fast-changing field of Copperbelt events the greater flexibility of an anthropological approach in the former study would help to eliminate the unavoidable disadvantages of a predetermined and rigidly sustained interview schedule of the latter study; while the statistically controlled results of the interview study would be an invaluable check on the interpretive but unavoidable loss 'certain' conclusions of the anthropological background study. The combination of the two studies in a single co-ordinated frame would, it was expected, tend to eliminate the weakness of either method while enhancing the value of both.

I started fieldwork for the background study in June last year. and the preliminary results helped to shape the schedule of the interview study which started in September. Intermittently I spent 92 weeks on the Copperbelt between July and December (with a brief visit in March this year). The team of five N.I.P.R. social psychologists spent nearly four months (September - December) at the four main Copperbelt mining centres, interviewing a random sample of some 700 employees and wives in one of the most strenuous tours of duty which any research staff could have undertaken away from home. The vast amount of material derived from the interview study was processed and written up in Johannesburg, while I prepared my own report here. In July, Dr. Biesheuvel and I met in Durban to discuss the form in which our reports should be co-ordinated and, where possible, integrated. We met again at the end of September, when we exchanged the results of our respective efforts, and we then found, to our relief, that by our different approaches and methods, we had arrived at virtually the same conclusions. It remained for me to write a brief concluding chapter in which the main results of our studies were integrated without much difficulty, and to hand over the combined studies to the N.I.P.R. secretarial staff for final production and submission in the second week of November to the Northern Rhodesian Chamber of Mines, and the two employee organizations. Dressed in the standard C.S.I.R. cover, both parts of the report are issued under the agreed formula: by the National Institute for Personnel Research in association with the Institute for Social Research of the University of Natalia It is not merely a fine example of joint-disciplinary effort, but a most gratifying case of co-operation between two sister institutes.

At this University I have had the benefit of the advice and help of colleagues in the Departments of Economics, Psychology, Sociology and Mathematics, as well as of my own staff, and I must thank them personally and the heads of their respective Departments, for the assistance they have given me.

The Copperbelt Report is, for the time being at least, a confidential document, but is as such available to members of the Institute. This being a commissioned study, the decision of whether to publish it obviously lies with the sponsors, but I trust it will see wider publication at a later stage.

#### Broken Hill Study:

Early this year it was decided to make a study of the Broken Hill mining community on very much the same lines as the Copperbelt Study, and for that purpose I spent another four to five weeks in Northern Rhodesia during March-April. The results of this study will become available in the new year.

## Attitudes of Teenage Youth on the Copperbelt:

At a late stage of the Copperbelt project it became clear that it might be useful to have some idea of the attitude pattern of the teenage youth. I therefore wrote out an essay contest 'Copperbelt 1974', in which, through the kind offices of the schools principals, all pupils of the higher forms of the high schools in Kitwe and Mufulira took part. These essays, written in February this year, lent themselves to a statistical treatment of certain broad attitudinal trends which were cast in a frame of analysis drawn up by Drs. Mann, van den Berghe and myself. The results were promising enough for my collaborators to feel that a follow-up study in questionnaire form should not be missed, especially because two major events in the intervening period - the independence of the Congo, and the abolition by law of colour bar in Northern Rhodesia - were bound to influence the attitudes of European youth. The questionnaires were submitted early in September to the

same groups that had written the essay in February, and the results are now being processed. We have here a rare opportunity of determining in a topical field of interest, the effect of sudden and dramatic changes in the political and social situation upon a previously assessed attitude pattern. To make the most of this opportunity a short paper (mainly by Drs. Mann and van den Berghe) on the questionnaire part will probably be prepared as soon as possible. Later in the new year, when I hope to have my hands a bit more free, we hope to combine both parts in a larger study of (we think) considerable originality and value.

#### 12) Swaziland Sample Survey:

A month or so ago I circularized among members of this Institute some information about this our biggest assignment so far. The reasons were two. Rightly or wrongly I feared that, because of our preoccupation with active research and the resultant lack of the more 'observable' aspects of our Institute's activities, you might have thought that we no longer existed. Second, I felt that you should have at least some understanding of the magnitude and excitement of the task which was undertaken by a very small team of voluntary collaborators at this University.

It has been one of those things which begin with a rather appealing but obscure germ of an idea, which happens to be dropped in the minds of colleagues of a like disposition at the right moment. Before you know where you are, there is a flurry of cross-pollination by several keen but differently-oriented minds, and the thing grows and assumes shapes and dimensions which none of us could expect but all of us could but accept as co-begetters of this hybrid child. And so we went on feeding and fostering it, in the hope that it would, in spite of its sometimes alarming fickleness and stubbornness, ultimately prove to be manageable.

We first put it on its feet last year in July, when it was still of comparatively infantile proportions as a pilot study, and watched its first stumbling steps. These we corrected as best we could, calling in yet another university department, Land Surveying, to help us control what by now had become a young giant.

In the meantime, in Swaziland itself, a complex organization had to be created to prepare the ground for action which would have to take place in sixty or more widely dispersed and sometimes barely accessible areas at the same time. The cream of the Swaziland Departments of Education and Land Utilization were mobilized for training, enumerating and supervising duties. The question of timing was all important. Not only had both training and enumeration to be completed within the winter vacation of 1960, a vast amount of other preliminary work had to fit into a tight schedule. The original method of visibly demarcating sample areas on the ground had been abandoned, partially because this exercise was being interpreted as a dark threat to indigenous land rights, and aerial photography took its place. While the method itself added new dimensions and values to our study, it also created new risks which nearly wrecked the whole survey before it had even begun (see Mr. Hughes' essay, Annexure).

I do not want to bother you with a long tale of mishaps which we did not or only barely escaped during this long period of preparation. Suffice it to say that probably none of us would have dared embark upon this adventure had we known beforehand what it would all involve. Looking back I am convinced that our ignorance was sometimes our greatest asset. For, not knowing what pitfalls were ahead of us at every stage, we simply failed to believe that we could not see the thing through to a successful end.

One day in July this year, while our parent body, the University, opened its doors to its great Education Conference, we received a

telegram from Mbabane that the Swaziland Survey had been launched and, believe it or not, was proceeding according to plan.

A month later a staff of fourteen began the meticulous but less exciting task of coding a ton of material of reasonably satisfactory quality, and a week ago the first batch of cards went through the sorting machine.

We hope to have the preliminary results ready by Christmas, and the full report later in the new year. We know the imperfections of our plans and their execution, and for this reason plan to issue our main report in two parts. The first will contain a critical assessment of trial and error in our 'Experiment in Swaziland', for we believe that other Administrations in underdeveloped territories might benefit from the lessons we have learnt. The second part will embody the results of our census.

I have no hesitation in saying that I am proud of what this Institute is doing in Swaziland. I need not even be modest about our efforts, because by far the larger share of the responsibility and sheer hard work has been borne by others than myself; they are, at this end, Sydney Cruise, with John Daniel and Chris Jooste, and, for a short while, Douglas Sloan; and in Swaziland, our own research fellow, John Hughes, and Huw Jones of the Swaziland Administration. To work with such a team has been a rare privilege.

# 13) Swaziland Nutrition Survey:

Our sample survey in Swaziland had one great deficiency. Lacking suitable personnel we could give no attention to an assessment of the health of the population. This omission will now be made good in a new project which will start early next year, a Nutrition Survey of the Swazi population. The initial plans for this survey were drawn up by colleagues of the Medical School (Drs. Gampel and Abrahamson and

Professor Gillman) and are centred around a small team headed by a nutrition expert who will be working under a Research Fellowship sponsored by this Institute. Two weeks ago, Miss Sonya Jones, M.Sc. was offered the appointment and she is expected to arrive from Britain late in December. It will again be a combined effort between the Iniversity and the Swaziland Administration. It is the idea that the direction of the project at this end will be undertaken by the Department of Social Anthropology, with Dr. Hilda Kuper as key figure with regard to the guidance of fieldwork and the co-ordination of plans which will involve close consultation with medical authorities at the Iniversity and in Swaziland. It should prove a most satisfactory arrangement.

It is here fitting that tribute should be paid to the Swaziland Administration who, at short notice, showed the same willingness to give generous and active support to this research project, as they had shown in the past. This tiny country shows a spirit of scientific enterprise, and tolerance with regard to the many demands made in the name of science upon their already slender administrative resources, which are as remarkable as they are exemplary. May this happy association continue for many more years.

#### The case of Mr. Tandberg:

I must here mention that the Institute had hoped to be host and sponsor to a young social Geographer from Sweden, Mr. Tandberg, who intended to come here for study of certain aspects of Indian life. For undisclosed reasons, however, our Government refused him and his wife entry to this country and, in spite of our representations, declined to vary its decision. There is ample reason for taking a grave view of this incident. Not only does the Government harm its reputation by its unwarranted interference with the freedom of academic research, it also casts a reflection on the integrity of scientists in

this country who are apparently not trusted with giving guidance to their overseas colleagues. A press statement to this effect has been issued in this connection by the University.

#### B. MISCELLANEOUS

With our principal fieldworkers back at headquarters, we have started fortnightly informal meetings to discuss problems and points of interest. They are not full seminars but anyone wishing to attend is welcome. The main difficulty in organizing regular meetings is still the awkward academic timetable and, during the past year, the pressure of other work.

#### 1) Constitutional Changes:

At the previous Annual Meeting the suggestion was made that the General Committee examine its own position within the Institute with a view to determining whether it could be made to function more actively or whether it should not be abolished altogether. Some consideration to this problem was given during the year when the General Committee met together with the Principal, but the matter was not pursued. It was the Director's opinion that a reconstituting of the General Committee, which had originally been conceived as a vital cog in the Institute's structure, could not be considered without other far-reaching changes in the constitution, and for this move the meeting was not yet prepared. meantime there was the mounting pressure of other work, and so the matter was left in abeyance, save for some efforts to improve communications between the Executive and General Committees. The same constitutional problems which already seriously bothered my predecessors, are therefore still with us, and this year has shown how very difficult the situation can become if the relationship between the principal office bearers are dependent upon the imperfections

of a constitution. Fortunately the year has also shown of how little consequence an imperfect constitution need be, and how much can be achieved, if co-operation is invited and offered in a spirit of generosity and a willingness to sacrifice some personal pride for the sake of a common and worthwhile enterprise.

#### 2) <u>Director's Movements:</u>

The Copperbelt, Broken Hill and Swaziland projects caused me to be away a good deal, with the inevitable result that the periods spent at headquarters were usually marked by a rush to catch up with administrative and other work piled up during my absence. This also made it impossible for me to attend the annual conferences of two or three institutions which I used to attend in the past three years.

I was invited by the Ford Foundation to a two-day meeting of some ten South African and U.S. scientists in Johannesburg last April, for the purpose of designing a new and ambitious faculty exchange programme. The scheme we drew up is more attractive and more realistic in its approach to current requirements in Africa than any other programme existing at present. The beginning of its operation has, however, been suspended while the Foundation is reviewing its entire policy with regard to schemes of this kind.

Earlier in the month I had the privilege of attending, as an observer, the National Convention in Salisbury. If time permits I shall have more to say about this at the end of the meeting. It is here sufficient to say that the convention proved that, even at this late hour in Africa, it is not too late to sit down together to find a broad and realistic basis of common agreement in a racially divided society.

I have been requested by the Southern Rhodesian Government to serve on a Commission of Inquiry into the apparent discontent in the north-eastern area of the Territory, and after discussion with the Chairman, have accepted the appointment. The Commission convenes next week and hopes to complete its work before Christmas.

### 3) Library:

The Secretary has continued to catalogue new additions to our small library, and the reorganisation of our offices will facilitate the use which members can make of these publications.

#### 4) Finance:

You will find a welcome change in the aspect of our balance sheet. Until now we have anxiously watched the steady depletion of our nonetoo-adequate financial resources. This year we have not only managed virtually to halt the drain on our uncommitted funds (mainly Ford and Carnegie Funds) but have greatly strengthened our financial position. This has been done by a more realistic budgeting on work undertaken on behalf of others. The largest part of this gain derives from the Copperbelt and Broken Hill studies. It is impossible to say exactly where we stand today, because the statement before you reflects the position as it was at the end of June, and there has been considerable expenditure and income since then. But off-hand I would estimate that we enter the new year with the prospect of being between £3-4,000 better off now than we were twelve months ago, in spite of our steppedup activities. This represents over 100% increase of "free" funds, available for new research. We have not wasted much time in re-investing some of this money, for the new Nutrition Survey will be paid from these funds.

## 5) Acknowledgments:

To liven up the inevitably dreary monotone of an annual report, we have again included an Annexure in which several contributors have

written short essays on some aspects of the research topic on which they are at present engaged. These are meant to give you a better idea of some of the problems with which we and our collaborators have been dealing. I wish to thank all contributors for the generous spirit in which they have responded at very short notice.

Cordial relations have been maintained throughout the year with the Administrative and Accounting staff of the University. I would like to thank all of them, and especially the Accountant, for their readiness to assist during this Jubilee year, in which they themselves were particularly hard-pressed.

Alterations to our accommodation have been carried out by the University's technical personnel, and I should like to thank the College Dean and the Superintendent of Grounds and Buildings and his staff for their efforts on our behalf, and for a job well done.

To our Secretary, Miss Kuyper, must go the Institute's and my personal thanks for the loyal service she has rendered during a year which was particularly difficult for her; and to Mrs. Kennedy for the equanimity with which she has learnt to cope with the sudden demands of the Swaziland work.

Mrs. Dempers, who joined us as Miss Sutton eighteen months ago, has been largely responsible for the training and supervision of the team that processed the Swaziland Survey. To her and all other members of the 'backstage crew', we must express our appreciation for the cheerful manner in which they carried out an essential but most uninspiring aspect of our work.

To the Principal and my colleagues on the Executive Committee I wish to add a personal word of thanks for their support and understanding at times of stress and overwork. The Institute has, during the past five months, experienced more genuine co-operation than it has

probably ever had before, and this is a cause for gratitude and satisfaction, and for confidence in the future.

It would be wrong for me to end my report without paying special tribute to Sydney Cruise for the immense and selfless help he has given to the Institute and to myself. What sacrifice of spare time this has entailed only his associates can know. Suffice it to say that without him we could not have carried through our most ambitious scheme, the Swaziland Survey, of which he has borne the brunt of the responsibility and hard work. And in this connection we must also place on record our indebtedness to Professor Rund, without whose generous encouragement Mr. Cruise might not have felt free to participate in such full measure.

J.F. HOLLEMAN

<u>DIRECTOR</u>

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

# STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE FROM 30th JUNE. 1959 TILL 30th JUNE. 1960.

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## NUFFIELD GRANT : MRS. TWALA

£42. 9. 10. Balance 30/6/60

## CARNEGIE CORPORATION

By Balance 30/6/60 £1740. 8. 9.

# OPPENHEIMER FUND

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# SWAZILAND SURVEY

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# MISS PAPP: UNIVERSITY RESEARCH FUND

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	Balance at 30/6/59	Balance at 30/6/60
	Cr. Dr.	Cr. Dr.
Baumannville Survey	15. 12. 5.	15. 12. 5.
Sparks Estate Survey	299. 10. 6.	269. 12. 0.
Indian Survey	131. 19. 4.	63. 18. 8.
Mixed European Study	151. 1. 7.	138. 1. 7.
Shongweni Survey	25. 7. 6.	25. 7. 6.
Umgeni, Umbilo and Umlazi Catchment Areas Survey	338. 1. 11.	1941. 12. 9.
N.C.S.R. Grant: Running Expenses	530, 8, 11.	542. 3. 3.
General Account	121. 13. 10.	394. 6. 5.
Nuffield Grant: Mrs. Twala	42. 9. 10.	42. 9. 10.
Oppenheimer Fund	115. 5. 8.	115. 5. 8.
Carnegie Corporation	1740. 8. 9.	1740. 8. 9.
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#### AFRICAN MIDDLE CLASS IN DURBAN

#### (L. Kuper)

As a provisional starting point for research, the African Middle Class was defined on the basis of occupation - professional men, traders, clerks, white collar workers and so on. The study of traders is complete and the study of professionals near completion. On the basis of data already analysed, it is clear that there are a number of correlates of occupational position, both objective and subjective, which differentiate the middle classes from the general African population. Or in other words, there is not merely an emerging middle class, but an emerged middle class with a fairly distinctive background and a special role in community life.

Studies of associational life have been carried out at the same time as the analysis of the occupational groups. The situation is exceedingly complex. There are a great number of these associations, and they vary considerably in organisation and leadership. Moreover, they are in a state of rapid change, which is difficult to assess in the absence of earlier research findings. Urban African research has tended to follow a few stereotyped lines of enquiry, overdocumented, and to leave uncharted the basic structure of the urban community.

#### THE COPPERBELT SCHOOLS SURVEY

(J.W. Mann)

Place and time are crucial in this study: the Copperbelt is near order of the troubled Congo and in a Federation with troubles of its while between the two phases of this investigation occurred the relax-of the colour bar in Rhodesia and the dissolution of order in the Congo. disciplines - social anthropology (Dr. Holleman), sociology (Dr. van erghe) and social psychology (myself) are combining to find out how the strikes young Copperbelt people at this juncture.

Obviously the future of Northern Rhodesia will depend a lot on how cont, adaptable and willing to stay are the next generation of whites; and are studying young Northern Rhodesians who are now completing their ing. In fact, only a small minority have definitely decided to settle nently on the Copperbelt; and almost half are, not unexpectedly, less istic about the future than they were at the beginning of the year. We rying to go deeper than gross trends of this sort to discover what feain the background of the lives of these youngsters, as distinct from over which they have no control, conduce to views of this sort.

Fortunately, we are dealing with a group that seems far more articulate ware in the political field than most adolescents, and we have collected 1th of material which is now being analyzed. The essay contest about the e of Northern Rhodesia, and the questionnaire which were used to elicit iews of our Copperbelt group, went somewhat beyond the narrow range of 1 and political attitudes usual in surveys of this sort, and embraced nts such as expectations of what will happen in the future and attachment e Copperbelt, which bear on our central theme, namely, the stability and nence of the whites in Northern Rhodesia.

Another theme is how much and in what way the views of our group have changed since the beginning of the year, when we first investigated them. Most subjects admit to a change in their expectations; and a sizeable proportion are now prepared to accept a degree of change that they previously shrank from. We have still to examine our material to see if these more malleable subjects have distinguishing marks in other respects.

As well as handling issues of practical importance, our study has a more theoretical and academic interest, in that few investigators of group relations have had the opportunity of examining a rational hierarchy of status levels in the process of rapid re-shuffling. We hope therefore to single out some conclusions as being of particular theoretical significance.

Meanwhile, since our study has a strong topical interest, we are hastening its completion and should have it ready for publication early in the new year.

## THE POPULATION OF SWAZILAND

(C.J. Jooste)

The trend of population growth, while it is perhaps of greatest popular interest, is but one of several trends with which the Swaziland Sample Survey deals. The kind of people is as important as their number. Are they predominantly male or female, young, middle-aged, or old? How are they distributed over the territory? What is happening to their birth rate, death rate, and life expectation? Is the tide of migration flowing

ominantly outward or inward? In the answers to these questions lies an standing of Swaziland's human resources.

#### th in numbers

The ten years from 1946 to 1956 have been a period of rapid populn growth in the three protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and SwaziOn the whole the average annual rate of increase has been higher for
iland than for the other two territories, but by the end of the decade
iland with 237,000 people still had the smallest population, Bechuanaland
ut 300,000) the second largest, and Basutoland (about 800,000) the largest.

The recent increases in population may be partly due to a reduction he flow of workers to the Union and other neighbouring territories, but may also signify the beginning of a new phase of rapid growth resulting improved living conditions and falling death rates.

#### ons per square mile.

At the census taken in 1904 the density of population in Swaziland roughly 13 persons per square mile, and this has risen steadily to 35 in . The land area in relation to population is therefore large compared the figure of about 70 for Natal, and for Basutoland, but small compared Mozambique and Bechuanaland where the density figures are about ten and persons per square mile, respectively.

There is, however, considerable variation in the density of populn in the various districts of Swaziland. The greatest concentration of
ethnic groups is in the south in the Hlatikulu district. Heavy concenions also occur in the western and central areas of Mankaiana and Manzini.
ity of these areas, which include the south and central middle-veld, rise
wer 150 persons per square mile. The mountainous Lebombo region in the
is the least populous.

Refinement of the density figures to obtain a clearer picture of the population/resource ratio is not possible at present because of the lack of information about peasant agriculture. The importance of such refinement should nevertheless be stressed. It would for instance be useful to measure the pressure of population on agricultural land in terms of cultivated acreage per head of the population. Another useful measure would be the number of persons engaged in agriculture per unit area of cultivated land. A rise in the acreage under cultivation should over the years be accompanied by a reduction in the number of agricultural workers per square mile of cultivated land. Such ratios will give an indication of the rise in the efficiency of agriculture over a period of time, and will reflect more adequately the capacity of the territory to sustain its population from its own agricultural resources. The efficiency of agriculture and the development of other sectors of economic and social life are most closely interrelated.

#### Sex and age composition

The sex distribution at any given time is the net result of three factors, namely, the sex ratio at birth, differential mortality between the sexes, and the sex ratio of migrants. The first two factors will in the long run tend to bring about a balanced sex distribution, but in the case of Swaziland there may be considerable short term fluctuations in view of the small size of the population. Deviations from the "normal" or expected sex distribution may, therefore, have to be explained in terms of such chance fluctuations and in terms of the operation of the third factor, viz., the sex composition of migrants.

According to the figures obtained in the pilot survey of 1959, the sex ratio of the Swazi was 83 males per 100 females. This figure is lower than the 92 obtained in the 1956 census, probably because of the fact that the sample is representative of the rural areas of Swaziland rather than of the territory as a whole. A number of underdeveloped countries

experienced very low sex ratios at birth, and it would seem that the erience in Swaziland was very similar. There is an excess of females in the age group under five, and this excess becomes more pronounced ards the early working ages. In later working life there is an excess males, but at the higher ages there is again a considerable excess of ales.

#### tility, mortality, and migration

Population growth in a given instance is the particular state of ance among the factors of birth, death, and migration. A great many binations of these factors are possible, and the balance is rather ngeable from time to time. The information available at present does afford a very detailed analysis of population growth in Swaziland, but is expected that greater refinement would be possible in the final surwhich is now under way. A limited insight into the course of populangrowth can be gained by examining census results, data on the age ucture, and by calculating child/woman ratios and other measures.

Everything seems to point in the same direction: mortality rates e probably been falling rapidly in recent years while fertility rates e remained more or less unaltered. Age groups under 18 have been inassing in proportion to the total proportion while older age groups have n decreasing. The indications are that migration tendencies, together h improved living conditions will bring about a more balanced sex ratio, ch in turn, may lead to an increase in fertility.

In view of the growth characteristics, the age structure of the ulation is unfavourable from the point of view of economic development the territory, and it seems likely that it will remain unfavourable for a considerable time. Increased fertility, together with the effects of tinuing mortality reductions, will cause the child population to grow

rapidly. Even if fertility should remain unchanged there is likely to be considerable and sustained increases in the numbers of children from year to year.

#### SWAZILAND SAMPLE SURVEY

(A.J.B. Hughes)

Previous annual reports have explained how this survey, started in 1958 primarily as an anthropological study of Swazi traditional land tenure, had grown into a far more extensive exercise which also involved a full sample census and survey of the whole Territory of Swaziland.

This year saw the climax of field work in connection with both aspects of the study. The writer continued investigations of the system of land tenure in different areas, but these were increasingly interrupted by the demands of the main sample survey, scheduled for July 1960. Our experience in 1959 had revealed the vital importance of adequate preparatory work, and this year we would have no second chance. If we were to avoid disaster due to any foreseeable or unforeseeable cause, we had to be certain that our organization was as good as we could make it, and was sufficiently flexible to deal efficiently with any unexpected crisis.

Much of the planning had, perforce, to be done in stages, none of which could be started before the previous one was completed. Thus, the sample areas had to be selected, plotted on maps, and aerial photographs taken. When these were available, homesteads for enumeration could be plotted, the total population involved calculated, and estimates made of the number of enumerators required. Only then could we in Swaziland approach the government departments concerned for the loan of personnel, and start detailed logistical and other planning.

Flying of the sample areas was arranged for February and March O. From the point of view of aerial photography this was a bad season, it was the only time possible if we were to have up to date photographs settlement and land use, with crops still in the ground. As it haped, this stage took longer than had been anticipated; when visibility not obscured by rain or low cloud, it was upset by the smoke from an recedented number of veld fires. This was a delay for which we had aled. What we had not expected was that the pilot would fall ill, and t there would be a further delay due to the lack, in Southern Africa, suitable photographic printing paper for the necessary enlargements, ause a consignment, ordered well beforehand, was lost for some unactable reason.

It was essential that these photographs reached Swaziland in e, or the whole vast edifice of survey arrangements which we had conucted could have collapsed, and with it all hopes of completing the vey in 1960. Due to the valiant efforts of the Director of the Instie and Mr. Daniel, some alternative paper was ultimately located, of a most technically ideal but still adequate. Enlargements were made on a and sent to Mbabane, finally allowing us at that end to move on to next stage of our planning.

The field of publicity, essential if we were to expect coration from our subjects, provided other examples of how unexpected
blems could suddenly arise and threaten the success of the whole enterze. In 1959 there had been strong expressions of disapproval of the
vey from Swazi National sources; a disapproval which we were sure was
ed mainly on ignorance of our aims and methods. By 1960 the efforts
the Administration and ourselves had changed this into official Swazi
proval; but we also knew from experience that news of this would not
comatically reach all the sample areas.

We therefore circularized all District Commissioners well in vance of the survey date, asking them to inform the chiefs and peoples

in these areas what the investigation involved, why it was being carried out, who would be questioned, when enumeration would start, and also that Swazi National approval had been obtained. However, it became lamentably obvious as soon as our enumerators went into the field that even this had not always ensured adequate preliminary publicity. From all over the country teams reported areas where the people claimed to have heard nothing. It was not always possible to discover exactly what had occurred, but in many cases it appeared that while chiefs might have been told, they had not always told their subjects, and were themselves usually absent at the Swazi Nation's annual meeting at Lobamba when our enumerators arrived on the scene.

In one case investigated the following version of the sequence of events was given to the writer. The District Commissioner had, quite correctly, delegated this task of informing the people concerned to the senior Swazi National official in the district, the Rural Development Officer (this was National business which strictly speaking was the responsibility of the National authorities). The Rural Development Officer delegated the task to another National Official, the local indabazabantu. Who in turn gave it to the Political Messenger, who had then told someone not in the sample area, but living on the road nearby, to pass the message on. The last individual unfortunately left for Johannesburg the next day without completing his mission.

In this, as in other similar cases, the essential publicity campaign therefore had to be conducted during the scant time allocated to enumeration, instead of well beforehand, as we had originally planned.

It must not be imagined that our energies at the Swaziland end were devoted solely to coping with crises. These have been mentioned primarily to give some idea of the range of the problems that have to be overcome in an extensive survey of this nature. For most of the time we were fully occupied with the far more prosaic tasks which had to be completed

re enumeration could start; checking homestead lists for samples in areas, arranging the logistics of the operation, preparing maps for with the employment section of the questionnaire, preparing notes for by enumerators in the field (to ensure that our questionnaire questions; "sociological sense" in the Swazi context), and the training of the merators themselves.

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The last aspect involved a training course, covering almost weeks immediately before the period of enumeration. In fact, there two courses, as we had to run a special series of lectures for the rvisors we were appointing in this year's survey. Since the number of lidates available was only a few more than our absolute minimum requires, it was not a case of simply choosing those who showed some aptitude rejecting the remainder. Over 90% of those who started the course ply had to be coached to a level of efficiency where they could fill in questionnaires with a minimum of errors, or the entire exercise would in jeopardy.

In particular, we had to train them to get relatively accurate and dates from a largely illiterate population. This had not been leved successfully before on any extensive scale in Swaziland nor, as as we know, in any similarly underdeveloped country. To this end we devised a detailed event-chronology on the pattern of those used in propological field work, and a considerable part of the course was detented to the training of our enumerators in its use.

The compilation of this chronology itself presented many proms. Swaziland is, by and large, a poorly documented country, and in a cases we had to omit well-known past events, simply because we could establish with any degree of accuracy exactly when they had happened. In after we had completed the chronology, and included a dated reference a plague of locusts, we discovered that an appreciable number of our jects only remembered an earlier locust plague that had somehow failed leave its imprint in the official records.

The period allocated to field work on this survey has come to an end, and there now remains the not inconsiderable task of processing the data and preparing various reports. Regarding the land tenure aspect, field notes now have to be collated, the necessary library research completed, and a detailed report prepared. The sample survey, now being processed, will yield other data of sociological interest, which require interpretation and possibly special reports. On the land use aspect, maps of the sample areas are being prepared by the University Department of Surveying, and the information from these will have to be integrated with that obtained from the other sources already mentioned.

The production of a meaningful report from this mass of varied data will be the principal task during the remainder of the period allocated to this research project.

## UMGENI PROJECT (NDWEDWE DISTRICT)

## People. Beer and Communications

(J.E. Laredo)

One of the puzzling aspects of African rural society to the outside observer is their complete innocence about "politics" on the one hand and their real knowledge of "political problems" on the other. At first glance this is to be expected in a community where a large portion of the adults are either illiterate or where the level of literacy does not stretch to extensive reading of either newspapers or books and very little can effectively be said about abstruse problems.

What strikes one is not the ignorance of theory but the widespread discussion of practice, illustrated either by concrete incidents told by the victims, or by stories which sound concrete but later appear to be merely illustrative examples. The description which I was given of a 'working permit' (a mit which the African male must have) from an Urban Local authority the allows an African male to look for work, was that it was a good ag until it was about to expire, whereupon one would be offered low as in uncongenial work — one had no choice but to accept this. There therefore, an implicit connection between an expired permit and low as, which is widely understood. Or again, in the rural areas there is all worn story that it is not cattle and overgrazing that cause ero
1. If the Government would only take the trouble it could see for it1. If the Government would only take the trouble it could see for it1. If the twherever it has built dip paths leading to and from the dips
1. Therefore, say the ple, if it is true that the Government says the dips kill ticks, then
1. Therefore is poison in the dips, and if there is poison in the dips then
1. Therefore is poison in the dips then
1. The dips the poison in the dips then in the dips then in the dips then in the dips then in the dips the poison in the dips then in the dips the dips

These and other similar stories can be heard often, because most likely place to hear them is any weekend at some umuzi where beer being served. Beerdrinking is reserved for the weekends because the are usually then at home. On Saturdays one finds successive waves of dropping in after their return from work in town. They sit down and mk and tell of happenings in town, of what the newspapers say, of what Cato Manor people say. They tell about football, boxing, and somese even horse racing. The local people talk of local things, weddings, nees and disputes. There is a full if rather haphazard exchange of news, and gossip.

Beer drinks are usually given for formal reasons, but it is the formal talk around the beer pots which give them their unique position the present society. The brewing and serving of beer in any umuzi is most regular form of communal activity which one finds in the rural eas today. It might be merely to welcome home the itinerant breadwinner ter a month - or a year; it may be part of the ceremony to welcome back

the spirit of a departed member of the umuzi; it may be to celebrate the arrival of the go-between, the umkhongi, who has come to open negotiations for lobola and eventual marriage.

Whatever its religious and ritual functions, beer brewing and drinking have the supremely important social aspect of being the fulcrum for communication where people keep themselves fully informed about their own immediate world and the world beyond. It is usually a convivial occasion with much talking, sometimes singing and dancing; often one finds here itinerant commercial travellers displaying their wares. These people tend to double up thriftily and serve as (Zionist) ministers on the Sabbath.

Drinking usually takes place in one of the larger huts in the homestead, as even on the hottest summer day a properly thatched hut stays surprisingly cool. Everybody is welcome. In fact, it would have to be a feud of some virulence which would make a person by-pass an umuzi where beer is being served, especially if it is a hot day. As you enter the hut, men sit on the right hand side and women on the left, a flexible rule, as men very often flow onto the left hand side, and if necessary will shoo the women out. More rarely women come over on to the right hand side. However, certain female relatives are forbidden to do this. Age has a claim to sit near the door, and status entitles one to a stool or chair. Any important person is usually honoured by being "given" a khomba of beer. This will be stirred and strained in his presence (with a little spilled on the ground for the ancestors) and it will first be ceremoniously tasted by the host to prove his good faith. When placed in front of the guest of honour, he will either let it pass from hand to hand, or he may call individuals to come and partake of the beer. The latter gesture is a signal honour, especially if the guest is a person of consequence.

It is in this atmosphere that discussion and gossip flourish. Because people are either on the way to somewhere or coming from somewhere, an idea propounded at one beerdrink in the afternoon may have travelled quite far by nightfall. The total picture of beer, and talk, how-

, borders on anarchy. The relevant qualities are patience and a ingness to talk. Since no decisions are taken, much of the talk ers aimlessly; since there is no debate, there is no reason. To e debating points - arguments are pursued with no rules to limit

Talk rarely ceases even if there is singing and dancing, and only time a single topic tends to dominate the conversation is when collective groups comment to the host that the beer is running out.

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People talk in small fluctuating groups. Occasionally a on may try to make a "statement" for the benefit of everybody in the e. On one such occasion, when dips were being heatedly discussed, host persuaded everybody, including the women, to listen - the result bedlam, as the women in their zeal to approve of what the speaker, greeted each remark with wild enthusiasm. The beerdrink soon reed back into small groups.

sions, I give the subjects discussed on two separate occasions by two ips. The first, a group of women, dressed in the traditional isidwabu in skirt) discussed a cow (unrecognized) which had strayed into a garthe day before; they discussed the negotiations for lobola for M's inter who was marrying a Christian and commiserated (in her absence) the girl because she would have to get used to European dresses — were so tight around the breasts because European women were cruel stopped feeding their children before they could walk. They asked thether I did not feel ashamed that I was weaned before I could rememand whether I would be a man and make my wife be a good Zulu and feed thildren properly? They then complained about the scarcity of fire— I because a fire had ravaged the mountain a few months before — it was herdboys who were playing around smoking, instead of looking after cattle. They finally discussed the plight of someone from across the

river who had left to live in Mkhumbane because she was a widow. One of the gossiping group, a big woman, challenged anybody to make her enter an ngena union (levirate) when her husband died. She said she would also go to Mkhumbane if they wanted to force her, men could leave to look for a wife somewhere else.

On another occasion a group of men, who had just accompanied the chief on a mission, came back. For various reasons they were opposed to the chief, and felt they had been ordered to accompany him merely to test their feelings. They were scathing about his horse which was evidently sick, and they commented loudly on his behaviour with one of the local girls - not that they would mind him having a second wife, but he should give the first wife a child before he went round making love; they discussed the problem of a local herbalist, who was trying to get himself registered with the government; they wondered what happened to all the registrations which the government had - there must be so many people registered that nobody, not even the government, could find all the papers if they looked for them; they told stories about a local (white) dipping inspector, who in this version had taken a young bull calf and thrown it across the dipping tank; and reverted to the question of herbalists, complaining that everybody today thought he could go around looking for herbs with which to doctor people.

In this atmosphere, where there is a feeling of euphoria from the beer, and where strangers wisely keep in the background and remain silent, people meet and discuss any amount of problems important and trivial. In doing so, they rarely intend acting in concert or trying to make a decision. They are, however, getting opinions and counter-opinions on a number of subjects which affect them.

The most striking example of the value of a beer drink as a pressure group, was revealed to me in their increasing opposition to the dipping inspector mentioned above. His exploits, whether real or imagined,

repeatedly recounted and when he was eventually involved in a case hich he allegedly had assaulted someone, the people were able to weld selves into a somewhat sullen silent opposition and the administration ded it was desirable to transfer the official. Such successful lobby-is rare, but the people rarely aim to be successful. Beer drinks are arily places where one can sit and drink and talk - but if you are enough to put forward an idea, it may be taken up and it may even som into a hundred flowers.

#### THE JUDICIAL PROCESS AMONG THE ZULU

(J.L. Torres)

The original aim of this project, for which a grant was ied for and received from the N.C.S.R., was to study the organization and the procedure followed by Zulu tribal courts in dealing with cases ween tribesmen arising out of Native Law and Custom.

During the course of three visits to the district of labatini during January/February 1959, July 1959 and January/February I realised that to get a proper understanding of the judicial promang the Zulu it would be necessary first to make a study of the litical Organisation of a Zulu tribe today, under present conditions.

I was fortunate in obtaining the whole-hearted co-operation Chief A.N.M.G. Buthelezi, head of the Buthelezi tribe in the District Mahlabatini. I was able, for a period of five weeks to meet the Chief my day, to attend all the sessions of the tribal court, to visit value outlying sections of his tribal ward and in fact to observe at Alest how a tribe is administered under present conditions in a Reserve.

It was doubly fortunate that this district had been visited and studied by Dr. J.F. Holleman in 1938/39 and 1940. Some of the results of this field work are contained in "Die Twee-Eenheids beginsel in die Sosiale en Politieke samelewing van die Zulu", Bantu Studies, Vol. XIV, March 1940, pages 31-75, and "Die, Zulu Isigodi", Bantu Studies, Vol. XV, (1941).

The information contained in these two articles was of the greatest assistance in my present work.

Dr. Holleman's description of the "Isigodi" and the "Isiginti" and of how these two political units are interrelated, enabled me to discover that the old pattern of development is persisting in some areas and dying out in others. An "isigodi" such as the Mcancu Isigodi under the Induna Mgqibelo Dhlamini has no iziginti even though it contains 44 imizi, while the Nsabekhulmua isigodi with 68 imizi under the Induna Sam Khumalo is subdivided into 8 iziginti.

The way Indunas are appointed, the function of regimental induna are some of the interesting aspects of Zulu tribal organisation which deserve further study.

In order not to become bogged with a mound of material I have decided to postpone further field work until the information so far collected has been analyzed and correlated with the material contained in Dr. Holleman's two articles mentioned above. I intend to bring out an English version of these two articles supplemented with the additional material collected in order to bring them up to date.

# ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE UMGENI, UMBILO AND UMLAZI CATCHMENT AREAS

(Department of Economics)

The aim of the survey is to enquire into the economy of the region covered by these catchment areas - the economic framework, institu-

is and organisation and the process of economic growth - against the ground of their salient population and demographic features and their ral resources.

The area covered by these catchment constitutes a fertile d for the study of economic growth and development in Southern Africa e it covers a variety of forms of economic organisation ranging from underdeveloped characteristics of the Bantu Areas, to the highly-inised urban industrial regions, now rapidly approaching economic rity.

The procedure adopted embraces analysis of the main factors production - labour, land and industrial organisation and finance - the demographic data forming an integral part of the work on labour.

In view of the importance of water to the present and future nomic activities of the region, particularly to agriculture and intry, an investigation into the water resources of the area and their lisation will also form part of the Economic Survey, but will be preted as a separate unit.

#### Outline of the Survey

#### Demography. Labour Resources and Labour Utilisation:

#### (a) Population

Growth: characteristics of present population: its geographical distribution: racial composition: age and sex structure: marital status: birth rates and fertility: death rates and causes of death: occupational composition: income: religion: language: isolation and treatment of particular demographic problems.

#### (b) Labour Resources and Employment

Population of working age and actual working population, present and potential: analysis of labour force according to age, sex,

race, occupation, skill, education, industry, location, mobility, etc., changes in its structure: wage rates and incomes: general patterns of expenditure: productivity and incentives: transport: migration and migratory labour: urban/rural labour: future growth of labour force.

# 2) Land and Land Use: 1)

- (a) European Farming.
- (b) Non-European Farming.

  The Native Reserves: characteristics of a tribal economy: migration: modifications in the economy: production: rehabilitation

schemes.

(c) General.

Agro-economic factors: land use - purposes and geographic distribution between various uses<sup>2</sup>): land ownership and land tenure. Field crops: livestock productions: horticulture: dairy and meat industries: sugar and wattle industries: farm labour.

## 3) Industrial Organisation and Finance:

- (a) Industrial Growth and Development: urban/rural.
- (b) Mining and Quarrying: metal mining: coal, lime and other non-metallic minerals: sand and clay pits: stone quarrying (marble, slate, shale and sandstone).
- (c) <u>Power Resources</u>: growth and development of electricity undertakings.

<sup>1)</sup> In collaboration with various numbers of the University's Faculty of Agriculture.

<sup>2)</sup> For purposes of this section of the Survey it is proposed to rely, inter alia, upon the results of a land use survey at present being carried out in these catchments.

#### (d) Secondary Industry:

- (i) Growth and location of manufacturing industries.
- (ii) Analysis by classes of industry: sizes and types: geographical distribution: capital investment in land, buildings, machinery plant and tools: numbers employed (in race and sex classification): wage rates and earnings: power, water and fuel utilisation: imported and local raw materials used: output.
- (iii) Factors affecting Location of Industry:

Production factors: availability and prices of sites:

proximity to power, water, raw materials, and labour: transport and
freight charges: labour supply: links
with other industries, etc.

Markets:

#### (e) Commercial Activities:

Trade patterns, structure and growth.

## (f) The Structure of Banking and Finance:

#### (g) Transport: (Road, rail and sea):

Growth of transport and its influence on economic development: significance of the Port of Durban: railways and rail rates: road transport.

#### Water and Water Resources:

A survey of all water resources which can be exploited so as to ensure the unhampered development of the harbour city of Durban and of the agricultural and industrial life of its immediate hinterland. A tentative programme will be submitted to bring into service each additional source of supply as the population grows and with it, the demand for water.

#### THE NATIONAL INDABA IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

### (J.F. Holleman)

The Southern Rhodesian National Convention, which took place in Salisbury in the first week of November, was not a joint meeting of political parties. On the contrary, it sought to avoid any party-political alignment.

The 170-odd delegates represented a vast gathering of almost every organized cultural, professional, industrial and religious institution, White, Black, Asian or Coloured, in the Territory. The list of those invited to participate ranged from the African Farmers Union to the Central African Airways; from the University College of Rhodesia to the African Football Association; from the Hindu Societies in Bulawayo and Salisbury, to the Roman Catholic Church and the National Arts Council; the Legal, Medical and Engineering professions as well as the Empire and Olympic Association, Capricorn African Society as well as the Provincial Assemblies of Chiefs; Municipal bodies and associations, together with banking and finance institutions, the Mzilikazi Family Association and the Trades Union Congress. From these and a hundred-odd more organizations, the delegates derived; National Government and political parties were merely invited to send observers to the plenary sessions. There were about as many Africans as Europeans, and a fair sprinkling of Asians and Coloureds. In short, what gathered under one roof were the leaders of the institutionalized interests of Rhodesian society outside the party-political frame.

To this ad hoc and hetrogeneous assembly were submitted the social, economic and political issues of the nation in an urgent appeal to search for the broad principles, if any, upon which a racially-divided society might find a sufficiently wide basis of common agreement to face the future with some confidence instead of growing despair.

For the hour was late. In a country which had remarkably the racial disturbance since the beginning of the century, the situan had, in little more than eighteen months, deteriorated with appalag speed. The Emergency of March last year, the loss of economic yancy, the subsequent riots in the larger urban centres, the grave nings sounded by the Monckton Commission, and above all, the immanent roduction of a sweeping Bill for the Maintenance of Law and Order by Government, had created an acute awareness of impending crisis. In minds of many, the fear that the country might soon become another go, had become desperately real.

It is significant that in this situation of growing doubt despondency the organisers, Sir Charles Cummings and his multi-racial ional Committee of responsible citizens, decided against a Convention all political parties. Whatever the official reasons may have been, ir decision must imply that these people, many of whom are active if loyal members of one political party or another, had lost confidence the stereotypes of political democracy, which had failed to stem the le of deterioration. It was necessary to recast the concept of democry in terms which were much wider, more imaginative, and at the same more down to earth, and more truly representative of the infinite riety of human interests in this plural society.

The theme of the Convention was: Participation.

The Convention officially opened under the Chairmanship of . John Kennedy, an ex-Governor of Southern Rhodesia, who had come over om his home in England for this purpose. On this occasion the small servers gallery included Cabinet Ministers and other political leaders. ring the first plenary session fact papers were presented on the six jor issues to be put to the Convention. These were:-

The Impact of Habit and Custom on Community Life
The Impact of Legislation on Community Life
Restrictions on Economic Activity and Earning Capacity
The Raising, Spending and Allocation of Public Revenue
Individual Liberties and Responsibilities
National and Local Government.

After each paper a number of prepared and divergent 'view-points' were given. Questions seeking clarification of facts and view-points were allowed at this stage, but no debate.

The next two days the Convention divided into six working groups of approximately equal strength and racial composition, each group meeting separately under its own chairman, a person selected by the organizers for his ability and integrity. Each group dealt in succession with all six subjects. To each subject a recorder or 'narrator' was assigned who went from group to group, taking notes of the discussions and trends of opinion. The narrators were appointed by the organizers for their familiarity with the subject and their integrity. At the end of the working group sessions, on Thursday evening, the narrators and chairmen produced joint reports on all subjects, summarising the views and measure of agreement or disagreement of the working groups. These reports were ready for distribution on Friday morning (a stout piece of night work!) when the Convention again met in a marathon plenary session to examine and finally adapt the reports.

A brilliant idea was the preparation of a questionnaire, submitted for completion to each participant of the Convention at the end of the last working group meeting, to test attitudes regarding some seventeen contentious points debated during the preceding meetings. The results of this survey, handled by a small team of University personnel, were likewise prepared overnight and available to the Chairman at the final plenary session, where they proved of invaluable assistance on the several occasions

the general conclusions in the narrators' reports were queried from Convention floor.

One remarkable feature of this Convention was the complete ace of press coverage, a deliberate attempt by the organizers to prethe possibility of misinterpretation or explanation of anything saiding the Convention. While the fact papers were available to the press, narrators' reports, summing up the results and recommendations of the ention, were only distributed to participants and observers during final plenary session, and had to be handed back before the Convention up. In this way the organisers hoped to prevent the publication of results until they themselves had published the final authorized Concon reports.

I had the privilege of being permitted to attend not only the ry sessions, but to observe the working group meetings where the detook place. In view of the fact that these meetings were concurrent, ided to follow the discussions on one subject only, through all work-roups, in order to get an impression of the views, sentiments and of the entire Convention. I selected 'Participation in National and Government' because I considered this, I believe rightly, the most all and contentious issue before the Convention, as it included the em of the franchise and African representation in Parliament.

I must here stress that this was a Southern Rhodesian Convendealing with problems specifically within their Southern Rhodesian xt. This is less narrow than it may seem, for while Southern Rhodesonsiders itself the sheet anchor of the Federation, the Monckton thad also made clear that as far as racial issues are concerned, territory was considered to be the nigger in the Federal wood-pile. both points of view the Convention had reason to believe that, if ern Rhodesia managed to put its own house in order, the prospects a Federation as a whole would be much brighter.

The discussions on participation in National and Local Government followed the following broad pattern. The relevant fact paper, on the basis of the present franchise and voters! roll figures, estimated that if the next general election were held in May 1961, Africans could under favourable circumstances hope to put 2-3 candidates into the enlarged Southern Rhodesian parliament of 50 members. Did the Convention consider this adequate? If not, approximately what proportion did it recommend, what would then be the basis of representation, and how could this be achieved most speedily?

Other points of discussion under this heading were: African participation in statutory bodies - commissions, boards, councils - in civil service and in local government.

The report of the Convention has not yet been published and it would be a breach of confidence to anticipate its specific recommendations. I can, however, sketch the general trend of the discussions and the prevailing atmosphere of the meetings.

Virtually unanimous agreement was reached, in some groups within a matter of minutes, on the first question: the prospect of 2-3 African representatives in a House of 50, was considered wholly inadequate. It took a little longer to reach a broad measure of agreement on the approximate numbers whose immediate introduction to the House would be acceptable to both White and Black. The White delegates were on the whole prepared to accept a <u>substantial</u> minority of Black representation; Black delegates (including several top members of the left wing National Democratic Party) were on the whole quite prepared to accept for the time being a substantial White majority.

Since the suggested proportions could not be brought about under the present franchise laws and the current state of registration on the common roll, there were lively discussions as to how this increase in Black representation could best be brought about. In fact, it was on this

sue, and not on the Black-White proportions in Parliament, that most the debate in the working groups centred.

African delegates made no bones about their desire to strive r a universal franchise, but appeared prepared to concede that this uld not be wise or practical at the present stage. At the same time ey were strongly against the principle of racial (communal) represention, and in this respect found support from a good many Whites. At the d of the debate, however, the great majority seemed prepared to accept, an interim measure, a modification of principles in order to achieve the desired increase in African parliamentary representation at the triest possible moment. Concrete suggestions ranged from a broadening the franchise qualifications so as to include 'responsibility' as a abstitute for the required literacy and financial qualifications, to pecific forms of communal representation, or a combination of both one ad the other.

This hurdle more or less safely and amicably cleared, the est of the participation—in—government issue — statutory boards, etc., ivil service and local government — was comparatively plain sailing, lthough the existence, side by side, of Municipal and Government Afrian Townships, raised technical questions which made it difficult to dopt a universal approach to the problem of how to implement a policy f a liberal African share in joint Municipal Government.

Summing up these few observations I would say that the rinciple of an immediate, generous and effective African share in Natonal and Local Government was never seriously contested by the vast ajority of White delegates; while the principle of an African majority in the immediate future was never seriously pursued by the African delecates, although a few of them stressed (and many more accepted) that this was the ultimate and inevitable prospect. This left room for a wide out flexible field of acceptable compromise as a basis for further negociation and development.



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