

DIRECTOR'S ANNUAL REPORT

OCTOBER 1961 - SEPTEMBER 1962

For I.S.R.
Circulation

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

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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

DIRECTOR'S REPORT 1962

I. G E N E R A L R E V I E W

You will forgive me if on this occasion I widen the scope of my Annual Report to include a survey of the Institute's activities to-date. As I shall be leaving the University at the end of the year in order to take up an appointment elsewhere; this will be my last report, and therefore the only occasion left on which I can give you, the membership of this Institute, an account of my stewardship during the 5½ years that I have been head of this Institute.

The Institute for Social Research was established in September 1953 for the purpose, among other things, to encourage social research and, whenever appropriate, to bring together specialists trained in the various social sciences; to undertake research into human behaviour and relationship; to train selected persons in advanced social research methods and techniques, and to prepare them to carry out and to supervise research which requires interdisciplinary co-operation.

Its membership was opened to all academic staff in the University (and some outside) who were prepared to take an intelligent interest in its chosen fields of activity.

The underlying ideal clearly was that the Institute should become a channel for the interdisciplinary traffic of ideas and experiences between colleagues within the University (and possibly outside it) and a vehicle for interdepartmental research action and training. The very absence of even a small core of permanent research staff in the Institute, put a premium on sustained and generous support from the side of departments and individual staff members in the University.

For a variety of reasons the responses to this ideal were mixed, and the teething troubles of the young institution, pretty severe. A triple endowment, totalling some £30,000 (mainly derived from Carnegie, Ford and N.C.S.R. - largely with Carnegie funds - which contributed approximately one-third shares each), together with quarters provided by the University, enabled the Institute to make a start. A multi-disciplinary research conference on an inter-University basis was organized in 1954 and a similar performance was staged in 1956. For active research and training purposes a series of four urban community studies (African, Indian, Coloured, culturally mixed) was planned, during the course of which a fairly large number of post-graduate scholars, assisted by scholarships derived from Carnegie funds, would receive their interdisciplinary training. During this period, too, a relay of prominent American social scientists were to come over as consultants.

This ambitious programme was duly put into operation, but had to be modified considerably during the course of its execution. Probably the main cause was the turn-over and scarcity of research personnel. The Baumannville (African) Community Study was undertaken with some eight scholars; the Sparks Estate (Coloured) Com-

munity Study with two; the Indian and Mixed Community Studies with one each. Well before the completion of the second community study, moreover, the Institute had had three Directors, Ken Kirkwood, Hansi Pollak and Max Marwick, in part-time and temporary capacity, until the University Council in 1956 decided to undertake the responsibility for the salary of a full-time Director, for the time being on a five-year contract.

Looking back upon the period 1954 until the end of 1956, it is easy to be critical of the achievements of the Institute. About two-thirds of the original endowments had been spent, but little more than one-quarter of the envisaged research training programme had been completed and, together with the proceedings of two research conferences (one still in preparation) this seemed to constitute the sum total of concrete results of more than three years of hard work.

One is, however, inclined to forget the less obtrusive benefits which accrued to the academic life of the University. I may mention in passing the several thousands of pounds worth of books donated to the Library; the costly sorting and calculating and other equipment which had become available. Most important by far, however, was the essential fact that the concept of combined research had been thrust into the life of the University in a manner which forced people to take cognizance of it, whether they agreed with the idea or not. In South African university life at the time this was a comparative novelty, a brave experiment which appealed to some but not to others. But even those who had been prepared to give it a trial, found it to be a strain.

I believe there are two main reasons for the lukewarm response to, and only partial success of, the first interdisciplinary research efforts. One was the organization of the research itself, which was conceived as a team effort under joint direction from beginning to end, and not merely a coordination of plans and periodic consultations with regard to their execution. It is my own belief that such highly integrated multi-disciplinary action may work with a team of veterans who know each other's minds, methods and hobby-horses; in a new team it is likely to produce academic claustrophobia. For there seems to be too little room for personal initiative and too much scope for protracted argument on minor detail. Too much time, patience and energy is spent on seeking agreement on every point, instead of getting on with the job in a spirit of give and take and the knowledge that differences of opinion, too, are the spice of academic life.

The second reason for the mixed response to interdisciplinary research lies deeper. In the structure of the University the various disciplines are regarded not so much as part of a common fund of knowledge and learning to which all have free access, as that they are entrenched in separate domains, each entrusted to and anxiously protected by its guardian department and departmental chieftain. In the realm of scientific inquiry all disciplines are equal and none has a monopoly with regard to truth and wisdom. In the academic camp, however, there is sometimes a tendency to forget this, and to believe, as did the occupants on Orwell's animal farm, that some are more equal than others. The resulting reflex reaction is as familiar

to anthropologists as it is to psychologists and political scientists. Everyone strengthens his own defences but pledges his belief in freedom, peaceful co-existence and co-operation in a spirit of give and take - and then sits back in fearful expectation that someone else might take more than he is prepared to give.

In the Institute for Social Research the boundaries of a good many disciplines come together, and from all participants or would-be participants it requires a voluntary act of faith, if not of self-confidence, to lower the bristling departmental defences sufficiently to make co-operation a form of creative activity instead of an empty slogan.

I do not know how much of this faith existed in the beginning; I do know that there was little evidence of it when I came here in 1957. I arrived with a fair measure of enthusiasm and a good deal of idealism. I had been a lone wolf in the field of research for too long a time, and I thought it would be fun to do something worthwhile with colleagues in other fields. I had a memorable reception. Not everyone wanted to talk to me; but among those who did, the pessimist majority assured me that the Institute, if it had ever lived at all, was due for an early burial; the optimists - bless them - told me that if I could hang on for my contract period of five years I should at any rate have a fair opportunity to look out for another, more congenial and permanent job.

I can at least be grateful that, from the very beginning, I was left in no doubt as regards the nature of the task assigned

to me. I shall not burden you with all the details of the ensuing five years. Enough to say that for the first twelve to fifteen months I went from door to door in the naïve idea that what I had to offer might be of use to others. But no one appeared to have any work for me, and since I had no intention of earning a professor's salary by doing merely a clerk's job and supervising one or two workers in Swaziland and the Umgeni Valley, I decided, with the blessing of my then Chairman, the late Jack Krige, to create work for myself, and through myself, for the Institute. I gambled on the belief that, if the concept of a project was bold enough, its approach sufficiently novel and imaginative to promise some excitement, and its scope so wide that several scientists of different orientation would find in it ample room to ride their hobby-horses, it should attract colleagues with a sense of adventure.

The Institute had at the time a useful foothold in two areas large enough to launch a major experiment, the Umgeni Valley and Swaziland, in which respectively John Laredo and John Hughes were working. In the former area we already participated in a full-scale project, but this was being bedevilled by financial and other tangles which threatened to strangle any novel idea. The air over Swaziland was free, the country attractive, and officialdom benevolently disposed towards giving even an unorthodox research plan a trial run. It seemed the ideal hunting ground for what I had in mind.

The idea of a comprehensive demographic and socio-economic survey on the basis of random area sampling, was tossed into the

laps of four or five selected colleagues, over a cup of tea in my office one mid-winter morning in 1958. It was, as I stated in my Annual Report for 1959-60,

'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 it and fostering it, in the hope that it would, in spite of its sometimes alarming fickleness and stubbornness, ultimately prove to be manageable'.

The Swaziland Survey was a multi-disciplinary approach to the basic problems of that country. Its aims were a compromise between providing the Administration with the fundamental background information on which it could base its development policy, and satisfying the scientists' ambition to make a worthwhile and if possible original contribution to their respective disciplines. The initial task was to assess jointly the broad aspects which needed to be covered, then to assign to each expert the responsibility of working out what was required in his own field, and to design tentative methods of how to meet these requirements with due economy of effort.

So keen was the response from this small handful of volunteer colleagues, that my own task in the beginning was largely confined to keeping their demands within reasonable bounds, and to retain the balance and total cohesion of the emerging plans. In fact, so much initiative and energy was being displayed, that I was afraid that my own contribution would not keep me busy enough. I therefore accepted an invitation from Dr. Biesheuvel to become his partner in a major study of the stability of the white mineworkers community on the Copperbelt, and later, Broken Hill, in order to secure my own full share of fieldwork. I have never since had reason to complain about lack of work.

The Swaziland Survey is by far the most ambitious project this Institute has undertaken (in fact, I believe it is the largest and most complex single research operation in this field yet undertaken by any University in this country). But it is not its size which makes it an outstanding effort; nor its quality, for it may not even prove to have been the best work we have done. Its significance to this Institute and to the University as a whole lies in the nature of its multi-disciplinary organization, in the way a growing number of keenly individualistic and widely differently oriented scientists pooled their ideas, skills and efforts over a period of more than three years in a voluntary and self-disciplined association of fellow workers.

Although the project itself, and the very large and complex organization it required, was more than once strained to

near breaking point (some 140 active workers, of whom some 100 specially trained, were ultimately involved), and in spite of growing fatigue under sustained pressure of work, the relationship among the team of principal workers remained free from stress. There was no formality, no minutes of meetings except for an occasional aide memoire; no official boss or chairman was ever elected, for there was a self-evident understanding that within his own field every member of the team could always have the last word (how else could he accept responsibility?). Yet not one decision of any consequence was taken unilaterally, if for no other reason than that such action might prejudice somebody else's effort.

We met irregularly, whenever it seemed desirable to do so, which meant meeting frequently at some stages, hardly at all at other times. We would take stock of the situation and take note of each other's progress; we would discuss specific problems, or synchronize our actions if necessary. We were pretty critical of each other's premises, suggestions or efforts, but somehow no one ever showed an inclination either to nurse his pride in isolation, or to hoist the banner of his discipline.

The manifestations of this team action sometimes seemed paradoxical. At the time of the greatest concerted action, for instance, when in July 1960 the main survey had been launched in a single massive operation stretching over thousands of square miles, a number of us travelled up to see how things were going. I remember that it struck me then as characteristic of our working relationship that, once on the scene, we did

not stick together as a general staff on inspection, but quite independently of each other decided to take off, each in a different direction, meeting only in the evenings to compare notes together. Yet, months later, when each had withdrawn behind his own desk with a pile of tabulations in order to analyze and formulate the results of his own sections, the feeling of interdependence showed itself in a steady increase of inter-office traffic, in a self-evident desire for inter-personal and interdisciplinary communication and fellowship.

I have dealt at some length with the Swaziland survey. The reason is simple. It was clear from the beginning that this would be the one major challenge which would either make or break the Institute (and the Directorship as well), the crucial test which would prove whether a research institute of this kind was an unwarranted luxury or a worthwhile and academically profitable institution in a University of the limited size and resources of ours.

By the middle of last year, though aware that we still had a hard pull ahead of us, I was sufficiently confident of success to suggest to the Executive Committee that this year we would find time for a joint venture of another and equally congenial kind: an interdisciplinary research conference.

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At the end of June this year, the two volumes of the completed Swaziland Report, aptly called 'Experiment in Swaziland', had been collated and were on their way to the binder. Several months earlier, however, advance copies of the chapters dealing with the rural economy were already being studied in Swaziland and were having their effect on the planning of economic policy in the Territory.

In July, the staid Oxford University Press acknowledged receipt of what they called an 'interesting and even exciting MS', accepting it for publication as it stood, and paying us moreover the handsome compliment of stating that our scientific reputation had been good enough for them to dispense with their customary procedure first to invite the expert opinion of an outside reader.

Our Institute's reputation? The Institute has never tried to seek publicity (as a matter of fact, we deliberately fought shy of it until our Publicity Officer forced us to relent a bit). The reason is that we wanted our publications to speak for us, and these took a long time to prepare. Yet, apparently, we had had already begun to build up a reputation for ourselves considerably earlier, when we had much less to show for our efforts. In the beginning of 1960, information was offered to an important and well-travelled visitor by someone inside the University who expressed concern about the alleged 'lack of accomplishment' by the Institute. It is gratifying to know that the outsider was apparently better informed than the insider, and was able to reply that his own 'reading of the

record and discussions with scholars both in South Africa and the United States did not substantiate (this) criticism of the Institute's performance'. Indeed, one had to be either unwilling to see, or wholly ignorant of research and research organization, to have made such a foolish accusation. For at that time we happened to be neck-deep in our researches in Durban; in the Umgeni Valley, in Swaziland and on the Copperbelt!

Where do we stand now? Have we proved the case for the Institute? During the past twelve months alone the Institute has produced completed research-based manuscripts amounting to well over 1,200 typewritten pages; nearing completion is another batch of manuscripts of some 1,000 to 1,200 pages (this excludes the volume which will contain the Proceedings of our Research Conference, most of which is work by outsiders).

At the end of this report I have listed the research projects and publications of the Institute. You will judge for yourselves whether the Institute has given a fair account of itself.

During the past $5\frac{1}{2}$ years we raised well over R60,000 for research from sources outside the University; the bulk of this we spent, of course. This is only our own expenditure, which does not take into account expenses incurred by other institutions involved in the research undertakings which were wholly or partially inspired by this Institute. If the total value of this research is calculated, the figure will be over R140,000, again excluding the very substantial contribution made from within this University itself.

And finally, in July this year, we had our third and most successful interdisciplinary research conference, with over one-hundred participants from universities and research institutions in South Africa, adjacent territories and overseas. Apart from the many other gratifying impressions we carried away from this Conference there was one of particular relevance to my present theme: in the minds of colleagues from elsewhere, this Institute had arrived, its reputation well established, and this University stood out as a clear example which others would like to follow.

Let me leave it at that, and let us turn to the future for a moment. It is obvious that there will be changes. For the past two months much work has been done by several members of the Executive Committee on the revision of the Constitution of the Institute. A new, and I hope satisfactory, draft Constitution is being prepared for the consideration of the General Committee. It reflects the wisdom gleaned from hard experience over the years of our existence: that only in a truly free and voluntary association can people of independent mind pool their ideas and efforts, and discipline themselves towards the attainment of a common and worthwhile academic purpose. However, in an Institute of the size and nature of ours, the direction and type of activity inevitably depends to a large extent upon the Director himself; and my successor may well be a very different man, with other qualities, interests, ideas, which it will be his good right to exploit. For that reason I have done my best as far as possible to wind up work in which I was personally involved, so that he might start with a clean slate. Obviously he

will need your support, for this remains the very foundation of this Institute. Be generous with it, as so many of you have been generous to me.

And this is the note at which I should like to end the reading of my Report, and to leave it to yourself to read the second part, which deals specifically with the activities of the Institute over the past twelve months.

I spoke of generosity, and feel a deep personal urge to express my gratitude for the generous support and friendship I have received in this University, from colleagues on the academic staff, from my own hard-worked assistants in the Institute, from the administrative and technical personnel in the University, and certainly not least from the Principal and the University Council.

It would be less than frank to deny that in these 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ years I have known times of frustration and even bitterness, for I have experienced treatment and met attitudes which I consider unworthy of academic fellowship. But with equal honesty and without hesitation I can say that this is nothing compared to the generosity and selflessness of the support I have enjoyed from ever-growing numbers of senior and junior colleagues - some of them very senior, some very junior. In fact, I very much doubt if anyone has received more friendship, spontaneous help, loyal service and sheer hard work from such a wide and varied band of associates in the University than I have received. I have found that in such good company even the most sustained effort becomes good fun.

And so my dominant feeling upon my parting with you is one of pride and privilege to have been permitted to serve a University with so many fine people; and of immense and humble gratitude that, because of them, I was able, in my allotted time, to accomplish my assignment.

II. REPORT FOR THE PERIOD OCTOBER 1961 - SEPTEMBER 1962

A. RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

The past twelve months have largely been a time of harvest, and as most harvest times, this involved sustained and concentrated effort.

1. Swaziland Sample Survey:

At the turn of the year more than half of the ambitious Swaziland Survey Report remained to be written, but the hard core of the material had been systematically analyzed, and we knew what we had and what we were doing with it. And so, in the ensuing months, one chapter after another was completed, edited and put on stencil.

Three sections gave us some anxiety and for this reason deserve special mention. The first draft of the chapter on Labour had been prepared by a post-graduate scholarship student in the Economics Department, but needed drastic revision in the form it had been presented. I must thank Mr. A.S.B. Humphreys for undertaking the laborious task of re-

casting and largely rewriting a major chapter with the painstaking care of a conscientious scholar and the loyalty of an understanding colleague.

The section on Demographic Characteristics was completed by Dr. Jooste after he had left the University, and its passage was held up on account of the puzzling behaviour of the data on sex ratios. Very considerable further exploration was required, and I am indebted to Professor Keen of the Medical School for his active interest and help, and to our old stalwart, Professor Cruise, for a good deal of additional calculation.

The material on Education produced a real emergency at a very late stage, when it went begging for an expert to cast it into a coherent and meaningful whole. It was Dr. Branford who came to our rescue and who produced a neat and scholarly chapter in five weeks of concentrated effort.

And so we finally brought to fruition the labours of nearly four years of voluntary teamwork in a vast and often complex frame of organization, which extended right across Swaziland and most of its service departments, and within the University brought together scholars from six or seven different departments and disciplines. The significance of this combined effort I have discussed elsewhere. Let me here suffice with paying tribute to all who shared in this adventure, its excitements and drudgery, its hopes and anxiety, its sweat and toil, and above all, its heartening fellowship and sheer good fun. It was a rich and memorable experience.

2. Swazi Land Tenure Study:

John Hughes left us at the expiration of his contract period at the end of February this year. Under C.D. & W. Scheme 661 he had a double research assignment: an intensive study of Swazi land tenure and local authority; a demographic study of population trends. The second study was incorporated in the Random Sample Survey, of which Hughes was one of the principal architects and organisers. Due to his great responsibilities in connection with the survey he was unable to complete the writing up of his land tenure study (for which he had done nearly three years of fieldwork) before his contract expired, and some chapters remain to be done. These are well in hand and the work will be completed in due time and good form.

3. Swaziland Economic Development:

John Daniel's comprehensive study of the economic development of Swaziland, begun some five years ago, had been closely interwoven with our other Swaziland researches without loss of its own identity. Cast in the form of a Ph.D. thesis it will be completed before the end of the year and produced with the help of the Institute from the balance of our Swaziland funds. Together with an atlas of some 60-80 carefully prepared maps, it will be a major contribution to our knowledge of the physical and human resources of the Territory, and a fine credit to a hard-working and conscientious scholar and colleague.

4. Swaziland Nutrition Survey:

Miss Sonya Jones spent 15 months in the field with a team of trained African assistants, among selected communities of the Swazi rural and urban population, to assess their state of nutrition, general health and dietary habits. Initially supervised by Dr. Hilda Kuper, and now by Professor Eileen Krige, Miss Jones is working in close collaboration with the Director of Medical Services and the Department of Land Utilization. Her study fills a vital gap left open by the 1960 Random Sample Survey, which was not equipped to deal with these problems. A hard and most capable worker, Miss Jones has not confined herself to an assessment of the factual situation but is also exploring the field of remedial action. Earlier this year, Dr. Stott of the Valley Trust kindly accepted an invitation to spend a brief period with Miss Jones in the field as a consultant, and commented very favourably on the quality of her work. Miss Jones is now writing up the results of her field study at the Institute. The Department of Technical Co-operation of the Colonial Office has granted £2,000 towards this project, which started with a Fellowship sponsored by this Institute. The report is expected to be completed towards April next year and will, apart from its scientific value, undoubtedly be of immense help to the health authorities in Swaziland.

With the completion of four major research projects in Swaziland, the Institute has helped to make this attractive country one of the best documented territories in Africa. It deserves it, for all our efforts have received the most generous moral and active support from its people and its Administration. Indeed, if in the Republic the same attitude were to prevail among the authorities, and proportionately similar financial support were to be given to social research, the whole character and future of our universities would change before the unfolding vistas of unlimited and unfettered scientific inquiry.

5. Coloured Community Study (N.C.S.R.):

Hamish Dickie-Clark's extension of his Sparks Estate Community Study is now being cast into a Ph.D. thesis and on the point of completion.

6. Copperbelt and Broken Hill Studies (Northern Rhodesian Chamber of Mines and Anglo American Corporation):

Conducted and completed in association with the National Institute for Personnel Research between 1959-61, the five volumes of these two studies have so far been treated as confidential reports. There are indications, however, that permission to publish an abbreviated and re-arranged combination of the two studies may be granted by the sponsors, in which case it will become a publication jointly prepared by Dr. Biesheuvel and myself, possibly some time next year.

7. Umgeni, Umbilo and Umlazi Catchment Areas Project (N.C.S.R.):

(a) Social Anthropology:-

John Laredo completed the first draft of his report, dealing with the patterns of socio-economic transition, particularly in relation to land and authority in two rural and one peri-urban areas. The report is now being redrafted following suggestions made by Professors Pollak and Horwood.

(b) Sociology:-

Professor Kuper, now at the University of California, is writing up the material of his study on the African middle classes in Durban, and hopes to have his report ready in about a year's time.

8. Epidemiological Study of Enuresis:

Dr. Zelda Jacobson's fieldwork for this cross-cultural study suffered some unavoidable delay early in the year, but has since been resumed.

9. Sample Survey of Indian Unemployment in Durban:

Fieldwork for this survey was carried out in January this year by Mrs. Margo Russell with a team of Indian students. A preliminary report was issued a few months later. The full and workmanlike draft report by Mrs. Russell was

ready by mid-year but there has unfortunately been some delay in its production. The project is supervised by Mr. I.K. Allan, and jointly sponsored by the Institute and a local Committee representing European and Indian business interests of which Professor Kelly is the Chairman and moving spirit.

10. Domestic Servants Project (N.C.S.R.):

Undertaken by Miss E. Searle under the supervision of Professor Eileen Krige. Fieldwork in this project has been partially interrupted (with the permission of the N.C.S.R. Miss Searle was temporarily engaged as a teacher in the Department of African Studies) but progress has been fully resumed.

The purpose of this study is an analysis of the relationship patterns between girl servant and employer's family in different social strata in Durban. It is, for obvious reasons, of more than academic value, and the results should be a fair reward for the peculiar difficulties encountered in the course of interviewing servants and mistresses.

11. Cognition Project (N.C.S.R.):

This project was designed by the Department of Psychology as an exploratory study of African cognitive processes in relation to time and space. Planned as a two-three year undertaking, it received the backing of the N.C.S.R., but

the difficulties in recruiting suitable key-workers caused its suspension (at our request) for one year. It is expected that the project will be started in the beginning of 1963 with two qualified workers under the supervision of Mr. Albino and Dr. Mann.

12. One new application for a research grant has been submitted to the N.C.S.R., in connection with a project proposed by the Department of History, for a 'Study of the Structure and Development of the South African Political System'.

No other research projects have been planned. For one thing, we had enough on our plate to keep us fully occupied during a year in which, moreover, we organized an inter-university research conference. For another thing, knowing well before the usual time of drafting applications for N.C.S.R. grants that I would probably be leaving, I considered it unkind to my successor to burden him with a load of fresh work to the planning of which he had not been a party.

B. OTHER ACTIVITIES

1. Social Sciences Research Conference, Durban, July 1962:

The Institute had its third interdisciplinary research conference from 16th-20th July this year (earlier conferences took place in 1954 and 1956).

Accommodated in attractively appointed quarters it was a resounding success. Over a hundred participants from South Africa, adjacent territories and overseas attended, listened to carefully prepared papers of generally high quality, and participated in discussions which, though frank and critical, remained on an academically high level. If the conference suffered from anything, it was from an overdose of work, and for this I take full responsibility. On the other hand, the participants were able to relax on a delightful instructive excursion, superbly organized by Ron Davies.

After every party the hosts have to do the cleaning up. In this case the main job is the editing of a substantial conference report, at present undertaken by Joan Knox (economics), Jack Mann (psychology), Ken Heard (political science) and myself (social anthropology). No firm decision has yet been taken with regard to publication, but I trust that it will be published in a form that does justice to its contents.

Almost everyone has commented on the smooth organization and good style of this conference, and has asked for the secret. It is the simple teamwork formula we applied to our Swaziland Survey: get agreement with regard to an outline plan; divide the load among a handful of people of independent mind and proven energy; leave it to them to work out and take care of the details; keep in touch without crowding each other; then cheerfully await the outcome.

The conference programme, listing only the main speakers, those who opened discussions or led discussion groups, and chairmen, is given below:-

<u>Main Speakers and Topics</u>	<u>Opening Discussions</u>	<u>Chairmen</u>
Professor Monica Wilson: <u>'The Coherence of Groups'</u>	Professor Eileen J. Krige	Dr. J.F. Holleman
Prof. Simon Biesheuvel: <u>'Work and its Effect on Personality Development in Africans'</u>	Professor P.A. Theron	Dr. J.W. Mann
Professor P. Mayer: <u>'Sociological Aspect of Labour Migration'</u> (read by Dr. W.J. Argyle)	Professor J.C. Mitchell	Professor E.J. Krige
Prof. Y. Glass: <u>'Industrialization and Ur- banization in South Africa'</u>	Professor H.P. Pollak	Professor J.C. Mitchell
Prof. L.T. Badenhorst: <u>'The Relationship between Population and Socio-Eco- nomic Development'</u>	Professor J.L. Sadie	Professor E.S. Munger

<u>Main Speakers and Topics</u>	<u>Opening Discussions</u>	<u>Chairmen</u>
Professor K. Danziger: <u>'Social Change and Child Training in Underdevel- oped Areas'</u>	Dr. Y. Lejeune	Professor W.H.O.Schmidt
Mr. A. Videira e Castro: <u>'Community Development in a Hydro-Agricultural Scheme'</u>	Professor P.H.Connell	Professor W.H.O.Schmidt
Professor J.A. Lombard: <u>'The Determination of Racial Income Differen- tials in South Africa'</u> (read by Professor D.C. Krogh)	Mr. L.H. Samuels	Professor O.P.F.Horwood
Professor D.V. Cowen: <u>'Some Problems of Consti- tution in Contemporary Africa'</u>	Adv. D.B. Molteno	Professor E.H. Brookes
Professor D.Hobart Houghton: <u>'Aspects of Economic Devel- opment in Africa'</u> (read by Mr. J. Barker)		Professor H.M. Robertson
Professor O.P.F. Horwood: <u>'The Social Framework of Economic Development in a Dual Society: The Case of South Africa'</u>		Professor H.M. Robertson

Group Discussions

Recorders

Problems affecting the Training for Civic Responsibility'

Mr. K.A. Heard

Problems affecting the Training for Technical Skill'

Dr.S. Biesheuvel

Problems affecting the Training for Health'

Dr. S.J. Powell

Seminars:

Owing to pressure of other work no seminars were organized during the past twelve months.

Director's movements:

The Director, together with Professors Krige and Cruise and Messrs. Hughes and Daniel, visited Swaziland in January at the invitation of the Administration for a series of meetings on agronomic policy and in connection with the nutrition study.

Apart from this absence and a few meetings in Johannesburg and Pretoria with the N.I.P.R. and N.C.S.R., the Director remained, in contrast with previous years, at Institute headquarters for the whole of this period.

C. LIBRARY

Our small reference library, run by Mrs. Mann, continues to serve a useful purpose.

D. FINANCE

The University Accountant is kindly preparing a financial statement giving the position as on the 30th September 1962.

Generally speaking our position is as good (or as bad) as can be expected considering our from hand to mouth existence.

A small uncommitted reserve remains in the Carnegie and Ford funds, which we have carefully husbanded for small but vital expenses for which we have no other funds to tap.

Our Swaziland funds have been almost exhausted (there is still a credit of R200 outstanding, due to be paid shortly). The small balance is, in fact, fully committed to the production of Messrs. Daniel's and Hughes's work, both of whose studies were subsidized by the Swaziland Administration.

The original, unencumbered allocation in respect of my services to the commissioned Copperbelt and Broken Hill studies amounted to R7,400. On the basis of calculated time and overhead (week-ends, vacation and leave due in respect of the working period involved) I had a personal interest in a little over one-third of this amount. The University Council has kindly granted me a gratuity in lieu of the leave period to which I was entitled in terms of my contract and which I have been unable to take. As a counter-gesture I have donated an amount approximately equivalent to this gratuity to the Institute.

I have therefore withdrawn from this fund R2,000 (representing the value of week-end time only) of which I deposited

R1,300 into a newly created 'Director's Account', to be operated at the sole discretion of the Director in the interest of the Institute, retaining R700 which I required, among others to pay for one or two features of the recent research conference in which I took a personal delight. I have also advised the University accountant under what (unlikely) circumstances the Director's fund should be liquidated and its unspent balance accrue to the University Development Fund.

E. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For a period of nearly six years this Institute and its work has been a major part of my life. I have grown fond of it and taken a good deal of pride in it. I want to thank all people who, not merely by word but by action, have vindicated my confidence in this institution, and thereby made the Institute for Social Research a working reality in the University. The list of these colleagues and friends is so long that it would be invidious to enumerate all by name.

Members of the Executive and General Committee have been among my closest associates, and among the staunchest supporters of the Institute. I realize that, at times, they may have been faced with problems of conflicting loyalties, and I am deeply grateful for their generous efforts to overcome these.

Active and voluntary collaboration for a common purpose was, however, stretched much wider than the list of office bearers or committee members, and has involved colleagues in the

humanities as well as the natural sciences, and I am particularly grateful for their selfless advice and conscientious efforts on our behalf.

The Registrar, Deputy Registrar, Accountant, and individual members of the 'Admin' Staff, I wish to thank for their unfailing courtesy and ready help to the Institute. If I may add a personal note to this, I should like to say that this is the first time that I have worked in an institution in which the administrative personnel were actually more sensitive to my well-being and interests than I was myself. I deeply appreciate this.

I am much indebted to the Director of Library Services and especially to the staff of the reproduction service, for their splendid co-operation during this year.

To the technical and maintenance staff of the University my thanks for helping us out with minor and major jobs with due promptness and good cheer. I should especially like you to cherish the memory of a modest man of simple humanity and endearing charm, our late caretaker, Mr. Bond, who slipped away from our campus life as quietly as he had moved among us.

Finally, my own staff, secretary, research workers, and others whom we engaged for shorter or longer periods. For some inexplicable reason they always seem to get caught in a current of hectic activity and a battle against time. Only recently did I find out that I have a reputation of being a hard task-

master. If so, I have the more reason for feeling truly grateful for the loyalty and generally cheerful spirit in which they responded, and for their sustained efforts to meet the standards which I hoped we could reach together. If, after all has been said and done, they too have the feeling that the results have been worth the efforts, I shall be more than satisfied.

J.F. HOLLEMAN
DIRECTOR

I.S.R.
22/10/62.
DURBAN.

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL
RESEARCH FROM FEBRUARY 1954 TO DATE

<u>Year started:</u>	<u>Project:</u>	<u>Progress:</u>
1954	Baumannville (African) Community Study	Report completed 1956
1955	Sparks Estate (Coloured) Community Study	Report completed 1957
1956	Indian Education Project	Report completed 1961
1956	Swazi Women	Research scholar left 1958
1957	Culturally Mixed Community Study	Report completed 1961
1957	Shongweni Project	Incorporated in the Umgeni Study
1957	African Advertising Appeal Project	Report completed 1960
1958	Swazi Land Tenure Project	Draft report nearly completed
1958	Swaziland Economic Development Project	Report nearly completed
1958	Swaziland Pilot Survey	Completed 1959
1958	Umgeni, Umbilo, Umlazi Catchment Areas Survey:-	
	Anthropological Study	Draft report completed 1961
	Sociological Study	Two preliminary reports completed 1961

<u>Year</u> <u>started:</u>	<u>Project:</u>	<u>Progress:</u>
1959	Copperbelt Survey (with N.I.P.R.)	Report completed 1960
1959	Swaziland Sample Survey	1st Preliminary Report completed 1960 2nd Preliminary Report completed 1960 Main Report completed 1962
1960	Copperbelt Teenage Attitude Study	Report completed 1961
1961	Broken Hill Survey (with N.I.P.R.)	Report completed 1961
1961	Cross-cultural Survey of Enuresis	In progress
1961	Swaziland Nutrition Survey	In progress
1961	Indian Unemployment Study	Preliminary Report in March 1962; full Report completed September 1962
1962	African Domestic Servants Project	In progress
1962	African Cognition Study	Staff being recruited

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

- 1955 The Social Science Conference Report - July 1954
- 1956 The Baumannville Community
- 1957 The Social Science Conference Report - July 1956
- 1957 'The Problem of the Marginal Personality' - J.W. Mann
(Ph.D. thesis)
- 1957 The Clifdale Indian Community (Shongweni Pilot Study)
- N. Naidoo (M.A. thesis)
- 1958 'Challenge and Response' (Report on the 1958 SABRA Conference)
- J.F. Holleman
- 1958 'The Tightrope Dancers' (Report on the 1958 Conference
of Administrators of Non-European Affairs) - J.F. Holleman
- 1958 'Group Relations and the Marginal Personality' - J.W. Mann
- 1958 'The Concept of Christianity in the African Independent
Churches' - B.G.M. Sundkler
- 1958 'Contract Law and the Community' - C.C. Turpin
- 1958 'Practical Problems of Township Planning' - B. Huntley
- 1959 'Sparks Estate - a Study of a Coloured Group' - H.F.
Dickie-Clark
- 1959 'Study of African Preferences in Advertising' - C. Papp
- 1959 'An Investigation into Mental Efficiency in an Indian
Afternoon School' - C. Ramphal
- 1959 Swaziland Pilot Survey: (a) Demography - C.J. Jooste
(b) Wage Employment -
J.B.McI. Daniel
- 1960 'African Marriage at the Cross Road' - J.F. Holleman
- 1961 Swaziland Sample Survey:-
1st Preliminary Report (Rural Areas) Cruise,
2nd Preliminary Report (Urban/Peri-Urban - Hughes,
Areas) Daniel and
Holleman

- 960 Attitudes of the White Mineworkers Community on the Copperbelt (with N.I.P.R.), in three volumes (Confidential Report) - J.F. Holleman with S. Biesheuvel
- 961 'A Rhodesian White Minority under Threat' - J.F. Holleman, J.W. Mann and P.L. van den Berghe
- 961 Attitudes of the White Mineworkers Community at Broken Hill (with N.I.P.R.), Confidential Report in two volumes - J.F. Holleman with S. Biesheuvel
- 961 'The Great Purge' (Report on the 1961 SABRA Conference) - J.F. Holleman
- 961 'Study of three Current Problems of Indian Education (Ph.D. thesis in three volumes) - C. Ramphal
- 961 'Study of a South African Interracial Neighbourhood' - (M.A. thesis) - M.J. Russell
- 962 'Experiment in Swaziland' - Report of the 1960 Swaziland Sample Survey - (Contributors: Cruise, Daniel, Hughes, Humphreys, Jooste, Branford, Holleman)
- 962 'Some Swazi Views on Land Tenure' - A.J.B. Hughes
- 962 'Cash, Cattle or Women (a Conflict of Concepts in a Dual Economy) - J.F. Holleman
- 962 'Race-linked Values in South Africa' - J.W. Mann
- Director's Annual Reports: 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962

in preparation:

- 'Swazi Land Tenure and Political Authority' - A.J.B. Hughes
- 'Indian Unemployment in Durban' - M.J. Russell, I.K. Allan
- Proceedings of the Social Sciences Research Conference, 1962
- 'Study of the Economic Development of Swaziland' - J.B.McI. Daniel
- 'Study of three Rural African Communities' - J.E. Laredo
- 'Study of Swazi Nutrition' - S. Jones



FINANCIAL STATEMENT

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE FROM 1ST OCTOBER, 1961 TILL
30TH SEPTEMBER, 1962

BAUMANNVILLE SURVEY

Balance at 30/9/62 R31.24

SPARKS ESTATE SURVEY

To Typing and Transport	168.90	Balance at 1/10/61	429.28
" Balance at 30/9/62	260.38		
	<u>R429.28</u>		<u>R429.28</u>

MIXED EUROPEAN STUDY

To Typing and Duplicating	92.25	Balance at 1/10/61	210.75
" Photographs	20.05		
" Maps and diagrams	24.00		
" Binding	25.00		
" Stationery	1.50		
" Balance at 30/9/62	47.95		
	<u>R210.75</u>		<u>R210.75</u>

UMGENI, UMBILO, UMLAZI CATCHMENT AREAS SURVEY

To Salary	575.01	Balance at 1/10/61	1367.22
" Assistants	180.00	Refund	57.60
" Typing	46.34		
" Binding	3.00		
" Printing, Stationery	25.90		
" Balance at 30/9/62	594.57		
	<u>R1424.82</u>		<u>R1424.82</u>

NUFFIELD GRANT : MRS. TWALA

Balance at 30/9/62 R58.98

N.C.S.R. RUNNING EXPENSES

To Secretarial Services	202.50	Balance at 1/10/61	368.85
" Photographs	15.00		
" Stationery	24.40		
" Balance at 30/9/62	126.95		
	<u>R368.85</u>		<u>R368.85</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT

To Office maintenance	133.18	Balance at 1/10/61	1745.83
" I.C.T.	52.04	Interest	415.00
" Books and binding	78.12	Sales Reports	1.85
" Photographic paper	35.65		
" Typing, duplicating	12.88		
" Printing, stationery	256.45		
" Travelling, transport	64.30		
" Fan	20.40		
" Advertising	160.96		
" Balance at 30/9/62	1348.70		
	<u>R2162.68</u>		<u>R2162.68</u>

CARNEGIE CORPORATION

To Research Dr. Z. Jacobson	600.00	Balance at 1/10/61	2880.83
" Balance at 30/9/62	2280.83		
	<u>R2880.83</u>		<u>R2880.83</u>

FORD FOUNDATION

To Subscriptions	55.06	Balance at 1/10/61	1887.44
" Books	44.18	Refund maintenance	8.59
" Badges Conference	70.16	Refund Conf. badges	70.16
" Verifex copier	130.00	Sales reports	1.62
" Typist's chair	13.18		
" Balance at 30/9/62	1655.23		
	<u>R1967.81</u>		<u>R1967.81</u>

COPPERBELT STUDIES

To Transport	42.32	Balance at 1/10/61	2769.61
" Cheque Dr. Holleman	2000.00	Cash C.S.I.R.	1292.32
" Balance at 30/9/62	2019.61		
	<u>R4061.93</u>		<u>R4061.93</u>

SWAZILAND SAMPLE SURVEY

To Assistants	487.96	Balance at 1/10/61	2609.58
" Mrs. S. Hillman	432.26	Refund Swazi Govt.	33.60
" Typing	197.89	Refund travelling	13.43
" Scholarship Mr. McClelland	202.00		
" Punching and sorting	51.45		
" Prints	88.81		
" Photographic paper	27.95		
" Maps	70.00		
" Printing, Stationery	175.39		
" Entertainment	60.00		
" Binding	38.70		
" Travelling, Subsistence	190.97		
" Typing Report (2nd ed)	455.00		
" Freight goods U.S.A.	18.85		
" Balance at 30/9/62	159.38		
	<u>R2656.61</u>		<u>R2656.61</u>

SWAZILAND NUTRITION SURVEY

To Salary	1500.03	Balance at 1/10/61	1324.90
" Assistant	96.30	Transfer Sample	
" Printing, Stationery	6.20	Survey assistant	96.30
		Refund Swazi Govt	303.06
" Balance at 30/9/62	121.73		
	<u>R1724.26</u>		<u>R1724.26</u>

INDIAN UNEMPLOYMENT SURVEY

To Salary	193.33	Balance at 1/10/61	200.00
" Fieldworkers	327.50	Donations: Chamber	
" Punching, sorting	46.50	of Commerce	50.00
" Travelling	13.32	Nat. Council for	
" Printing, Stationery	22.61	Cripple Care	31.00
" Typing report	5.00	Natal Employers	
		Association	50.00
	<u>R608.26</u>		<u>R331.00</u>
		Debit Balance at	
		30/9/62 =	<u>R277.26</u>

OPPENHEIMER (CONFERENCE) FUND

o <u>Transport and</u>		Cash received 16/1/62	2000.00
<u>Subsistence:</u>		Cash received 27/7/62	2000.00
Invited speakers	1348.70	Cash BP (S.A) Ltd.	120.00
Local transport	46.28	Sale Conference papers	36.80
Excursion	88.34		
Debit 1958 (preliminary consultations S.A. universities)	230.57		
Catering	42.90		
o <u>Production of Papers and Brochures:</u>			
Library (photo dupl)	164.87		
Printing	247.13		
o <u>Administration:</u>			
Secretarial assist.	400.00		
Overtime typing	132.46		
Messenger	8.75		
Postage, telegrams	33.54		
Stationery	92.13		
o <u>Miscellaneous:</u>			
Numbered blocks, signs	31.17		
Newspapers, presents	13.17		
Tips	2.00		
o Balance at 30/9/62	1274.79		
	<u>R4156.80</u>		<u>R4156.80</u>

DOMESTIC SERVANTS PROJECT

o Salaries	700.00	Grant received 13/4/62	1000.00
Printing, Stationery	54.55		
Balance at 30/9/62	245.45		
	<u>R1000.00</u>		<u>R1000.00</u>

DIRECTOR'S ACCOUNT

Cash received 31/8/62 R1300.00

SUMMARY OF FUNDS AVAILABLE

	<u>Balance at 30/9/61</u>		<u>Balance at 30/9/62</u>	
	<u>Cr.</u>	<u>Dr.</u>	<u>Cr.</u>	<u>Dr.</u>
Baumannville Survey	31.24	-	31.24	-
Sparks Estate Survey	429.28	-	260.38	-
Mixed European Study	210.75	-	47.95	-
Shongweni Survey	-	50.75	-	-
N.C.S.R. Grant: Running Expenses	368.85	-	126.95	-
Umgeni, Umbilo and Um- lazi Catchment Areas Survey	1,367.22	-	594.57	-
General Account	1,745.83	-	1,348.70	-
Ford Foundation	1,887.44	-	1,655.23	-
Nuffield Grant: Mrs. Twala	58.98	-	58.98	-
Carnegie Corporation	2,880.83	-	2,280.83	-
Copperbelt Survey	2,769.61	-	2,019.61	-
Swaziland (Sample Survey)	2,609.58	-	159.38	-
Swaziland (Nutrition) Survey	1,324.90	-	121.73	-
Oppenheimer (Conference) Fund	-	230.57	1,274.79	-
Indian Unemployment Survey	200.00	-	-	277.26
Domestic Servants Survey	-	-	245.45	-
Director's Account	-	-	1,300.00	-
	<u>R15,884.51</u>	<u>281.32</u>	<u>R11,525.79</u>	<u>277.26</u>
Balance Available	<u><u>R15,603.19</u></u>		<u><u>R11,248.53</u></u>	

A N N E X U R E S

DOMESTIC SERVANTS PROJECT

(E.M. Searle)

Fieldwork carried out in two sample areas chosen from the total residential area of Durban has brought out some interesting differences in what employers require of their domestic servants, and in the two areas sharp contrasts have been found between the types of woman employed, the attitudes of the employers towards them and their treatment of them.

The two areas differ markedly as far as the situation, income and living standards of the employers are concerned.

The first is situated in Morningside, a well-to-do suburb where the majority of residents have fairly prosperous business or professional backgrounds. The houses are large with spacious gardens, and their upkeep necessitates the employment of several servants, who on an average are paid £5 or more a month.

The second sample area is in Stamford Hill, racially mixed as far as employers are concerned of whom the majority are artisans, with a much lower average income. The houses and gardens are small and often unkept. A large number of these homes are without servants and in at least half the cases only part-time and daily employment is offered with wages usually less than £4 and decreasing for part-time work.

The requirements of domestic service vary in keeping with these differences. In Morningside, better and more work,

longer hours and special skills such as cooking are being required; while in Stamford Hill the women work shorter hours, do less skilled work and are seldom expected to do such jobs as answering the telephone or regularly making 'tea' at morning and afternoon, or running the house while both their employers are at work.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the study is the difference in relationship between servant and employer in these areas. In Morningside it is formal and distant. On the whole their interaction is confined to the work situation and their conversations revolve mainly round domestic, general issues. Few of the Morningside employers have any knowledge of the backgrounds and private life of their servants; one or two did not even know their servants' surnames, if they were married, had children and so forth. In contrast to this, employers and servants in Stamford Hill are apt to have a much more informal relationship; the servants were treated as 'one of the family', and employers knew and could tell much about them, especially their current problems (for instance, with regard to 'boyfriends').

In apparent conflict with this behaviour are the expressed racial attitudes of the two sets of employer. In Morningside, employers were apt to express fairly 'liberal' views on racial relations, and might confess to be in favour of the policies of the Progressive Party. Employers in Stamford Hill, on the other hand were likely to express violent anti-African prejudices and insist that 'the Native must be kept in his place'. The fact that in their homes and domestic situation they practice very little 'separation' and are on very human, friendly terms with their servants, does not appear to them as inconsistent with their expressed attitudes.

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It is difficult at this stage of the investigation to give any adequate explanation of this difference in relationship between employers and servants in the two areas. Some comments, however, might be relevant in this connection.

- 1) The employers in Stamford Hill do not have such a high standard of living as those in Morningside and thus do not live at a level strikingly different from that of their servants. Their food is plain and inexpensive. Employers are faced with similar worries as those facing their servants; will their husbands retain their jobs, will they be able to afford to keep their children at school. In Morningside the employers worry rather if they will be able to afford luxuries such as a new car or a trip overseas.
- 2) In Stamford Hill the housewives spend more time at home. Few of them work and they have less varied social commitments. Their interests are largely centred in their homes, and both mistress and servant move in a common world largely bounded by the limits of home and domestic issues. This fosters a closer relationship between them than is possible in Morningside, where the housewife is most likely to be out most of the day and has many and varied interests outside the home.
- 3) In Morningside, where often two or more servants are employed, these find companionship together. In Stamford Hill the mistress is likely to be the only one in the house with whom the servant can discuss her problems.
- 4) More of the employers in the Stamford Hill area than in Morningside speak Zulu, having been brought up on farms and used to speaking to and interacting naturally with Africans.

Despite the warm relationship between employer and servant in Stamford Hill, one is still constantly aware of the fact that the employers consider themselves superior to their servants. However informal the mistress-servant relationship, it remains essentially based on the premises of inequality.

DURBAN INDIAN UNEMPLOYMENT SURVEY

(M.J. Russell)

Early in 1961 the Durban Indian Unemployment Committee, a voluntary body representing persons and organizations concerned with the issue of Indian unemployment, decided to raise funds to make possible a survey to ascertain accurately the full extent of unemployment among Indians in Durban. Money for the survey was subscribed by the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, by various members of the Indian community and by the Institute for Social Research which in collaboration with various members of staff at the University, became responsible for the survey which was planned to cover a random sample of 500 Durban Indian households. The main aim of the survey was to provide an accurate statement of the extent of current Indian unemployment, and some demographic analysis of the unemployed in terms of age, sex, education, skills, and employment history. In addition the survey was to investigate the relationship between the workers and the Department of Labour, in order to seek an explanation for the discrepancy in unemployment figures and estimates.

A full-time worker was appointed for three months, and data were collected in the third week of January 1962 by a team of trained Indian students.

The results of the survey clearly indicated the grave and chronic problem of unemployment among Durban Indians. Over 15,000 adult Indians appear to be unemployed, and actually seeking employment. This figure represents 12.3% of the Durban Indian population, and 27.7% of the Indian working population.

According to the survey sample, more than half the Indian working population (53%) has been unemployed for at least three continuous months since January 1959. Only 47% of the working population have been in continuous employment during this period. 30% of the unemployed have been entirely without work for at least two years, and a further 23% of the unemployed have never worked.

Unemployment, marked amongst people over the age of 56 years, is particularly severe amongst people under the age of 25 years. 57% of all work-seekers under the age of 19 are unemployed, and 40% of the chronically unemployed (i.e. unemployed for a minimum of two continuous years) are under the age of 25 years.

Only 10% of the unemployed population were in actual receipt of unemployment insurance benefits at the time of the survey.

The full findings of the survey, together with an account of the survey methods, are being made available in an Institute Report with limited circulation.

LAND AND AUTHORITY

(Umgeni, Umbilo and Umlazi Catchment Area)

(J.E. Laredo)

The three African rural areas chosen for this project have several differences in historic development. The traditionally oriented chiefdoms at Ndwedwe live on land held under a system of communal tenure. The mission reserve at Inanda, based on a system of communal tenure, had a kholwa (Christian) chief and a similar office is also found on the mission station at Shongweni, where ground is held under freehold tenure. The apparent differences between these three types of community, however, subsumed by two dominant factors which tend to enforce uniformity - economic conditions and administration.

All three communities are part of the densely populated, highly industrialized catchment area. They depend economically on the labour market and the cash wages which they earn. Factory labour is linked with the need for cash wages, as it is in other parts of the country and the continent, although the Africans in the catchment area live close enough to their places of employment to be able to visit their homes fairly often.

The control exercised over these people, ostensibly through their indigenous institutions, stems directly from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. This means that there is great uniformity in the exercise of power and the people's attitudes to authority.

The indigenous leadership which the Administration recognizes is that of the chiefs. No overt challenge to this leadership has developed in rural areas, primarily because a distinction is made in the sphere in which a chief may act and the spheres which are regarded as the purview of the Administration. There has been a shrinking rather than an extension of the chiefs' authority. This was clearly demonstrated when, for administrative reasons, the office of the mission chief at Inanda was abolished, without apparently affecting the structure of the community. Chiefs do serve as a symbol and guarantee of the stability which is implied in the allocation of land.

The right to receive an allocation is jealously guarded by those groups which to-day control the land available for allocation. An allocation carries with it the important right to build a home which also frees a man to earn his living elsewhere. The ultimate sanction (as opposed to the actual allocation) for receiving land comes from the chief, which is one of the reasons why he is still supported and remains the leader in the rural community.

The attitudes to land usage must be seen in this light. The African areas are densely populated, they produce a negligible amount of food. The question is clearly one of whether these people can be regarded as peasants with attitudes and a way of life centred upon the soil, or whether they are rurally domiciled urban workers who retain their rural links (and their political systems) because in this important sphere it offers them more security than they can find elsewhere.

RACE-LINKED VALUES

(J.W. Mann)

Note: This piece of research is reported more fully in the October issue of The Journal of Social Psychology. It is worth remarking that its cost, financially, was nil; although the resources of the Institute were otherwise drawn upon, largely for expert advice.

Psychologists have often noted striking differences in values between races. Since the things and ideas men prize largely dictate their attitudes and general behaviour, the study of values is an important area in social psychology.

Late last year, a study in this area was conducted under the auspices of the Institute. The persons studied were white and non-white students of this University. One reason for using such subjects was that the results would be comparable with those of two earlier studies: an international survey conducted by Americans (Allport and Gillespie) which included white students amongst young people from other parts of the world; and a subsequent investigation carried out by Professor Tiger while he was on the staff of this University. There is another reason for using such subjects, which will be mentioned below.

The values of the 79 students were got at rather differently from earlier ways. Seven anecdotes, each posing a moral dilemma, were presented, and the students had to write commentaries on these. For instance, they were told of a successful professional man who had always arranged to spare time

for his hobbies and family but began to wonder whether this time would not be better spent in community betterment. The respondents' commentaries on problems such as this were plausibly supposed to bring out their values.

One finding was that the values of the white and non-white students were more in accord than distinct. Moreover, one of the three differences in value that did emerge showed, not that the two groups held different values, but merely that the whites held the value more strongly than the non-whites.

This was the value placed upon personal satisfaction at the expense of community service, the whites being more attached to "privatism" than the non-whites. A finding of this kind has consistently cropped up in values research, not only in South Africa but in other countries like the United States, where whites value privatism more than Negroes.

The other two values on which white and non-white students differed were: full democracy (more valued by non-whites) and not mixing one's religion with public affairs (once again more valued by non-whites).

Explanations for race-linked value differences have tended to be in terms either of social stratification or of culture. Thus the three differences could be attributed either to pressures on those in subordinate strata to rise in the social hierarchy, or to traditions amongst the whites that are less "society-centred" than in other cultures. Analysis of the material in this study favours the stratification explanation somewhat more than the cultural. For instance, cultural differences between white and non-white subjects were deliberately minimized by choosing University students sharing in advanced acculturation to western ways.

Even if contemporary stratification does not explain differences observed, such stratification is likely to be related to the differences in that the values more characteristic of the non-whites challenge its validity and recruit opposition to it under the banner of community betterment. Since, also, the subjects studied will be gathered into an elite, their values are likely to have an influence on the social system at least out of all proportion to their numbers.

EPIDEMIOLOGICAL STUDY OF ENURESIS

(Z. Jacobson)

A cross-cultural survey of the incidence of enuresis revealed that in each ethnic group a certain proportion of children were slow in establishing bladder control.

Closer analysis of these enuretic children indicated they fitted into two major categories:-

Children whose enuresis persisted from birth, continued for years but finally progressed to the development of lasting bladder control. The incidence of this form varied so little among the different groups that it suggested the presence of a universal physiological gradient in neuro-motor maturation equivalent to the variations in all other processes of human growth and development.

Children who reverted to incontinence after previously achieving bladder control. The incidence of this form - termed Onset Enuresis - varied significantly in the diffe-

rent culture groups and appeared to be related to the attitudes and practices of the adults.

The Springfield urban Indians and Mahlabatini rural Zulus showed the lowest incidence of Onset Enuresis. In spite of their obvious ethnic difference these two communities shared the following features:-

- 1) The persistence of conservative traditional values which assumed that children needed warmth and companionship at night.
- 2) Minimal social and residential mobility.
- 3) The predominant use of grass mats (Mahlabatini) and grass mattresses (Springfield) which did not evoke much concern if damaged by urine.
- 4) Adult concern with organs other than the urinary tract as the focus of child-health, e.g. at Mahlabatini, digestion, and at Springfield, respiration, were regarded as the functions which needed most attention.

In direct contrast was the high incidence of Onset Enuresis among Coloured children of Sparks Estate. This is a group of high social mobility. Much stress is laid on the value of "respectability" which includes nicely turned out homes and children in its connotation. Enuresis is a threat to this kind of respectability.

The concentration of interest on urinary function evokes over-ambitious expectations and rigorous methods of dealing with failure.

The other communities surveyed showed an incidence intermediary between the above two opposites.

THE HUMAN FACTOR IN FIELDWORK

(Swaziland Nutrition Survey)

(S. Jones)

In any fieldwork that involves information gleaned from people, the final accuracy of the data rests upon the nature and response of the persons involved. From the moment the tentative plan is made until the final report is written the human factor will influence the findings.

In this essay only one aspect is to be described, that is the reaction of some respondents in the course of the recent Swaziland Nutrition Survey.

The local people have been advised of the visit. The team arrives and makes its home, employing local labour, watches the children. The camp, however temporary, has become a home to the community. It will receive guests, offer hospitality and in times of real emergency the aid of its members and the services of the Land Rover will be requested.

The team members make their initial preparatory visit to a home, in the company of some locally well known person, the Agricultural Demonstrator, the indvuna, or the isigijimi ('runner'). It is he that introduces the team (mentioning their status as nurses), and explain by whose authority the team is present. The team members then detail the time of arrival, length of their stay and how they wish the family to co-operate. The family usually has questions to ask, and in times of hunger they are quick to explain that they have little food at all for visitors to weigh. Co-operation is finally requested, and

is usually given. A rare refusal may be due to fear of the unknown or to habitual drinking so that the housewife is never home for a meal. A friendly discussion with the indvuna leads these reluctant ones to co-operate at a later stage.

In general, the housewife rather enjoys the distinction of having been selected by a team of experts. The husband is frequently present and will be accorded due respect, but it is the women the team members approach.

The co-operation has been assured by word of mouth, but may not be immediately evident in practice. Next day the field worker arrives at the mutually agreed time, she may find a yard swept, the housewife grinding and the water boiling in preparation for the maize meal; or the kitchen may be deserted, the housewife away on some mysterious errand that ensures she will be absent until a child has cooked the meal and dealt with the fieldworker. It is usually a fear of the unknown that causes the initial flight. The child will report to her mother and next day the mother will be present. In some homes it is bad organization that causes the housewife to be away from the kitchen and occupied with other tasks so that the fieldworker may spend two to three hours waiting for the meal preparation to commence.

In the urban area a measure of over-preparation may be found. The technique of the dietary survey requires that the family eat and prepare the same type and quantity of food as usual. The urban dwellers live within easy access of the shops and buy most of their foodstuffs. On being advised of the survey they may purchase large amounts of expensive foods, in order to impress the fieldworker. Only upon surprise visits, or as the result of boredom induced by the visits on

ral successive days, is the true nature of the diet
aled.

The housewife and her family watch the fieldworker at work, not fully understanding the reason for all the weighing of food. The children are eager to know how much their portion weighs. Older schoolgirls are quick to learn the technique and pass the empty and full bowls to be weighed. Older boys co-operate by going out to count the family's livestock. The first day the housewife is frequently nervous and become flustered, but by the third day she is calm and finds for a leisurely exchange of conversation. Housewives eager to start their beer-drinking early in the day are impatient and anxious to be rid of the fieldworker.

Only on one occasion was suspicion of witchcraft mentioned. A Eurafrican whose wife was away visiting, feared that fieldworkers might work some sorcery on his food. The return of his wife, quietened his anxiety.

It is not always a straightforward weighing of food. Sometimes an effort of detection is necessary. Reluctance to state what food has been eaten may be due to a misunderstanding. In the bushveld the people had been misinformed previously the survey team wished to see the true (i.e. former) Swazi diet and cookery, and every household hid its modern iron pots and cooked in clay ones during the investigation; on other occasions a fieldworker sees traces of meat on a child's teeth and she questions the family. They reply that the husband brought meat home late the night before, and so they had cooked and eaten it after the fieldworker had recorded the final meal of the day. In another home a child with kwashiorkor cries miserably while his gross mother hides, under the wooden spoon

in the pot, the extra morsel of meat that she is ashamed to heap onto her own plate in the fieldworker's presence. Yet another family may declare that they have no food and are therefore absent during the visit of the fieldworker, who nevertheless examines the pots and finds that food had been cooked in them prior to her visit.

Hospitality customs vary. Some households decide that the fieldworkers are carrying out work for a European and therefore do not need to be offered food. Others receive the fieldworker as a guest and either dish up a portion of the meal for her, or else offer her a gift during the investigation. In times of scarcity the housewife usually apologizes for her inability to feed the visitor.

Shortage of food produces varying reactions - some (usually the men) request that Government give money or food; others contrast their earnings with that which they imagine the fieldworkers earn ("The European lady walks through the morning dew, she must get paid £10 a day for doing that"). Others again apologize for their small helpings and maintain they are ashamed for the fieldworker to see them. In the bushveld, a housewife may disconsolately prepare a "food of shame", amashica, the beer strainings used as porridge. Amashica is the food of evil spirits, but she is hungry and there is no alternative.

In addition to the dietary survey, the children are clinically examined. The examination is not painful, and unless the day is cold, the children are not unwilling. They watch others being examined, laughing when the patient is told to put out his tongue. Occasionally a child has grim memories of

nic nurses and shrieks with fear. The promised reward of a net usually ensures eager participation. Mothers watch the procedure with interest, requesting information on the child's state of health, mentioning some complaints of sickness. It is the young babies that mothers love to have examined, and when the child is weighed on the little hammock scale, the whole family crow with delight.

The patience of the housewife is further tried with questions with regard to age, income, names, food stores and livestock. She is closely interrogated on infant care. In a polygamous home the wives are questioned together. The grandmother interjects with accounts of former practices (a little surprising in a community so well endowed with babies, is that barren woman is completely unable to answer questions on infant care; she has not the knowledge). The questions are taken in a leisurely place, a difficult question invokes the response "don't know"; further clarification or some suggestions usually elicits an answer.

A second visit is made after a five-months interval. Trust has been established, friendships made, techniques understood, so the going is easier, but the inconsistency of the human factor does not allow for complete smooth running.

It is upon the human factor that the reliability of a statistical figure of (say) a calcium level of 0.4 grammes per head is based; it also is this factor that is responsible for the roughness, frustration and warmth of a survey.

S.A.B.R.A. 1962 - EXPERIMENT IN THE TRANSKEI

(Report on the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs - Pretoria, September 1962)

(J.B.McI. Daniel)

The interest in the S.A.B.R.A. meeting this year was two-fold:-

- 1) The 'great purge' within SABRA was vividly described in Dr. Holleman's report on the 1961 Conference. In this report he stated that in a "brief two-hour convulsion SABRA had not only lost its independent voice, but had also blown out most of its brains". On the basis of the 1962 discussions, was this an accurate reflection of the events in 1961?
- 2) Was the Government tackling the experiment in the Transkei in a realistic manner? And what was SABRA's attitude to this all-important question?

- 1) Not having attended SABRA conferences on previous occasions I have no yardstick by which I might compare the 1962 meeting with those of former years. Rather than try to make an assessment of SABRA's vitality, I would prefer to list a few general observations and allow persons more competent than myself to form their own conclusions.
 - i) The conference was poorly attended, a factor which evoked comment from the chair on more than one occasion.

For the greater part of the conference press reporters were absent. Those who did occasionally attend seldom stayed long and showed little noticeable interest in the discussions.

) Throughout the conference the wisdom of Government policy was not questioned. Three "theme songs" were repeated on several occasions in different contexts apparently to allay all fears. They were:-

- a) that the answers to all the problems were not known, but the Government was confident it could solve these problems;
- b) that the progress along the road to independence would be slow and gradual, and that problems would be dealt with as they arose;
- c) that the officials dealing with the problems of development were experienced and of high calibre.

The approach to many problems appeared to be superficial. Two examples should illustrate this impression:-

- a) One delegate asked whether the Africans accepted the policy of separate development because they believed in it or because there was no alternative. In answering the question Ds. P.E.S. Smith merely stated that a number of local chiefs accepted apartheid. Why they accepted this policy, the extent of their influence and the reasons why apartheid was not universally accepted in the Transkei, were questions which remained unanswered. The fact that certain chiefs supported the Government was mentioned on so many occasions that

it appeared as though this was a lifebelt to which many clung in the hope, rather than the certainty, that it would help them through the troubled waters.

- b) In his opening address Dr. Geyer warned members that hostile elements both within and outside South Africa would do their best to wreck the Transkei experiment. Yet when a delegate asked if Pan-Africanism was a danger to the development programme, Professor A.J.H. van der Walt's reply was: No, not as long as the leaders are suppressed.

Judged by the content of the majority of papers and the discussion from the floor, the conference was not, in my opinion, characterized by a realistic approach to the problems of development. Was this perhaps due to the executive's choice of papers?

Dr. Geyer made it clear that the aim of the conference was to seek answers to a few questions - What is the Transkei and who are its people? What are the conditions prevailing there and what are the possibilities? In this way it was hoped that a better understanding of the experiment would be obtained. The emphasis throughout the conference was on the collection of facts rather than the critical analysis of the data presented, perhaps in order to avoid controversy as much as possible.

The Chairman's address by Dr. Geyer left no doubt that he regarded the development of the Transkei as a crucial undertaking vital to all who believed in separate development and therefore critical to the very future of SABRA itself. He pointed out that there could be no turning back

and that as the alternative (i.e. for the Africans to share political rights with the Europeans) was unthinkable, the experiment in the Transkei must succeed. Apartheid was being put to the test in a practical way, but the impressions gained from the conference did not suggest that SABRA, in its present form, would be able to make any constructive contribution to this experiment, unless its main function were to be construed as disseminating information derived from Government sources.

The theme of the conference was "Self-Government in the Transkei". The papers read may be divided into three categories:-

- i) The background papers by Maj. D.E. Nel and Ds. P.E.S. Smith.
- ii) A paper by Professor A.J.H. van der Walt on the constitutional development of the Transkei, and
- iii) Papers by Messrs. P.S. Toerien and Ian.G. Fleming which dealt with the primary, secondary and tertiary economic development of the Transkei.

Major Nel outlined the history of settlement in the Transkei gave the physical setting of the area. Ds. Smith's paper on the educational, social and spiritual development of the Transkei. Important as these topics are, it is regrettable that this material was not circularized beforehand among delegates, thus allowing time for papers dealing with the problems of development.

The main point of interest which emerged from the discussion on Dr. Smith's paper was that the migratory labour system was regarded as an established and accepted feature of social and economic life: a feature which was here to stay, but one which should be purged of its basic evils.

The greater part of Professor van der Walt's paper was concerned with the constitutional development in the Transkei from the late nineteenth century up to the present time. The main dangers of self-government which he foresaw were:-

- i) The possible conflict which might arise between the traditional chiefs and the "so-called intellectual elite and other detribalised urban elements".
- ii) The problems which might arise owing to tribal jealousies - a factor which could lead to the formation of political parties on the basis of tribal loyalties rather than on the basis of policies.
- iii) The attitude of the Transkei, when fully independent, towards other Territorial Authorities, the Republic and foreign countries.

Provided there was the understanding, sympathy and economic assistance from South Africa, Professor van der Walt believed that healthy relations and co-operation between the Republic and the Transkei should be possible in the economic sphere as well as in matters of defence and foreign affairs. The value of his paper would have been considerably enhanced had the disadvantage of the present constitution been weighed against its advantages.

The Tomlinson Commission's suggested formulae for settling farmers on economic holdings is the corner stone of primary economic development in the Transkei. Before discussing the basis of these holdings, it is important to note that:-

- a) only 23% of the Transkei is regarded as being suitable for crop cultivation;
- b) 74% of the area has suffered from the ravages of water erosion;
- c) soil erosion is widespread;
- d) the Transkei covers 4,321,000 morgen and is inhabited by 1,382,000 people, giving an average density of 82 persons per square mile;
- e) it is estimated that there are 550,000 excess livestock units in the territory. No satisfactory solution to this problem has yet been found.

The present development programme provides for the planning of the area on an agro-economic basis for correct land use; the reclamation of the land; the settlement of the population in the reclaimed units, the rehabilitation of the farming community and the re-orientation of the non-farmers.

The economic holding is based on a formula which should enable each family to derive a minimum income of R120.00 per annum from full-time farming. On irrigable land the size of the holding is approximately 2 morgen; in an area where mixed dryland farming is possible 6-9 morgen are allotted for arable purposes and grazing for 10-14 livestock units. In an area where crop production is impossible each family is allowed grazing for 24 livestock units.

By the end of 1961 923,000 morgen had been planned but only 495,000 morgen had been reclaimed. It has, however, "not been possible to adopt the economic farming holding as a general basis for settlement, even though it formed the basis for planning. Had it been adopted it would immediately have created too large a surplus of non-farmers in every unit, resulting in the disturbance of the social stability in the communities. The practice to settle only a token number of farmers on full-size farming holdings and the remainder on half-size holdings, had to be adopted. It is expected that in the course of time some of the occupiers of half-size holdings will eliminate themselves, thereby creating the possibility of gradually consolidating these holdings again" (Toerien). The above statement speaks for itself.

Most people would agree that an agricultural programme should begin with rehabilitation and resettlement work. As a basis, however, for long term development the scheme outlined above has many shortcomings.

In the light of experience gained in Swaziland a minimum income of R120 is likely to prove hopelessly inadequate in encouraging farming on a full-time basis. Moreover, if the official estimate that 121,000 full-size economic holdings will eventually be created, is accepted, it becomes clear that at least 76,000 families will fall in the "non-farming" group. This is calculated on the present population statistics, allowing for an average family size of 7 persons, but making no allowance for any population increase. The present programme provides for the removal of the non-farmers from agricultural land and for attracting them into rural villages where they can develop "a full community life" and eventually provide a market for part of the produce of the farming group. It is intended

t they should practice trades and become blacksmiths, tin-
ths, builders, bricklayers, et. That such occupations will
able to provide a living for the "displaced" population re-
ns to be seen.

Even more hopeful than the basic approach to these problems
e Toerien's concluding remarks: "In the light of these as-
ances (i.e. by Cabinet Ministers) and of the confidence
ch the leaders in the Transkeian Territories enjoy, not only
m their own people, but also from the European officials who
e worked with and amongst them for many years, there is good
son to believe that the primary economic development pro-
mme will be successfully completed". The delegates at the
ference were apparently quite prepared to accept these as-
ances without query.

Clearly the present land area of the Transkei is incapable
supporting its population in an agrarian economy. A great
l depends, therefore on the extent to which the agricultural
industrial spheres of activity can be integrated. The abi-
y of industry to absorb the surplus population from the land
well as the rate of industrial expansion within the present
network are vitally significant considerations.

The most thought-provoking paper at the conference was that
d by Mr. Fleming. It was the only one which presented a
llenge to the delegates and emphasized that certain urgent
ters "call insistently for appropriately vigorous action".

The difficulties of decentralizing industry were dealt with
some length as these had considerable bearing on the success-
establishment of industries and ancillary economic activity
the Transkei. One of the major handicaps to decentraliza-

tion is, as it has been in the past, the weighted freight rates of the railways. The success or failure in developing separate but integrated economy in the Transkei would therefore depend largely on the willingness of the Government to subsidize the higher cost of railage in order to assist the temporarily un-economic decentralization of industry into the Transkei.

As the country could not afford to wait for the emergence of a dynamic urge for economic progress among the Africans in the rural areas, Mr. Fleming believed that industrialization would have to be imposed upon them for their own and the country's good. He estimated that agriculture could give employment to 20-25% of the male population. Consequently the rate of industrialization would have to be rapid in order to provide employment for 70-75% of the present male population as well as the natural increase in the population of working age.

The major problems, associated with industrial development, which were discussed in the paper are summarized below:-

- i) Tribalism was seen as a possible deterring factor in that, being inhibitive of individual responsibility and enterprise, it might clash with modern industrial development, which requires the exercise of these attributes.
- ii) Industry cannot be 'protected' indefinitely. The problem of the protection of infant industries (dominated by the sociological concept that they must not fail), in competition with industries in the Republic, which are governed by the harsher discipline imposed by competitive trading, will have to be sorted out.

) Lower efficiency amongst workers in the Transkei will necessitate lower wages for some time. This is likely to create complex social problems for the governments of both the Republic and the Transkei.

Private enterprise in the Transkei, dominated by the profit motive might find itself in conflict with politically orientated Government policy. As the experiment in the Transkei is part of a sociological as well as an industrial development programme, the State may have to control industry.

European management will predominate in Bantu industries for a very considerable period and will have to be safeguarded as long as it is there. It will have to be determined whether measures which safeguard the relationships between employer and employee in the Republic should be extended to the Transkei (e.g. Industrial Councils and Wage Boards).

The provision of power and transport facilities were not regarded as such insuperable obstacles as those listed above.

) The factor of time was stressed by Mr. Fleming. "Regard being had then to this acknowledged overwhelming importance of TIME, we would be deluding ourselves if we believe that the resources which are immediately available to be harnessed are equal to the task of carrying out the policies which have been enunciated. The main burden of the development of the Transkei in respect of its agricultural economy and of the stimulation of Bantu Industries, can fall only upon the already extended Public Service

and I am convinced that the extra load of what will have to be superimposed is far too great for that already overstrained body if the country could call on some organization of the size, experience and record of the Industrial Development Corporation to carry out the industrialization of the Transkei and other Bantu areas, it would still have no cause to feel itself more than adequately equipped. Willingly to accept anything short of such a dynamic agency of development is to lack an awareness of the magnitude of the social forces that are on the move and of the real significance of the shortage of TIME".

I have quoted at some length from Mr. Fleming's paper because I feel it was the only spark of realism ignited in the whole conference. From the discussion which followed it was evident that delegates were either shocked into silence or refused to face up to this challenge. The few questions asked all skirted the real issue. A number of delegates even regretted that Mr. Fleming's paper contained so few facts!

That there could be no turning back from this experiment which had been launched, was appreciated, but no one at the conference indicated that they knew where the experiment would eventually lead them. Perhaps the most disturbing feature of the whole conference was that little importance was attached to the relationship between political independence and economic independence. No attempt was made to assess the economic viability of the Transkei - this matter was still in the realm of speculation and conjecture. However, when the papers by Toerien and Fleming are studied, the chances of the Transkei achieving economic independence in the foreseeable future seem very remote.

In reviewing the conference as a whole one could not help agreeing with Fleming when he said, "An ounce of realistic thinking now will be of more value than a pound of advice in ten years' time or a ton of reflection delivered in twenty years". SABRA, judged on this year's conference, failed to produce that ounce.



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