

DIRECTOR'S ANNUAL REPORT

NOVEMBER 1960 - SEPTEMBER 1961

For I.S.R.
Circulation

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

C O N T E N T S

	Page
Director's Report for the period November 1960 - September 1961	1
Financial Statement	20
Annexures	26
Swaziland Sample Survey -	
The Demographic Aspect (C.J. Jooste)	27
The Importance of the Land Use Survey (J.B. McI. Daniel)	29
The Transmutation of Survey Material (J.F. Holleman)	31
Umgeni, Umbilo and Umlazi Catchment Areas Project -	
Economic and Demographic Survey (A.S.B. Humphreys)	34
An African Educated Elite (A. Ngubo)	37
Sports and Politics in an Urban African Community (B. Magubane)	38
The Ndwedwe District as a Reserve (J.E. Laredo)	42
Prejudgment to Prejudice (J.W. Mann)	44
Three Current Problems of Indian Education (C. Ramphal)	47

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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 FOR NOVEMBER 1960 - SEPTEMBER 1961.

In my last report I stated that our principal research workers had come back from the field and had settled down to writing up the results of their investigations. If, in that statement, there had been the implicit belief that, therefore, the next twelve months would be a time of quiet concentration, of steady application of mind and scholarship to the process of sorting, analyzing and formulation in the blessed peacefulness of the academic sanctuary, then such belief has been rudely shaken.

To virtually every one of us this has been a period of working at break-neck speed and under an appalling pressure of time.

What is the reason for this madness to which we have fallen victim? For some of us it is the nagging awareness that a contract of service is running out, and that the results of the undertaken assignment must be completed before the hour has struck and the money run out. For others it is the conflict between full-time teaching duties and the moral obligations to meet part-time research commitments. Sometimes it is the built-in time limit of a research project itself, and the hopeful promise given to an outside sponsor that he will have the answer to his questions by a certain date.

In all cases there is the initial confidence of the scientist at the beginning of the commission, that this work 'ought not to take longer' than a given space of time; but as he goes along as a responsible and conscientious worker there comes the growing uneasiness that the road is longer and steeper than he had expected, and that there is no short cut unless he is prepared to sacrifice either the quality of his work or the

cope of his conclusions. So he is precariously and unhappily balanced on the horns of this dilemma.

We ought to know by now that every new research is in fact a new adventure. Upon this we bring to bear our previous experience and a selection of methods sound in theory and proven by practice. But the infinite variety of the human material and conditions with which we are dealing, and the particular problems to which we apply ourselves, are not fully known to us - indeed, if they were, why waste our skill and scholarship upon them?

Therefore, the known presence of the unknown factors in our every new venture ought to warn us that we cannot with certainty forecast the course of our exploration, nor the time within which we shall complete our task. But we never seem to learn our lesson. At the beginning of every new assignment we hopefully draw up our budgets in terms of personnel, time and money; and before we are half-way through, we discover with almost monotonous certainty that we are running short.

Our budgets have proved to be unrealistic. We are a research institution with great overhead costs. But when we apply for research grants we base our estimates on the assumption that we need only take into account the extra expenditure a proposed project is likely to incur on the cost of material and (lowly paid) additional assistance. It is the way an individual, already secure of his income, budgets for his research expenses.

But an institution like ours, even though it is carried largely by its enterprising parent body, must take at least some account of the cost of running its establishment (as do the C.S.I.R. and N.I.P.R. which, on a non-profit basis, budget with an overhead factor of over 100%). But we dare not do this realistically, because our figures would not only

frighten the few sponsors in this country (N.C.S.R., Provincial or Local Authority) prepared to support social research, but also our conservative selves.

Therefore, we budget on a shoe-string, and even the 'extra expenditure' is based on the assumption that the limited amount of skill, scholarship and time we are able to buy with this money, will be supplemented by the voluntary assistance from helpful and highly qualified colleagues. In an academic institution a certain amount of this selfless help may be expected, but when this assistance becomes a major essential in getting the work satisfactorily done because our depleted funds do not permit us to engage sufficient paid skill, institutional research becomes a harassing if not hazardous undertaking if we are bound by time.

For these reasons we have lived this year with a considerable anxiety, which became more oppressive as we drove ourselves harder - only to reap the diminishing returns of tiring brains. It is a pity, because it has tended to spoil some of the fun of doing research, and it has blunted the sense of satisfaction which ought to have been the reward for honest hard work.

It is difficult to avoid this anxiety (a recurrent nightmare persuing every director of social research I know). I know one theoretical answer: an endowment so large or so regular as to enable us to employ at least a small core of well-qualified, well-paid, full-time research personnel who would find with us security of tenure and the expanding time limits required to see an assignment through to a satisfactory and thoroughly considered conclusion.

But there seems to be little hope for this within the foreseeable future. In at least two of our major projects lack of finance is forcing us to be satisfied, for the time being at least, with less than

the full harvest of the promising crop we have sown. As regards the future we may have to curb our ambitions and use more of our inventiveness to design that type of research which can be carried out with small means and at a pace which does not put an undue strain upon our academic colleagues who have been our loyal part-time collaborators - in fact, we have already made a start with that. We may then lose some of the excitement and high adventure which marked, for instance, our Swaziland enterprise. But we might also gain some time for quiet thinking and playing with ideas which only too often we have had to deny ourselves.

I can now turn to our specific activities.

1. CURRENT RESEARCH

A number of projects have been with us for a long time, due to the fact that the task of analyses and writing up passed beyond the scheduled period of full-time attention, and their completion became a matter of part-time effort squeezed into such spare time as could be found. The oldest project of all is the advanced research training scheme, linked with four different community studies, upon which our Institute was started, and which was jointly sponsored by Carnegie and the N.C.S.R. The two outstanding parts of this research have now been completed. They are:-

1.) Indian Educational Study:-

Mr. C. Ramphal has turned out a massive study in three parts:-

- a) Intellectual Efficiency in the Indian Afternoon School;
- b) Bilingualism and its Effects on the Performance of Indian Children in Intelligence and Scholastic Tests;
- c) The Performance of Indian Children in Intelligence and Scholastic Tests in relation to Delayed Entrance into School.

The work is of painstaking scholarship and of very high quality. Although primarily of local application it raises important issues which will undoubtedly attract the attention also of scholars outside this country. Cast in the form of a Ph.D. thesis, it may unfortunately not easily find a publisher. But it is hoped that it may be recast in a number of papers for scientific journals.

2) Study of a Culturally Mixed Community:-

Miss M. Phillips (now Mrs. Russell) completed a major report on a culturally (and racially) mixed community in Durban a short time ago. Here, too, the delay was caused by the expiring of a full-time Fellowship before writing was done, and the completion of a task which inevitably had to take second place to the need of earning a living. It has become a work of sound scholarship and considerable topical, if not provocative, interest.

With the completion of these two studies the Institute's first major programme has come to an end (except for an elaborating of the Coloured Community (Sparks Estate) Study to which I shall refer shortly). Already several years ago it became clear that the original scheme would have to be considerably modified, especially with regard to the scope of its interdisciplinary execution. On this I reported before, when I also expressed the hope that, in spite of difficulties and delay, the scheme might yet produce worthwhile results. To-day I am glad to say that this confidence has been vindicated, due to the persistence of scholars and supervisors. It is also a fit occasion to express our appreciation to the N.C.S.R. for the understanding and patience which they have shown with regard to our efforts to reach finality in this scheme.

3) Coloured Community Study:-

There still remains Mr. Dickie-Clark's elaboration of his earlier Sparks Estate Community Study, the report of which was completed more

than two years ago. With further fieldwork (the cost of which is met from the original allotment) he has widened the basis of this study, which now embraces the Durban Coloured community and wider issues. The results are now being cast in the form of a Ph.D. thesis with which he is progressing.

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

To this joint project the Institute only contributes the social anthropological and sociological studies which have the financial support of the N.C.S.R.

I previously reported how, due to the considerable delay on the part of the Durban Corporation to make available its promised contribution, work on the economic aspects of the project could not be started until 1960, when fieldwork in both our own studies was virtually completed. Moreover, the equally long delayed award of a Fellowship to the Department of Geography by the Provincial Regional and Town Planning Commission for planned land use survey, proved ultimately unacceptable to the Department because its amount was wholly unrealistic in relation to the work expected to be done under it.

All this has changed the original concept of a joint project. Although within the University the principal workers and supervisors kept each other informed, the grossly uneven start of operations made a close co-ordination of research activities clearly impossible. The results of the two N.C.S.R.-supported studies will therefore be completed separately on the basis of the material already collected.

a) The Social Anthropological Study:-

Mr. J. Laredo completed his fieldwork for this study in August 1960. It involved three selected areas: Ndwedwe, Inanda and Shongweni. Within these, we hoped to study the transition from the traditional rural to peri-urban patterns at different stages of development. It involves,

among other things, the transformation of a tribal pattern of settlement and what is left of a traditional subsistence economy and land use, to a peri-urban 'dormitory' settlement and the complete dependence on cash earnings. Likewise there is an opportunity of assessing at different stages the transformation of local authority, from tradition-based patterns to modern social groupings with non-traditional leadership.

Mr. Laredo began writing up in September 1960, but in spite of steady application to this task, the work was far from completed by the end of June, 1961, when his original contract expired. The nature of the work and material was not such that another could at that stage take over, and for this reason it was decided to extend the contract for another six months, in the hope of carrying the study close to completion. With N.C.S.R. funds running out or otherwise committed, the additional expenditure has to be met from our own reserves.

(b) The Sociological Study of the African Middle Classes in Durban:-

This study is being made by Professor Kuper with the help of two assistants, Messrs. Mgbane and Ngubo. Fieldwork is completed and preliminary drafts have been written on a number of categories, such as Advisory Boards, Students, Teachers, Traders. Two Master's theses, by the research assistants, have emerged as by-products of this study; the main task, by Professor Kuper himself, however, is not expected to be completed for another two years.

5) Copperbelt Study:-

This major study of the 'Attitudes of White Mining Employees towards Life and Work on the Copperbelt' was carried out in 1959-1960 in conjunction with the National Institute for Personnel Research, Johannesburg, and I reported upon its successful completion at our previous Annual General Meeting. Here I merely add that the Northern Rhodesian Chamber of

lines, which commissioned the study, has yet to decide whether to release it for publication. It is still a confidential document - a pity, because its careful and statistically weighted analysis of racial attitudes would, in our opinion, have been of immense value to Southern African political leaders in their often blind searching for an acceptable modus vivendi at the present time.

) Broken Hill Study:-

Like its predecessor, the Copperbelt Study, this has been a joint venture in which a carefully planned interview study by a team of social psychologists from the N.I.P.R. of a random sample of the white mining employees and their wives, was preceded and supplemented by a wider social anthropological background study by your Director. Also the aim and scope of the investigations were similar to those of the Copperbelt. Fieldwork was done round the middle of 1960. The first report is virtually completed and will probably be submitted (alas, again in confidential form) before year's end.

With Dr. Biesheuvel I have discussed the possibility of recasting the two studies in a single comparative whole for publication purposes. But obviously this cannot be undertaken until the sponsors have agreed to release the reports for this purpose.

) Swaziland Researches:-

By far our greatest research commitments are in Swaziland. We started there in 1958 with a social anthropological study of land tenure and political authority with one research fellow, Mr. A.J.B. Hughes (J.D.W. Scheme 661), closely followed by a study of the economic development of the country by Mr. J.B. McI. Daniel, an economic-geographer on the staff of this University. From this modest beginning we proceeded to the massive Sample Survey (which is actually a combination of several surveys)

which had its trial run in 1959 and the main operation in 1960. When I last reported to you, a ton of material had been coded by fourteen additional staff engaged for this purpose. The tabulation of this material had scarcely begun when, in January 1961, the new Nutrition Survey was launched with Miss Sonya Jones as key-worker in the field.

While none of this research would have been possible without the encouragement of the Swaziland Administration, the surveys themselves to a large extent depended on the active co-operation of large numbers of Swaziland civil servants and nationals and a good deal of financial support. While from our side we have made major efforts to render useful service to the Administration, these efforts were undoubtedly largely inspired by the generous and understanding attitude of Resident Commissioner, Heads of Departments and individual officers towards the aims and requirements of our research.

(a) Swazi Land Tenure:-

Inevitably, Hughes's involvement in the Sample Survey, of which he has carried a major share of the responsibility, interfered with the progress of his personal research assignment. In fact, during the past ten months he had to switch his attention time and again from the one to the other. In spite of this, several chapters of the land tenure study have been drafted and it is hoped that by the beginning of next year the bulk of his report will have been completed at least in first draft. There are vital sections of this work in which he will be able to marry the qualitative analysis of his field research to the quantitative results of the Sample Survey, thereby immensely strengthening the force of his arguments. It should be a work of the greatest value to the Administration at the present time of development of the Swazi political and economic structure.

b) Economic Development:-

Daniel's work on the economic development of Swaziland has, like Hughes's land tenure study, become partially fused with the Sample Survey to which he has contributed so much. In this case, too, progress on the individual painstaking study would probably have been faster, but by combining the two the total value of his work has gained immeasurably.

c) Sample Survey:-

My opening remarks with regard to the fight against time and dwindling resources were largely prompted by our experience in processing the immense load of material of the Sample Survey with inadequate manpower.

When we realized that, against our expectations, we would have to be responsible for this task and submitted our estimates to the Administration, we knew that we were cutting it fine, but we hoped for the best. Retrospectively seen, it was false economy, for in order to stay within our financial limits we drove ourselves into a situation in which we not only had to restrict the scope of our analysis but also placed a tremendous burden on the small handful of volunteers who are giving their spare time and energy to this project.

We had hoped to produce the first draft of our report by the end of July but were unable to do so. We issued two preliminary reports containing sets of tables with a few notes on a number of major results: the first, on the Rural Sample Areas, in December 1960; the second, on the Urban, Peri-Urban and the specially selected Border Areas, in May this year.

The main report deals with the methodology and the analysis of the results. A few sections are virtually completed, and all others are readily progressing. We are far enough with our analysis to know that our

bold methods have paid off, and that we are producing results of fundamental value, as indeed we had hoped from the beginning. But it is taking us much longer than we had even feared.

In the meantime Sydney Cruise, our statistician and the pivot of our operations, has left us for Grahamstown. Although we are still in regular touch with him by correspondence, his departure has been the most serious blow we could suffer. Another major set-back was the departure of John Burrows, who had been the co-architect of the survey's employment section and who would have dealt with this aspect in our report. He left for Salisbury before he even began his writing, and his place has been taken by a graduate student in the Department of Economics, working under the personal supervision of Mr. A.S.B. Humphreys, acting head of the department.

(d) Nutrition Survey:-

Designed in conjunction with colleagues of the Medical School this research aims mainly at providing a reliable assessment of the nutritional state of the Swazi population, both rural and urban, on the basis of carefully selected samples of the population. Although particular attention is being given to children and women, the investigations are conducted on a family basis, and will also include a record of the incidence of some of the more common debilitating diseases.

In order to assess the problem of nutrition in its social context, habits and taboos in connection with cultivation, gathering, cooking and eating of food, and also indigenous curative treatment and domestic economics, are being studied.

Key worker in this survey is Miss Sonya Jones M.Sc. a fully qualified dietician and nutritionist with a partial training in Social Anthropology, working under a Fellowship which we sponsor from our own

funds. On behalf of the Institute, Professor Eileen Krige and Dr. Hilda Kuper act as supervisors.

From the side of the Swaziland Administration (in particular the Medical Director) and Swazi Nation, full co-operation is being given. The team of trained Swazi assistants is provided and paid by the Administration, which also is responsible for transport, accommodation and other facilities. In fact, once again the Administration deserves full credit for playing an active and major part in our researches.

8) Epidemiological Study of Enuresis:-

Your Executive Committee decided to sponsor Dr. Zelda Jacobson's study for various reasons. No comparative studies have yet been done in South Africa of enuresis, which in western society is recognized as a symptom of behaviour disturbance. The study therefore has intrinsic value also from a social point of view. Moreover, in Dr. Jacobson herself we found a pretty rare specimen: a highly qualified research worker who was prepared to make great personal sacrifices in order to pursue her research, and we felt that she deserved our support, even if her study touched the fringe-land of our recognized field of activity.

The study aims, first, to find out the prevalence of enuresis in the four ethnic groups - whites, Coloureds, Indians and Africans (urban, peri-urban and rural) in Natal). Secondly, to compare the physical health of enuretic children with normal children. Thirdly, to indicate some of the cultural responses to enuresis.

For obvious reasons only a limited sample of the population can be studied.

Dr. Jacobson started her fieldwork only a few months ago, but already some interesting and new information is emerging.

We hope to see the first results of this cross-cultural study during the first half of 1962.

9) Sample Survey of Indian Unemployment in Durban:-

A highly topical and necessary survey initiated by Professor L. Kuper, but carried out during his absence by Dr. P.L. van den Berghe, Mrs. M. Russell and Dr. C.J. Jooste. Obviously of greater practical than theoretical value, the greatest skill is required in the drawing up of the small sample dictated by our limited resources.

There has been some delay in this respect because the basic information had to be obtained from official quarters through some red tape barriers. Fieldwork will, however, start soon and should be completed in a few months.

B. PROJECTED RESEARCH

Although at present we still have more in hand than we can comfortably handle, we have been making some plans for the future. Three new projects have been drawn up in widely different fields of interest.

1) A study of the African domestic servant (especially the nurse-maid) which will be supervised by Professor E. Krige. It will, as far as I know, be the first time that this most common and vital field of domestic culture contact is studied. We hope to find in this certain patterns of the relationship and inter-action between white employers (and their children) and the black servants in the intimacy of private homes. It is a sphere in which the closest contact between races and cultures takes place; it is a problem sphere which concerns virtually every one of us. It should be a most rewarding investigation.

) African Concepts of Space and Time:-

This is a fundamental study in which we hope to break new ground. Its principal aim is to gain an insight in the factors concerned in the formation and further development of some of the basic concepts in African thought and perception.

In this we may not only be doing comparative work of theoretical value, but we may ultimately contribute towards the more effective application of educational methods of teaching illiterate rural people whose thought processes are not sufficiently understood.

The project will be directed by the Department of Psychology and in particular by Mr. R.G. Albino and Dr. J.W. Mann.

) The third proposed project deals with the Constitutional Development in African Territories in relation to the teaching of History and Political science.

It aims to ascertain the trends of political philosophy in the African territories, the major factors influencing their development, and the relationship between the movements of nationalism and teaching in University institutions in the territories.

A major consideration in the framing of this project has been our growing uneasiness as an academic institution of losing touch with current developments on our own continent. The project therefore envisages a tour of study by a qualified observer to these Territories to gain first-hand knowledge and to establish the necessary contacts which would enable us to keep abreast of further developments. Part of the scheme will be the early dissemination of the knowledge so gained to our fellow Universities in this country.

The direction of this project will rest with the Department of History and Political Science.

All three proposals have been submitted to the N.C.S.R. for financial support and we do not know if we shall be successful. But this may not be the only source from which we might seek support. Nor are these proposals the only ones to which we may commit ourselves in the near future.

C. OTHER ACTIVITIES

(a) Seminars:-

At the request of some of our members we have during the year revived our seminar programme, with varying success.

The teaching time-table is still our greatest difficulty for which we have not yet found a satisfactory solution. For this reason attendances have often been disappointingly low.

Two months ago, at the request of the Principal, we organized a panel discussion for the benefit of a party of visiting American social scientists. It was an interesting experiment the possibilities of which deserve further exploration. This trial run may not have been perfect in our own eyes; yet, judging from subsequent verbal and written comments from our visitors, those few hours discussion in Durban had been more instructive to them than the remainder of their time in this country.

(b) Director's Movements:-

The day after our last Annual Meeting I left, with the permission of my Chairman and the Principal, for Southern Rhodesia to serve on a Government Commission of Inquiry into the causes of unrest in a rural

area in the north-east of that country. The investigation took considerably longer than the original (official) estimate of one month, and at the end I was requested to write the Report (most of which I did in Durban) which was submitted to the Government in April 1961.

Although the inquiry concerned mainly one Reserve, we were able to cast our analysis and conclusions in terms which have a much wider application. In essence the problem concerned the conflict between a conservative white administration and the awakening ambitions of a tribal chieftain and population, and the breakdown of effective communications between them. It is a tragedy of mutual misunderstanding and growing distrust which recurs again and again in Southern Africa and elsewhere. As a major factor laying through it, is the land question and the diverging concepts of land use and the security of tenure.

On the whole the Report has been well received, and we have in our files a sheaf of press cuttings and letters which prove that our analysis has struck home. Better still, there is evidence that it is being taken seriously by the Government, and that some action is being taken in accordance with our views.

The work of this Commission and the mounting pressure of work within the Institute, have prevented me from attending any conference (e.g., Institute of Race Relations, Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs) which I should normally have attended, except the SABRA Conference in Bloemfontein last month, on which I have prepared a full separate report for the University and this Institute both of which I represented.

SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH CONFERENCE

Your Executive Committee decided to organize another interdisciplinary research conference towards the end of July 1962, and a sub-

Committee has taken the matter in hand. The organization of speakers and papers is virtually completed and we have had a most encouraging response from virtually all those invited by us to contribute papers. The broad theme of the conference will be 'Problems of Social Research in Underdeveloped and Rapidly Changing Areas'.

The next stage of the preparations, the circulation of brochures and invitations to all Universities and social research institutions in this and adjacent countries, is well under way. In this connection I must gratefully mention the assistance given to us by the Deputy Registrar and his Secretary who are kindly relieving us of a great deal of work during a time when we ourselves are particularly hard pressed.

An enormous amount of organizing work with regard to the practical aspects of this Conference will have to be done early in the new year. But given such assistance as our colleagues can spare us, there is every reason to look forward to a successful Conference.

E. LIBRARY

The Secretary has continued to catalogue new additions to our library, and it is gratifying to know that increased use is being made of our collection.

We now have an arrangement with the University Librarian under which we supply him with a fair number of copies of our productions, in return for such exchange material which he, on our behalf, can obtain for us.

In order to cope with the flood of material requiring speedy duplication (e.g., tabulations yielded by the Swaziland Survey) we recently bought a Verifax duplicator, a long overdue acquisition which will save our secretarial staff much time and headache.

F. FINANCE

Due to their own heavy commitments the University Accountant and his staff have not yet been able to prepare the financial statement which will reflect our position at the end of September. This will therefore have to be submitted to the General Committee and to the University Council within the next few weeks.

I must, however, warn that it will not reflect the comparatively rosy situation of last year, when we had actually saved a few thousand pounds.. The results are not wholly unexpected, for we knew then that a large part of our new savings would be invested in the Swazi Nutrition Survey. In addition, however, we began to run short of funds in some of our other projects, while we also decided to invest some of our reserves into the Enuresis and Indian Unemployment surveys.

And so we shall shortly be back where we stood two years ago, with very slender reserves, which make it imperative for us to practice the greatest economy in a from hand to mouth existence.

G. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Throughout this hectic year we have been gratefully conscious of the loyal support of growing numbers of colleagues. Indeed, without this support, so often given at great sacrifice of time and comfort, we could not have carried on.

We gratefully think in the first place of those who accepted the supervision of aspects of our research activities. Of these, Sydney Cruise has left us after doing an immense amount of voluntary work for us in an ever cheerful mood; other absentees, like Hilda and Leo Kuper, we hope to see among us again. To Mr. A.S.B. Humphreys, caught unawares in our net as the result of Professor Horwood's absence, a special word of thanks for the manner in which he is helping us out in spite of his already greatly increased responsibilities.

To my colleagues on the Executive Committee and the Principal, I am grateful for their active help and advice.

I am indebted to my own secretarial staff, especially Mrs. Mann, for cheerfully coping with the often heavy demands made upon them; and I must include those, engaged only temporarily, which left us during the year.

To our Research Fellows I owe a word of thanks as well as an apology, for I have the guilty feeling that I may have been driving them too hard.

To the Administrative staff of the University, in particular the Accountant and Deputy Registrar, we are grateful for the generous spirit in which they responded whenever we needed assistance.

And finally I wish to thank Professor Brookes for his having accepted the Acting Chairmanship - particularly onerous for a Maritzburg resident - from mid-year onwards, and for his patient and capable guidance at our Committee meetings.

J.F. HOLLEMAN

I.S.R.
20/10/61.
DURBAN.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE FROM 30TH JUNE, 1960 TILL 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1961

BAUMANNVILLE SURVEY

By Balance 30/9/61 R31.24

SPARKS ESTATE SURVEY

To Fieldwork Expenses	63.26	By Balance 1/7/60	539.20
" Microfilm	2.90		
" Travelling	32.23		
" Duplicating paper & Stencils	11.53		
" Balance at 30/9/61	<u>429.28</u>		
	<u>R539.20</u>		<u>R539.20</u>

INDIAN SURVEY

To Printing & Stationery	3.61	By Balance 1/7/60	127.87
" Typing & Coding	82.70	" Transfer to Running	
" Roneo paper	12.20	Expenses	15.48
" Transport	<u>44.84</u>		
	<u>R143.35</u>		<u>R143.35</u>

(No Balance forward)

MIXED EUROPEAN STUDY

To Typing	22.45	By Balance 1/7/60	276.16
" Printing & Stationery	11.90		
" Roneo paper	23.06		
" Travelling	8.00		
" Balance at 30/9/61	<u>210.75</u>		
	<u>R276.16</u>		<u>R276.16</u>

SHONGWENT SURVEY

To Amount overspent 30/9/61	<u>R50.75</u>	(To be paid out of Institute funds)	
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N.C.S.R. GRANT: RUNNING EXPENSES

To Secretarial & Admin. General Office 1/1/58 to 30/9/61	700.00	By Balance 1/7/60	1,084.33
" Transfer Indian Study	15.48		
" Balance at 30/9/61	368.85		
	<u>R1,084.33</u>		<u>R1,084.33</u>

UMGENI, UMBILO AND UMLAZI CATCHMENT AREAS SURVEY

Field Research & Travelling	59.51	By Balance 1/7/60	3,883.28
Printing & Stationery	39.45	" Grant received	
Map Sheets	42.60	22/2/61	4,100.00
Typing	64.45		
Salaries	3,310.05		
Transfer to Sociology	2,700.00		
Secretarial & Administration	400.00		
Balance at 30/9/61	1,367.22		
	<u>R7,983.28</u>		<u>R7,983.28</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT

Office Maintenance	62.67	By Balance 1/7/60	788.64
•C.T.	156.16	" Interest	368.15
Printing	32.00	" Ex Umgeni Survey	400.00
Photographic paper	37.10	" Ex N.C.S.R.	700.00
Travelling & Transport	143.57	" Cash received	37.50
Undries	20.63	" Price Forbes	48.87
Photo paper & Stencils	126.18	" Use of sorting	
Printing & Stationery	102.02	equipment	83.00
Balance at 30/9/61	1,745.83		
	<u>R2,426.16</u>		<u>R2,426.16</u>

FORD FOUNDATION

Books	39.60	By Balance 1/7/60	2,534.63
Subscriptions - SABRA	21.00		
- Institute R.R.	20.00		
Typewriter	124.00		
Stationery	3.55		
Maintenance	8.59		
Travelling	330.45		
R. Commission of Inquiry	100.00		
Balance at 30/9/61	1,887.44		
	<u>R2,534.63</u>		<u>R2,534.63</u>

NUFFIELD GRANT : MRS. TWALA

Typing	26.00	By Balance 1/7/60	84.98
Balance at 30/9/61	58.98		
	<u>R84.98</u>		<u>R84.98</u>

CARNEGIE CORPORATION

To Research Grant: Tandberg	300.00	By Balance 1/7/60	3,480.83
" Grant to Meyrick Bennett Clinic	300.00	" Cash	60.00
" Insurance claim	60.00		
" Balance at 30/9/61	<u>2,880.83</u>		
	<u>R3,540.83</u>		<u>R3,540.83</u>

COPPERBELT SURVEY

To Travelling	220.67	By Balance 1/7/60	3,227.84
" Binding	10.00	" Cash received -	
" Mr. Cruise	12.60	C.S.I.R. - August	1,529.89
" Transfer to Swaziland Nutrition Account	3,500.00	- March	1,867.85
" Transfer to Indian Unem- ployment Survey	200.00	" Cash received -	
" Balance at 30/9/61	<u>2,769.61</u>	S.R. Government	87.30
	<u>R6,712.88</u>		<u>R6,712.88</u>

SWAZILAND (NUTRITION) SURVEY

To Travelling & Subsistence	450.14	By Ex Copperbelt	
" Salary - Miss S. Jones	1,666.70	Account	3,500.00
" Flannelographs and Film enlargement	63.80	" Cash received	7.39
" Petty Cash	1.85		
" Balance at 30/9/61	<u>1,324.90</u>		
	<u>R3,507.39</u>		<u>R3,507.39</u>

OPPENHEIMER FUND

To Travelling Expenses	<u>R230.57</u>
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INDIAN UNEMPLOYMENT SURVEY

By Transfer from Copperbelt Ac- count - Sept.	<u>R200.00</u>
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SWAZILAND (SAMPLE) SURVEY

Field Assistants Wages	20.00	By Balance 1/7/60	2,688.83
Wages	5,250.23	" Cash received -	
Supervision	80.00	October 1960	3,000.00
Binding	21.50	December 1960	2,400.00
Miss E. Sutton	68.00	March 1961	1,820.00
Travelling: S. Cruise	176.13	April 1961	550.00
Methley	149.73	" Cash received	12.49
Jones	34.80		
Subsistence: Jooste	25.20		
Holleman	80.00		
Transport (Land Survey)	110.47		
Printing & Stationery	117.15		
Mapping & Prints	42.15		
Coding	181.65		
Photographic paper	68.29		
Roneo paper & Stencils	163.49		
Land Surveying Department	1,200.00		
Sundries	72.95		
Balance at 30/9/61	2,609.58		
	<u>R10,471.32</u>		<u>R10,471.32</u>

SUMMARY OF FUNDS AVAILABLE

	<u>Balance at 1/7/60</u>		<u>Balance at 30/9/61</u>	
	<u>Cr.</u>	<u>Dr.</u>	<u>Cr.</u>	<u>Dr.</u>
Baumannville Survey	31.24	-	31.24	-
Sparks Estate Survey	539.20	-	429.28	-
Indian Survey	127.87	-	-	-
Mixed European Study	276.16	-	210.75	-
Shongweni Survey	-	50.75	-	50.75
N.C.S.R. Grant: Running Expenses	1,084.33	-	368.85	-
Umgeni, Umbilo and Umlazi Catchment Areas Survey	3,883.28	-	1,367.22	-
General Account	788.64	-	1,745.83	-
Ford Foundation	2,534.63	-	1,887.44	-
Nuffield Grant: Mrs. Twala	84.98	-	58.98	-
Carnegie Corporation	3,480.83	-	2,880.83	-
Copperbelt Survey	3,227.84	-	2,769.61	-
Swaziland (Nutrition) Survey	-	-	1,324.90	-
Oppenheimer Fund	-	230.57	-	230.57
Indian Unemployment Survey	-	-	200.00	-
Swaziland (Sample) Survey	2,688.83	-	2,609.58	-
	<u>R18,747.83</u>	<u>R281.32</u>	<u>R15,884.51</u>	<u>R281.32</u>
Balance Available	<u>R18,466.51</u>		<u>R15,603.19</u>	

ANNEXURES

SWAZILAND SAMPLE SURVEY

THE DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECT

(C.J. Jooste)

This study is concerned with past and present variations in population growth. Fertility and mortality experience is examined in relation to such factors as urban/rural residence, age, occupation, education, and income. It is based mainly on the survey data, but also on census figures for the total population.

The analysis of population trends in Swaziland will be made in terms of the three factors of growth, namely, fertility, mortality, and migration.

Although the influence of migration on the size and composition of the population has been significant in the past, it has probably been declining in recent years. The indications are that death rates have been falling, and that a sustained excess of births over deaths will be the main source of population growth in the immediate future. The course of fertility is, therefore, of great importance, because it will have a profound effect on the age structure and the dependency ratio, and, hence, on the economic, social, and political development of the territory.

The age structure of Swaziland is at present unfavourable from the point of view of raising levels of living, and of sustained economic growth. The dependency ratio of 107 is very high - higher than that of any of the non-white groups in South Africa. The prospects are that this unfavourable age structure will persist for some considerable time, and it may for a time become more unfavourable.

Increasing fertility, together with the effects of continuing mortality reductions, will cause the child population to grow rapidly. Even if fertility should remain unchanged, there is likely to be considerable and sustained increase in the numbers of children from year to year. This will mean both that most families will have to spread their low incomes over larger numbers, and that the capital requirements for the duplication of educational facilities, public health services, housing, and other social overheads, will increase substantially from year to year. The rate of population growth, and its effect on the age structure, in relation to the growth of capital, will always need the most careful consideration.

It is therefore essential, from the point of view of planning for the future development of the territory, to have reasonable accurate and detailed knowledge of the likely variations in the population structure, and in fertility in particular. Factors such as education, occupation, marriage rates, etc., must also be examined because they affect birth and death rates in a direct manner. The sample survey provided a good deal of material which would be suitable for further and separate analyses of the interrelationships of population growth, economic growth, and the social structure.

It will, however, also be realised that studies of this kind present unusual problems in the case of an underdeveloped population - obstacles which place a severe limitation on the degree of refinement of the analyses. Certain items of information could not be obtained in view of prevailing customs and traditions; accurate information on date of birth is impossible in most cases; and information which would help to explain unexpected events, such as the apparently balanced sex ratio at birth and increasing imbalance in later years, is extremely hard to come by. The quality of the data obtained in the sample survey is, nevertheless, such that present and future trends could be established within reasonable limits of accuracy.

SWAZILAND SAMPLE SURVEY

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LAND-USE SURVEY IN SWAZILAND

(J.B.McI. Daniel)

The importance of land use studies as a basis for the future planning of both the exploitation and the conservation of a country's agricultural resources is now widely accepted by many countries throughout the world. "Resources" is a functional concept involving the fulfilment of human needs and the use that man makes of his physical environment. This concept must inevitably change with the advance of civilization. Therefore, a thorough appreciation and assessment of a country's resources and its present utilization should be a fundamental requisite for all agricultural development projects.

The South African Geographical Society recently agreed to the appointment of a committee to discuss the problems of undertaking and co-ordinating land use studies in South Africa. Should it be decided to embark on a land use survey of the whole of the Republic, the large area which would have to be covered would probably necessitate some form of sample survey.

The rural economy of South Africa falls naturally into two parts, the one dealing with African production and the other with European production. A picture of the South African rural economy would be incomplete unless due consideration were paid to both these aspects, which it is important to realise, are not separate from one another but two essential features of one problem. Consequently, a suitable sample survey would have to embrace both European and African held areas. In determining the

method to be followed, the Swaziland random sample land use survey could be of great value.

Previous agricultural surveys of the Swazi held areas have tended to produce statistics in a vacuum. Valuable as these statistics may have been at the time, they have proved of little assistance to later research workers because the areas from which they were collected remained undefined, thus making comparative studies impossible.

In the random sample survey of Swaziland, on the other hand, the four physiographic regions of the Territory as well as the sample areas, were clearly defined and mapped so that the statistics collected relate to a specific area within a specific region at a specific time. Six main categories of land use were recognized (cultivated land, fallow, wattle plantations, marsh, unproductive land and grazing), and accurate land use maps were drawn from aerial photographs.

Our method of area sampling within a topographically fixed 'grid' system had certain advantages, one being its flexibility and adaptability. In the light of experience and changing conditions the number of random sample units can be increased or decreased without upsetting the validity of the statistics for comparative purposes. Another advantage is that a sound basis has been established for future surveys of this nature.

The 1960 survey has yielded results of immense value. For the first time it has been possible to measure in Swaziland such features as the extent of cultivation, the population density per cultivated square mile, the acreage of grazing available for livestock.

We have laid the foundation for recording and analysing changes in the patterns of land use, both as regards the Territory as a whole and within each physiological region.

Of particular importance is the fact that even a small random sample (ours ranged from 3.33% for the Lowveld to 14.09% for the Lebombo), provided it is well drawn, proved to be capable of yielding a high degree of statistical accuracy. This suggests that our experience in Swaziland could be of considerable value in the planning of land use surveys in South Africa and other African territories, where there is still a great lack of reliable quantitative information especially with regard to the Native Reserves.

SWAZILAND SAMPLE SURVEY

THE TRANSMUTATION OF SURVEY MATERIAL

(J.F. Holleman)

For most of the time, the processing of census material is a tedious job. The coding operation is the routine of translating disembodied and apparently insignificant facts into an endless succession of pre-selected code numbers which ultimately cover thousands of identically black-printed sheets of paper. These in turn determined the almost infinitely varied but equally obscure patterns of perforations which must be punched on thousands of identical little cards. Both coding and punching are soul-destroying tasks; both call, however, for great accuracy and therefore constant vigilance, in spite of tedium. Fourteen temporary staff members were engaged for this task, jotting down numbers for eight hours a day over eleven weeks.

In the meantime, those of us who had watched the gathering of this information in the villages of Swaziland, perceived an odd sense of detachment if not of unreality as we witnessed its transmutation.

We had looked upon this survey in the first place as a human undertaking. It had involved the training of scores of people, who had moved in all directions over hundreds of square miles of country, sitting down in a thousand and more homesteads, interviewing many thousands of people, old and young, men and women, recoding the numerous facts which outlined the individual histories of all these different lives. For thousands of people the survey had been something deeply personal, a compelling hour during which memories had to be evoked and the events of a life time reviewed - childhood, courtship and marriage, the birth of one child, or the death of another, the first earnings or the last employment, the day a husband left his family, or a wife her husband. But soon afterwards the inevitable process of 'depersonalization' began, when this vast collection of human experience was being reduced to impersonal bundles of paper, a ton of 'material'.

During the coding stage, very occasionally, the personal element would still strike a feeble spark, as in the odd marginal scribble of an enumerator at the end of a wearying day - 'this person was very kind to us but had great trouble'; 'this woman's husband left a long time ago and she does not know where' - but it was soon completely extinguished in the reams of handwritten code figures. Then, even this human touch was wiped out by the punching machine, which reduced every bit of information, whether it concerned a stillbirth or a bag of mealies, to a little hole in a piece of pasteboard. And when this process was completed, the immense volume and infinite variety of human responses to our personal enquiries into the affairs of thousands of living people, were reduced to piles of uniform small perforated yellow cards, neatly stacked on edge in long filing trays, laying side by side on top of a single office table.

The long dreary weeks of coding and punching end, and tabulation begins when the first batch of cards is driven through the sorter with the sound of muted machine-gun fire. The change in atmosphere is almost as dramatic as when a prolonged drought is suddenly broken by a bursting rainstorm. Barely

suppressed boredom abruptly changes to keen expectation as the clattering machine flicks hundreds of cards per minute into a row of numbered compartments, where individual little counters record their totals.

But tabulation itself is a long and meticulously prepared process, and all that emerges after days and even weeks of sorting is a mounting pile of hundreds of tables containing thousands of big and small totals and the preliminary correlations of these.

This is the material which is handed back to the experts. In a sense it is still raw material, in spite of its distilled and classified form. On the surface it reveals little more than a huge jumble of figures, which even to a practiced eye often fail to show any pattern, however vague. But the scientist goes to work on them, with pencil, paper and calculator, adding or multiplying some figures, subtracting or dividing others. In the beginning he follows the fundamental rules his discipline has taught him. But as the broad patterns begin to emerge (or sometimes, fail to emerge), he starts playing his hunches, and before long he is feverishly beating a way through a mental tangle which may ultimately lead him to a revelation, or (probably more often) to a dead end.

Perhaps the most important requirement of this exciting hunt for meaningful results is that the research worker can live with his figure material for most of his waking hours. For there can be few things more disheartening than closely following a promising trail and having to interrupt the search for days or weeks because of other duties. In this respect the small handful of volunteer workers at the Institute had to fight a grim battle in the face of heavy teaching duties.

By the end of June 1961, the fundamental facts of Swazi life and economy had been computed. The patterns they revealed were being cast into selected tables, diagrams and maps. What remained now was to write the

text in which their implications would be analysed in a series of chapters which would form the solid core of our Report. And in the writing it would be possible for us to revert to our original premises and orientation with regard to our survey, or the ultimate abstractions and condensation of our material would again be cast in terms of human problems and the interpretation of man's behaviour in his struggle to make a living.

UMGENI, UMBILO AND UMLAZI CATCHMENT AREAS PROJECT

ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

(A.S.B. Humphreys)

The area covered by the catchments of the Umgeni, Umbilo and Umlazi Rivers constitutes, economically, the most highly-developed region in Natal and, as such, appears destined to play an increasingly important role in the economic development of both the province and the country as a whole. For this reason it was considered essential to ascertain the basic facts concerning the past stages of economic development and the future potential of the region, and to assess, in the light of anticipated future developments, what provision must be made for future needs. Besides this, however, these catchment areas provide one of the most fertile fields for the study of economic growth and development in Southern Africa since they cover a variety of forms of economic organisation which range from the under-developed characteristics of the Bantu Areas, to the highly-organised urban industrial regions now rapidly approaching economic maturity.

The broad sweep thus encompassed by this enquiry has entailed the assembly of comprehensive historical and contemporary data in order to trace

the various stages of development. In the past year, therefore, priority of treatment has been given to those sections of the survey where either documentary information or research material are fairly readily available, e.g., labour resources, and employment, agriculture, secondary industry, transport (particularly the Port of Durban), etc.

Considerable progress has been made in the extraction and collation of statistical and descriptive information from accumulated data in the Department of Economics, from the Natal Regional Survey and from Census and other sources.

The field so far covered comprises:-

(i) Labour Resources and Employment:-

Working and non-working population in the region: by magisterial districts (latest Census).

Growth of manufacturing employment in Greater Durban, 1924/25 to 1953/54; by classes of industry, racial groups and sex.

Industrial Employment - Metropolitan Durban: by races and by industry (latest Census).

The catchment areas as a source of supply of African males employed in Durban and Pietermaritzburg: by magisterial district of origin.

Industrial Employment - Pietermaritzburg, 1956: by racial groups and by industry.

(ii) Land and Land Use:-

European Agriculture: Historical development of agricultural activities in the region: statistical and descriptive material on the sugar and wattle industries, horticulture, field crops and livestock and dairy industries.

Native Agriculture: Numbers and areas of Native Trust farms in the region.

Agricultural crops of the Native Areas: livestock production.

(iii) Industrial Organisation and Finance:-

(a) History and general development of industry in the region: statistical and descriptive material on the development of industry in Durban/Pinetown, 1924/25 to 1953/54, and in Pietermaritzburg.

(b) Statistics of mineral production.

(c) Development of, and present size and capacity of electricity undertakings: Congella and Umgeni.

(d) Compilation of continuous statistical series relating to the growth and development of manufacturing industry in Durban/Pinetown: preliminary information on geographical distribution of various classes of industries in Durban/Pinetown, Pietermaritzburg and in the rural areas of the region, e.g., Camperdown, Howick, etc.

(e) Recent trends in the growth of Durban and Pietermaritzburg as distributive centres.

(f) Transport and Communications: development of the Port of Durban.

(iv) Water and Water Resources:-

The survey of water resources and their role and importance in the economic development of the catchment areas has been completed.

UMGENI, UMBILO AND UMLAZI CATCHMENT AREAS PROJECT

AN AFRICAN EDUCATED ELITE

(A. Ngubo)

For our study of an African elite we chose African students of the University of Natal. This choice was dictated by the fact that our subjects possessed the distinguishing mark of the new African elite, namely, high educational qualifications. Our assumption was that, because students were highly educated and politically active, a study of their aspirations, thoughts and actions would yield theoretical implications applicable to the African educated elite in general.

Information about students was compiled from records of the Non-European Section. We then interviewed 53 chosen at random from a total of 158 students. The interviews were unstructured and questions open-ended, so that the subject could talk at length and introduce any topic. However, similar questions were asked in all cases for the purpose of uniformity. In order to verify some of the information obtained in interviews, we attended and recorded all student meetings; a careful observation of students' behaviour was maintained throughout 1958 and 1960. This was also recorded and incorporated into our study.

The main aim of our study is to find out the reactions of an aspiring subordinate elite in the face of unfavourable segregated conditions; the extent to which students resemble present-day African political leadership, and problems of race relations at the University. Race relations include not only White-Black but also Indo-African relations.

In our analysis of race relation problems we tried to depart from the over-emphasised race dimension. What is particularly interesting is that, at certain levels of contact, Indian and African students maintain harmonious relations, but that, when such contact becomes personal and intimate, frictions begin to arise. Without disregarding the racial factor we feel it is sociologically more acceptable to regard such conflicts as a manifestation of a clash of cultures.

As an aspirant elite, African students culturally identify themselves with Western Europe and have lost touch with the tribal social milieu. They tend to apply the "democratic norm" in all forms of human relations. But because the dominant white group denies them entry into positions of influence and power, they identify themselves for political reasons with non-elite Africans, which is a form of racialism. Yet it is interesting that, although denied the opportunity to gain a measure of political and economic control in the country, our elite on the whole still believes in the democratic principle that all South Africans should be given equal opportunity regardless of race. This leads one to the conclusion that African racialism is a defensive mechanism against humiliation, in contrast with white racialism which is based on a superiority complex.

UMGENI. UMBILO AND UMLAZI CATCHMENT AREAS PROJECT

SPORTS AND POLITICS IN AN URBAN AFRICAN COMMUNITY

A Case Study of African Voluntary Organisations

(B. Magubane)

He who has been in contact with western institutions, political and social, finds that African institutions are unlike those with which he is

familiar, and much of their behaviour and many of their characteristics appear to be rather exotic. If he knows African history, he soon realises that the patterns he sees or senses are neither characteristically western nor characteristically traditional (i.e. pre-western influenced). There is a merger of patterns of behaviour, which arise out of the mixing of "political" cultures which are found neither in the traditional nor in the western societies. For instance, the Durban and District African Football Association deals with disputes arising from the clubs in three different ways. Cases of assault, faction fighting and rough play are dealt with in a pseudo-legalistic manner, reminiscent of the procedure followed in criminal cases in the ordinary courts of law. Cases which involve embezzlement of association finances, dissatisfaction with officials of the association, which might result in the fragmentation of the association, are dealt with in a manner reminiscent of the procedure in civil courts; and in some cases methods reminiscent of traditional procedure are followed. Where the last method is followed, disputes are handled in an atmosphere which is completely informal, and each party is allowed unlimited time in which to state its case, and there is no question of a third party sitting in judgment over the disputants. Now and again commissions of inquiry are appointed in exactly the same way as Parliament does.

In these new associations leadership is selected in terms of merit and ability. A man with traditional authority might be selected, but the moment the majority of the members become dissatisfied with him he is removed from office. For instance the Zulu Royal Football Club for a long time had as their President the brother of the Paramount Chief; later they got dissatisfied with him and removed him from office.

There is a breaking down of the authority of the traditional leadership in these associations which makes it possible for the new leadership, which is national in its ambitions, to rally Africans around a new set of

familiar, and much of their behaviour and many of their characteristics appear to be rather exotic. If he knows African history, he soon realises that the patterns he sees or senses are neither characteristically western nor characteristically traditional (i.e. pre-western influenced). There is a merger of patterns of behaviour, which arise out of the mixing of "political" cultures which are found neither in the traditional nor in the western societies. For instance, the Durban and District African Football Association deals with disputes arising from the clubs in three different ways. Cases of assault, faction fighting and rough play are dealt with in a pseudo-legalistic manner, reminiscent of the procedure followed in criminal cases in the ordinary courts of law. Cases which involve embezzlement of association finances, dissatisfaction with officials of the association, which might result in the fragmentation of the association, are dealt with in a manner reminiscent of the procedure in civil courts; and in some cases methods reminiscent of traditional procedure are followed. Where the last method is followed, disputes are handled in an atmosphere which is completely informal, and each party is allowed unlimited time in which to state its case, and there is no question of a third party sitting in judgment over the disputants. Now and again commissions of inquiry are appointed in exactly the same way as Parliament does.

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There is a breaking down of the authority of the traditional leadership in these associations which makes it possible for the new leadership, which is national in its ambitions, to rally Africans around a new set of

values, and to provide a new sense of unity which is overcoming tribal, provincial and other differences. These leaders are in fact "national" leaders, less associated with the interests of any one group than with national aspirations. Whatever differences exist in the leadership of these new associations - and there are many - they are seldom tribal, linguistic or provincial. This is in marked contrast with the differences which exist between the clubs themselves. It is at the level of the clubs that differences have tribal and regional flavour.

As has been pointed out, within these organisations there has developed the machinery, leadership and precedent for dealing with party and inter-club disputes, which is neither western nor traditional, but is a mixture of both. But in some cases, what has failed to develop is a sense of responsibility to keep some of these organisations together; and quite often under stresses and strains of personal differences they have splintered. While tribal, linguistic and provincial cleavages are thus being minimized, the most important cleavage which now exists is that between western and non-western, and this cross-cuts ethnic differences.

Some of these African organisations make an attempt to overcome racial differences. Sometimes membership is open to everybody; in other cases invitations to affiliate are constitutionally extended to organisations of other racio-ethnic groups who share similar principles. In the field of sport especially a concerted effort is being made to abolish racially organised associations, and to replace them with non-racial boards. This feeling on the part of the non-white association is prompted by the desire to receive world recognition. These non-racial associations are exacting pressure on the all-white associations to consider merit and not race in the selection of teams for international games. This has confronted sportsmen in this country with a choice of either abandoning racialism in sports (which means continued membership of international bodies) or retaining the

present system and facing disaffiliation from world bodies. Non-whites, through these organisations, try to exert pressure on the whites.

Politics have become omnipresent in all associations. Non-whites in their struggle against racial discrimination have discovered vast new areas of potential power in what are usually thought to be non-political, special-purposive social institutions, and mass organisations.

The roles of these associations differ with the level at which they operate. An association like a football association may be purely expressive at a local level, and instrumental at a national level. In a country like South Africa, where the racial factor permeates all sectors of the social system, organisations find themselves playing both rôles. The Durban and District African Football Association, for instance, is purely expressive at a local level. It organizes games among Africans, and provides a safe field for people with ambitions of leadership to express themselves. At a national and international level, however, it plays a totally different role. It challenges a special kind of fallacy in South Africa, which distorts western institutions and traditions in support of the colour-bar. In South Africa not only governmental and commercial bodies, but also the social and cultural institutions which are part of the whole tradition of western tolerance (churches, theatres, cricket clubs, football clubs, boys' clubs, the Y.M.C.A., boy scouts, Rotary clubs) all are cheerfully diverted into separate black and white channels with hardly a murmur of protest - except by non-white organisations. The non-whites, through these associations, have become the "exponents" of the democratic ethics, and are trying to awaken the conscience, and to destroy the smugness of the white organisations.

An interesting feature of some associations I studied was the growth of parties (not merely political) which involve a considerable change in African ideas of leadership and authority. It has become com-

monplace to refer to the breakdown of traditional patterns of allegiance in Africa - especially among the urban intellectuals - but what has taken the place of these traditional patterns or grown alongside these patterns has been less studied. There is some reason to believe that voluntary organisations, especially for the large number of displaced "intellectuals" in urban centres, are assuming some of the functions which formerly the family and kin-groups performed. The intensity of devotion of members of these associations, and the absence in some cases of continuous and ready communication with outside groups, results in the development of new feelings of coherence, and provides a new orientation towards life. It also indicates the enormous needs which voluntary organisations fulfil in the lives of so many of their members.

UMGENI, UMBILO AND UMLAZI CATCHMENT AREAS PROJECT

THE NDWEDWE DISTRICT AS A RESERVE

(J.E. Laredo)

The Umgeni, Umbilo and Umlazi catchment areas are an important part of Natal, carrying 40% of its population and 90% of its industries. The population which is Indian, African and White, is concentrated largely in and around the urban industrial centres of Durban, Pinetown and Pietermaritzburg.

Our study was, however, concerned with the rural African areas. These are either land held in trust for Africans (Reserves) or land available under freehold tenure (almost exclusively to white farmers). In previous years we have reported on the situation in African freehold areas, more recently we have been working in a reserve in the Ndwedwe district.

The reserves are characterised by their exclusively African population, the recognition accorded to traditional offices such as chieftainship (which is closely controlled by the Department of Bantu Administration) and the system of communal land tenure.

The exclusively African characteristics of the reserves are underlined by a common language (Zulu) and also a common historical and cultural heritage. Despite these, the changes they have been exposed to through administrators, missionaries, teachers and migratory labour, have left their mark on the reserve.

The traditional patterns of social and political organisation can still be recognised in the homestead, the kinships system and in the chiefdom, but these have been modified. Nowadays it is mainly the small groups of kinsmen living as neighbours, within which reciprocal rights and obligations are being maintained.

Economically the reserve is almost non-productive, and it lives on the labour it exports to the urban areas. Food is bought from the local stores, and only a very small proportion is produced from the land.

Yet, land tenure and the allocation of land are important matters in the reserve. The right to receive an allocation of land is valued by the local people because it gives a man a place where he can leave his wife and family free from the legal restrictions which apply in towns and on white farms. The system of communal tenure gives individuals the right to plough fields and build houses.

In theory, it is the chiefs who have the power to allocate land, and this is also the official view held by the Administration. Owing to the pressure of population, however, very little land is 'free', that is, not previously allocated to an individual or group of individuals. The

result is that, in practice, it is the local neighbourhood group which chooses its new neighbours, and in effect tends to control the allocation of land, a situation which does little to enhance the authority of the chiefs.

In the Ndwedwe Reserve the people are rurally domiciled and live under a professedly 'tribal' system. Yet such have been the changes in their basic economy that having become dependant on work outside the reserve in order to make a living, their mental outlook is oriented to problems connected with wage labour rather than peasant farming.

PREJUDGMENT TO PREJUDICE

(J.W. Mann)

This study was stimulated by the views of Professor Gordon W. Allport, who was attached to the Institute some years ago. Professor Allport distinguishes between prejudgments and prejudices. Prejudgments are hasty or immature judgments, which only become prejudices if they resist new evidence against them. Accordingly, an experiment was arranged to elicit both prejudgment and prejudice.

Respondents were presented with successive bits of information about a court case. The case involved an African gardener accused by a European housewife of entering the house when she was alone, shouting threats at her and robbing her of some money. First of all the respondents received information suggesting the African's guilt: for instance, that he bought a bicycle shortly after the alleged incident. Thereafter, they got a steady flow of information suggesting the gardener's innocence,

culminating in evidence that the housewife was mentally ill and the return of a verdict of 'not guilty' by the court.

After each bit of information, the respondents had to say whether they thought the gardener guilty or innocent, or whether they were undecided. Hasty judgments were encouraged by suggesting that the material was a test of how quickly people could reach a true understanding of events. The respondents, who remained anonymous, were University students of various races; totalling 128.

Respondents were divided into three groups: one group received, early in the flow of information, a written appeal against showing bias; to another group the appeal was directed at a late stage; the third group received no appeal at all. It was presumed that the early appeal would be more effective than the late.

In fact, neither the early nor the late appeals had any perceptible effect on the subjects' judgments; but several other effects appeared readily enough.

As predicted, respondents who initially refrained from judging the accused innocent or guilty, were less likely than others subsequently to give judgments against the trend of the evidence. The reason for this was not so much accuracy of judgment as a continued refusal to give any judgment at all until most of the evidence, including the weightiest, was received. Five social scientists on the staff of the University were very helpful at this stage of the analysis in assessing the weight and drift of the evidence, and showed close agreement in their assessment.

Impartiality was hardly characteristic of the respondents as a whole. The great majority were hurried into prejudgments right at the start of the flow of information, many probably in eagerness to demonstrate their

understanding of human behaviour following the suggestions that they were being tested for insight. The prejudgments were largely in line with the initial indications of the information; that is, that the gardener was guilty. Generally, both prejudgments and prejudices fell in with the drift of the evidence. For example, where the evidence was at its strongest, the most marked changes of judgment occurred. Again, those subjects who were lured into prejudice against the African (in other words, who clung to their prejudgments against him despite evidence in his favour) nearly all eventually reversed their judgments in agreement with the evidence.

Although partisanship on racial lines was not apparent in the prejudgments, it did come out in those prejudgments that resisted new evidence (that is, in the prejudices). As expected there were more prejudiced in favour of the African amongst the non-whites than amongst the whites. There was also a tendency for those non-whites who gave a prejudgment against the accused to abandon their position soon afterwards, even though the information still ran against the accused.

On the whole, the prejudices elicited in this study displayed considerable coyness in the face of contradiction. Only a handful of respondents, for instance, persisted until the end in their belief that the gardener was guilty.

Particularly in an artificial and relatively emotionless situation like that used in the present study, prejudices are likely to surrender before weighty opposition. They are not, of course, necessarily eradicated, but may well remain underground to express themselves in other situations and at other times.

A STUDY OF THREE CURRENT PROBLEMS OF INDIAN EDUCATION

(G. Ramphal)

From discussions with leading educationists, it appeared that the three most pressing problems of Indian primary education were: the existence of the double-shift or "platoon" school, the fact that Indian children were taking over a new language (English) and were being educated through its medium, and the fact that there was often a long delay before the Indian child began schooling owing to the absence of a sufficient number of school buildings. It was decided to investigate certain aspects of these problems. The study took the form of three separate projects which were carried out in 1956-7 with the Indian schools in and around Durban constituting the sample. The whole work was so designed as to have not only an immediate, practical relevance but implications for educational theory as well.

The first project, entitled "An Investigation into Mental Efficiency in an Indian Afternoon School", concerned the question as to whether schooling in the afternoon was as effective as in the morning, a preliminary questionnaire having revealed that most teachers were of the opinion that there was a deterioration of intellectual functioning in children during the afternoon hours. It was obvious that if controlled observation did indeed prove this to be the case, it would, by itself, constitute a fatal objection to the whole system of afternoon schools instituted in this country and elsewhere. The investigation took the form of getting a number of children to work almost continuously at mental tasks for four hours in the morning and at equivalent tasks for four hours in the afternoon. The morning and afternoon scores (of the same children) were then compared. Detailed statistical analyses of the data, broken down in several ways,

did not reveal any impairment of mental functioning in the afternoon. The conclusion was in line with the findings of other investigators who had worked on similar problems overseas.

The second project was entitled "An Investigation into the Performance of Indian Standard Six Students in Intelligence and Scholastic Tests in Relation to Bilingualism and Efficiency in English". A comparison of verbal and non-verbal I.Q.'s showed that the pupils were handicapped in English only to the extent of two points of I.Q. while, at the same time, mean I.Q.'s on both types of tests were considerably below the European norm. Four scholastic tests were also administered. Again Indian performance was substantially inferior by European standards, the inferiority being greater in reading comprehension and vocabulary than in problem and mechanical arithmetic. It was found that the Indian standard six pupils' degree of English/mother-tongue bilingualism, as measured by a specially constructed scale, had no significant influence on their performance in the intelligence and scholastic tests. On the other hand, it was the actual level of English achieved at school, as measured by the attainment tests of reading comprehension and vocabulary, which was found to be positively and significantly correlated with performance in the intelligence and arithmetic tests, suggesting that Indian schools would do well to pay special attention to the cultivation of a good vocabulary and skill in comprehending printed matter.

The third project was entitled "An Investigation into the Performance of Indian Children in Intelligence and Scholastic Tests in Relation to Delayed Entrance into School". The problem was tackled from three angles. Firstly, the scores of pupils of the same age but scattered through standards two to six (as a result of delayed schooling) were compared. Secondly, the scores of pupils of different ages but in the same school standard were studied. Thirdly, the progress of a group of early-

school-starters from standard two to six was compared with the progress of a group of late-starters. All three analyses consistently showed that delay in schooling beyond the normal age of 5+ inhibited mental development as measured by intelligence tests and that the greater the delay the more the retardation.

It appeared that it is delay in school entrance more than any other factor such as handicap in English or low socio-economic status that is responsible for the serious depression of the scores of Indian children in mental and scholastic tests relative to Europeans.



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