

to receive £100 a year each. If they remained loyal to the British Government, the land would be theirs indefinitely. Here in the war of the Axe (1846) the Fingo fought on the side of the British Government. The Peddie Fingo received no pay during the war - they had been given land and had been promised some more land. After the war the boundary became the Fish and the Kei rivers - the reversal of a reversal - back to the frontier policy of D'urban. But the agreement with the Fingo was merely verbal. When white settlers arrived the Fingoes had to give way. And the £100 never materialized. They fought again on the side of the British Government in the so-called war of Umlanjeni (1858) after which they received more land from their 'Benefactors.' Sir Philip Wodehouse, the last Governor of the Cape under an irresponsible form of government formed Fingo reserves in the Transkei - Nqamakhwe, Butterworth, and Tsomo, which he called Fingoland in contradiction to Kaffirland. After the Fingo-Gcaleka war of 1877 parts of Gcalekaland were given to the Fingoes.

Thus the stage was set for the enacting of the Xhosa-Fingo drama. Here we have the formative period of Xhosa-Fingo relations and later developments are but a bitter commentary on this.

### "Slavery & Emancipation"

Many references have been made above to the supposed slavery of the Fingoes under the Xhosa regime and to their supposed emancipation by the British. The South African history is replete with such allusions. But there has not been any convincing evidence of slavery having existed among the Xhosa. None of the Europeans - traders, missionaries, and others - resident in Gcalekaland have left any convincing records of slavery. But the belief that the Fingoes were in part enslaved by the Xhosas lives on. It is not quite clear who is responsible for the truth of what appears to be an unfounded belief in the light of historical circumstances. It is known, however, that there was no love lost between the great "benefactors" of the Fingoes, Rev. J. Ayliff, and Hintsa.

Even Theal with all his picturesque description of temperamental differences between the Fingoes and the Xhosas sees no evidence of slavery "... they were not slaves in the sense that they would be transferred from one owner to another." (3)

It is a well known fact that slavery is bound up with the economy of a people. In the Southern States of America, for instance, slavery lasted longer than it did in the North, because the Southerners were plantation farmers and slave labour was quite ideal for this mode of economy, whereas the Northerners early switched over from plantation farming to industry and industry favoured mobile labour, which slavery could not supply. This was the real conflict between the Northern and the Southern States. And in the end industry and not christianity triumphed over this form of slavery. In Gcalekaland slavery would have served no purpose.

The Fingo were free to move wherever they liked; there was no trafficking in human cattle among the Gcalekas; the Fingoes were received with kindness, granted land upon which to live, and they were free to observe the customs of their own tribe. They were, moreover, settled close to The Great Place for effective protection. The Zizis were settled at Ceru The Beles at Zolo (a small tributary of the Tsomo River) near Nqamakwe etc In this manner were they received by Hintsa. They were also given the personal freedom to control their own domestic relations under their own chiefs. The poor and the unfortunate among them were at liberty to find service for themselves, and those who chose were permitted to seek a living among the Xhosas. They were protected by law and none of them were debarred from the right of representing their grievances. When they arrived they were destitute, famine-stricken and helpless, but when they left they were wealthy men. They left with 22,000 head of cattle, that is the average of 11 head of cattle for every Fingo male. Indeed the fact that not all of them joined the exodus is indicative of their condition of life. The Poswas (Hlubis) did not leave Gcalekaland and still remain chiefs of the Hlubis; so did the Shwawus under chief Deyi(1)

No doubt there had been cases of oppression of individuals among both the Gcalekas and the Fingo; perhaps as a result of suspected witchcraft, especially of the rich and seldom of the poor. But no account was taken of the supposed wizard's tribe.

This evidence of alleged slavery does not come from the Fingoes themselves. Speaking to R.T. Kawa, Chief Mbovane Mabandla, a Fingo, says "what caused Mabandla and Njokweni to leave Gcalekaland was not Hintsa's ill-treatment of them. They were promised land and reinstatement in the status they had enjoyed at Luthukela. To enjoy the status of a chief yourself and to be in possession of land over which you can rule and wield control is different from being a subordinate. This promise was made by Rev. J. Ayliff in a speech interpreted by Harmanus Matros: (4) This is the sort of language that appealed to the Fingoes. For, as human beings, it tickled their inherent desires.

To sum up: The aba-Mbo (Fingoes) came originally from Natal, from where, finding life unbearable as a result of social upheavals and political uprisings, they migrated southwards in search of land, peace and security. They were well received by the Xhosas and given land. But quite early on their arrival Rev. J. Ayliff, a Methodist Minister, entered upon the scene and caused a great deal of perturbation among the Xhosas, who viewed Ayliff with a mixture of fear, and suspicion. They therefore not only became hostile to, but also despised the unthankful wanderers, who, after receiving hospitality from them, now blatantly allied themselves and treacherously aspired with Ayliff, who had instituted a system of espionage between Butterworth and Grahamstown. It was this apparent lack of gratitude on the part of the Fingo that led the Xhosas to call them names, a practice not uncommon among all men in similar circumstances.

Naturally the Fingo reacted with bitter hostility and resentment and what else could they do but turn their attention to Ayliff, who appealed to the well-known human motives and desires, with his banner of salvation and sympathy for the oppressed. This Ayliff's appeal drew the Fingo closer and closer to him and away from the Xhosas. Sir Benjamin D'Urban found the ground well prepared for a military alliance with the Fingo against the Xhosas. The so-called emancipation of the Fingo from "the lowest and worst kind of slavery" amounted to nothing but a means whereby they were set against the Xhosa and made pawns in the British Government's game of power politics. Christianity, true to its tradition, had once again served as the handmaid of politics. This contention becomes even more significant when we consider the fact that this period marks the advent of what is known in history as the New Imperialism - the imperialism of Sir Benjamin Dinaeli, the great English statesman of the last century - which blossomed out into full blast in the 1870's with Germany and Italy groping for "a place in the sun". And so the "swamble for Africa" began in earnest.

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## Introduction.

There seems to be a stage in the history of the development of any discipline when a great deal of time is spent on sheer verbal disputes, not disputes as to the facts, which for the time the battle still wages on about the terminology seem to undergo a period of supervision. Social Anthropology is a young science and has not quite outgrown this stage. At one time the controversy centred around the definition of "culture"- its items and elements and its scope. Even now, although the matter has largely been settled, the confusion has not altogether been cleared up. Anthropologists still as Ralph Linton (1) with his arbitrary and naive distinction between specific and general cultures, and Ruth Benedict (2) with her anthropophilic culture concept, and sonologists - like (3) with his distinction between culture and civilization, are partly responsible for the perpetuation of the confusion. The orthodox sonologist of course, might be excused, for he is still fighting very doggedly to dissociate himself from social anthropology by clinging tenaciously to his universal laws of society based upon a limited study of an "overall" society - The Western Society - which has largely been responsible for the sterility of sociology and for its lack of dynamism. The voice of Dollard (4) and Ralph Linton, who see no legitimate reason for the distinction usually made between Sonology, Cultural Anthropology and Personality Psychology, still goes unheeded by the orthodox representatives of these disciplines, who are still steeped in the thought of the 19th century.

A definition of culture from which the field it covers can be inferred is therefore a necessary preamble. The definition we give is taken from Edward Tylor (5) and has been generally accepted by anthropologists "culture is that complex whole which includes, knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs and many other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." This definition has been corroborated by Broniston (6) and Robert H. Lowie (7). It embraces, not only the non-material aspects of culture, such as religion, morals, laws, magic, etc., but also the material aspects which man has accumulated from time to time, such as arts and crafts, scientific inventions and discoveries for example, electricity, X-rays, atom bombs, radium, tractors, and so on.

From the definition given above it will be clear that culture covers a very wide field and that the word is in fact synonymous with civilization, although sonologists of the school of MacIver already quoted above (8) prefer to the word culture for the non-material aspects of the body of knowledge which man has accumulated through experience in his social and natural environment, and use civilization for the material techniques, etc. The limitations of this concept of culture are indeed even more conspicuous when we examine it against the modern psychological, anthropological, and psychoanalytical approach to the problem of culture and personality enshrined in the writings of Erich Fromm (8), Keren Horney (9), Ralph Linton (1), Abran Kardiner (10), Kora du Bois (11), Margaret Nead (12), Broniston Malinowski (6), Ruth Benedict (2), and so on. We therefore cannot accept MacIver's distinction. Apart from any other reasons which could be adduced we find it difficult to see how the non-material can exist without or apart from the material. The beliefs and taboos, for instance attached to certain objects by both primitive and modern man cannot be understood apart from the objects themselves and apart from the culture in which these beliefs and taboos prevail. The bread and wine at christian communion services and the cross and classic examples. And this is the problem with which studies in symbolism, wittingly or unwittingly, are really grappling.

\* Following upon the definitions given above also is the fact that the survey was divided into a number of categories: Health, Agriculture, Housing, Education, Sociology and General Culture. It must be emphasised that these categories must be treated as parts of a whole and not as isolated entities. culture. \* Our task was not only to study the state of the culture of the people in the area selected at the time the research was conducted, but also to take cognizance of their cultural background, the understanding of which, we believed, would throw light on present trends.

To illustrate this point we may take education as an example. Every society has its own form or system of education, techniques whereby the values of the society are inculcated and transmitted to succeeding generations, the effect being to mould the individual in such a way as to make him an effective agent for the perpetuation of society as it is constituted. Education therefore is the minor of society. Hence in a

society education will reflect colour-caste relations. In a conflict situation such as has followed from contact between Western and Bantu cultures an examination of education will show that education reflects the conflict. This is true of formal and no less of informal education. Thus the present reaction of the African to Western conceptions of education can be understood not only in terms of the values of his cultural background, but also in terms of the new values which Western civilization has imposed and is upholding. It is not uncommon, for example to hear African parents declaring that they will not send their daughters to school beyond the primary school stage, because in any case they will get married immediately after leaving school without having worked for and repaid their parents expenses incurred in the former's education. In African society the education of women prepared them for marriage, with emphasis on chastity which ensured high lobola value, while the degree of education, to which an African woman can attain according to western standards, is no guarantee of a high lobola value. Educating a girl is therefore a dead loss. This feeling has become even more accentuated with the commercialization of lobola which has followed upon the impact of Western money economy on the personal economy of the Bantu. And then of course to the tribal African steeped in the tradition of his people the education of women constitutes a threat to the time-honoured taboos which the women have to observe. Such in brief is the conflict between the African and the European conceptions of education.

#### AIMS & SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

##### (a) General Aims

Having indicated what the scope of the survey was one should also give some account of its aims. But I need not spend time on the general aims for these are already well known and have been very ably laid down in Mr. Sydney Bremer's application letter to the Native Affairs Department. Suffice it to say here that it was hoped that the survey "would provide," to quote, Mr. P.V. Tobias, "training and education for students, would enable them to discuss their problems with one another and would give them an opportunity to do original research."

##### (b) Specific aims of the cultural survey

It is interesting to note that despite the ever-encroaching and increasing process of Westernization. There are still some elements of indigenous African culture which still persist. The cultural survey set out to attempt to throw some light on this trend by finding out which cultural elements have persisted and which are disappearing. More attention was given to such items as tribal affiliations and customs, religious and magical rites, folk-lore and legends, songs and dances, and home industries.

#### AREA SURVEYED & DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED

Ndabakazi, in the Butterworth district, east of the Kei River, was the area selected. This area as has been indicated in the paper dealing with the history of the Fingoes and the establishment of Fingo reserves was set aside as on the Fingo reserves in the Transkei by Sir Philip Wodehouse 'way back in the 1870's. This was chiefly the result of missionary influence, particularly of those representing Methodism, and was also in the nature of an expedient to meet the frontier problem which had vexed Governors for decades.

The people of Ndabakazi, therefore, early came under the influence of Western civilization via the missionaries. Their tribal traditions consequently did not find a congenial atmosphere for development. They had hardly imbibed to any considerable extent the traditions and customs of the Gcalekas themselves when they were brought under the British rule in 1835. For they had been with the Xhosas for seven years only. Transplanted from their home of birth, bitterly alienated from the Xhosa, and thoroughly drilled in the Christian ethics, their traditions could hardly gain root.

Their early contact with Europeans therefore has profoundly affected the culture of the Fingoes. There are hardly any elements of Fingo indigenous culture; such things as beads and other artifacts are barely found.

It is even difficult to ascertain the authenticity of the information for the population is a strange mixture of a few and scattered red-

blanketed, and then those who are not Christians but who put on European clothes, and whom the local Africans call, in derision, amaCoBabatyi (those who turn their jackets inside-out), and finally those who call themselves Christians. These may further be divided into those who do nothing more than merely profess their faith and those who are actually active members of the Church. Information coming from sources such as these more often than not leaves one baffled as to what is bitterly to be the truth. It is sometimes difficult to check the identity of the informant himself.

This situation was accentuated by the fact that our stay at Nda6akazi was very short, only a matter of three weeks. Within such a short time it is difficult for one to make the very necessary acquaintance with one's informants, and therefore the achievement must be very slight.

Our difficulties in this connection were further complicated by the fact that at the time we were out at Nda6akazi the people had caught the wave of scepticism of Bunga representation and suspicion due to the Government's Reclamation Scheme, which was prevailing all over the Transkei.

## THE REPORT

### ARTS AND CRAFTS.

"The crafts are a means of artistic expression and of education", says Monica Hunter in "Reaction to Conquest" (17) As we have already indicated in the introduction to this report there is hardly anything left of indigenous African Culture at Ndačakazi. In the matter of arts and crafts too, the place is seriously lacking. This is the result of early contact with the Europeans who introduced their manufactures which destroyed Native crafts to a considerable extent. We saw, for instance, no specimens of such crafts as pottery and iron work.

There is, however, evidence of the arts of thatching and basket work. The Fingoes at Ndačakazi build thatched mud-walled huts. The majority of these are round; but there is also a good number of rectangular houses, some with as many as five rooms. This, we were told, is a recent innovation, the direct result of contact with Europeans. Men and women participate in the cutting of grass and in thatching huts. But the sewn techniques, learned from Europeans are done by men, while the women do the old thatching technique. The women also plaster the walls with mud (udaka), while the men cut sods and build with sods or bricks. There are men who are experts in making and building with sods and bricks and in the sewn technique. A number of houses, especially the rectangular ones have a zinc roofing.

Work parties (amalima) are organised to cut the grass or to plaster huts.

Household utensils include sleeping mats, baskets, brooms, pots, beer strainers, milk buckets, spoons, plates, etc. Mats, grain baskets, brooms and grass beer strainers are woven by the women. There is no evidence of pottery.

The men make yokes and skeys necessary for ploughing and sledges for drawing grain and also "reims" for yoking. They also make wooden pipes with elaborate designs. There are men who are experts in this craft.

### MUSIC, DANCES, AND SONGS.

There is hardly any indigenous music to speak of - there are no native instruments. One or two indigenous songs are still being composed by herd-boys. There is a preponderance of church and school songs and a number of songs composed by African musicians using the European idiom. There are some choirs which with proper training, might improve considerably. Adulterated indigenous music appears especially at wedding ceremonies. Any traditional music that does exist in the area is a mimic when compared to, say the indigenous music found in the adjacent districts of Kentani where the Gcaleka group lives; where the music possesses the vitality of its people.

### TRIBAL AFFILIATIONS AND TRIBAL RELATIONS

The area is a Fingo area. There is a predominance of the Zizis, the Skosanas, and the Beles. There are, however, a few Xhosa imizi, e.g. the Mpingas. It was very interesting to note that these have almost completely lost their tribal identity and become assimilated into the Fingo community. It was pointed out to us that they are disclaiming all affiliations with the Xhosa. When the subject of Xhosa traditions was broached with a view to gauging their reaction, they did not beam with that pride which is characteristic of the Xhosa when their national sentiments are touched. We did not find any traces of the well known conflicts between the Fingo and the Xhosa elsewhere. This suggested to us that where less play is made upon these tribal differences they tend to die out. There is no need for the Fingo to find scapegoats among the Xhosa upon whom to pour their bottled up animosities, which arise from the frustrations imposed by a colour-caste society. And in anycase the Xhosas are numerically negligible.

### TRIBAL AUTHORITY AND THE BUNGA

The position of chiefs cannot be examined apart from the Bunga, which has taken over much of the work traditionally performed by chiefs and which is dominated by Government Officials such as magistrates or Native Commissioners. There are no chiefs as such at Ndačakazi even in the limited sense of the word such as when it is applied to chief Poto of the Pondo. There are headmen some of whom are loosely called "chiefs".

The general consensus of opinion regarding the Bunga seems to be that this institution should be done away with, since, it is felt, it does not serve the interests of the people, apart from minor things like scholarships which it offers to students. This, however, is nothing that one need make a lot of noise about, since it is not nearly enough for the needs of the people; and in any case the money comes ultimately from their own meagre resources. Some say that they find it difficult to throw the Bunga by the board, since they accepted it at the beginning. One man said, "You cannot divorce your wife until you have produced sufficient evidence to convince the divorce Officer". The implication here, of course, is that what may be very good reasons from the point of view of Africans to throw off the Bunga may not necessarily be acceptable to or regarded as such by those primarily responsible for the existence of this institution.

The "educated" cannot help the rank and file out of this terrible impasse either, since they are amenable to bribes: "Basuka 6afakwe epokothweni engaphakathi ye batyi" (they are simply put in the inside pocket of the jacket), or, as one informant put it, "Umntu ofundileyo uthi skuthi thu agityiselwe nge litye, asuke atshonele anga6uye aphinde avele-eli litye lingatha". (As soon as an educated man comes out to do active work for his people a stone is thrown at him and he withdraws never to show up again - this stone is a piece of fat).

In many aspects the people feel that the Bunga is doing more harm than good. Instead of conceiving itself with the welfare of the people it is busy conspiring against them with its Reclamation Schemes, heavy taxation, ect.

The "Chief" being a member of the Bunga, pointed out our informants is of no use to his people. He is only a servant of the Government, must ponder to its dictates, and like all the other Bunga members receives some remuneration from the Government in order that he should "Ayokulo6a ezinye intlanzi ezidada ngaphezulu (fish out some more of the fish that are floating on the surface) because "6ase6enzela izisu za6o neza6antwana 6a6o (they work for their own good and that of their own children) What they do is to come back to the people to tell them lies after some caucus meeting with Government officials with whom they bunga (talk things in private) things. The "Chief", our informant contended, is merely a Government official, a puppet, proved for instance by the fact that he was not at the funeral we attended - he was flirting with other Government officials at Butterworth.

The fact that the people agreed that their chiefs should be members of the Bunga was seriously regretted by our informants, since the chiefs cannot simultaneously form part of the machinery of Government institutions such as the Bunga, and remain faithful and loyal to their people. One of the two must be sacrificed in favour of the other; and in this case the people have been sacrificed. The Bunga has usurped the power of the chief and chieftainship is in fact a dead institution. All that remains now is a myth and a sop. "If you are wealthy, "one informant declared, "You are a chief yourself - only wealth and not heredity counts today". This throws some light on the trend of development which things have taken as a result of contact with western culture with its emphasis on wealth as a symbol of status.

Our informants felt that the "Chief" (who is actually a headman at Nda6akazi) together with the other Bunga members invariably misrepresent the views of the people at Bunga sessions. Hence an organization called the Vigilance Society has sprang up to serve as a check on Bunga representatives and to educate public opinion. This Vigilance Society (Iliso lomzi) is in the nature of a political society, has come to exist at the initiative of the people themselves, and given an active and understanding personnel might well serve to ventilate the views of the people and possibly act in their interest, not only in spite of the fact that it does not have any recognized place in the official administration of the area, but perhaps because of that very fact, because of the fact of remuneration from Government sources, which more often than not has blunted the temper of many an honest African leader. Just how much power the chief has lost to the European Administration in relation to control over land will be clear when we deal with land tenure.

#### TENDENCIES IN FAMILY LIFE

The system of land tenure prevailing at Nda6akazi is not conducive to the stability of family life, especially of the extended family. On the

average each umzi is entitled to land to the extent of 5 morgen. The area itself is a surveyed area. The 5 morgen of land is very little and a big umzi cannot possibly subsist on it. This has resulted in a number of sons migrating to the urban areas with their families. Where they have asked for some land. They are usually given building sites, not necessarily near their fathers' imizi. The imizi are small and this subdivision has resulted in the weakening of kinship bonds and strengthening of territorial ones. As Monica Hunter says in "Reaction to Conquest" (13), "The more kinship imizi subdivide the more kinship bonds tend to be replaced by ties binding neighbours".

The parents soon lose control over their children, especially their sons who soon become bread winners and therefore important men with a great deal of authority; and when they marry, of course, they are almost completely lost. Parents complain that this young generation is lacking in obedience.

#### RELIGION AND MAGIC.

The Area is predominantly Christian. During our limited stay we could not gather any data on the degree to which ancestor cult has persisted. There were, however, some reports of sacrifices made to the ancestors, such as the killing of goats at the birth of a child and cattle on behalf of some important deceased relatives.

One day we came across a magical rite being performed when an ox had been struck by lightning. When we asked what was happening our informant said, "Inkosi idlalile" (the Almighty had played). The ox had been buried and isingoma (a diviner) was called who advised that they should get ixhwele (a specialist in medicines) to strengthen (ukuqinisa) the people in the vicinity, and to heed off further calamity from this source. Everybody, including children, was incised (ukuqatshulwa). A sheep was killed and eaten and some medicine was shared out among the neighbours to strengthen their homes by putting it in the ground at certain strategic points, and around their homes, such as gardens, cattle kraals, etc. This medicine was black. There was also a pot full of medicine for washing. It was further reported that in a concluding ceremony the following week people would be given medicine for cleansing their stomachs and some for washing. When we inquired, one informant told us that if one could pay a sum to the extent of £50, one could be taught the art of manipulating lightning; the £50 to be paid after a successful demonstration.

From this instance and other verbal reports it would seem that despite their long history of European influence, the Fingo at Ndaakazi still retain belief in the efficacy of magic, and the power of the departed to influence the destiny of the living.

#### INITIATION SCHOOLS.

The Fingo, like the Xhosa from whom they differ in no significant respect, still observe initiation, especially of boys. This still persists despite the tradition of Christianity in the area. Unlike the Pondo (17), the Fingo have not discarded circumcision. But we did not see any initiation ceremonies, since December is not the season for such; the season being autumn. We were informed, however, that boys attending school at such institutions as Lovedale and Healdtown usually undergo initiation during the holidays either in June or in December. Obviously even this has lost much of its traditional complexion.

We were told by our informant that the initiation of girls at puberty (intonjane) had long disappeared and that if it did occur at all it did so in very isolated cases and in any case had lost much of its traditional value and complexity. Below we give a brief account of a girl's initiation (Intonjane) as given to us by an old man:

Intonjane is the initiation of girls at puberty, when they menstruate for the first time. The girl is secluded for two weeks or so. It is an admission into adult life. Two girls wait upon intonjane (that is the girl who is being ukuthonjiswa - one who undergoes this initiation rite). These two girls must be blood relatives. They prepare food for her. Only relatives may eat intonjane food, others would be endangered. The other girls who spend the time with her have their food prepared separately. She eats meat mainly, an animal being killed for her every Saturday. There is a special portion of the meat reserved for her. She may not go out of the intonjane hut except in the evening; for she must not be seen.

Should any intruder insist on wanting to see her or talk to her, the two attendants report the matter to the elders, who take it up seriously.

Among the Hlubi there is no apportioning of girls among the boys of their age in the evenings such as is found among the Xhosa; and apparently no obscenity of language in speech or song. Our informer seemed very proud of this fact.

When time of seclusion expires the girls and the young men run to a river to wash themselves; girls return home singing. Best runners among the young men are selected to chase three or four fast running oxen to race with the girls for a certain distance. They then assemble in the inkundla. The rest kneel while the intonjane and the two attendants remain standing. Then a young man chosen for his oratorical gifts, sings praises of the girl and then takes hold of a spear and ukugxumeka (to throw it into the ground) it in front of the girl and goes off. Some of the people stand up and talk and tell her of her new status. Unlike the Xhosa again the Hlubi do not ukungqungqa (to dance a girl's dance). This according to the account given by our informant completed the cycle of activities which characterized the initiation of girls at puberty in the traditional setting of the Fingo.

### MARRIAGE.

#### The Preliminaries.

The system of marriage too has undergone great changes in keeping with the other aspects of the life of the Fingo people at Nda6akazi. Our informants told us that there was no individual choice of a marriage partner on the part of the young according to the traditional system. The man's people would go to the girl's home to negotiate marriage. If accepted they agreed on the spot on the number of cattle that should pass. The number ranged from ten to twenty. These cattle did not necessarily pass all before the marriage took place. They could be paid by instalments over a long period. Hence the saying "umyeni lu lwandle" (the bridegroom is the sea) implying that you could always expect to get cattle from him.

#### The Ceremony.

A6ayeni (a group of young men) go to the bride's home to ask for uduli (the bridal party). On reaching the place they are allocated a special hut and are given umathulanta6eni (a special beast slaughtered for them) - a goat or sheep. One informant, however, said it could be an ox or cow, but not any of the lo6ola cattle. They remain there until the meat is finished, after which they proceed to the groom's home. In the meantime they have to pay isazimzi and uswazi (now two bottles of brandy.) (It is not clear what form these took traditionally, that is, before the introduction of brandy). They then discuss the business and some more killings of beasts take place. The a6ayeni remain at the bride's home for three or four days. Then the girl ukuyalwa (to be admonished) and a6akhozi 6aya6olekwa (the groom's people are lent the girl.) They also have to pay isishu6elo (Napkin). (This implies that they have to pay for the napkins that were used when the girl was still young) Then a statement of health and virginity of the girl is made by the spokesman. Prior to this some three or four women have to inspect the girl in order to testify her virginity.

Uduli then proceed to the groom's home. They too receive umathulanta6eni. (It must be noted that Ukuthula enta6eni is to bring something down from a mountain). Then again the representatives of both sides settle down to some business and further killings of beasts follow. This lasts anything from two to three weeks during which period the groom does not see the bride. Young men come along and pay tributes to talk to girls. They ukuphimisa (to make love) and ukumetsha (to sweetheart).

It is here that dancing takes place. The men ukududa. The girls ukungqungqa and the women ukuyiyizela (to acclaim), while the young men, as our informant put it, stare at the girls who wear short costumes for the occasion with their thighs uncovered, 6evuziza amathe (with watering mouths) The women then point out to these young men that if they waste their money on trivial matters and not buy cattle for lo6ola they will never get such attractive girls. The men dance practically naked except for izidla (penis covers - little skin bags) with long amandyilo (protruding piece of skin) reaching to the ground.

Towards the end of the ceremony girls and young men go to a near river to wash. When they come back girls dress up and then assemble enkundleni (in the forum) with the bride between two other girls. One of these takes ucingo

(a wire ring) and puts it on uxhanti (a post at the cattle kraal entrance) and if the father of the bride is a rich man and unamabongo (is proud of his girl) an additional pound is put there. Unlike the Xhosa the Hlu6i have no throwing of umkhonto (a spear) by the bride into a cattle kraal.

After all this follows the payment of £10 for inkundla and £8 for amankazana (the married daughters of the home) a pound having been paid on the day of arrival - imali yendevu (money for the beard). Then admonitions follow and finally umsino (a form of dance).

On the last day the bride accompanies uduli away and returns to her new home where she is told about the observances of the place.

#### CHANGES:

Our informer pointed out that later the young man would be advised that there was a young girl somewhere whom he might marry. He would then pay her visits, negotiate with her, and after which he would come back and report on the results to the parents, who, if the results were favourable, would then follow the above sketched procedure. One other point of interest from our informant's report is his emphasis on the fact that what constituted the marriage contract in olden days was the actual consummation of the marriage and not merely the passing of cattle.

In his criticism of modern marriages he pointed out that traditionally there was no possibility of a divorce (which of course is not true). He still prefers customary marriages to Christian because the latter are unstable.

#### LAND TENURE.

Under the traditional system of land tenure the land was held by the chief in trust for the whole tribe. We need not go into the ramifications of this system here for it is already well known from literature dealing with the system of land tenure among other tribes such as the Pondo (17).

At present the land is largely surveyed and arable land is held under perpetual quitrent. The average area for a family is five morgen for which an annual rental of fifteen shillings is paid. Should, say two years elapse without payment being made, then the tenant is ejected and the land reverts to the administration and is "sold" to any one in need of land and is in a position to pay for £3:10:-. after which the usual annual rental of 15/- is paid in perpetuity.

Since the land is definitely too small to be able to cater for the needs of the reserve population, there is naturally a number of persons who go without land, who hardly have anything to eat at all, and who either have to depend upon the mercies of their not-so-wonderfully-well-off fellowmen or are forced out of the reserve to seek employment elsewhere. And so they join the general stream of migrant labourers who hardly have any home to boast of either in the reserves or urban areas, with the known repercussions on family life.

Grazing and, in many cases, residential land is the property of the South African Native Trust. The residential plots are held under a certificate of occupation obtained on application from the Native Commissioner. Some few residential plots - those allocated in 1906-8 - are still held under title.

#### Change of Residence.

The change of residence from one area to another is an elaborate and cumbersome process requiring a lot of red-tape. One has first of all to apply to the local Native Commissioner for permission to change, giving reasons and indicating the size of the family and the amount of stock he intends taking with him. The application is then referred to the Native Commissioner of the district to which one intends to transfer, while the latter is furnished with a pass to proceed to the district to apply for land (if any) to the headman, and the Native Commissioner for admission to the district. If accepted by him the headman refers the matter to the Native Commissioner who may recommend the applicant to the chief Magistrate or reject him as the case may be. If he passes through all this process he is then declared removed, but he must not bring along with him any stock to a district that is overstocked. He has to dispose of it. This, of course, is all of a piece with the general policy of stock limitation and

a fine way of dealing with a man who is pressed for accommodation.

Although our very limited stay at Nda6akazi may in some measure, affect the authenticity of the foregoing facts, yet from them and from others verging more on the medical, the economic, and other aspects of the whole survey, many a vital inference can be drawn. The following section of our report deals with some of the conclusions.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS.

##### The Effects of the History of the Fingo

Of all the Nguni groups the Fingo are probably the most keenly susceptible to the influences of Western Civilization. This no doubt is the direct result of the circumstances of their history. As our excursion into this history will show, it is stated that in their early contact with the Xhosa they received a severe treatment as a foreign element until they were delivered from this plight by the Europeans, who won the Fingo over and fought on the same side with many of them in some of the so-called Kaffir Wars. These relations resulted in the Fingo swearing eternal loyalty to the King promising to educate their children and to uphold Christianity. From their "benefactors" and "deliverers" they received aid and "protection".

This has created a gulf between these two Nguni groups despite their community of language, cultural idiom and of interests generally. The myth of "slavery" and "emancipation" has been bolstered up by many pseudo-psychological characterizations and other devices which point to supposed temperamental differences between the Xhosa on the one hand and the Fingo on the other.

The psychological apart from the social effects of this state of affairs are obvious. Tradition it must be remembered is associated with the pride and prestige of the group and is boosted up only in so far as it serves to satisfy the fundamental desires for prestige and status. But the Xhosa-Fingo tradition as crystallized in history places the Fingo at a disadvantage. It relegates them to a position of subordinates who were at the mercy of the dominant Xhosa. The advent of the Europeans created a new tradition in which the Fingo are represented as a rising group emerging from slavery, humiliation and depredation - the evils of the preceding epoch. Thus the Fingo naturally washed off this trying period as an unpleasant dream; and the tendency became more and more in the direction of animosity where the Xhosa were concerned and amicability with the Europeans. The Fingo felt themselves exalted to a position of superiority, since they were the first to be initiated into the superior culture of the Europeans, while the bellicose Xhosa still remained stubbornly recalcitrant. This was made all the more easier by the fact that the Fingo were, in any case, a transplanted group whose roots lay in Natal.

On the other hand the Xhosa became indignant against what they considered a betrayal and show of ingratitude. The idea has been carried down as a tradition until today it influences not only the relations between the Xhosa and the Fingo but also those between them and the Europeans in their present relative positions. There is still the tendency on the part of the Xhosa to receive the Fingo in their organisations, especially where national issues are involved, with mixed feelings. So many stereotypes have characterised the Xhosa-Fingo relations. The Xhosa still find it difficult to trust a renegade people who might once again treacherously sabotage their struggles. Similarly, the tendency on the part of the Fingo to feel inimical towards and contemptuous of the Xhosa still persists. They still cannot be altogether reconciled to the idea of meeting on an equal footing with their cultural inferiors and traditional thieves, onyawo lise hlathini (those whose feet are in the forest) as they call them in derision.

The tradition of Ntsikana, the much revered Xhosa "prophet" and his supposed premonitions regarding the Xhosa-Fingo relations and the experiences of the Xhosa with the Western civilization, have done much to widen the gap between these two Nguni groups. Ntsikana, the Xhosa assert, had prophesied against the acceptance of the Fingo, for this foredoom and ruin forever the power of the Xhosa. Hence the tendency on the part of the Xhosa to ascribe the reasons ~~the~~ for their present unenviable position to the diluting and disintegrating influence of the Fingo element, which is subversive of Xhosa autonomy. It is alleged that the Government displays preference for the Fingo, proved by the fact that the latter occupy almost all the better positions in Government services. The Xhosa, like all groups of human beings, are a racially conscious and proud people, yet it is not uncommon to see social and tribal sentiments sacrificed before economic considerations. Hence one sometimes finds members of the Xhosa tribe finding it difficult whether or not to adopt a Fingo clan name before a public official.

One of the social effects of these relations; of Fingo and Xhosa tribal celebrations; of the emphasis laid on racial differences between these two tribes by official and other documents, is to keep the Xhosa and the Fingo perpetually apart and at loggerheads. This in its turn serves to undermine their unity even in the face of common disabilities.

## CHRISTIANITY:

The Christian civilization has a history of about seventy years at Ndabakazi and therefore must have had a tremendous effect on the life of the people during that period. But it is practically impossible for us to draw any definite conclusions regarding the extent and the direction of this influence, in view of our very short stay in the area. This is particularly true of such aspects as morality and religion. It is difficult to assess the degree to which African morality has been affected by contact with the Western conceptions of morality and western culture generally. That every society has a morality of its own which is not different from the nature of the society as it is constituted is a fact, we need hardly emphasize. Thus a society in a state of change will have a morality reflecting this trend. From a study of a given culture therefore one can decide more or less correctly the standards of morality that will prevail in that culture. But this involves a thoroughgoing study of the other aspects of the culture which interest and finally give rise to the accepted code of morality. The dangers, however, that lie in the tendency to draw very wild and superficial inferences on the basis of this approach are legion. And in a society in transition such as the African society, where so many startling dangers hit one in the eye, one has to be even more careful not to be carried away by one's biases. Repeated observations are essential to check upon this danger and time is of paramount importance. In view of the limitations imposed upon us largely by the factor of time we are at best left with a number of generalisations and tentative conclusions in regard to matters such as morality and so on.

It is interesting to compare an African who has lived in this Christian area ever since he was born with the African, say at Kentani where the influence of the Christian civilisation is still very light. If one takes a cruise round from Ndabakazi to Mazeppa Bay, one passes through beautiful country; and as one meanders through Kentani one cannot fail to observe the strange and sweet indifference of the willow trees weeping peacefully on the river banks; and across the landscape lies valley after valley, mountain after mountain, and a procession of natural vegetation and cultivated lands; and then a plain with a cluster of huts neatly arrayed as if by the hand of an artist. And out of these pigmy structures of wattle and daub will emerge a sculptured ebony - a stately Gcaleka man scantily attired; yet peacock-like stalking the joyous earth with princely decorum. Or a Gcaleka woman, a paragon of natural, shy and simple beauty, decked up in her native regalia - a long and heavy skirt, red-washed with clay and gently kissing the ground, a richness of beadwork all round - all the paraphernalia that goes into the making of this costume. And perhaps puffing a long pipe, which lends all that grace and dignity: that gentle poise and self-confidence which are typical of these people in their natural environment, free from feelings of insecurity, frustration, guilt, and all manner of anxiety, so characteristic of our western European culture at the height of its glory and corruption with its neurotic personalities.

Ndabakazi presents a different picture. Here you have perfect examples of the lower caste character in a bourgeois colour-caste society. You find people hopelessly imbued with the doctrine of predestination and steeped in the thought of original sin, people who have lost all confidence in their power to improve their lot in the face of these eternal truths. Frustrated and disillusioned, they accept their position with philosophical resignation. Their aggressive impulses which arise out of frustration are drained along the usually accepted channels in a colour-caste society - self-hatred, intra-family conflicts, and so on and so forth. All these are accommodation techniques which the lower caste character employs in his attempt to adjust himself to his position in a colour-caste society, such as we have in South Africa. Ndabakazi with its long tradition of Christian influence offers us classic examples of this lower caste character.

## TRENDS IN FAMILY LIFE:

The stability and cohesion of family life is rapidly paling before the forces of Westernisation. The Christian community is an exclusively Christian community, and thus we find definite lines of tension between Christians and non-Christians. Sometimes, the wife and not the husband, is Christian in the home. In such a home the husband may want to organise a beer party for some reason or other. The wife has to brew the beer, but being a Christian, a member of the Church which condemns beer, she finds it difficult to agree to this. But then there is the obligation to be loyal to one's husband; and sometimes her own unconscious belief that the ancestral spirits desire to have beer brewed on their behalf (if this is the reason given for brewing the beer) to expiate one calamity or another, she is thus bound by her duties and the stage is set for a conflict.

At other times only the children are associated with the Church and this because they attend one school or another. Thus not only do we find conflicts between husbands and wives but also between parents and children. While Christianity says, "Honour thy father and thy mother", yet there seems to be some doubt whether this must include non-Christian parents as well. But there is also the prevailing conventional idea that children must love their parents. Here again we find ourselves in the jaws of a conflict-producing situation. On the psychological side the ground is well prepared for the development of a neurosis, while on the sociological side the road is paved for the instability of the family and disintegration generally.

The fact too that children quite at an early age often leave their homes to seek employment in urban areas where they are able to earn money themselves, definitely calls for a re-definition of the areas and extent of filial loyalty in terms of the new status which the children have acquired by virtue of their economic position. The parents tend to depend on their children financially and not the other way round. And this, of course, is bound to affect the attitudes within the family. This is perhaps one of the sources from which the parents common complaints about the disobedient generation derives.

#### EDUCATION:

The degree of acceptance of western conceptions of education seems to be fairly high. Many of our informants said that it was the desire of many people to avail of their children of all the opportunities of education at their disposal and within their reach. But poverty has often been the stumbling block. Whilst a scheme of compulsory education would not be unacceptable still one would have to reckon with the poor people who would not be able to buy books, clothes, etc. for their children. Thus we have some of the impediments imposed by a colour-caste society interfering with the tempo of the process of acculturation.

The keen interest that the people take in the education of their children is reflected in their attitude towards the role of the church in education. According to the opinion of the Magistrate at Butterworth, Mr Leppan, there is a steady anti-missionary feeling among the African especially in regard to the missionaries' connection with educational matters. The result is that where new schools have been started even at the instance of the church, of late the suggestion has always been that the actual control must be in the hands of a Capital Board of Trustees consisting of the Native Commissioner, Inspector of Schools, Native Headmen or Chiefs and a representative of the church body (if sponsored by the church) which has been instrumental in the establishment of such a school. The insistence is on the fact that the control must not be dominated by any particular church.

#### MEDICAL SERVICES:

On the whole the people of Ndabakazi do not seem to have any strong faith in African doctors whose time, as some informants said, has passed. The trend here is therefore in the direction of an increasingly more interest being taken in the Western techniques of dealing with the sick. But here as elsewhere we find some stark material factors standing on the way and hindering the progress of the process of assimilation.

The state of medical services at Ndabakazi is one of the most illuminating illustrations of what can happen in Native Reserves. From its long historical background of European and missionary influence, Ndabakazi, one would expect, to be more in advance of the other Native Reserves in the matter of medical facilities. But this is not the case. People have to travel the whole 12 miles from the Reserves to Butterworth to see a doctor. There is no visiting doctor or nurse, no clinic, no midwife. The one nurse who had been stationed at Cunningham had been dismissed. Our informants pointed out that there was a high rate of mortality generally and that children die at birth; there were also frequent cases of difficult delivery. And they regretted that there was no doctor or midwife on the spot.

This indicates how far the people have developed in this direction for it is common among the more traditionally-minded Africans to ascribe many such cases either to witchcraft or to the wrath of the ancestral spirits aroused by some unfulfilled obligation and requiring a beast to be slaughtered or some sacrifice to be made to placate them and to expiate the guilt. It requires a high degree of sophistication on the part of an African to appreciate the services of a trained midwife. Many members of the old generation still find it very revolting to think of a girl, a mere child, tempering with such highly tabooed matters as birth. There cannot be anything more improper according to their standards.

The degree of acculturation in this connection is well reflected in the following remarks by one of our informants: "You have to go to East London or elsewhere to get work because the land is not sufficiently for our subsistence. When you get there you receive news that your wife or child is ill. Because of a better medical facilities in towns you are sometimes forced to close your house and transport the whole family to town.

In the meantime your fields suffer. Alternatively, you are forced to return home to see to their medical attention, which implies either hiring a car to Butterworth, calling an ambulance for which you pay 2/- a mile for conveying the sick person by sledge or ox-wagon. This disorganises your working activities, while the taxes still press hard, and is detrimental to the health of the people.

This throws light not only on the state of medical services in the area, the degree of the people's acceptance of the treatment of the sick, but it also gives an indication of some of the evils of migrancy.

Mr Leppan's pessimism and his reasons for it, about the effort of the Department of Health and the National War Memorial Health Foundation to establish a community and a health centre in the district of Butterworth seem hardly justified. His views are merely recorded here but not examined: the reserve Natives are rural in outlook and have little idea of health; they do not need such things as Creches, Kindergartens, which are necessary in urban areas. An ordinary rural clinic would be of much service to the Natives.

#### THE REHABILITATION SCHEME & STOCK LIMITATION:

One of the most burning questions today in the Transkei as in the Ciskei is the Rehabilitation scheme which is bound up with and is the child of the shortage of land. Its basic factors are the further subdivision of the land, the limitation of stock, the creation of village settlements in rural areas, and the transformation of about 80% of the reserve population into industrial workers, working for Europeans. This in effect implies depriving the Reserve Natives not only of the unenviable privilege to occupy land under the quit-rent system of land tenure with its perpetual insecurity, but also of even the ordinary emotional satisfaction which a man can derive from the sheer pleasure of gazing upon cattle, goats, sheep, pigs and a few fowls which he can call his. Hence the spirited opposition the people put up against the encroachments of the rehabilitation scheme upon these little and yet dear pleasures. Even Mr. Gordingly, the Chairman of the Rehabilitation scheme Committee, with his dogged determination to carry out the scheme, realises the difficulties and reluctance with which the Africans will let go their stock and title deeds (those who have any). But this will not daunt him since the scheme must be put into operation. And to this end he and his committee have abandoned "the policy of appeasement" which they followed at first. In short the reserve native is being forced, perhaps with good intentions, to give up even the modicum of rights which he still enjoys despite perpetual insecurity. All the Natives must now be herded into village settlements where they can always be at the disposal of the exploiter of labour. The Textile Factory near Kingwilliamstown with its grandiloquent name of Zwelitsha (a new world) is but one feature in the whole system of deprivation and exploitation.

The people of Ndabakazi point out that away back in 1938 they collected money with a view to fencing their cultivated lands. But this was returned to them by the powers that be who instead offered to undertake the task of fencing themselves. But the advent of war in 1939 suspended the activities. The scheme was accepted since it promised advantages. It meant, among other things, that the children would now attend school without being tied down to looking after cattle. They were soon to learn, however, what the real meaning of the scheme is. For now the Rehabilitation scheme threatens to cut down their stock, take away their title deeds, subdivide the already inadequate land and even remove whole houses. The surveyor sword runs in a groove, brooks no opposition and on its way lies a galaxy of crumbled houses and bereaved persons.

Thus the scheme is obviously not in the interests of the people for the satisfaction of whose needs it is ostensibly intended, and some of their objections centre around the following points: First of all they are opposed to it because of its cohesive nature. Secondly the limitation of stock will be detrimental to customary rights and sacrifices. Goats which are usually sacrificed at child birth and on other ritual occasions, were cited as examples. People now have to travel long distances in an attempt to secure goats which have become more expensive in proportion as they have become scarcer. It is customary too among the Africans to assist those friends and relatives who are without stock. This is one of the elements in African culture which has survived in spite of contact with the Western culture with its individualism and competition. The Rehabilitation scheme is a deathnail to any outlet for the expression of such an altruistic spirit. Furthermore, the people point out that stock is their savings bank upon which they can always rely in times of need. And the fact that anyone should interfere with what they regard as their private rights is resented. "Who would tell the European to give up his bank"? they ask. And the analogy is significant. It implies that cattle are still regarded as an important item in the economic life of an African notwithstanding the impact of money. The persistence of the emphasis on cattle as the basic economic factor or symbol of wealth among the Africans despite surrounding industrialisation, is largely the result of the fact that the African has never been admitted fully into the purview of Western culture. It is no mere question

of "selective conservative" here such as social anthropologists have often postulated. It is an eloquent expression of present relationship between Africans and Europeans. In the industrial and other fields the African is invariably underpaid either because he does not know how to make use of money or because he has his cattle in the reserves with which to supplement. And then of course there are all sorts of discriminations and restrictions making it impossible for Africans to participate fully in industry. Lastly, the cutting down of stock will have serious effects on lobola, which will have to be paid in money exclusively. But then the money is not forthcoming either, since the limitation of stock on the one hand does not imply the raising of wages for Africans on the other. The effect is to further dispossess them and hence to impoverish them the more.

One of the manifestations of how determined the Native Affairs Department is to pursue this scheme is the existence in the Butterworth district of a Rehabilitation Camp where all the culled cattle are dumped and kept for three months after which they must be disposed of whether the owners will it or not. This is what Mr Gordingly means by "abandoning the policy of appeasement".

#### MIGRANT LABOUR:

The importance of migratory labour cannot be <sup>over</sup>emphasized in a study of culture change. We need not reiterate the causes of migratory labour, for these are very well known. Suffice it to say here that shortage of land and pressing taxation are among the chief ones.

Apart from the importation of new values and diseases from the urban areas by migrant labourers, the effects of the phenomenon on family life are serious. Our informants said it was not their desire to leave their families behind and go to towns to seek employment. For this, they said, undermines discipline in the home. One informant related how after the death of her husband and the annex of her eldest son both of whom had been the breadwinners, and were working - the father on the railways and the son in Capetown - her two younger sons were forced to leave school in order to work and pay off the debts owing by their father to traders, etc. They both went to Capetown.

Apart from pressing economic needs at the homes, there are in the Reserves recruiting agencies who feed the youth with visions of prosperity on the Mines. This is contributory to the volume of migrant labour.

It is not our task here to supply an analysis of the effects of migrant labour nor to give direction to the solution of the problem. For we feel that that falls within the field of Sociological Survey. We merely put our conviction in a nutshell. The urbanisation of the African is a prerequisite to the final solution of the problem of migrant labour.

We might close this discussion by saying that if we accept the fact that the culture-contact situation with its attendant problems is a legitimate field for study; if we accept the fact that culture is itself dynamic, then we must study the African in his present-day context. We need not engage in attempts to reconstruct his past except in so far as it has a bearing on present problems. For any attempt to rake up the past is not only liable to hinder the process of acculturation, but also to limit the scope of research itself.

V. A CRITIQUE OF THE NUSAS SURVEY OF THE  
TRANSKEI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE  
GENERAL CULTURE GROUP.

I. INTRODUCTION.

My task is not an easy one. I have been assigned "a paper to read at the coming NUSAS Congress criticising any aspects of the organization, administration, or any other arrangements of the Transkei Survey and putting forward recommendations for the future." These are wide terms of reference, and even the grudging limitation that I am to focus my "attention more on to the General Culture Group" can hardly be regarded as a mitigating factor. For one thing the conception of "culture" which NUSAS has is rather vague, and even without being vague the term "culture" itself has so many connotations in modern usage that it is hard to know just what is meant by it except when it is used by sociologists and social anthropologists. This, however, does not imply that there are no anthropologists or sociologists in NUSAS. Moreover the General Culture Group would appear to be a residual group where all those other aspects which do not properly belong to any of the other groups can find a home. Be that as it may, I shall endeavour to carry the burden in the hope that what I say may be useful to this body, even if it merely provokes discussion.

When NUSAS decided to embark on social research many thought that it was the best thing that could have happened, forgetting at the time that it might be the worst possible thing that could happen. In making this decision NUSAS, like many social scientists in this country today, must have felt the need for social research in our colour-prejudice ridden country. It must have been felt that, in the first place, research would serve as a means of bringing the undergraduate, especially in the social sciences, into closer touch with the realities of social life about which so much is heard in the sheltered atmosphere of our University classrooms. Such projects might in a sense be regarded as an extension of classroom work enabling students to do things for themselves. They would incidentally bring students from the various universities together - both European and Non-European. Secondly, social research would make it possible for students to put into practice some of the methods of social research they had been taught by their professors, and see if things turned out as they had been led to believe. They would thus be able to relate theory to practice. Thirdly, the projects themselves might yield valuable information and would thus contribute to our store of information and knowledge.

But it must be remembered that not all that one does out in the field is research. Hence it would be necessary for NUSAS to define research and distinguish it from the mere gathering of information. Once such a definition had been formulated, then we might ask ourselves if we could do research. At this point it would be well to recall an article by the late Prof. J.L.Gray entitled "Undergraduates and Social Research" which appeared in the NUSAS of April 1939. This article annoyed the students very much at that time, and possibly still does even now, because Prof Gray did not think that NUSAS could "profitably undertake such enquiries" as would result in "original contributions to scientific knowledge", which is what is to be understood by research. He felt that the undergraduates lack the training and experience which would make it possible for them to utilize scientific method to the best advantage so as to yield lasting results and make new discoveries. For social research "requires extensive knowledge of the issues to be investigated, infinite patience, adequate scale and rigorous interpretation." All of which the undergraduate lacks. Moreover, social research involves a great deal of labour in the preparation of schedules, pilot surveys and organization. It also costs money. According to Prof Gray all that NUSAS could, and should do is to arouse interest, convey information and shape outlook and policy, in other words to create and improve student public opinion." In short, NUSAS must concentrate on information-gathering - an occupation which does not require contributions of an original nature.

As I have already indicated this article annoyed NUSAS at the time. I do not know now after our experience in the Transkei that it will be as annoying to remind the students of it. Its importance for NUSAS is greater today when one hears people on many sides saying that the NUSAS Survey of the Transkei was a grand picnic. Although a number of those who say this are people who did not take part in the Survey, what they say cannot for that reason be dismissed lightly because that feeling would seem to find adherents even among those of us who went to the Transkei. The implication is that the Survey was a failure. This is a serious charge to make, and it requires some looking into. Especially as such opinions may come to form the basis for future policy. Our task therefore is to find out if the Survey achieved the aims which NUSAS had set itself, whether it conformed to the structures of scientific procedure so called, in short whether the allegations made have any foundation in fact.

Criticism.....

Criticism is, however, not concerned only with shortcomings. If it did, it would be useless. It seeks out the best also in things and indicates directions along which improvements could be effected; or, if that is not possible, suggests what reorientations in policy might be considered necessary. I believe that this is a time for frank speaking, and, although I know that people would prefer to hear what they wish to hear rather than what they should hear, I make the following remarks in the hope that they may contribute something to an enlightened discussion on this matter. An experience is of little use if we are not prepared to profit by it. Even the most adverse experience teaches us something: in fact the more adverse the experience the faster we learn provided, of course, that we survive the experience.

## II. PREPARATION FOR SURVEY.

### Aims and Objectives.

This brings me on to the very important question of objectives, for we need waste no time on aims since these are well known and have in part already been outlined above. There is need in any research project for definite objectives & rather than broad and generalised questions. One cannot hope to carry out fruitful research with ill-defined objectives. And this applies equally to "a range-finding project" (such as this Survey has at times been described), no less than to an approach to the much-debated Native Problem in an objective and scientific way .. by means of personal contact with the Native in his natural environment."

As things are, we had to study a number of scattered problems which were apparently unrelated instead of concentrating our attention on a specific problem. Such at any rate would be the task of a research project especially if it sets out to "provide training and education for students...and...an opportunity to do original research". Research, even if it is "an attempt to break down the compartmentalisation of University education" concentrates on special problems rather than on general topics. Because under each of the headings which were to be investigated, there was so much that could be done, the object of breaking down compartmentalisation would seem not to have been achieved, for groups could concentrate on specific topics without necessarily relating them to the work of any other groups. Compartmentalisation can only be broken down if a special problem is pursued in all its ramifications in the life of a community to show the inter-relations between the economic, health and nutritional, educational and other aspects of a people's life.

When one turns to the General Culture Group one finds that because of the vagueness of its terms of reference this group appears to have considered every aspect in general and nothing in particular. Even if it is admitted that its field of study is "tribal affiliations and customs, religious and magical rites, folk-lore and legends, songs and dances, and home industries", it must be evident that such things exist within a particular social milieu; they can no longer be regarded as elements of indigenous culture. For that is no longer in existence. The object of any research into these aspects of Bantu life today must, it would appear, be to find out why they continue to exist at all, and what modifications they have undergone during the process of Westernisation. And that implies a study of the whole culture.

The need for definite objectives becomes obvious if we consider the fact that in any research project we have to prepare various schedules setting out in detail the questions on which answers are needed. These questions come to form the basis of the survey. Even though they need not rigorously be followed and may even be modified as a result of experience in the field, they are essential to any well planned research project. The questions one asks are determined by the answers one requires and by the degree of specificity at which one is aiming. Schedules take time to prepare, and it is necessary that a great deal of time be devoted to them and that the members of the various groups be acquainted early with their schedules, so that they will know why they are going out into the field. It must be admitted that the amount of time which NUSAS had for preparation of any sort was extremely short. But that does not excuse the fact that individuals did not know until the last moment whether they were going to Umtata or Ndabakazi, and what it was they had to do when they got there.

So far as we are aware the Culture Group did not have any prepared plan of work; nor did any of the other groups. The Educational Group had prepared a Literacy Test which broke down in the field. This shows the need for testing out one's instruments of research in good time, at any rate before going out into the field. For in the short period of three weeks there is no time in which to prepare other tests, if one is discovered in the field. It must be said here that it is not much use going out into the field in the hope that something will turn up, for things just don't turn up.

The importance of objectives, moreover, is to be judged from the fact that the methods to be employed in the field have to be based upon what is wanted. While a

general knowledge of field methods is useful, it is necessary that once a particular area has been decided on; once a certain subject has been selected for study; once a particular population has been chosen; these methods must be studied with an eye to determining which will be best suited to the subject, the area and the people being investigated. And this, before one goes out into the field. Furthermore, with a group such as we were in the Transkei, it was essential that discussions should have gone over a long period among the members of the various groups over this matter, so that by the time they got into the field they knew exactly what it was that they were seeking, and how they were going to set about getting it. It seems a travesty of research for people to prepare questionnaires the day before they leave for the field, or in the field itself. It would be superfluous to point out that there are a number of excellent, mediocre and indifferent works by sociologists and anthropologists on field techniques.

The question of objectives is bound up also with the selection of the area in which the investigation is to be carried out. While NUSAS seems to have been guided by the principle of studying "the native in his natural state" there does not appear to be any reason why one area should have been considered more suitable than another. In any case what is "the native in his natural state?" And if one sets out to study the native in this glorious natural state, does one go out to Mntata or Ndabakazi for this purpose? Is it not rather a vain search this, for "the native in his natural state"? Does this not imply a value-judgment thus predisposing people to the assumption that other Africans are not in their natural state? One is reminded here of Westermann's injunction that "...It would be better, even for our practical purposes, to take time to study the African as he is and to start our work on him from his own standpoint instead of our own"

Anyway it would seem that the most important criterion for selecting any particular area for the study of a problem, would be the suitability of the area from the point of view of the study to be made. Moreover, a Survey so called would not confine itself to a single area, unless that area were regarded as representative or typical of the Transkei. I do not know if it can be said that Ndabakazi is typical of the Transkei, nor of "the native in his natural state". For, among other things, it is a predominantly Fingo area, whereas the rest of the Transkei is occupied by various clans of the Xhosa Group. Furthermore, Ndabakazi would appear to have been more subjected to European influences than many areas of the Transkei, and might for that reason be admirable for a study of culture-contact in the reserves, but certainly not of "the native in his natural state", if that is what we went out to study. The selection too was delayed by the Native Affairs Department withholding its sanction until 21st November 1947. With two weeks before the Survey it is surprising that NUSAS did as much work as was accomplished, even if it is negligible.

The selection of an area has also a great deal of bearing on the general preparation which must be done by those who have to take part in a research project. It is needless for me to stress the need for an extensive knowledge of the problems to be investigated. Hence it behoves those who must undertake research to study as much as they can find of the published and even unpublished literature on the subject of their research. If possible maps of all kinds should be utilised as aids in getting acquainted with the topography, climate and other features of the locale where the investigation is to take place. It cannot seriously be suggested that the students who took part in the Transkei Survey had done any extensive reading on the various subjects with which they had to deal, on the people they had to meet, and on the area in which they had to make a home for three weeks.

#### Personnel Selection.

When a team for football or tennis or any of the other games is selected, only those who can play and play well are "picked". Those who still have a great deal to learn are left to learn. We are aware of the limitations of such an analogy in the case of research workers. But like football or tennis players, the only opportunity they have of blossoming forth into fully trained research workers is by undertaking research. In selecting personnel two criteria need be mentioned: (1) whether the student is already engaged in a study of the social sciences, or is otherwise qualified to undertake work in the particular field which has to be investigated; (2) whether he is likely to profit by the experience, or, as the matter has sometimes been phrased, whether he is likely to make a good research worker. While it is true that the aim of NUSAS is to arouse student interest in social research, nevertheless care must be taken in selecting personnel. In spite of the fact that the co-operation of professors and lecturers was enlisted, there is no doubt that some "bad types" did go through the net. A third criterion might be mentioned. It seems important that in team-work at all events some considerations be given to the temperamental suitability of individuals for team-work. We have the invertebrate recluse at one extreme and the insufferable egotist at the other - types which can only work by themselves.

But in a multi-racial team, one of the most important criteria of selection should be the attitude of the student to the colour problem. For whatever NUSAS may choose to

and social inequality

profess in the matter of colour, such things as academic equality/break down in the field. For by the very nature of the work which people are forced to do, they are thrown together irrespective of their prejudices. It is especially necessary to proceed with care here, for it has to be remembered that colour is the rock upon which any multi-racial project is likely to founder. It has to be realised that even though students are supposed to forget the colour-caste situation while they are in the field, such teams are subject to the same stresses and strains that are found expressed in more blatant form in our everyday lives. It cannot seriously be suggested that White or Black students have lived down the prejudices which it happen to be their lot to acquire in a society where the White man is master and the Black man the servant. If the team is to work as a unity it must solve this question of ingrained attitude. And this can only be done if students are willing to face the issues involved in a spirit of frankness and mutual co-operation.

#### Allocation of Duties to Members

An aspect that seems to have received little attention from those who organised the Survey was the allocation of specific ~~grea~~ duties to the members of the various teams. This should be done well in advance, in fact as much in advance as the other preparations. This gives members time to concentrate on the narrower field of their particular investigations rather than on the general field which is to be covered. This does not imply that other aspects are to be ignored if one meets them in the field, but only means that more intensive study is possible only if individuals specialise as it were on various topics.

If individuals concentrate on various facets of the same problem, they are more likely to see points which need following up as they arise. We would thus have no ~~place~~ people leaving the Survey at any time they felt like doing so because they thought that they had nothing else to do or gain by staying any longer. We will return to this point later.

#### Time-Estimate

Serious consideration should be given to the time available for research. It is necessary therefore, in defining one's objectives to consider whether it will be possible within a given time to cover all the work that one has set oneself. Errors in the estimate should be allowed for. The length of time to be devoted to a research project is limited by the amount of work involved in the problems selected, that is, the scope of the objectives, the intensity of the study to be made, the availability of personnel, and, above all, by the money at one's disposal. Three weeks is a short time in which to do any serious research work, especially with the scattered objectives of the Transkei Survey. And yet a great deal can be done during that time with a team as large as we had in the Transkei.

### III. THE SURVEY.

#### Approach to Field

It is unnecessary to describe Ndagakazi, except to mention that a number of difficulties encountered were due in part to the historical background of the people, and to the fact that at the time of the Survey a wave of reaction against the Rehabilitation Scheme was sweeping the Transkei, and had already resulted in incidents in Mount Ayliff. The background of these people had been one of intrigue and scheming by missionaries concerned to divide the Fingoes from the Xhosa, and thus secure allies for colonial governments and ensure protection for the colony by the creation of Fingo reserves as buffer states. That this has had deep and lasting effects can be seen from present-day relations of Xhosa and Fingoes. The reaction against the Rehabilitation Scheme might have the effect of turning otherwise useful information into useless propaganda. Three weeks, however, is not a long time in which to establish reliable contacts so that one can check one's information and informants.

It is not only necessary for students to know the prejudices which the people in their field are likely to cherish, but also to know their own prejudices as students. It is not impossible that one's researches may be coloured by one's prejudices. As Westermann says, "...the amateur may succumb the temptation of looking at things from the point of view of his own preconceived ideas, and the objectiveness of his statements will be endangered, or they will be reported in a wrong light.<sup>(2)</sup> We have had evidence of this type of thing in Dr Fick's work on "The Educability of the South African Native" which though of outstanding merit (for Dr Fick is no amateur) is vitiated by the fact that Dr Fick assumed what he set out to prove. On the basis of his researches he comes to the sweeping conclusion that the ~~mentality~~ mentality of the African child is such that he cannot proceed beyond the initial standards. Which is manifestly absurd. While it is not advocated that students should be purged of their prejudices, it is essential that they should not permit them to colour their research. "What is objectionable is for an anthropologist (and, let me add, any other scientist-N.M.) to allow his particular prejudices to determine his observations, to influence

his deductions, and dictate the problems within the field of his own science."

The nature of the results one gets in the field will, to a large extent, be determined by one's attitude or manner of approach towards his subjects. European students particularly go out into the field not only as outsiders but as representative of a superior caste in this country. The people, therefore, always look upon them with suspicion, even without the Rehabilitation Scheme which entered the scene as a complicating factor. The students themselves are likely to adopt superiority attitudes which will be resented by those whom they have set out to investigate, with the result that instead of getting genuine information they are likely to get what the people think is good enough for them.

Although Africans are inclined to think that Europeans have no manners, that they are in fact rude, a line is drawn between the type of conduct that Africans will tolerate even from the European and that which they will not tolerate. We have in mind here an incident which occurred during one of the excursions of the Culture Group. One of the white students took it into his head to handle a woman's head. The husband was furious at this impudent young fellow who dared handle his wife's head, and the fact that this particular student did not get a beating was not due to the colour of his skin. It is obvious, therefore, that one must get rid of those prejudices associated with the study of "the native in his natural state". The White student cannot afford to be bossy in the field, nor even condescending, without seriously jeopardising the chances of doing any worthwhile research. This is a fact which must be faced. Those who go out to study the African must be prepared to accept the people at their face value; to respect their prejudices and beliefs; we must come down to their level. The African must be studied as he is without any preconceived notions as to what might constitute his natural state.

Let us for a moment turn to the African student. It has been said that the African does not come to his people as an outsider; that he is one of the people; he speaks their language; and thus, if trained as a research worker, possesses inestimable advantages over his White colleagues who not only have to wrangle with the deficiency in language, but have also to reckon with the caste complex associated with the colour of their skin. We agree with all this. But there are a number of reservations. In the first place we cannot subscribe to the view that the African should be sent out to the field only because he happens to be an African, knows the language and is therefore likely to get on easily with the people. He must satisfy the other requirements which any research worker has to satisfy. Secondly, a great deal depends on the personality of the student. With all the advantages on his side, he may be unable to utilise them with any effect. Because of the prestige which he is likely to derive from being a research worker, he is likely to be so carried away by his prejudices that he may antagonise his people. There is the case of one man who was chased away from one area because he believed that his education and prejudices were sufficient to supply his personality deficiencies and ignorance of research methods.

Thirdly, the position of the African research worker in a multi-racial team is not clear to the African community, for multi-racial teams are a new departure in research. The people tend to regard the African in such teams either as a servant of the European or as a suspicious character for prying into their lives. The people can understand curiosity on the part of the European, but they cannot understand why an African should not know their problems, and, if he does, why he should enquire about them. In the final analysis, the attitude which the community adopts towards the African worker will, in large measure, depend upon the attitude of the European co-worker. It does not take an excursion to Ndadakazi to change the general attitude of the Whites towards the Blacks.

Fourthly, the African worker has to contend with the prejudices of the European community which is not accustomed to seeing Africans undertake the type of work that was being done in the Transkei, and which takes offence at seeing Africans and Europeans breaking all the conventions of caste to which we are accustomed. This point is mentioned because research into African life today involves meetings with Magistrates, traders and other local European residents who get high pressure at being investigated by an African, for in terms of caste-values the process must be the other way round; or who, if such investigation is undertaken, may, like another Transkei European, take a condescending interest in seeing Africans doing research work "too".

Fifthly, the fact that the African knows the taboos and prejudices of his people is likely to predispose him to gloss over those things which he knows he is not expected to ask, and he may find it difficult to establish 'rapport' with women for instance, if he is a man, because there are certain things which women may not discuss with men. He may be too considerate of the people's feelings, where the European might just have budged in. Against this, the fact must be mentioned that the African would be able to participate in certain activities, as in the performance of certain rites, where the European would in no circumstances be allowed to be present.

And finally, one must mention the question of tribal affiliations. It is a well-known fact that Africans belong to various clans, which regard any people with the same clan name as members of the group. While this is an asset to an African research worker in search of contacts, it also raises unexpected difficulties for him in an area where members of his tribe or clan may be unpopular. Thus those students who belong to the Xhosa clans found themselves in Ndadakazi the victims of prejudices which they had done nothing to create. For in this area, as we have indicated, the fires of the Xhosa-Fingo feud are continually being stirred up. The students found it expedient to change their clan affiliations, and adopted Fingo clan names in order to facilitate their work among the people. While it is difficult to say if such a thing is to be recommended, yet it is clear that some means of establishing relations on a less controversial basis have to be found. The Zulu students found themselves in no better position, for the Xhosa-speaking people despise the Zulu, that is, up to a point.

These facts only go to show that the African worker is not likely to do better work in the field than the European merely because he happens to be an African. All things being equal, however, the African in the present circumstances, is likely to do better work among his people, if trained.

One other point before we leave this question of prejudice. And that is attire. The type of clothing for the field is sufficiently well-known to require any comment. But the point of attire is raised here because there were certain voices at Ndadakazi who condemned the Africans for bringing suits to the Survey as though they were "going to attend a party". No one wore suits in the field though. Nevertheless it seems to have been felt that the African students should have left their suits behind. But the fact that is forgotten is that the African, unlike the European who goes into the field backed by the trappings of Western civilisation - did have to make an impression among his people. If he were invited out it would be necessary to dress in a manner appropriate to the occasion. And suits, so long as they were not used in the field, were an actual help in building up contacts and the prestige which a research worker should have if his research is to prove fruitful.

#### Collection of Information

There are various ways of collecting information. The methods used depend on the type of the investigation that is being carried out, and on the type of information that is being sought. Interviews and observation would easily take place, with paper-and-pencil methods making a bid for second place. There are the specialised techniques such as those which the Medical Group had to employ.

The Cultural Group depended solely on the interview method. While this has its advantages, it also has the disadvantage that one may not take down notes during the course of the interview, in order as much as possible not to arouse the suspicions of the informants. This method places a great reliance on memory, and therefore requires more than one person to be present at any one interview, so as to make possible the checking and comparing of notes. It requires skill in questioning, and patience during those agonising moments when an informant chooses to ramble in spite of all our efforts to control the trend of discussion.

Besides interviewing there was actual observation of certain activities such as weddings, and one day the doctoring of a homestead where an ox had been killed by lightning. They could and did participate in concerts, and one or two social events that took place during our stay in the Transkei. This would give the Culture Group more than an idea of the cultural life of the people. For actual participation and observation are far superior to the interview method; when people are in action they are not likely to rationalize as is usual if they have to give information. It has to be remembered, however, that this is subject to the fact that the observer, as the sieve through which the information is received. He may thus unconsciously colour it with his own prejudices. The greatest danger of interview and observation methods is that they may lead people to formulate "abstractions derived from general impressions" instead of making accurate and detailed observations.

While the questionnaire overcomes this question of recording information, it limits one's approach to the questions that are being asked. One therefore misses many other aspects which are not included in the questionnaire, such as attitudes, etc., which are useful guides to the life of a people. There are also many aspects which a questionnaire cannot reach. One cannot hope to get at how people determine their value by asking them how they determine it, as did the Sociological Group when they wanted to find out if people determine their value in money or in cattle. Such a question cannot be interpreted without being a leading question, that is without suggesting the answer. Nor is it possible to get a uniform interpretation of it, so that the answers one gets are influenced by the type of interpretation. Moreover it suffers from the serious defect that it is tantamount to asking the people to describe the most important and essential aspects of Xhosa culture today. For value is immanent in culture and can be understood only in relation to the whole culture. A question like that can only be answered by an observation of the people going about their daily tasks.

And.....

And while the excuse of time is now almost threadbare, some observations could have been made on this point. As indicated earlier the Literacy Test which the Education Group had devised broke down in the field; but this Group was fortunate enough to devise another and more satisfactory substitute. Questionnaires and test instruments require to be tested before they are used in the field in order to avoid such unfortunate incidents.

It would not be out of place here to refer briefly to some aspects of the investigations of the Medical Group. While it is true that the Medical Section must of necessity employ laboratory techniques, there is a danger that in using this method people might be regarded as guinea pigs. One old man complained that these children had made him do all sorts of things without giving him any treatment; another was very annoyed at having had to reserve stools for the Medical Group which did not turn up to collect them. To make people submit to medical examination without prescribing after that is perhaps understandable from the point of view of research, but to make people keep urine and stools for one, especially people who consider stools as a strictly private affair, and then forget to fetch these, is to ask a great deal more than people are prepared to give. The 'guinea-peg' mentality is alright in the laboratory where the experimenter is in control of his subjects, but require modification in the field. It is known that even goats and sheep resent being experimented upon. When experiments are carried on over a long period the animals develop what has been called "experimental neurosis" apparently as a form of protest against being misused. When this happens they become useless for further experimentation (Liddell). Human beings, on the other hand, do not have to suffer indignities long before they show their resentment; and it is doubtful if it would be possible to carry out such experiments in Ndabakazi again. As a matter of fact one wonders if they would have met with success anywhere else.

Which brings us on to the question of promises. When people find that an investigation is being carried out, they adopt either a wary and unco-operative attitude; or co-operate freely if they hope to gain something from the investigation. It is essential therefore not to hold out any hopes that the investigations may result in the amelioration of conditions in spite of the fact that Africans cannot understand any research which is not utilitarian. One student at least did, on his own responsibility, promise to help a widow who was really destitute. People are not likely to distinguish between promises made on individual responsibility while engaged on NUSAS work, and those made on behalf of NUSAS. Any promises of any kind must therefore be associated with the name of NUSAS in any capacity whatsoever. If such hopes are aroused and then do not materialise, a good field will have been spoilt for future research. ~~Inter~~

### Interpreters

In investigations among Africans, European students suffer from the fact that they do not speak the language of the people who they have to investigate. They are thus forced to employ the services of interpreters. Before touching on the Transkei Survey, it is well to point out that if interpreters are used one must be sure that they only ask the questions asked, and give the replies that one is being given. Interpreters must merely be channels of information, nothing else. They should not attempt to interpret the information according to their own prejudices. And this necessitates a very careful selection of who shall be interpreters. The personality of the interpreter should be well known to the one using such interpreter.

In Ndabakazi, however, the question of interpreters presented a serious problem, which was complicated by the fact that the NUSAS team was not allowed to make use of the people in the area, apparently because they might put "foreign ideologies" into their heads, and more probably because of the mixed nature of the team. The interpreters might see European and Non-European students behaving in an unaccustomed manner, and begin to get queer notions as to how things should be run in the Transkei!

To overcome this, it was decided to make use of the African students as interpreters. It must be remembered that these students had gone to the Transkei to do research, not to interpret. But in the situation that arose, it seems that nothing short of jettisoning the whole project could have been done if they had refused to take up the work. Yet there are certain features about this work which were objectionable. On my arrival, one of the white students shouted, "Here is our new interpreter!" as though to stress the inferior role which the African students had come to play in the work. They had become as it were convenient appendages at the beck and call of very white student. While such an attitude may be in order in the streets of our towns and in the backveld, it is hardly the right atmosphere in which to carry out a research project. For such an attitude implies the affirmation of colour-caste values where they are least required, and thus tends to break up the solidarity of the group. Furthermore, converting African students into interpreters must naturally detract from their prestige in the eyes both of themselves and of the community being investigated. It is not that African students resented being interpreters, for in the circumstances nothing else could be done, but that the manner in which some of the White students looked upon this important duty suggested that it was the type of job a native should do.

A large number of anthropologists believe that it is essential that a field-worker should spend at least six months learning the language of his field, for the ultimate success of the anthropologist depends to a large extent upon his language performance. It is desirable that students who wish to engage in research among the Bantu should have a working knowledge of Bantu languages, provided of course, that they are willing to use the languages. In the team one European individual did know Xhosa, but would not use it for fear of 'losing caste'. While this attitude is understandable among the uneducated, for the educated White man doing field-work among Africans, it is, to say the least, strange. An individual who cannot keep his prejudices to himself in the field would be well advised to undertake no further research at all events among Africans.

In our Universities there are a number of White students who have taken, or are taking, courses in Bantu languages. The courses provided are, however, useless for anything else but a degree course, since they are concerned mainly with the grammatical structure of the languages. The students are just as badly off as, if not worse off than, those European students who have not taken any courses in Bantu languages. At present no University provides a course in Bantu speech; and so our graduates in Bantu studies go out into the world knowing next to nothing of the languages it took them three years to learn. The blame must be laid at the doorstep of our University authorities who are so preoccupied with the classical conception of university education that the practical modern world has hardly touched these ivory towers of learning and erudition.

#### Team-Work

One of the least considered aspects of social research, either of an anthropological or a sociological nature, is team-work. This neglect is due to the fact that most anthropologists and sociologists are "lone-wolves" who work at their researches single-handed. The literature is therefore usually written for the individual worker and not for the large type of project undertaken by a group of people. It is clear of course that team-work presents its own problems. There is the problem of keeping the group together, especially a multi-racial one, on which we have already touched. Then there are various questions concerning the running of the Survey itself, and difficulties connected with the administration of a large team.

Even at the risk of repeating ourselves, the need for allocating specific types to individuals in each team cannot be too strongly stressed. It is a waste of time for a number of individuals in one team to be engaged on the same aspect of a problem. This is not to be taken to mean, however, that an individual has to neglect certain aspects of information in the field when he comes across them because they do not belong to his allotted tasks. The point is that he should specialise upon a particular aspect, not to the exclusion of all else, but so that he can get as much detail on that as possible.

At the end of the day's work the members of the groups meet to discuss the day's work the problems they have encountered, and the points which require further study. The leaders of the various Groups should meet to discuss the problems of the day in order to pool experiences and resources and arrange work of the next day. Every day teams require to be thoroughly briefed in their tasks; and the day-to-day problems arising in the field must be discussed at the end of each day in order to facilitate further field-work. Exchange of opinions may help in bringing home to the students the inter-relatedness of the subjects studied.

This very important aspect of team-work was the most neglected at the NUSAS Survey of the Transkei. There were never any conferences, except among the members of the various Groups, like the Culture Group, and even then to swap information. This was a serious defect which in future projects should be avoided.

Finally, in team work a general review of the work at the end of the project is essential. But as things were this could not happen for individuals left the Survey at any time they felt like going home, thus leaving the Transkei in no better position than when they got there; for they did not know what they had done. This practice of leaving a Survey as and when an individual feels like doing so should not be permitted, and individuals must go on research projects on the understanding that they will stay until it is considered necessary by those in charge that they go home. Individuals must not leave a project until it has been completed and only after the final review has been made. The object of such projects is to train field-workers, not to turn out holiday-makers, and strict control ought to be exercised over members leaving the field as also on their arrival. For scattered arrival of members as much as scattered leaving, disorganises the work of a team.

We might touch on the point of domestic arrangements. It must be decided beforehand whether or not the members of the team are to be responsible for the running of the kitchen. For domestic arrangements break up the continuity of field-work, not only because members have to return to camp for meals but also the fact that no one in particular was in charge of the arrangements on any day did not make for smooth running of the food ministry department. If it becomes necessary for students themselves

to have to attend to their domestic arrangements, we would suggest that a time-table of 'fatigues' be drawn up. A research party should not depend on the charity of some individuals to have its meals cooked. Drawing up a time-table would incidentally make it possible for members to arrange their appointments in the field so that they do not clash with domestic arrangements.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS.

What then does the Transkei Survey teach us? This question can be answered only after we have determined whether the Survey was intended as a research project or not. It is quite clear that this was a research project, although it seems doubtful what its object actually was. On the one hand we have the investigation of the Transkei, on the other we understand that this "was a range-finding project...to discover what exactly could be accomplished in a limited time by a group of students many of whom were without specialised training." Thus any evaluation of the Survey must be seen both from the point of view of the information collected and its implications for student research.

1. The need for adequate, intensive preparation before taking the field must be stressed. This may be dealt with under the following headings:

- (a) First the objectives of a project must be determined and defined as precisely as possible; they must be discussed, and on the basis of such discussions schedules should be drawn up.
- (b) The methods to be employed must be decided at the same time. If it is necessary to use special techniques, these must be tested before the team takes the field. As a matter of fact a pilot survey would not be out of place at this stage for the purpose of establishing contacts and so on.
- (c) The selection of personnel must be done some months before a project. By a process of careful screening it must be ensured that useless elements are ruthlessly eliminated. It is not much use arguing that students are to be encouraged, their interest is to be aroused and so on and so forth, for some of them will never make research workers anyway. The early selection of personnel gives individuals time to concentrate on a study of the problems to be investigated, as well as on a study of the particular problem affecting their particular Group. The allocation of specific tasks must be done well in advance so that "individuals may then concentrate on acquiring some background in the narrower field relating to their own investigations."
- (d) It would be of immense advantage if a seminar were held by those taking part in a research project some time before they go out into the field to discuss all the problems that may arise in connection with their work. If this is not possible, the first day or two in the field should be spent not only making contacts and getting acquainted with the general lie of the land, but also on discussions on the project.
- (e) The size of the team should be determined in good time, so as to make any administrative arrangements in that connection early.

2. We have already touched on the question of race relations. We feel that "...it is essential that serious consideration be given to this question. It is quite the most important difficulty facing "mixed" parties of friend-workers, and prior discussions, planning and ready and frank co-operation must be aimed at, and achieved in practice". One cannot support too enthusiastically the principle of having such teams. But attempt must be made to avoid "incidents" in the field, both within the team and with members of the public. Insulting Africans by refusing to shake their hands, as one student did, is not calculated to improve relations between White and Black students; nor is the argument that Africans should not be hypersensitive, for African susceptibilities are always being offended in this country, especially if it is known that the African is educated.

It would be preferable if White students would, while in the field, sacrifice the advantages to which they are entitled by virtue of their being members of a superior caste in this country in favour of the susceptibilities of co-workers who happen to have been born on the wrong side of the colour-line. While the motives of the White student who took an African student into the tearoom at Butterworth may be admirable, "...it is to be doubted whether any scientific social research of value can be done by shocking existing group or race susceptibilities". We do not advocate that people must pander to the colour situation, but what we do say is that it would be pointless to behave as though it did not exist, and it has to be taken into serious consideration by any multi-racial team.

This does not imply an acceptance of segregation, but it is suggested as a practical approach to a problem that bristles with difficulty.

In brief, the lessons learned in this field are:

- (i) The need to plan to avoid unnecessary "race" complications.
- (ii) The need to accept in advance the fact that certain difficulties must inevitably arise and to co-operate sensibly and cheerfully when they do occur."

3. Let us now turn to student research as such. Earlier in this paper we quoted the opinion of Prof Gray. We may perhaps be excused if we quote Westermann now. "Amateurs", he says "lack technical training and scientific experience. They are not sufficiently familiar with the actual problems at issue and cannot always distinguish between the important and the less important. This may result in essential details being overlooked or expressed with such lack of accuracy that the material is almost valueless..."<sup>(3)</sup> This is a point which we must face: that students lack the technical training and experience that would turn out useful results in social research. It is not much use being proud that this "... was a Student Survey - organised by Students, and on their own initiative and conducted by Students", if what we do is not research but something that is likely to lower the name of research in the eyes of the general public.

It would appear that students must be prepared to regard training in research as a form of apprenticeship, like any other training. Inflicting a crowd of untrained field-workers on an unsuspecting population is like giving raw recruits Spitfires and telling them to get ahead with the flying. Of course this would be suicide. Recruits have first to be trained to fly, first on the ground and then in the air. It must be admitted that the type of education that we get in our Universities is not intended to give us training in research, which we have to get the hard way, but merely gives us the background which makes possible the manipulation of ~~field~~ field techniques. Students must be trained in research and must do their research under the guidance of persons experienced in this type of work, for by themselves they can do no real research. It is suggested that when other projects are launched the students should work in close touch with the Social Studies Departments in our Universities so as to utilise the guidance of experts in these matters. Only in that way, when working under expert and experienced guidance, can NUSAS hope not only to arouse and maintain student interest in research but also contribute her quota towards increasing the number of field-workers.

4. If now I am asked if the Transkei Survey was a failure I would answer "Yes" and "No". For whatever its shortcomings from the point of view of discovering new knowledge, of applying scientific procedures and so on, the Transkei Survey was a success to the degree that it indicated the limitations of student social research. It has shown what students can and cannot do, and has indicated directions along which improvements could be effected in future projects. To the extent that it proves the hypothesis that students cannot do social research at all events by themselves, it must be regarded as a research project - and a successful one at that. Research after all must not be limited to the discovering of facts about other people, but also about our own limitations.

Moreover the project succeeded in bringing together students from the various Universities "on the cultural plane". It also served to bring White and Black students together on an equal footing. And although one does not have to be sanguine as to the results of such mixed teams, yet one can at least hope for enlightenment from one's White colleagues when it comes to dealing with the much discussed Native problem. After all our white friends at this Conference are future Native Administrators and Ministers of State, while the present relations between White and Black continue.

Let me end up by quoting the following words from Dr Brookes: "The National Union of South African Students ... has done much to encourage a rational and liberal outlook and to dispel the timidity which has been so great an enemy of right thought and action in South Africa. It is true that the emergence of what is called the "Native Problem" into student consciousness has given form to reactionary as well as progressive thought, and that sometimes the Universities help to rationalise prejudices rather than to banish them. Still on the whole the balance is on the right side.... when we find students taking time to visit urban locations for themselves and to undertake social or religious work ... we realise that academic life in the Union has been developing in a direction which we should not have suspected from a mere study of the legislation of the period."<sup>(7)</sup>

(7)

E.H. Brookes: 'The Colour Problems of South Africa, p.15.