

HSRC

mm 15

*the study of the human factors
involved in the
economic development
of the bantu homelands*

human sciences research council

001.3072068 HSRC
MM 15

HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

Private Bag 41, Pretoria, Republic of South Africa

Telephone: 28831

ograms: RAGEN

Klasnr./Class No.	Registrernr./No.
001.5072068 HSRC MM 15	21924/X

RGN RAAD VIR
GEESTESWETENSKAPLIKE
NAVORSING

**BIBLIOTEK
LIBRARY**

HSRC HUMAN
SCIENCES RESEARCH
COUNCIL

W.P. 809 7/69

President: Dr P. M. Robbertse

Vice-Presidents: Dr A. J. van Rooy and Dr J. D. Venter

Secretary: Miss K. M. Henshall

Institutes and Departments of the HSRC

Institute for Communication Research
Institute for Educational Research
Institute for Financing and Co-ordinating Research
Institute for Historical Research
Institute for Languages, Literature and Arts
Institute for Manpower Research
Institute for Psychometric Research
Institute for Sociological Research
Institute for Statistical Research
Department of Information and Special Services
Administration

Function of the HSRC

The HSRC undertakes, promotes and co-ordinates research in the human sciences, advises the Government and other bodies on the utilization of research results and disseminates information on the human sciences.

RGN-BIBLIOTEK
HSRC LIBRARY

VERVALDATUM / DATE DUE

Besorg asseblief hierdie publikasie terug of doen aan-
soek om verlenging van die leentermyn voor die laaste
datum hieronder gestempel.

Please return this publication or apply for an extension
of the loan period before the last date stamped below.

LB1
11/4/75

**IAN FACTORS
THE ECONOMIC
THE BANTU
HOMELANDS**

DE JONGE, B.A. (HONS.)

30 JUN 1975
30 SEP 198
1982 -01- 31

Durvil—19862—11-71

LOWER RESEARCH
DIRECTOR: W. VERHOEF

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL AFRIKAANS

PRETORIA

1970

Report No. MM 15.

0000278340

2844363866



Ook in Afrikaans verkrygbaar
Copyright reserved



PREFACE

The development of the Bantu homelands is not merely a matter of politics or administration, but is also dependent upon the contributions of various academicians.

Experts in Economics, Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, Education, Political Science, Public Administration, Agronomy, et cetera, should all be able to contribute towards promoting homeland development. This also applies to an aspect of the wider aim of development, i.e. economic development, for here also the problem is multidimensional and demands a multidisciplinary approach.

However, a great onus is placed upon the experts in these sciences to co-ordinate their research, exchange knowledge, integrate findings where possible and to supply knowledge, techniques and recommendations which will lend themselves to practical implementation.

This study by the HSRC must be seen as a first step in the direction of such co-ordination and integration of knowledge concerning the human factors involved in the economic development of the Bantu homelands.

A. N. Louw
P R E S I D E N T

LIBRARY **HSRC**

STANDKODE : 17072068
BESTELNOMMER : 21924 X
G R G N

CONTENTS

	PAGE
1	1
1.1	1
1.2	2
1.2.1	2
1.2.2	3
1.3	5
1.3.1	5
1.3.2	5
1.3.3	6
1.3.4	6
1.3.5	7
1.4	8
2	9
2.1	9
2.2	9
2.2.1	10
2.2.2	11
2.2.3	11
2.3	13
2.3.1	13
2.3.2	15
2.3.3	18
2.3.4	23
2.3.5	23
2.4	24
2.4.1	24
2.4.2	24
2.5	25
2.5.1	25
2.5.2	27
2.5.3	27
3	28
3.1	28
3.2	28
3.2.1	29
3.2.2	32
3.2.3	33
3.2.4	33
3.3	35
3.3.1	35
3.3.2	35
3.3.3	35
3.3.4	35
3.3.5	36
3.3.6	36
3.4	36
4	37
4.1	37
4.1.1	37
4.1.2	38
4.2	39
4.2.1	39
4.2.2	39
4.2.3	41

	PAGE
4.2.4 Interpretation of aims in the light of methods	43
4.3 Specific aims in the development of the Bantu homelands	47
4.4 Summary	48
5 DETERMINATION OF A RESEARCH STRATEGY	49
5.1 Research requirements	49
5.2 The determination of specific research possibilities, needs and priorities	50
5.2.1 Research possibilities	50
5.2.2 Research needs and priorities	51
5.3 The integration and use of research findings	52
5.3.2 The problem of a framework of reference	53
5.3.2 Research findings in useful form	53
5.3.3 The co-ordination of the implementation of principles and techniques in practice	54
5.4 Recommendations	54
LITERATURE	55

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

"The operational question for policy is whether religious taboos, cultural institutions and social attitudes make economic development impossible and assistance for economic development a waste of resources, or whether attention to the non-economic can get development moving" (119, p. 39).

1.1 GENERAL

The recent two decades, and especially the last part of this period, have been characterized throughout the world by the accelerated development or attempts at the accelerated development of underdeveloped areas. In Africa, South America, Asia and even in a communist country such as Red China, five-year development programmes and so-called "crash programmes" are the order of the day. These programmes sometimes meet with a reasonable measure of success, but often have such consequences as greater debt, more poverty, cultural deterioration, unrest and frequently even revolution. The Republic of South Africa also finds itself in the midst of a period during which particular attention is devoted to the development of its underdeveloped areas. This is especially true of the Bantu homelands.

The necessity for the development of the Bantu homelands cannot be disputed and is endorsed even in non-government circles. A comprehensive motivation for this necessity is given in the Tomlinson Report (216, p. 109 - 112), a point of view which was endorsed by Dr H.F. Verwoerd, in a speech in Parliament on 14 May, 1956. He agreed with the Tomlinson Report that "Whites can only protect their continued existence if they ensure that the increase in Bantu population is not continually settled in the White urban areas", and added, "To prevent this, the supporting capacity of the Bantu areas must be increased and this must be done in various ways" (165, p. 97 - translation).

A striking feature of the "various ways" thereupon quoted by Dr Verwoerd in his speech, is that they are mainly of an economic nature. It could thus be said that the successful implementation of the policy of separate development and the accompanying continued existence of White civilization in South Africa, as well as the welfare of its non-White population, will be especially determined by the success and speed of economic development in the Bantu homelands. It cannot be expected, for instance, that the Bantu homelands will become economically independent, be able to attract Bantu from White areas or be able to absorb the influx of these Bantu if they remain at their present level of economic development.

The need for rapid development would appear to be obvious, yet there have been warnings against over-hastiness in this respect, by Eloff, for example, who indicates the dangers for the Bantu of rapid economic development (50, p. 56 - 64). These dangers cannot be denied but, as Sadie remarks, a lack of rapid economic development can cause greater danger for Whites as well as for the Bantu (192, p. 77 - 84). See also in this connection, Rhoodie's exposition of the necessity for rapid economic development of the Bantu homelands (183, p. 128).

The whole matter of rapid versus less-rapid economic development for the Bantu homelands is probably based on a misconception regarding the idea of "economic development". Economic development is namely too often regarded as merely being a so-called process of westernization or modernisation, which it need not necessarily be at all, although it may entail a certain degree of westernization, especially in the technical field. In this case, even the term "westernization" may be confusing. It would appear that the point at issue should rather be the desirability of rapid "Western-capitalistic" economic development as against the desirability of rapid "autogenous" economic development. The fact that neither of these alternatives can be chosen haphazardly is clearly apparent from the course of later arguments in this study. In fact, it is not even certain whether one of these aims should enjoy the monopoly. The aim should probably rather be a rapid economic development based on the inclusion of Western-capitalistic, traditional, and possibly even other elements. Coertze remarks: "This is the core of the problem. How can techniques for the motivation of other persons be designed so that they transform their own culture themselves - so that they accept the foreign pattern and themselves adapt it to the existing culture" (32, p. 49 - translation).

It would therefore be no exaggeration to state that the process of economic development in the Bantu homelands would to a great extent also entail a transformation in the culture of the inhabitants. It is clearly apparent from the literature that the economic development of traditional and even "modern" nations cannot occur without cultural transformation (see, inter alia, 147, p. 8 - 13; 58, p. 31 - 43; 204; 155, p. 286 - 287; 103; 45) -

in fact, it is the reality of the process of cultural change which necessitates this investigation. It also appears improbable for a process of accelerated economic development to occur without a measure of cultural trauma. This process has, however, already been set in motion in the Bantu homelands and not without good and compelling reasons. On the contrary, the Government is aiding it actively. It is with this given situation that we are forced to busy ourselves.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

1.2.1 Human factors and economic development

The economic development of underdeveloped areas (and, in fact, of any area) is not a "purely economic" process. This implies that specifically "economic" measures alone, such as, for example, the injection of capital into the economy, the creation of work opportunities, the improvement of the organisational aspects of labour in the area or of industrial, commercial and communication facilities will not ensure the maximum economic development of an area.

This view is substantiated in practice as well as in theory:

(a) The results of the Africa policy of the United States of America, the United Nations, France and Belgium during the last, approximately ten years, for example, speak clearly for themselves. An expert like Hagen expresses the following view: "In colonial societies the market expansion that followed Western intrusion did not result in continuing economic growth" (72, p. 240).

(b) In his sensational book, False Start in Africa (1966), René Dumont constantly refers to the typically human factors which have, up to now, bogged down the economic development of French Equatorial Africa especially (see, inter alia, 43, p. 20, 32 - 33, 44, 59, 78, 86, 99).

(c) In 1953, Hoselitz stated: "Even in present attempts at restating the basic framework of an economic theory of economic growth, the necessity of relating this theoretical framework to the cultural conditions and political needs of areas undergoing rapid economic change is sometimes underestimated or overlooked" (97, p. 24).

(d) Kindleberger devotes a whole chapter of his book, Economic Development (119, p. 18 - 39) to the non-economic aspects of economic development, such as family, class, race, religion, rural-urban differences, national character, the size of social units, the influence of culture on institutions, the interaction between cultural values and economic change and the orientation of the individual in his social environment.

(e) Moore, again, gives an exposition of the cultural, institutional and socio-psychological factors which influence the transition from non-industrial to industrial labour (150, p. 5). He opposes "... an exclusively quantitative, demographic approach to manpower ..." and attributes such an approach to a "... naive view of economic motivation" (150, p. 5).

(f) It is a fact that many writers since the Second World War have stressed the specifically "human" factors which play a part in economic change, although they do not all use the term "human factors". (See, among others, Biesheuvel (19); Coetzee (33); Danziger (39); Potgieter (172); Sadie (193); Mead (147); Foster (58); Hoselitz and Moore (100); Moore and Feldman (153); Braibanti and Spengler (25); and others.) (See Chapter 2, par. 2.3).

From the foregoing it would appear that a series of factors, which are of a non-economic nature and which, for lack of a more explicit term, can be tentatively described as "human factors", play an important role in economic development, especially in the case of underdeveloped areas and traditional nations.*

*The term "human factors" is used because the great variety of factors which, according to various writers, are concerned in economic development, such as social, cultural, psychological, political and educational factors (economic factors do not come under discussion here) cannot be easily condensed into one term only. "Non-economic factors" is an unhappy choice, not only because it is a negative term and can consequently include everything which is not economic in nature but especially because the difference between economic and non-economic is difficult to describe. Alternatives such as "socio-cultural" or "social-psychological" are, in their turn, too narrow and usually have connotations which can be coupled with specific subject fields or trends within a subject field. Although the accusation of vagueness can be levelled against the term "human factors", it can, on the other hand, suitably indicate all those factors which are related to man's essential characteristics. Precisely what these essential characteristics are, cannot be clearly indicated at this stage, since theorists are not in agreement on this point or because their points of departure regarding the analysis of human behaviour differ from each other (also see Chapter 3, however).

This does not mean that the specifically "economic" factors should be regarded as being of less importance. Hoselitz maintains: "Propositions which deal with the dependence of economic progress on the character of income distribution, the relative magnitude of savings, the impact of inflationary pressures, and the state of a country's balance of payments and terms of trade, are clearly relevant. Yet it must be recognized that even a secure knowledge of all these relationships is not enough ... for a theory which realistically deals with all the variables involved in the development process. And if economists specify ... that, in addition to the various economic adjustments, a change in the social values cherished by a population is necessary they make a statement which is true, but, on this level of generality, meaningless, for it cannot be translated into operational terms"(97,p. 24).

It is clearly apparent that the issue at stake here is not the unimportance of economic factors (because these are naturally important) but the importance of the often neglected human factors which are usually mentioned only in passing. In this connection, a statement by Kindleberger is of singular importance: "The operational question for policy is whether religious taboos, cultural institutions, and social attitudes make economic development impossible and assistance for economic development a waste of resources, or whether attention to the non-economic can get development moving" (119, p. 39). One could add the following : And if human factors are, indeed, important, how should these factors be dealt with in practice or be translated into "operational terms"?

It is unfair towards the Tomlinson Report (216) to seek in it the answers to these questions, as far as the Bantu homelands are concerned. Although the broad basis for the socio-economic development of the homelands was established by the Tomlinson Commission it was not able to provide clear-cut answers to all the aspects arising from its recommendations. Certain problems, especially, resulting from the practical implementation of our present policy, could not be foreseen at that stage. Thus, for example, it is of the utmost importance for the practical implementation of the policy of separate development that answers should be found to questions such as the following:

What economic system should be established in the homelands?

The statement that the Bantu homelands should develop economically, only obtains significance when a clear-cut answer is found to the above-mentioned question. The implications are obvious : if the establishment of a Western-capitalistic system is desired, an attempt must be made to westernise the Bantu, according to Lombard. He must be imbued with "Western characteristics" such as reliability, honesty, initiative, rational thought, diligence, et cetera (see Lombard, 130, p.174 - 175). If, on the other hand, the traditional Bantu culture is to be maintained at all costs, there must be clarity about the direction in which the Bantu should develop.

What characteristics of the Bantu and what aspects of his culture must be developed (and how) in order to achieve the set aim?

What personality traits must be cultivated in the Bantu?

How must they be cultivated?

If innovation is necessary for development, can the tribal authorities actually fulfil the innovation function? How?

Should agricultural development take place on a communal basis only?

How rapid should development be?

Is rapid development, with the maintenance of that which is strictly traditional, at all possible?

How does one accelerate development?

How does one motivate the Bantu to achieve the prescribed development ideal?

This question and, in fact, all the others, are related in their turn to the first question, since motivation will be closely connected with the prescribed aim. In this connection it can even be asked whether the Bantu's development in the direction of a Western-capitalistic system has not progressed to such an extent that some of his motives are already becoming "White", e.g. a need for the material cultural assets of Whites, a need for news as communicated by the radio, a need for communication as made possible by White postal and transport services.

Many other questions await answers, e.g. what the nature and content of education for the Bantu should be if development is to be encouraged; how the potential Bantu entrepreneur should be identified, motivated and trained; what the social implications of development will be, et cetera. The answers to these and other questions are essential for the sound evolution of the policy of separate development.

1.2.2 The position regarding knowledge in South Africa

A growing interest in these problems has become apparent in South Africa. Attention

has already been drawn to works by Biesheuvel, Danziger, Coetzee, Potgieter and Sadie. Many other publications with related themes have, however, already appeared (see Chapter 2; par. 2.4).

It cannot be disputed that these and similar studies should play an important part in the formulation and practical implementation of an economic development policy for the Bantu homelands. This is no new academic whim. As far back as 1954, the Tomlinson Commission recommended that a so-called "Development Council" should be established to advise the then Minister of Native Affairs "regarding matters concerning the Areas". The functions of the Council, which was to have been composed of persons chosen "on account of their knowledge of the economic, sociological, ethnological, administrative and other planning problems", would be, inter alia, "to undertake continuous research and surveys concerning potentialities, trends and needs in respect of the socio-economic development of the Bantu areas ..." (216, p. 189).

As far as can be ascertained, nothing came of this proposal, with the result that an auxiliary committee of the Council for the Development of Natural Resources once more had to recommend, in 1966 (eleven years later) that a so-called "Development Council" should be appointed to assist the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development regarding the human and physical development of the homelands.

Dr P.J. Meyer commented in the same spirit during a SABRA conference which was held on 2 June, 1967: "While many studies regarding certain aspects of the Bantu's inherent nature and its manifestation in the various walks of life have already been undertaken by authorities on the Bantu, I do not know of any anthropological study aimed at the specific nature of the Bantu's capacity for work and leadership within his own spiritual and life situation. There has also been no attempt, by these means, to form a scientific image of his potential economic entrepreneurship within as well as outside the Bantu areas" (149, p. 199 - translation). Dr Meyer consequently makes the following recommendation: "Regarding many of these matters, thorough study and knowledge and further investigations are necessary to direct the development pattern of the Bantu towards the highest possible achievement in all walks of life in the shortest possible time. Before we go much further, I feel that it would be wise for SABRA to appoint its own commission, under the chairmanship of an authority on the Bantu, to co-ordinate all our existing knowledge in this connection, which is at present distributed among many reports, papers, et cetera. Persons who should serve on such a commission will include an educationist, a sociologist, an authority on culture, an economist, a psychologist, a mission scientist, as well as businessmen and state administrators" (149, p. 207 - 208 - translation).

It would appear that, in spite of a growing realisation that human factors play an extremely important part in the development of the Bantu homelands, very little purposeful work in this direction has been done thus far. The following is a resume of that which exists:

(a) A few isolated studies (see Chapter 2, par. 2.4) which cover a wide field and represent divergent research disciplines, especially Sociology, Anthropology and Psychology. Most of these studies investigate the role which the Bantu worker plays or can play in the White areas, especially in urban industries and they deal mainly with increased productivity in skilled and semi-skilled occupations, rather than with the development of the Bantu in the Bantu homelands or with the integration of the Bantu at present in White areas in the development of the homelands. Also, no attempt has as yet been made to obtain a complete picture of the various findings and their implications (see also Dr Meyer, as already quoted).

In the light of the foregoing, it is also easy to understand why the findings of these studies were not fully utilized in the past in the formulation of an economic development policy for the Bantu homelands. This is an accusation which can be levelled against academicians and politicians in the same measure.

(b) The only other contributions in this direction were a few pleas for research, made by persons who realised the seriousness of the situation. Among these, there are the previously mentioned recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission, the Auxiliary Committee of the Council for the Development of Natural Resources, Dr P.J. Meyer and a few others, among whom are Dr J.A. Lombard (130), Dr J.L. Sadie (193) and Dr S. Biesheuvel (20).

It appears that there is an urgent need in South Africa for the study of the human factors involved in the economic development of the Bantu, especially with regard to obtaining a complete picture of those factors.

1.3 FACTORS WHICH HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE STUDY OF THE HUMAN FACTORS WHICH PLAY A PART IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE BANTU HOMELANDS

1.3.1 The diversity of theories on economic development

A research project which deals with economic development must obviously take cognisance of existing theories on the subject. At present, however, theories on economic development are in an uneasy state of flux, as is apparent from the lack of unanimity among economists or of a uniform development theory (see 119, p. 59).

While different types of development theories can be distinguished (e.g. growth models such as those of Kaldor, Harrod, Domar and Solow; or so-called "stage-theories" such as those of Rostow or Gerschenkron), it is sufficient for the non-economist to consider trends of thought on an aspect of economic development (e.g. production) to obtain an idea of the divergence of opinions on economic development. Thus, for example, most economists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries distinguish between the production factors, land, labour and capital; Schumpeter later adds the creative activities of the entrepreneur; Adam Smith stresses "the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of society" as part of his concept of "fixed capital" (75, p. 3); Brown and Harbison emphasise the stability of the government, as well as the availability of high-level manpower (19, p. 2); other factors such as organisation methods, ideological background, institutional framework, et cetera are found throughout the literature.

Even the difference between economic growth and economic development is not always clearly apparent from the economic technical literature. According to Kindleberger, the terms "economic growth" and "economic development" are often used synonymously to indicate especially quantitative, but sometimes also qualitative, economic changes. It is possible, however, according to this writer, to make a functional-structural distinction between the two concepts. Where growth, for instance, only points to an increase, development is aimed rather at change and it especially entails structural changes which differ qualitatively from that which existed previously. To quote his words: "... economic growth means more output and economic development implies both more output and changes in the technical and institutional arrangements by which it is produced" (119, p. 1).

This distinction is important in that, regarding the modern Bantu, we are dealing with a group of persons who find themselves in an acculturative situation, in which their own culture is exposed to radical Western influences and where these influences result in qualitative changes in the culture of the Bantu (see also Chapter 2, par. 2.3.3).

The economic development of the Bantu homelands will thus, in all probability, not only be aimed at the increasing of Bantu productivity or Bantu per capita income, but at the creation of an economy which can cope with the techniques of the modern economic world and communicate with this world on an economic basis.

1.3.2 The problem of a framework of reference

A research project which deals with the human factors which play a part in the economic development of the Bantu is hampered by the lack of a theoretical framework of reference which combines psychological, social and cultural factors in a theory of economic development. This does not mean that research can only proceed if a sophisticated theoretical model, which indicates relationships between different variables and/or parameters, is available, although such a model or "theoretical construct" always remains the ideal. What is of more immediate concern, is an analytical framework of reference which, in Moore's words, can serve as "a systematic check-list of variables for particular analyses" (152, p. 58). Such a basis will at least make the compilation of simple cause-and-effect hypotheses possible and will consequently indicate fields which can be studied empirically.

According to the literature, however, the establishment of a framework of reference which integrates non-economic and economic factors in a theory of economic development, poses numerous problems. Thus, for example, theories and concepts originating from various subject fields such as, inter alia, Economy, Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, Education, Political Science, et cetera must be integrated, while problems are usually experienced in these disciplines themselves with regard to the forming of related concepts and theories.

Thus, for instance, writers generally distinguish between social, psychological and cultural non-economic factors without demarcating or being able to demarcate the differences between these factors, in the light of the present position of knowledge. It is at the same time obvious that the forming and formulation of such concepts as "values", "norms", "beliefs", "attitudes", "aptitude", "motives", et cetera at interdisciplinary level represent a very difficult task.

*Alternatively Cultural/Social Anthropology or Ethnology (Afrikaans Volkekunde).

It should also be remembered that different methods of approach, theoretical orientations, conceptual frameworks and methodologies exist within the various subject fields. It is therefore no wonder that Moore, in his report on a conference during which the social implications of industrialization were discussed, came to the following conclusion: "Conceptual problems plagued even those analyses based in part upon 'hard' quantitative data" (151, p. 362).

1.3.3 The problem of the direction of development

Although it is Government policy that the development of the Bantu should be built on his existing cultural foundations, the factual situation is such that the Bantu is tending, at an increasing tempo, towards an economic system in which money, competition, a market system, industrial labour, entrepreneurship, technological progress, et cetera and the cultural commodities which go hand in hand with the foregoing (Western dress, radios, newspapers, the cinema, motor cars, Western food and consumer goods, etc.) are accepted as being essential.

It would thus appear that the development of the Bantu, especially in the economic field, must tend towards a Western-capitalistic system. The matter is not so simple, however, for the following reasons:

(a) The purpose of the development of the Bantu homelands is, in the first place, that these areas must be self-supporting: that they will become areas with a surplus economy which will utilise these surpluses for the maintenance and further extension of the existing economy. Paulsen, in fact, describes economic development as "the increasing of capacity by capacity-augmenting employment of part of the existing capacity" and continues: "The a priori axiom was always that productive man can produce a surplus in excess of his essential needs, which is therefore available for capacity-augmenting use" (see 162, p. 271).

It should definitely not be taken for granted that such an economy must necessarily be based on a Western-capitalistic system. In this connection, Paulsen states: "A development programme as such does not imply any economic order, as if it were possible to determine what mode of procedure is objectively best suited for the achievement of the development aim. For no order can be explained purely pragmatically, its selection is always linked with a decision on values and their chances of being realized ... Hence, no economic order can be a transferable mechanism ... That human societies 'naturally' tend towards an order in which egocentric endeavour is made to serve the common weal by organized competition is a myth ..." (162, p. 275).

(b) The possibility exists that the basic requirements with which persons must comply in order to develop and extend a surplus economy can develop, in the case of the Bantu, more easily according to another and more autogenous system than the Western-capitalistic one.

It is, however, difficult to determine the "basic requirements" of a surplus economy. To find a solution to the problem, the following questions must first be answered:

- (i) What are the minimum requirements for a surplus economy?
- (ii) What system already exists, or should be developed in order to succeed in establishing a surplus economy in the Bantu homelands, in co-ordination with the Bantu's traditional way of life, as well as with the way of life of the "westernised" or "semi-westernised" Bantu?

Even if the norm were to be a Western-capitalistic system, however, the researcher would still be faced with considerable problems, as is apparent from the following point of discussion.

1.3.4 The problem of the characteristics of Western-capitalistic man and his system

In the light of the foregoing, it is clear that the determination of those human factors which, from a Western-capitalistic viewpoint, may influence the economic development of the Bantu, assumes that the social, cultural and psychological characteristics of Western-capitalistic man are known. It is only when this norm is known that one can determine in what respect the Bantu will have to adapt himself and his system in order to develop economically, according to Western-capitalistic norms.

In this connection the following is, however, of importance:

- (a) The diversity of economically functional roles involved in Western-capitalistic economic development

It is actually an over-simplification to talk of the characteristics of Western-capitalistic man, since such a person is an abstraction of a reality in which not only one person

but a host of persons carry out a host of diverse functions, e.g. the production function, the entrepreneurial function, the administrative function, the educational function, et cetera. It is found, in addition, that a complex modern community necessitates specialisation, so that diverse economically functional roles originate, i.e. people who fulfil their own, specialised, economically functional roles.

We can thus, for example, distinguish the following roles: Entrepreneurs, production workers, administrative staff, educational staff, researchers, technologists, maintenance staff, construction workers, welfare workers (medical practitioners, dentists, sociologists), politicians, security staff (army, police, jurists, etc.) and planning staff.

It is obvious that the psychological characteristics, socio-economic background, educational history, as well as the motivation and value orientations which one must possess to fill a role effectively, will differ for the various functional roles. Thus, for instance, the requirements with regard to the psychological factor "aptitude" will differ qualitatively for the entrepreneur and the production worker.

(b) The divergence of expert opinions

Even if one were to attempt to typify Western-capitalistic man in abstract terms, combining all the most important characteristics of the various functional types, one would come up against divergence of opinion among authorities. It is striking to note that in the relevant literature every writer regards another characteristic (or characteristics) as the characteristic(s) of Western-capitalistic man, e.g. rational thought (Max Weber); the achievement motive (McClelland); empathy (Lerner); honesty, diligence, thrift and rational thought (Lombard, along the lines of Phelps-Brown's thought); the profit motive (practically all economists); values such as universalism, achievement, self-orientation, specificity of roles (Hoselitz, in pursuance of Parsons' "pattern variables"); creativity (Barnett); educational methods, belief in and practising of logical analysis, need for achievement, creativity, empathy (Hagen); et cetera (see Chapter 2).

1.3.5 The heterogeneous nature of Bantu culture

Although the term "Bantu culture" is often used, it is actually misleading to use it as if a homogeneous group of persons is being dealt with. It is true that the use of such a term at a certain level of generalization does have some meaning (for example, when "Western culture" is opposed to "Bantu culture"), but it is essential, for the purposes of research, to take note of ethnic differences and degree of westernization among the Bantu.

(1) Ethnic differences

There are clear-cut differences, from an ethnological point of view, in the cultural heritage of the main Bantu ethnic groups in South Africa. The following main and sub-groups can be distinguished (South-West Africa excepted):

- (a) The Nguni group
 - (i) The Zulu
 - (ii) The Ndebele
 - (iii) The Xhosa
 - (iv) The Swazi
- (b) The Sotho group
 - (i) The Northern Sotho
 - (ii) The Western Sotho or Tswana
 - (iii) The Southern Sotho
- (c) The Venda
- (d) The Sjangana-Tsonga

These main and sub-groups can be divided in turn into smaller groups or tribes, which are themselves autonomous units with an individual tribal organisation, government and area. The tribes within one main group are, however, similar to each other as regards language and cultural forms, so that differences among them can be regarded as variations on a basic theme.

However, the cultural differences between the main groups, as well as those among the sub-groups, should be taken into consideration in research.

(2) Differences in degree of westernization

All Bantu can no longer today be regarded as traditional; on the contrary, the increasing extent to which the Bantu are taking over Western cultural elements, is one of the

features of the present process of acculturation which the Bantu culture is experiencing. This process occurs in various fields and in various degrees of intensity in each field.

Not all Bantu are, however, equally prepared or even anxious to dispense with that which is traditional, while acculturative influences do not have the same influence on all Bantu. The result is that there are differences of degree in the extent of westernization which has occurred among various Bantu, while these differences are also more prominent regarding certain cultural aspects (for example, material culture) than others (for example, social organisation).

When research is undertaken in connection with a process such as economic development, it should always be borne in mind that the Bantu of South Africa are already composed of individuals who find themselves at various stages of westernization. It can be expected, for example, that the reaction of the traditional Bantu to economic development will differ from that of the more westernized Bantu.

1.4 AIM

Arising from the foregoing exposition, the aim of this study can be formulated as follows:

- (a) To provide a survey of existing literature which is related to the study of human factors which play a part in the economic development of underdeveloped areas;
- (b) to give an indication of the nature and functioning of the human factors which may play a part in the economic development of underdeveloped areas;
- (c) to determine more clearly what the aims of the Government are with reference to the economic development of the Bantu homelands;
- (d) to determine a research strategy in pursuance of (a), (b) and (c) above.

CHAPTER 2

THE STUDY OF THE HUMAN FACTORS INVOLVED IN ECONOMIC AND RELATED DEVELOPMENT AS REVEALED IN THE AVAILABLE LITERATURE

2.1 GENERAL

The study of the human factors which play a role in economic development can be approached from different points of view. As Harbison and Myers put it: "When one analyzes development exclusively within a framework of economic criteria, therefore, he ignores the limits set by the other goals of society. And if he takes 'everything' into consideration, he will fall into a quagmire of confusion. It is necessary, therefore, to look at development from a 'point of view'" (75 p. 2).

Harbison and Myers' study of the manpower problem, for example, constitutes such a "point of view". For the purposes of their study they consider "human resources" as a determinant of economic development and they try to reduce manpower needs to educational needs. (75).

Various other "points of view" are possible in studying the human factors which play a role in economic development and one also finds that in this field of research differences of opinion and differences in emphasis, point of departure and methodology are the order of the day. Not that this situation is to be fundamentally disapproved of; on the contrary, it is the logical result of the multidimensional nature of the problem.

Some differences in approach are fundamental in nature and give rise to profound differences of opinion. Rostow (190, p. 20) and Kindleberger (119, p. 18) indicate for instance, that social and cultural factors are sometimes seen as the cause of economic development and sometimes as the result of economic factors - a difference of opinion which is clearly evident when the economic-deterministic standpoint of Karl Marx is compared with Max Weber's social-cultural determinism.

Another source of difference in method of approach is the predilection of certain writers to seek a primum mobile (an all-embracing constellation of determinants of economic development) - compare for instance McClelland's emphasizing of the so-called "achievement motive" (140, 141, 142) with Foster's eclectic approach to the psychological, social and cultural determinants of technological change (58).

One could also say that some writers employ a more theoretical approach than others. Whereas the approach of Parsons and Smelser (161), for example, is chiefly theoretical, that of Lerner (125) is both theoretical and empirical and that of Mead (147) neither, but rather compilatory. A further distinction is possible in that some writers, for instance Hunt (102), Kindleberger (119), and Rostow (190), busy themselves with economic development, while others concentrate on modernization for example Lerner (125); technological change, for example Mead (147) and Foster (58); industrialization, for example Moore (150); socio-economic development, for example Braibanti and Spengler et cetera (25). Admittedly these are merely different names for the same, or at least closely related phenomena, but sometimes the result is that completely different aspects are stressed. In truth, Nettl and Robertson feel that the distinction which is drawn between the terms "industrialization", "development" and "modernization" is an unfortunate one, and that the first two terms should be made subordinate to the term "modernization" (156).

It is also important to note that the concept "human factors" used in this study, is dealt with under different names in the literature. Some writers speak of non-economic factors, others of social, cultural or psychological factors. Other writers obviate the problem of naming these factors by simply mentioning one or two which are chiefly investigated by them, for instance Moore and Feldman's "labor commitment" (153), or Braibanti and Spengler's "tradition and values" (25).

Finally, it is necessary to note that the treatment in the literature, of the human factors involved in economic development, falls under various sciences, for example Economics, Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, Political Science, Agronomy et cetera, and within these sciences according to specific theoretical and methodological premises.

2.2 HISTORICAL SURVEY

A complete survey of the historical development of the study of human factors involved in economic development is beyond the scope of this project. In the discussion which follows, only fleeting attention will be paid to the development of related mainstreams of thought.

2.2.1 The classical conception of the determinants of economic behaviour

(a) Homo Economicus

At the end of the eighteenth century Adam Smith had already suggested that every individual is motivated by self-interest: everyone desires to improve his situation. Motivated by this "natural compulsion" individuals undertake economic activity and the cumulative effect of their different forms of activity constitutes the growth of economic institutions (12, p. 82).

Following Smith's thought, economists such as Thomas Malthus, David Ricardo, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, J.B. Say and others operated from the standpoint that the basis of economic activities is the self-interest of the individual. In their writings is confirmed the classical conception of homo economicus as a selfish individual, who, with the help of his reason, advances his own interests. (157, p. 118). The human factors which are at the root of economic activities are not intensively treated by them. For our purpose, a few of their viewpoints can be considered of historical value, for example, Bentham's emphasis on the pleasure-pain concept as the basis of human action (157, p. 165 - 169); Say's stressing of the entrepreneur as the factor which organizes the production factors, land, labour and capital (157, p. 157); Malthus' demographic pessimism, according to which the "natural tendency" for the tempo of population growth to exceed that of food production, is an insurmountable obstacle in the way of progress. (157, p. 170 - 190).

Thus we see that homo economicus is postulated as an essentially individualistic being, egotistical, sometimes rational and sometimes motivated by "basic compulsions" such as the pleasure-pain principle. In fact this narrow view of human motivation was one which economists found great difficulty in relinquishing (and which many, even today, have not relinquished). So, for example, Jevons, approximately a century after Bentham, took the latter's hedonistic pleasure-pain concept as the point of departure in his discussion of economic action (157, p. 390 and 394).

In 1871 again, in his attempt to link economic concepts to a psychological basis, Menger averred that the behaviour of the individual (which to him was the key to economic behaviour) could be traced back to individual needs, which in their turn originate from the natural desires of the individual. To him then, man's attempt to satisfy his needs is synonymous with his attempt to provide "for our lives and well-being". He continues: "It is the most important of all human endeavours, since it is the prerequisite and foundation of all others" (157, p. 348).

Similar points of departure also formed the basis of the work of Walras, Wiese, Böhm-Bawerk and Pareto (as an economist) (74, p. 581 - 634; also 157, p. 476), and remnants thereof can still be found today, as for example in the one-sided emphasizing of the so-called "profit motive" as the basis of economic activity.

(b) Nationalistic thought

During the first half of the nineteenth century Müller and List rebelled against the fact that the classical economists postulated an economy with characteristics which applied to the whole of humanity. According to them, each country's economy must be considered unique. Friedrich List (1789 - 1846) can be considered the major exponent of the concept of a national economy (64 p. 273 - 298) and although he gave no penetrating analysis of the human factors involved in economic development, he did indicate the importance of viewing the economy of every country and people as unique: "The productive powers of a nation are not only limited by the industry, thrift, morality and intelligence of its individual members, and by its natural resources or material capital, but also by its social, political and municipal laws and institutions, and especially by the securities for the continued existence, independence, and power of the nationality" (157, p. 301).

(c) The economic determinism of Marx

It is difficult to view Karl Marx in isolation. Writers such as Sismondi, Saint-Simon, Owen, Proudhon, Rodbertus, Lassalle, Hegel and others, influenced him to a great extent, while he, in turn, exercised a tremendous influence on streams of thought which came after him (74, p. 497 - 503). Marx stands out particularly for one reason, viz his establishment and development of a specific theoretical way of thinking; the so-called Dialectic Materialism. For the purpose of this report it is important that he established an economic-deterministic standpoint; in his own words: "The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life" (157, p. 242). According to Marx economic development takes place by means of social revolution. By this he means that those who bring an order into being always tend to stabilize that order by repressing new influences which threaten it, until the new influences eventually overthrow the existing order. The power which motivates the new in-

fluences is always economic, because the existing order, in its struggle for stability, always tends to establish a rigid and unchangeable social, legal and political system, without taking into account the continually changing economy. And, he asserts, the striving after better living conditions is quite the most basic urge in man. It follows naturally therefore, that if those who expend the most energy in the production effort of a country (the working class, according to Marx) do not share adequately in the results of that production effort (for example as the result of a capitalistic distribution system), they will repudiate the existing order, probably by means of revolution (12, p. 249).

It is interesting that Marx himself could not fully accept this narrow view of the determinants of human existence, since his whole idea of a class struggle as a result of the dissatisfaction of the proletariat also implied the influence of social factors (for instance group-forming processes).

2.2.2 The origin of a wider view of economic behaviour

The second half of the nineteenth century is characterized by considerable progress in the development of the humanities, particularly Psychology, Anthropology and Sociology. This progress also made its mark in Economics so that writers began, more and more, to try and do away with the narrow view of the classical homo economicus.

It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss fully these new developments in the humanities. It is sufficient to refer to the influence of Auguste Comte, who, from 1830 - 54, indicated, among other things, the importance of connecting economic phenomena with social facts (64, p. 407); or of Herbert Spencer's theory of socio-political evolution (6, p. 117 - 136); or of Wundt's studies in the field of Psychology (6, p. 216 - 222); or of Bastian who indicated the different ways in which the human psyche manifests itself in the national context (166, p. 146 - 152); or of a whole series of others, among whom are Morgan, Maine, Sumner, Ward, Darwin, Tönnies, Tylor, Le Bon and later Durkheim, Westermarck, Briffault and Simmel. The combined effect of all these writers' contributions was that a new realization of the multidimensional nature of man and his behaviour took root.

It can well be conceived that this realization also exercised an influence on Economics. Thus we find that representatives of what is known in Economics as the German Historical school (inter alia, Knies, Hildebrand, Roscher, Schmoller, Sombart and Max Weber) not only attacked the universalism of the classical writers and put forward a new method of research (deductive use of historical information), but also made an assault on the psychological basis of the classical theories (64, p. 393).

In particular, it was Werner Sombart and Max Weber who, in 1902 and 1904 - 5 respectively, established a completely new approach to the analysis of the development of capitalism: they tried, in the light of historical facts, to illuminate the capitalistic spirit (Geist), and particularly the influence of religion and social norms and values on the rise of Western capitalism. Sombart felt that Protestantism and particularly Judaism were beneficial to the capitalistic spirit and structure (157, p. 491 - 507). Weber showed how Protestantism (and particularly Calvinism), as opposed to traditionally bound Eastern religions, promoted the growth of a rational economic climate which was extremely favourable to economic development, particularly as regards private initiative. The other important point which Weber wished to stress, was the difference in economic activity between communities where rational thought prevails and those where traditionalism reigns. (cf. 157, p. 508 - 520; also 232, p. 262 - 274). Thus we find, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the first searching attempts to link economic development to specific human factors.

2.2.3 The study of the human factors which play a role in economic development from 1900 to 1940

(a) Studies by economists

It is significant that up to the Second World War, the study of the human factors which play a role in economic development was far more superficial than one would have anticipated after the appearance of the works of Weber and Sombart (compare par. 2.2.2 above). This field is also often tackled by economists who frequently, for understandable reasons, devote more attention to theoretically controllable economic phenomena ("controllable" according to the principle of ceteris paribus) than to the human determinants of those phenomena. Nevertheless we can speak of a new approach in so far as deliberate attention was being paid to human factors.

Thus, for example, the so-called "Institutional School" among whom is Veblen with his "Instinct of Workmanship" (1914), has made an important contribution by trying to establish a behaviouristic basis for economic behaviour. According to Haney (74, p. 719 - 720) this group's points of departure are as follows:

"(1) They believe that group 'behaviour', not price, should be the central theme of economics.

(2) They recognize that human behaviour is constantly changing, and that economic generalizations should be relative to time and place.

(3) They emphasize custom, habit, and law, as modes of organizing economic life.

(4) They hold that important motives which influence individuals cannot be measured.

(5) They assert that maladjustments in economic life are not to be regarded as departures from a normal equilibrium, but are themselves normal, - at least under existing institutions."

Unfortunately, not a great deal was gained by this approach in the long run, probably because the institutional aspects ("laws, customs and habits") were over-emphasized, motives were seen as vague and unmeasurable, the over-emphasis of the instinctive basis of human behaviour (possibly under the influence of Freudian Psychology) reduced man to a fundamentally irrational being and by implication presupposed a laissez-faire policy. (74, p. 723 - 733).

Another important contribution was that of Schumpeter who distinguished, in the creative, organizing entrepreneur, an important link in the process of economic development. Although he reached an important milestone by this contribution, Schumpeter, for understandable reasons (he was an economist, not a sociologist, psychologist or ethnologist) did not go into the psychological characteristics of the entrepreneur very thoroughly. Furthermore, he deliberately refrained from devoting too much attention to other human factors (157, p. 746), the result being a limitation in the utility value of his theory: we can only say that he did indeed clearly indicate that the entrepreneur plays a decisive role in economic development.

Tawney's contribution (219) as regards the role played by religion in the coming in to being of capitalism, is mainly a repetition of the thoughts of Weber and Sombart, while Robertson's (187) *The Rise of Economic Individualism* can be put in the same category.

In general it can be said that from the time of the appearance of Sombart's and Weber's works up until just before the Second World War, economists (with the exception of a few contributions and particularly those mentioned above) did not devote very searching attention to the human factors involved in economic development. As regards those contributions which were made, we do indeed find extremely valuable new insights and approaches, but no complete, penetrating attempt to study the origin and functioning of the social, psychological and cultural determinants of economic development.

(b) Studies by non-economists

It is possible to consider economic phenomena from points of view other than that of Economics. Max Weber's study, which has already been mentioned, should perhaps be viewed as an example of precisely such an approach, where the working method was cultural-historical rather than economic. One finds in anthropological literature particularly that attention is devoted to economic phenomena (in this case chiefly as they appear among "primitive" peoples), while few sociological and psychological studies also deal with economic phenomena, cf. Goodfellow (69), Robertson (187), Aldrich (1), Davis (40) and Foster (59).

Up to and including 1940 there were relatively few anthropologists who worked in this direction. As a matter of fact the economic organization of nations is often mentioned in ethnographic works, but only a few writers pay specific attention to economic factors, among others Firth (53); Malinowski (135); Herskovits (78), Richards (184, 185); Viljoen (230); Evans-Pritchard (51); Forde (56); Thurnwald (224); Mead (146). Even fewer writers pay any attention to the cultural factors which play a role in economic development, although several articles and works in which attention is given to the westernization of primitive peoples, per se treat economic development, industrialization, modernization, et cetera, from an anthropological point of view, but not necessarily in detail. Several well-known writers can be mentioned in this connection (see 117) among whom are Pitt-Rivers (173, 174); Elkin (49); Malinowski (136, 137); Keesing (113, 114, 115); Schapera (194); Schrieke (198); Mead (144, 145); Thurnwald (223); Brown and Hutt (28); Hunter (103); Mair (133, 134); Hogbin (92); Westermann (233).

No attempt is made in the works of any of these writers to obtain a complete picture of the human or even cultural factors involved in economic development. Nevertheless these writers have been instrumental in the development of certain important concepts and principles which have bearing on the process of cultural change, for example the concept of acculturation; the importance for cultural change of innovation; the principle that change in one cultural sphere (for example economic organization) finds an echo in change in

other spheres (for example religion, social organization etc.); the realization that the same policy measures do not necessarily have the same effect on different nations; the principle that no country's individual identity and culture should summarily be destroyed; et cetera.

2.3 LITERATURE SINCE 1940

Since 1940, there has been a sharp rise in the number of studies which deal with economic development, cultural change, modernization, industrialization, the development of underdeveloped areas, et cetera. There has been a clearly noticeable tendency at the same time, especially since approximately 1950, towards the study of the human factors which form the basis of these phenomena. The last-mentioned studies are also not tackled by representatives of one or two fields of study only, but by economists, ethnologists, sociologists, psychologists, agriculturalists, statesmen and even educationists. The most important literature in this connection, is the following:

2.3.1 Human factors as dealt with by economists

An increasing interest in and acknowledgement of the social, cultural, psychological and similar factors which play a part in economic development is noticeable in economic writings of recent years.

It would, however, not be wrong to state that few economists specify the nature of these factors and their relation to economic development. Usually, not much more than mere intellectual acknowledgement is accorded to this type of factor. Thus, for example, Kaldor states: "The most plausible answer to the question why some human societies progress so much faster than others is to be sought ... in human attitudes to risk-taking and money-making. ... Economic speculation here trespasses on the fields of sociology and social history; and the most that an economist can say is that there is nothing in economic analysis as such which would dispute the important connection, emphasised by economic historians and sociologists, between the rise of a Protestant ethic and the rise of Capitalism" (109, p. 228) (see also par. 2.2.2). At the most, a praiseworthy attempt is made to name these factors and describe them briefly - for example, Kindleberger (119, p. 18 - 39), Hirschmann (89, p. 1 - 28), Duesenberry (42, p. 68 - 74) and Higgins (88, p. 224 - 326) - but they are seldom integrated into an economic development theory or analysed in detail. Certain important exceptions to this rule are the following:

(a) Rostow, who formulates the aim of his work The Process of Economic Growth as "an effort to introduce into formal economic analysis variables which incorporate the human response ..." (190, p. 11). He goes on to say: "These variables are designed to constitute a link between the domain of the conventional economist on the one hand, and the sociologist, anthropologist, psychologist and historian on the other" (190, p. 11). Rostow continues: "It is central to the perspective of this book that the economic decisions which determine the rate of growth and the productivity of the working force and of capital should not be regarded as governed by the strictly economic motives of human beings. Economic action is judged the outcome of a complex process of balancing material advance against other human objectives" (190, p. 11). He is also of the opinion that -

- (i) The extent of economic growth in an economy can be measured against changes in the size and quality (including productivity) of its labour force and of its capital stock which together determine the production level ("level of output") of that economy (190, p. 55).
- (ii) Changes in the size and quality of the labour force are determined by the following variables: the birth-rate, death-rate, role of women and children in the labour force, skill of the labour force and the extent to which energy is utilised by the labour force. Changes in the size and quality of the capital stock are determined by the following variables: additions to the capital stock, the volume of expenditure on the development of basic and applied science, the proportion of innovations which are accepted, the volume of expenditure on investment and appropriateness of the desired level of consumption in the light thereof (190, p. 56 - 57).
- (iii) The variables mentioned in (ii) above are determined by the following basic human propensities: the propensity for developing basic science; the propensity for employing science for the achievement of economic aims; the propensity for accepting innovations; the propensity for striving after material progress; the propensity for consumption; the propensity for having children.

These propensities, which are related to the above-mentioned economic variables, are accessible for investigation to the sociologist, ethnologist and psychologist as far as the appearance, motivation and social context thereof is concerned (190, p. 11 - 12).

Rostow also states that a general theory of society is lacking, that this makes it difficult to analyse the above-mentioned propensities and the accurate prediction of attitudes regarding these propensities, that such a theory ought to be developed and that it should at least make provision for the many-sided motivation of man and for the dynamic interaction between the economic and all the other aspects of society (190, p. 44 - 54).

(b) Hagen (71, 72) is an economist who attempts to relate economic development also to non-economic determinants of development. According to him, the core variables in economic development are the production structure (techniques, degree and tempo of investment, saving, technical progress, composition of investment and produced goods), the social structure (class relationships, social distance between classes, pattern of interpersonal relationships, etc.) and the personality structure (scope of knowledge, outlook on life, needs, e.g. for achievement, values regarding occupations, etc.). He compiles two ideal types, viz a "peasant society" on the one hand and a technological-progressive society on the other and establishes basic differences with regard to social and personality structure between these two (88, p. 301 - 305). In his work, *On the Theory of Social Change*, Hagen attempts to indicate that the difference between these two types of societies can be attributed to the fact that traditional societies tend, by means of an educational system based on deprivation and punishment, to cultivate an authoritarian modal personality type which is not inclined to change. The technological-progressive community on the other hand encourages a need for achievement in the individual through its educational system, which, in turn, inspires him towards creativity (72, p. 116 - 120).

(c) Hoselitz (95, 96, 97, 98, 99), like Rostow and Hagen, is an economist who attempts to devote attention to what he calls the non-economic aspects of economic development. He has published a whole series of articles since 1953, in which he pays attention to the relationship which exists, inter alia, between social structure, demographic factors, social mobility, tradition, urbanization, social values, et cetera and economic development (see 95, 97, 99). In practically all these articles, Hoselitz approaches the problem from a theoretical point of view and aims at the establishment of "middle-range" theories (in the Mertonian sense of the word) by means of the extension and/or integration of existing economic, sociological, psychological or ethnological theories and knowledge. Thus, for example, he uses, among other things, certain of the Parsonian pattern variables as a reference framework in his treatment of the differences between developed ("advanced") and underdeveloped countries (97, p. 28 - 42). Elsewhere, he combines Max Weber's opinions in connection with the differences between Western and non-Western communities with those of F.S.C. Northrop and comes to the conclusion that Weber's distinction between traditional and rational forms of social values should be supplemented by making a distinction between what he calls "aesthetic" and "conceptual" thought patterns (99, p. 678 - 692). Hoselitz does not limit himself to this procedure only and, in his article "Tradition and Economic Growth" (98, p. 83 - 113), he creates his own reference framework for the analysis of tradition-orientated behaviour: It is interesting, in passing, that Hoselitz concludes that "while it may be argued that traditionalism is always adverse to economic development, the same cannot be said of tradition" (98, p. 111).

It cannot be disputed that Hoselitz did important work and arrived at important conclusions. It is also a fact that cognisance should be taken of these findings. Unfortunately, Hoselitz did not attempt to indicate the interrelationship between his findings and those of other researchers; in addition, he only gives an insight into parts (admittedly important parts) of reality and not into what those basic components of and interrelationship between the components of such a reality are.

(d) J.J. Spengler devotes special attention to the connection between politico-economic development and systems of values (see 207 and 208). His article, "Theory, Ideology, Non-Economic Values, and Politico-economic Development" (208), in particular, gives an extremely informative exposition of this connection and emphasises the fact that the direction and tempo of politico-economic development are determined by ideological and related non-rational values of the population and especially of the élite. It is one of Spengler's basic theses that the extent to which these values inhibit the rational approach of man to his world, exerts a determinative influence on politico-economic development. Spengler also indicates elsewhere (207) that, especially in underdeveloped areas, where rationality sometimes plays a minor role in economic decisions, it may be necessary for the state to intervene (to take over the "rationality function", as it were), if economic development is desired. He also feels that the need for intervention by the state may increase at the outset but that it will eventually decrease as the rationality of economic subjects increases.

Although certain other economists have rendered similar contributions, those of Rostow, Hagen, Hoselitz and Spengler stand out as a result of their intensive and extensive treatment of this type of theme and the discussion of their contributions is considered sufficient.

2.3.2 Literature on the socio-cultural and psychological basis of economic development

From the foregoing exposition, it appears that various attempts have already been made by economists to investigate, or at least indicate, the socio-cultural and psychological basis of economic development. There have, however, also been such attempts in the fields of the psychological and social sciences. The most important are the following:

(a) Parsons and Smelser (161) apply the Parsonian theory of social action to economic phenomena. According to them, the economy is a functional sub-system of society, which is mainly differentiated from the other sub-systems (e.g. from the political sub-system) in respect of the adaptive function (of society). However, this system is, in itself, a system with a fourfold functional differentiation (thus the economy is, in its turn, divisible into sub-systems), viz the "capitalization and investment" sub-system, the "production" sub-system (including distribution and sales) the "economic commitments" sub-system and the "organizational" sub-system (the entrepreneurial function), which, according to Parsons and Smelser, correspond to the so-called "functional imperatives" of a system of action, viz adaptation, integration, goal gratification and pattern-maintenance. Since the maintenance of the equilibrium and/or continued existence of a society is based upon the satisfaction of these functional imperatives (161, p. 16), the economic sub-system is confronted mutatis mutandis with the dilemma of choosing between the different "pattern-variables" (self-orientation vs. collectivity-orientation; universalism vs. particularism; functional specificity vs. functional diffuseness; affectivity vs. affective neutrality; achievement vs. ascription). It is clear that we are not dealing here with any simple theoretical framework; in fact, this highly abstract framework will only after an intensive (and probably lengthy) study be understood to such an extent that it can be adapted to research on human factors involved in economic development. It is also important to note that Williams doubts whether Parsons' scheme makes "real predictions" possible; he wonders whether it is not limited to post facto classifications and interpretation (234, p. 95).

It would nevertheless be foolish to take no further notice of Parsons and Smelser's approach and it is essential for the prospective researcher in this field to review the Parsonian scheme thoroughly.

(b) In his article, "The Social Framework of Economic Development", Moore distinguishes between four levels for the analysis of social systems, viz the ideological, institutional, organizational and motivational levels (152, p. 59).

"The 'ideological' level concerns common orientations, including notably ultimate values and specific collective goals and aspirations. The 'institutional' level, namely, normative complexes relating to major functions or aspects of social systems, also relates essentially to society as a whole. The 'organizational' level is concerned with concrete sub-systems of society. The 'motivational' level is concerned with translating institutional and organizational prescriptions into behavior ..." (152, p. 59).

With these levels of analysis as a basis, he goes on to discuss the requirements for economic development. This discussion is extremely fruitful, in so far as it provides, in Moore's words, a "systematic check-list of variables for particular analyses" (152, p. 58).

Moore deals elsewhere with the "cultural, institutional, socio-psychological factors that induce or impede the transition from non-industrial to industrial employment" (150, p. 5).

Although Moore concentrates in this case on the prerequisites for industrial development, and with the worker, not the entrepreneur, as the point of departure, his study provides a host of important insights from various subject fields. He indicates so-called "barriers" to and "stimulants" of change which have to do with traditional culture and its change (security, status, lack of knowledge of alternatives, loss of socially recognized skills and rights, population "pressure", loss of traditional markets, evasion of traditional religious and familial obligations, etc.), as well as with the modern milieu (political pressure such as taxation, new prestige norms, occupational mobility, social mobility, new experiences, ethnic discrimination, etc.). He mentions the fact, among other things, that the whole transitional problem can be conceptualised in terms of the process of acculturation (see also 2.3.3 below), in which the influences of the external culture and the characteristics of the recipient culture must be scrutinized more closely (150, p. 178 - 179). The reason for such a view is that the motivational orientation in respect of economic life differs from culture to culture. He is also of the opinion that, in the analysis of the influence of the external culture, special attention should be paid to the cultural aspects which are transferred, the prestige of the cultural agents, the way in which contact is made, the continuity of contact and the degree of complexity of cultural

elements which are transferred. As far as the recipient culture is concerned, he feels that the extent of correspondence between cultures, the degree of functional integration of the culture and problems with regard to vested interests should be taken into account (150, p. 179 - 194). He is also of the opinion that it is important to devote attention to the functional change undergone by cultural elements of the external culture, as well as to the chain reaction effect which one cultural change within the recipient culture has on other cultural elements (150, p. 194 - 199).

(c) According to Nash, the scheme in his article "Some Social and Cultural Aspects of Economic Development", offers "... a way of picking from the welter of social facts those most intimately associated with economic development and cultural change. It offers a first approximation to ordering social and cultural features in a manner consistent with interpreting the major sources of stability and lability in a society" (155, p. 292).

Nash distinguishes the following aspects:

1. The social stratification pattern.
2. The system of values.
3. The economic sub-system.
4. The political sub-system.

Under each of these aspects, he provides a set of hypothetical conditions for development and feels that they can be used diagnostically to determine a community's potential for economic development. So, for example, he states that factors such as the degree of social mobility, opportunity for obtaining wealth, ideological diversification, nationalism, consensus of values, capital assets, institutional diversification, political monopoly, et cetera, together indicate the preparedness for development.

(d) Thompson (222, 221) gives an exposition of the procedure followed in the "Indian Education, Personality and Administration" project to combine data from various subject fields. The basic aim of the project was to improve the application of the United States of America's Red Indian policy: "the aim ... of helping the tribes to organize and rehabilitate themselves and to improve their lands and natural resources" (221, p. 52). This aim was, according to Thompson, not merely to ensure economic development but rather: "How can the health, mental hygiene, total resources, and group welfare of the whole community, viewed as a super-system of the organic type, be nurtured and conserved within the limitations and pressures of its total environment?" (221, p. 59).

Scientists who studied this problem included anthropologists, psychiatrists, medical practitioners, linguists and administrators and a wide series of scientific data was consequently gathered. It was, therefore, necessary to obtain a multi-dimensional framework for the combination of data. Thompson has the following to say on this aspect: "In our explorations of such types of communities by means of a multiple-discipline methodology we have found it fruitful to work simultaneously in six dimensions. These are as follows:

1. The ecologic dimension - the pattern of relations between the community and its natural environment.
2. The somatic dimension - the community viewed as a group of somatic units.
3. The sociologic dimension - the interacting human organisms which comprise the community viewed as a society.
4. The symbolic dimension - the communal symbolic system including language, ceremonials, arts and crafts, mythology, folklore, science, et cetera.
5. The psychic dimension - the community viewed as a group of transacting personalities in process of formation and self-realization.
6. The core values dimension - the community's system of largely implicit, emotionally-tinged beliefs and attitudes regarding the nature of the world of man, of animals and plants, and the sources and dynamics of power within that system" (222, p. 76 - 77; also 221, p. 60).

(e) The interest focus of Riggs (186) is the administrative process in what he calls "transitional countries" (186, p. 95). According to Riggs a transitional society can best be conceptualized in terms of a model in which ideal types of traditional, transitional and modern societies are typified (186, p. 3 - 5 and 19 - 27). Riggs developed a model in which he took as a basic point of departure one of Talcott Parsons' five pattern variables, viz that of diffuseness vs. specificity. In his own words: "Whenever a structure performs a large number of functions, we may say it is 'functionally diffuse'; when it performs a limited number, it is 'functionally specific' ... We can now create two models for social systems of a purely hypothetical type: in the first, all structures are highly diffuse; in the second, very specific. We will call the first model diffracted and the second,

fused" (186, p. 22 - 23). He goes on to indicate that his "diffracted society" corresponds to modern societies and his "fused society" to traditional societies. As an interim stage he creates a model which he calls "prismatic society" and which corresponds to transitional societies (186, p. 27 - 31).

Riggs then goes on to use his model in the analysis of the influence exerted by economic ecology, the transitional élite, social structures, transitional symbols, so-called "bureaucratism", financing, personnel administration, communication and local government on the administration of transitional societies. In this attempt he makes it his aim to utilize knowledge obtained from political science, legal sciences, anthropology, sociology, economy and psychology. The value of Riggs's contribution lies in the fact that he attempts to establish a framework of reference for the analysis of transitional societies and tries to use it with interdisciplinary material.

(f) Moore and Feldman (153) investigate the influence of the "work place", the market system and the social structure on what they call "labor commitment". According to them, "labor commitment" points to the full internalization of norms of a new production organization and the social system which accompanies it. They also distinguish between degrees of "commitment" and feel that full "commitment" of the labour force is essential for successful industrialization (153, p. 1). According to Moore, "commitment" occurs in three areas ("loci"). These three areas are analytically interesting and are set out by him as follows:

- I The work place
 - A Workers and machines
 - B Division of labour
 - C Authority
- II The market system
 - A The labour market
 - B The commodity market
- III The social structure
 - A Kinship
 - B Stratification
 - C Political systems
 - D Common orientations (153, p. 10 - 11)

In each of these areas there are certain actions and norms which can be regarded as necessary for a functionally-integrated industrial system. Traditionally orientated workers who wish to enter the culture of such a system do not usually make provision for these conditions. It is therefore necessary that they should change. Moore is of the opinion that this change and thus "commitment" can be brought about in each of the above-mentioned areas by using "agencies of socialization" to transfer "intrinsically relevant actions and norms" (153, p. 12). In this connection, it is necessary to take note of the "precommitment" and "predisposing agencies and processes", of transitional phenomena and of the ways in which internalization is established and continued (153, p. 11).

(g) Foster (58), in his important work, Traditional Cultures: and the Impact of Technological Change, attempts to establish a manual for persons immediately concerned with economic development schemes in underdeveloped areas. He distinguishes between psychological, social and cultural factors involved in economic development. This work, notwithstanding its considerable merit, is, however, lacking in theoretical sophistication and does not give any indication whether all possible non-economic factors are covered by it. So, for instance, his indication of what psychological, cultural or social factors are, rests on an intuitive rather than on a theoretically-founded basis (see 58, p. 59 - 60), with the result that his treatment of "barriers" and "stimulants" of change establishes a confusing and incomplete - though interesting - picture. For instance, under "cultural factors" he discusses a potpourri of so-called norms, values, attitudes, ethnocentrism, as well as "culture structure" and "motor patterns and customary body positions", without devoting any attention to traditional political and economic organization or kinship systems; his discussion of and distinction between social and psychological factors is equally incomplete and confusing.

(h) Lerner's view (125) amounts to the fact that what he terms "empathy" forms the basis of economic development. According to him, the concept of "empathy" is "... the capacity to see one-self in the other fellow's situation" and it is the chief characteristic of the so-called "mobile personality" or the development-orientated personality (125, p. 48 - 50). He continues: "It is a major hypothesis of this study that high empathic capacity is the predominant personal style only in modern society which is distinctively industrial

urban, literate and participant" (125, p. 50). By "participant" he means that individuals who make personal decisions in connection with public matters often have to enter into a dialogue with other (sometimes unknown) individuals. He is also of the opinion that: "Traditional society is non-participant - it deploys people by kinship into communities isolated from each other ...: lacking the bonds of interdependence, people's horizons are limited by locale and their decisions involve only other known people in known situations." (125, p. 50). He calls the "non-participant" a "constrictive personality", in contrast to the so-called "empathic personality" (125, p. 51).

Lerner also feels that the incidence of development-orientated, empathic personalities in a society increases with the increase in the extent of urbanization, literacy and exposure to mass communication media of that society (125, p. 55 and 56). He proves this hypothesis by using empirical data obtained by the application of a questionnaire to four Middle East nations.

(i) Katona's study on the psychological analysis of economic behaviour (111) points out problems rather than laying down principles regarding economic behaviour. He shows that the psychological analysis of economic behaviour is possible but that this analysis was only in an initial stage at the time of the writing of his work. (1951). According to him, economic behaviour is not mechanistically explicable, i.e. in similar circumstances an individual will not necessarily react the same way or react in the same way as another individual. He is not motivated by biological urges or needs alone but also by attitudes, other individuals and groups, expectations, emotions, habits, aspirations, perceptions, et cetera. (111, p. 6 - 10, 31 - 40).

(j) McClelland (140, 141, 142) regards the achievement motive as the primum mobile of economic development. According to him, those persons with a strong achievement motive are responsible for culturally creative action and they take over the entrepreneurial function of the community. The achievement motive is described by McClelland, in pursuance of Freud, as "a desire to do well, not so much for the sake of social recognition and prestige, but to obtain an inner feeling of personal accomplishment" (140, p. 76).

In order to determine the relative "strength" of the achievement motive in various individuals, McClelland has designed a basically psychological measuring instrument which is of such a nature that a researcher can use it only after intensive and specialised study. He is of the opinion that he has found proof (140, p. 76 - 90) that economic development is determined by the activities of achievement-motivated entrepreneurs, that there are fewer such people in poor than in rich countries and that the numbers of such persons should be increased. He feels that such an increase can best take place by means of the educational system (140, p. 90 - 95).

2.3.3 Literature on economic and related development as processes of cultural change

Several writers connect economic development, industrialization, technological change, modernization and related phenomena with processes of cultural change. A few pointers to this have appeared in the works already discussed in the previous paragraphs (compare Moore's reference to acculturative processes, as well as various culturological elements in the works of the anthropologists Nash and Thompson).

In various social science and particularly anthropological circles there is, according to Vera Rubin, a growing interest in the problems which accompany the development of underdeveloped areas (191, p. 120).

Herskovits considers anthropological theories and "methods of cultural dynamics" to be prerequisites for a thorough understanding of the economic development of underdeveloped nations (86) and that a concept such as Moore and Feldman's "labor commitment" can only be properly understood with the help of the knowledge offered by Anthropology (85).

Most studies dealing with the connection between cultural change and economic or related development are of a general nature, or concern cultural influences extraneous to the changing culture which act as catalysts on cultural change (acculturation), or concern the distribution of new cultural elements (which originate within or without) throughout a culture (diffusion). A few works also deal specifically with influences which originate within the changing culture to bring about cultural change (chiefly the creativity of the cultural agents and the presence of influences conducive to cultural change).

(a) General Works

Mead's work (147) Cultural Patterns and Technical Change is evidence of singular insight into the non-economic factors involved in economic development, but is of little assis=

tance in creating a theoretical framework for further research. According to Mead herself the basis of her work is indeed the conceptual model of culture as a "systematic and integrated whole" (147, p. 9) but the possible elements of this model are nowhere specified on a theoretical level.

Bascom and Herskovits (9) emphasize that the study of cultural change in Africa in the twentieth century should be anthropologically, rather than sociologically, orientated and that the method of study should be ethno-historical rather than synchronic-structural. Administrative policy and programmes for guided acculturation must take into account the indigenous culture and degree of integration of that culture.

According to Steward, (213) cultural change is predictable because similar acculturative and evolutionary processes take place throughout the world, as a result of the influence of industrial cultures on traditional cultures. A series of predictable cultural-ecological changes always accompany this twentieth century phenomenon. Thus, for example, the following can be predicted: attempts at educational development, entrepreneurship, the slackening of family ties, the demand for consumer goods, urbanization, health improvement, nationalism, et cetera. This predictability makes social planning possible.

On the other hand, Kluckhohn and Kroeber (120) maintain that there is still a lack of theoretical principles concerning cultural change and the causes of this change are still relatively obscure. They feel that control of cultural change can only come about if these gaps can be filled.

Included in Keesing's extended bibliography (117) of anthropological literature, concerning cultural change, which appeared until 1952, are several works on Applied Anthropology and technological change. Unfortunately there is no intensive discussion of works dealing with the connection between cultural change and economic and related development. Nevertheless it remains a valuable list of sources.

Rubin's discussion of literature on "The Anthropology of Development" (191) is far more useful, particularly as a source of reference concerning case studies. However she deals chiefly with works which appeared during the period 1958 - 1960. A partially complementary discussion is that of the Spindlers on "Culture Change" (210), which covers the immediately preceding period.

(b) Works on acculturation

The study of acculturation, (the process of cultural change which takes place as a result of the effect of influences which originate outside the changing culture) first received really comprehensive attention in the period after the 1920's and 30's (31, p. 2). Acculturation studies were usually concerned with a traditional culture confronted by a Western one and therefore also with phenomena such as economic development, industrialization and technological change. Few of these works actually attempt to establish an integrating framework for the treatment of acculturation and economic (or similar) development. However, it is necessary to take note of the following works at least:

(i) In 1936 an article by a committee consisting of Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, appeared in the *American Anthropologist* (161) (although this article appeared prior to 1940, it is discussed at this juncture since it is closely connected with paragraph (ii) below).

Guidelines for the conceptual classification of acculturation studies are indicated in this article. They point out that attention should at least be given to the type of contact in the acculturative situation (whether it is between groups or populations; whether it is amicable or hostile; the relative size of groups; relative complexity thereof; etc.), the type of situation (enforced acculturation; degree of political and social disparity between groups), the processes involved (selection of cultural elements, e.g. the sequence; determination of elements, e.g. practical advantage, prestige value, etc.; integration of elements e.g. time factor, conflict, adaptation), the psychological mechanisms according to which selection and integration take place (the role of the individual; personality types; socio-economic variables, etc.), the results of acculturation (acceptance, adaptation, reaction).

(ii) This statement was followed in 1954 by that of Barnett, Broom, Siegel, Vogt and Watson (8). According to them acculturation should be conceptualized in the following terms: boundary-maintaining mechanisms which are not the same for different cultures; self-correcting mechanisms which indicate the culture's capacity for internal adaptation and functional change; the ecology and demography of the contact situation; inter-cultural roles as communication and transmission channels; cultural creativity and the

reinterpretation of cultural elements; disintegration, progressive adaptation, integration and assimilation; the tempo of change and personality and acculturation.

- (iii) Another work which provides food for thought is that of Linton (128). He contends that a clear grasp of culture and cultural change is imperative in order to understand acculturation. According to him the basis of cultural change lies in the fact that the function of culture is to provide techniques for the satisfaction of needs, but that such cultural adaptations are never so perfect that they cannot be improved on. This leads to attempts at improved cultural techniques. Techniques can be created within the "cultural-social configuration", but can also be donated in an already developed form from without. In either case this technique or cultural element must be adopted and internalized (or rejected) by the culture by means of a process of diffusion which embraces the initial acceptance thereof by "innovators", the distribution thereof to other members of the community and the modification whereby it is adapted to the existing cultural matrix. A whole series of factors play decisive roles at each of these levels (128, p. 463 - 482).

Where cultural elements are carried over from one culture to another, says Linton, a whole series of other factors come into play. These are viz the manner in which these cultural elements are seen by the borrowers (the form as well as the meaning thereof) and the selection by the recipient group (on the strength of utility value, compatibility with the pre-existing culture patterns and prestige associations). Linton also emphasizes the time factor, the psychological effects of cultural contact, the duration, intimacy and continuity of contact, the effects of contact on the environment, the availability of elements for borrowing, the attitudes of groups and their size and complexity (128, p. 483 - 500).

Finally, Linton devotes a great deal of attention to a discussion of what he calls "directed cultural change" and "social-cultural fusion". According to him, the former can only exist in contact situations where there is "dominance" and "submission", fusion can occur in either of these situations or in the absence thereof (128, p. 501 - 520).

- (iv) P.J. Coertze's exposition of acculturation is also based on the view that it embraces a process of adaptation to an altered environment (the contact situation) which subjects the ethnic units concerned to new demands which must be satisfied in order to survive (31, p. 3). The adoption of cultural elements can either be enforced, take place spontaneously or come about by a process of guided acculturation (Coertze differs from Linton on this point). Coertze discusses in finer detail the course of acculturative processes, factors which determine the course, and the results of acculturation. According to him the following events occur during acculturation: behavioural change; and the transference of ideas; disturbance in the personality structure of individuals; disturbances ("steurnis") in the national character ("Volkskorpus") of the group adopting the alien culture; cultural adoption and social dissolution; and reintegration into a new entity (31, p. 10 - 15). These occurrences are influenced by the manner of contact, differences in numerical strength, differences in cultural level, relative degree of adaptation to the environment, capacity for adaptation, racial differences, patriotism and conservatism, and historical factors (31, p. 15 - 33).

(v) Other brief expositions of acculturation are given in various general anthropological hand-books, among others Beals and Hoijer's (11, p. 735 - 738), Herskovits' (83, p. 523 - 542) and Gillin's (65, p. 553 - 569). Herskovits also provides a thorough treatment of literature, with special reference to case studies.

(c) Literature on guided acculturation

R.D. Coertze expounds on the ethnologist's task of assisting the authorities in the attainment of policy aims by providing knowledge of the process of guided acculturation (the bringing about of acculturation by deliberate influence). (32, p. 35 - 58). He is of the opinion that research in this connection is particularly poorly developed in South Africa.

Jones contends that groups and individuals can be deliberately influenced to attain predetermined targets by means of "planned organizational change". From an analytical point of view the process of change, according to him, consists of (1) an agent of change, (2) a client system, (3) aims, (4) strategies, (5) the structuralization of change, (6) evaluation. The following change strategies can be applied: Coercion, induced tension, active participation, teaching and training, placement of manpower and prestige persons, demonstration of utility, action research, technical modification, use of marginal persons (108, p. 193 - 194). (For a related approach see also (e) below, particularly (e) (iv)).

(d) Literature on cultural change initiated from within

Probably the best-known and most important work in this connection is Barnett's Innovation : The Basis of Cultural Change. This work is pre-eminently theoretical and deals with the process through which cultural creations come into being. Although the connection between this process and economic or related development is not discussed formally, an indication is given in this work of how the creative potential of the individual has a share in all cultural change (and thus also in economic and related change). According to Barnett, creative potential is influenced by the individual's cultural background on the one hand, and his needs and desires on the other. Examples of what Barnett deals with under the heading of cultural background are the necessity for a so-called "accumulation" and "concentration" of thoughts, as well as a "collaboration of effort", a "conjunction of differences", an "expectation of change" et cetera: while under needs and desires he treats "self-wants", (e.g. need for recognition) "dependant wants" and "the desire for change" (7, p. 39 - 180). Although a comprehensive discussion of Barnett's work is not suitable at this point, attention should however be drawn to the fact that he attempts to give a theoretical indication of the innovative process (7, p. 181 - 290) as well as of the process of acceptance or rejection of an innovation by the community (7, p. 291 - 410). Concerning the latter, Barnett also makes provision for the fact that certain innovations might come from outside the culture, and that a redefinition of such an element takes place in terms of the cultural frame of reference of the recipient culture.

Few other anthropological works deal extensively with the establishment of innovations within a culture. General anthropological works do indeed treat it briefly, for example those of Herskovits (83, p. 492 - 504), Gillin (65, p. 533 - 548), Hoebel (90, p. 593 - 597), Keesing (116, p. 392 - 396).

(e) Literature on diffusion processes

Reference has already been made above to Linton's view of diffusion, viz that new cultural elements (from within or without the culture) are disseminated throughout the culture by a process of diffusion, and adopted or rejected. The study of these diffusion processes (which must not be confused with the studies of the so-called "diffusionists" who examined the spread of cultural elements in certain cultural areas) was actually not primarily taken on by anthropologists, but received its due in the works of "rural sociologists" and agronomists who studied the diffusion of new agricultural techniques in rural communities. These contributions dealt, in many cases, with the spread of new culturally alien (usually Western) elements in non-western communities and are thus relevant in this context. The most important works in this connection are the following:

(i) Rogers, (189) in his interesting and valuable book, Diffusion of Innovations, tries to couple existing knowledge with what he calls "diffusion research".

Rogers defines an innovation as an idea which is perceived as new by the individual, and diffusion as the process by which an innovation spreads. The diffusion process is the spread of a new idea from its source to its eventual users (189, p.13).

According to Rogers there are four elements concerned in the analysis of the diffusion of innovations:

- (1) the innovation itself,
- (2) communication of the innovation from one person to another,
- (3) the social system(s) in which these persons find themselves and
- (4) the duration of the communication process (189, p. 12 - 19).

Rogers differentiates between the anthropological, early sociological, rural sociological, educational, industrial and medical research disciplines as disciplines which have already contributed to diffusion research (189, p. 55 - 56).

He is also of the opinion that it is necessary to make use of ideal types when investigating the influence of cultural values on diffusion. He describes and differentiates between two such ideal types, viz the traditional and modern types of social system (189, p. 57 - 75).

According to Rogers, the phases of the communication process, (see above) or what he calls the "adoption process" are as follows -

- (1) awareness, (2) interest, (3) evaluation, (4) trial, (5) adoption.

The innovation can naturally be rejected during any of the phases (189, p. 79 - 93).

Rogers also devotes attention to the characteristics of innovations, the individuals who adopt or reject these innovations, the innovators, the influence of leaders of public opinion, the role of the so-called "change agent" or person who consciously tries to disseminate innovations and finally, the prediction of creativity.

In the final chapter Rogers tries to make a contribution to the formulation of a theory of diffusion and the adoption of innovations. In doing so he makes use of, inter alia, the basic postulates of the Parsonian theory of action.

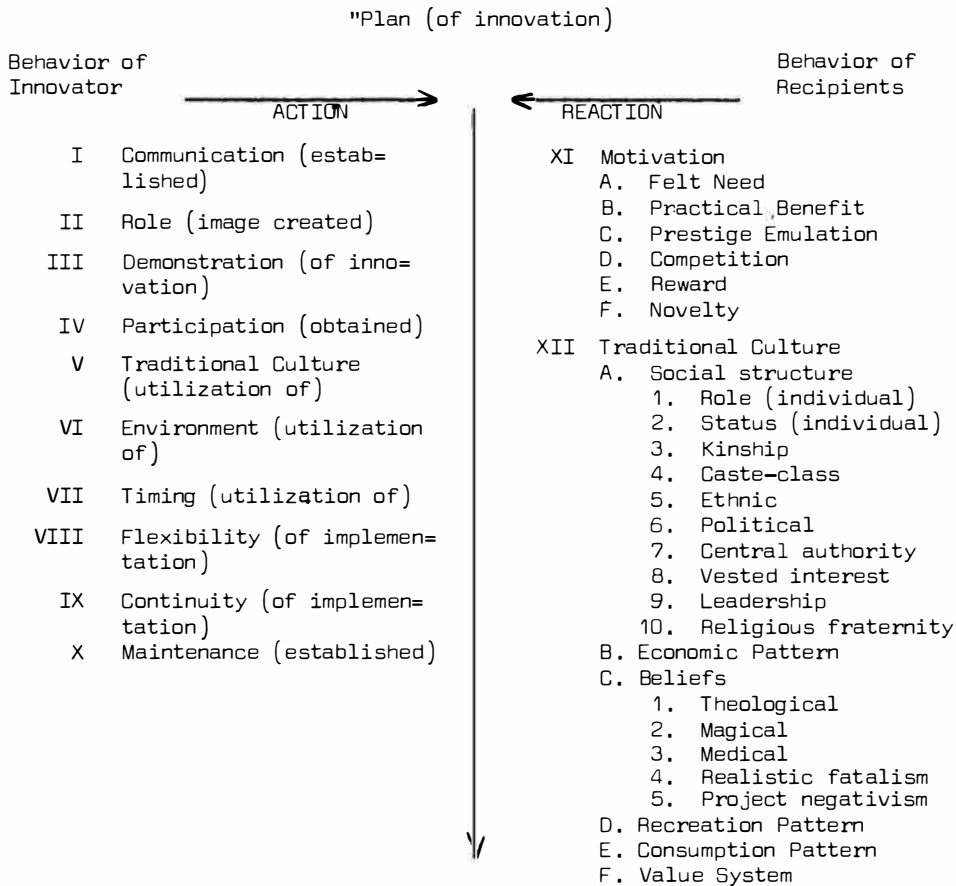
Rogers terminates his work with a useful list of generalizations with which he attempts to condense the most important findings in the field of diffusion research.

(ii) Katz, Levin and Hamilton (112) give a valuable summary of diffusion research up to 1962. According to them the process of diffusion can be described as follows:

"the (1) acceptance, (2) over time, (3) of some specific item - an idea or practice, (4) by individuals, groups or other adopting units, linked (5) to specific channels of communication, (6) to a social structure, and (7) to a given system of values, or culture (112, p. 240).

(iii) Lionberger's (127) work, Adoption of New Ideas and Practices is a summary of research in connection with the adoption of technological change in agriculture. Like Rogers, he divides the so-called "adoption process" into five phases: "awareness", "interest", "evaluation", "trial" and "adoption". He differentiates between the "individual adoption process" and the "communal adoption process" and points out that certain people accept innovations more readily than others. He also discusses the role of communication media; "special functionaries" such as innovators, influential persons and sceptics; social factors (reference groups, family, status factors etc.); cultural factors; personal factors (age, education and personality traits); and situational factors.

(iv) Niehoff and Anderson (160) try to set up a frame of reference for the description of the "process in which an innovation is introduced into another culture by an innovator and during which there is reaction by the members of the recipient culture and ultimate rejection or acceptance of the new idea or technique" (160, p. 6). This framework, as schematically set out by them, is given below:



INTEGRATION"

(160, p. 6)

According to their conceptualization the characteristics of the process are as follows:

- (1) There is a purpose (the innovation plan - some idea or technique must be disseminated).
- (2) There are a number of techniques used by the innovating agent to implement his plan.
- (3) There is the behaviour of the recipients of the innovation - the reaction to the agent's action. This is determined by the recipients' (a) motivation and by the (b) characteristics of their traditional culture.

In their application, the factors in the schematic exposition can be either stimulants or stumbling blocks in the acceptance or rejection of an innovation or they may have no effect at all. The application of factors can thus be seen as negative, positive or neutral. This is the key to the evaluation of success or failure in the acceptance of an innovation, according to Niehoff and Anderson.

2.3.4 Geographical and genetic determinism

This discussion would be incomplete if the standpoints of geographic and genetic determinism were not briefly indicated.

(a) Geographic determinism

According to this viewpoint economic development is mainly determined by geographical factors. It is not so much the lack of certain natural resources causing retardation of cultural progress and particularly production, which is emphasized (although this point can also be over-emphasized by some writers) but chiefly the influence of climate, natural resources or geographical location on human behaviour. Thus, for instance, it can be opined that a tropical climate might smother initiative or diligence, to the detriment of economic development. In this connection the best-known contributions are those of Rätzel (175), Wissler (235) and particularly Huntington (104, 105).

(b) Genetic determinism

According to this viewpoint, certain population groups, as a result of their genetic inheritance, are in a better position as regards cultural "achievement" than others. The protagonist of such a standpoint might perhaps believe that the Bantu is naturally incapable (and by this he would mean as a result of his genetic inheritance) of economic development. In this connection one is not only thinking of the attitudes of Gobineau, Chamberlain, Hitler et cetera, (23, p. 3 - 10, as well as 123, p. 95 - 98) but also of more moderate views such as those of Schwidetzky, Darlington, Gini, Gregor, Porteus, et cetera (123).

Although both these standpoints, and particularly the latter, are of an extremely controversial nature, the objective researcher must take into account the possible applicability of both in the present field of research. It is however possible to avoid lapsing into a deterministic standpoint in which economic development is exclusively ascribed to the influence of a single factor or set of factors, e.g. race, geographical environment, achievement motive, rational thought, education, or economic factors, et cetera. The simple fact that economic behaviour has already been explained in so many different ways illustrates the likelihood of a multidimensional causation of economic behaviour.

2.3.5 Other works

The available literature has by no means been exhausted in the foregoing discussion. The works discussed are considered rather as a few of the most important contributions in the field of human factors and economic development. It should also be mentioned that numerous themes, not touched upon in the foregoing discussion, although treated in the literature, are also of importance in the present field of research.

Various important compilatory works in which contributions, edited by one or more authorities, are made by different writers, give a good indication of the extended reading material in this regard, inter alia, Braibanti and Spengler (25); Finkle and Gable (52), Peter (167); McEwan and Sutcliffe (143); Stillman (214); Robinson (188); Hoselitz and Moore (100); Moore and Feldman (153); Southall (206); Forde (57); Jackson (106); Geertz (62); Kerr and others (118); Spicer (209); Shannon (199); Smelser and Lipset (205); Burns and Saul (29); Argyle and others (5).

Themes dealt with are, inter alia, the social changes which accompany economic development, e.g. Theodorson (220); the function of the entrepreneur - Gerschenkron (63) and Easterbrook (46); the correlation between public administration, politics and economic

development - Apter (4), Eisentadt (47), Almond and Coleman (2), Blanksten (22), Braibanti (24); the influence of the educational system on economic development - Anderson (3) - and the interdisciplinary analysis thereof - Brameld (26); social structure, mobility and economic development - Smelser and Lipset (205), Hoselitz (97), Elkan and Fallers (48); mass communication and economic development - Schramm (197) and Pool (170).

Most of the studies dealt with in the preceding paragraphs were concerned with broad frameworks of reference and interdisciplinary approaches. It is obvious that there will be many case and experimental studies which would back these works up to the hilt, but these cannot be discussed here.

2.4 SOUTH AFRICAN STUDIES

As has already been mentioned in paragraph 1.2.2 (p. 4), relevant South African studies cover a wide field and represent divergent research disciplines, while no attempt has as yet been made to obtain a composite picture. The most important studies are the following:

2.4.1 Studies which are directly applicable

A few writers indicate that it is imperative to take human factors into account when the socio-economic and political development of the Bantu, and sometimes also the Bantu homelands, are at issue.

Kotze has already demonstrated the importance of Bantu labour in the determination of policy in South Africa (122). Sadie further indicates that the distinctive nature of Bantu culture should be considered in the formulation of policy directed towards Bantu economic development (193). Lombard subscribes to this view and adds that it is also necessary to cultivate certain typically Western attitudes and thought patterns among the Bantu at school (130) - a standpoint which is shared by Stadler (212). Danziger contends that the factors which must be taken into account as regards economic growth and the Bantu are of a social-psychological nature particularly (39). Coetzee indicates that the Bantu is indeed capable of providing the high-level manpower necessary to undertake specialized labour in his own homelands (33). Rautenbach also stresses the "human factors" involved in economic development (176).

A few studies try to determine and investigate these social-psychological and other factors more intimately. Thus, for instance, Potgieter, in his dissertation on the economic integration of the Bantu into the White economic system, pays passing attention to the human factors involved in economic development (172). Glass gives an indication of the problem of the "industrialization" of the Bantu (68) and also examines the social-psychological aspects of productivity in respect of the Bantu worker (66). Du Preez attempts, by means of psycho-analytical methods, to determine which personality factors play a role in the labour motivation of the Bantu (44). Cortis (36) studied the attitudes, and Sherwood the role expectations and motivation, of urban Bantu workers. Hellman gives an indication of the correlation between modernization and tribal ties (77) and also studied Bantu productivity (76). Meyer's (49) already mentioned paper gives, among other things, a very useful exposition of the challenge which economic development presents to the Bantu as a person. Schapera also gives a valuable discussion of Tswana captains as innovators (196).

Other studies are more concerned with the influence of Western civilization on the traditional economic system of the Bantu. Examples of these are Mathewson's study on the influence of urbanization on the custom of lobola (138) and Schapera's analysis of the influence of Western civilization (194) and the migratory labour system (195) on the Bantu. Here mention must naturally also be made of the Tomlinson Report which, although it did not go into detail concerning the role of human factors, did thoroughly recognize these factors (216).

2.4.2 Studies which are less directly applicable

Some studies do not explicitly deal with the human factors connected with economic development, but do nevertheless provide important complementary insights or are related to the study of such human factors. A few important studies are the following:

Biesheuvel's various important studies on aptitude and interest among the Bantu, although he deals chiefly with urban Bantu (cf. 13 - 18). Brett studied the attitudes of the so-called "middle class" Bantu (27). De Ridder made a study of the personality of the urban Bantu (41). Hoernle, together with Hellman analysed the influence of social change on the culture of the Bantu (91). Holleman and others organized a conference during which the problems involved in the acculturation of the Bantu were discussed (93). Hunter studied the reaction of the Pondo to Western influences (103). Malinowski made use of South

African material to give an indication of the course of cultural change (137). Mayer (139), Pauw (163) and Reader (177) wrote a trilogy on the urbanization of the Bantu of the Eastern Cape. Vilikazi produced descriptive writings on social change under the influence of acculturation among the Zulu. (228, 229). Finally one can refer to an interesting attempt at communication with the Bantu, tackled by SABRA (215).

This list is incomplete. Also, it gives only a very limited indication of the themes with which writers have busied themselves. One would perhaps care to add a couple of ethnographic works. In any case many of the studies are contemplative rather than factual. Nevertheless one can maintain at this stage that the existing literature is fairly diverse in nature, that the economic development of the Bantu homelands on its own has received little attention and that the answers to the questions put in chapter 1 par. 1.2.1 are nowhere clearly given.

2.5 CONCLUSIONS

Although the foregoing review of literature was sketchy and did not cover all the applicable literature, the following nevertheless emerges very clearly:

2.5.1 The multitude of factors which play a role in economic development

Not just one, or a couple, but a multitude of factors (economic and human) act on one another and act together to bring about economic development.

A clear and complete picture of all these factors, their causes, results, interdependence, nature and functioning, can unfortunately not be obtained from a mere literature survey such as the foregoing - it must be remembered that this was chiefly a survey of representative literature and by no means a critical discussion of all the relevant reading material.

Nevertheless it can at least be deduced that the following human factors possibly play a role in economic and related development processes:

(a) The bio-psychic characteristics of the people who belong to the changing system

The bio-psychic characteristics of the people belonging to changing economic systems can exert a decisive influence on their motivation and capacity for participation in economic development. These characteristics can apply to individuals (in which case the matter is difficult to investigate) or to groups (e.g. characteristics which are applicable to a certain race group). They could also be traits which are generally demanded for economic development (e.g. Lerner's empathy) or traits which are demanded for specific activities (e.g. McClelland's achievement motive which is mostly concerned with innovators and entrepreneurs). The following characteristics can be considered important:

- (i) Somatic traits. For example the possible influence of inherited physical tendencies on something like productive capacity (particularly if it were linked to race) or of chronic conditions of illness (which e.g. could have something to do with climate) or of defective diet on something like productive capacity. Thompson and his team of experts have, among other things, also made a study of this factor (par. 2.3.2 (d)).
- (ii) Personality factors. Factors such as aptitude (for example the influence of intelligence, perception, et cetera, on the capacity to participate in certain activities which accompany economic development), interest (for example the influence of interest on the achievement motive or on creativity and vice-versa) and temperament (for example the influence of basic emotional tendencies on something like Lerner's empathy), et cetera. Writers such as Katona, McClelland, Hagen, Lerner, Foster, Thompson, Biesheuvel, Du Preez and Glass have all devoted attention to this type of factor.
- (iii) Other factors such as sex, educational background and age to which various writers give attention.

(b) The characteristics of the changing culture

The characteristics of the culture can either further or retard economic development. These characteristics could be favourable to development because of their close correspondence with development targets, or because they provide favourable development channels or because they actually aid change - or the opposite. The important characteristics are as follows:

- (i) The system of values. Various writers discuss the importance of this. Rostow, for example, names a whole series of tendencies which are connected with cultural value systems. Hoselitz, as well as other writers, emphasizes a value such as ratio=

nality. Spengler emphasizes ideological values. Moore, Nash, Thompson, Moore and Feldman, Lerner, et cetera, all stress the value systems of changing cultures.

(ii) Social structure and functional design. The regulation of interpersonal and intergroup relations within a culture is for the most part determined by certain structural and functional traits in that culture, such as e.g. the kinship system, role expectations, status hierarchy et cetera, and can exert a determinative influence on the acceptance or rejection of that which is new, e.g. of economic development. Although writers are not always in agreement as regards the meaning of the concept "social structure" or as regards the connection between structures and functions of social systems, factors such as the following are stressed in the literature: Kinship system, status, role expectations, mobility (in occupation and status), institutional framework, political arrangement, laws and sanctions. Writers such as Hagen, Moore, Nash, Thompson, Foster, Moore and Feldman, Niehoff and Anderson et cetera, all emphasize social structure as a factor in economic development, while political organization is also sometimes included as a separate category (e.g. Nash). Other writers however, emphasize the functional approach (Malinowski) or the structural-functional approach (e.g. Parsons, Smelser).

(iii) The traditional economic system. Various writers distinguish this aspect separately. Some however also speak of the economic sub-system (e.g. Nash and Parsons) and others of the production structure (e.g. Hagen). However, it is not only production that is relevant in this regard, but also distribution and consumption, especially in its cultural context.

The economic system can of course also be dualistic in the sense that a major system exerting influence from without, functions alongside of or in interaction with a traditional economic system (cf. acculturative situations).

The technological system, regarded by some writers (but not the present one) as an analytical order in its own right and distinct from the economic, must also be mentioned here. Transitional communities can also as regards this aspect, be described as dualistic e.g. where existing production techniques are being replaced by modern ones (cf. agriculture) and the traditional culture is thus experiencing conflict with the new culture.

(iv) The traditional education system. Hagen, McClelland and Lerner all stress this factor; a point of view which cannot be argued if culture is viewed as a transmitted and acquired phenomenon. According to Hagen the traditional educational system leaves an indelible mark on the developing personality and consequently on the participation of the individual in economic development.

(v) Other characteristics, for instance demographic (cf. Malthus) and racial characteristics (cf. genetic determinism).

(c) The characteristics of communities or subcultures within the changing culture

Here the urban-rural differences or the differences between new élite groups and the ordinary man in the street are at issue. Lerner, for example, distinguishes this sort of difference as one which causes the tempo of change in different geographical regions to vary. Compare also Mayer, Pauw and Reader's study of the Bantu of the Eastern Cape and the important supplementary viewpoints of Reader in a series of interesting articles on the conceptualization of and methodological differentiation between the cultural subgroups "tribal Bantu" and "detrribalized Bantu" (179, 180).

(d) The characteristics of the influencing culture

This factor appears particularly in the works referred to in connection with acculturation and diffusion. Most of the research in this connection, in fact, is given in the annals of acculturation and diffusion research, although in the latter, emphasis is laid on cultural elements rather than cultural configurations. At this juncture the most that can be said on the strength of the literature, is that the characteristics of the influencing culture are important, but that there has been little progress in the analysis of these characteristics in terms of the influence thereof on the economic development of changing cultures.

(e) The characteristics of people who exercise influence

Once more, most of the knowledge in this connection is derived from the study of acculturation and diffusion. Thus, for instance, Niehoff and Anderson indicate ten aspects of the behaviour of the so-called "innovator" who could belong to the changing culture itself, or to an alien culture. Lionberger, Rogers and Barnett all point out the important part played by influential individuals and innovators within the culture in disseminating new techniques (and thus eventually also influencing economic development). They also

indicate the role which can be played by similar persons who are not members of the changing culture. Coertze and Linton also lay particular emphasis on this aspect.

(f) Communication : the transference of elements and ideas

Linton points out that cultural change is not only influenced by new creations from within, but also by the adoption of already completed innovations from without (128, p. 469) and that factors such as the tangibility, form, meaning, et cetera of these elements influence their adoption (128, p. 485, 486). Rogers, Niehoff and Anderson, as well as Katz, Levin and Hamilton stress that it is the "communicability" of the innovation that is important.

According to Lerner, the degree of exposure to mass communication media is an indication of the degree of receptivity to development. Various other writers, particularly Schramm (197) also emphasize the role which can be played by mass communication media in the changing of attitudes towards development.

Communication also takes place in other ways such as "face to face" communication, and it is this type of communication particularly, which is emphasized by diffusion researchers. Katz, Levin and Hamilton as well as Rogers and Lionberger, lay a great deal of stress on communication processes and channels. Linton also emphasizes the duration, continuity and intimacy of cultural contact, while Coertze accentuates the manner of contact between cultures and the transference of ideas.

(g) Ecological influences

The ecological influences which affect man are both natural (in the sense that they originated through non-human natural processes) and man-made and exercise a determining influence on human life. Thompson also emphasizes this aspect.

It can be mentioned in passing that the recognition of ecological influences is related to the view that man is an open system who, for his continued existence, is dependent upon interaction with his environment and that the development of any man-made system must also be seen in an ecological light (see also chapter 3).

One might also point out that ecological influences in specific situations (e.g. the place of work as emphasized, among other things, by Moore and Feldman) can affect economic behaviour.

2.5.2 The multitude of sciences involved in this field of study

It appears from the literature survey that Economics, Anthropology, Psychology, Sociology, Education, Political Science, Agronomy and even Ecology have already contributed to this field of study. In fact the subject is often approached in an interdisciplinary manner, as is evident from the works of Hagen, Hoselitz, Thompson, Moore and Feldman, Foster, Rogers, Lionberger, Katz and others, Niehoff and Anderson, Braibanti and Spengler, Hoselitz and Moore, and Rostow.

2.5.3 The great variety of theoretical orientations, methodological approaches and foci which are possible within these sciences.

To name only a few : the classic economists' view of human motivation; Marx's economic determinism; Veblen's behaviouristic point of departure; Weber's cultural-historical approach; Schumpeter's one-sided emphasis on the entrepreneur; Mead's "Gestalt" view of culture; McClelland's obsession with the achievement motive; Parsons and Smelser's view of the economy as a social sub-system which can be analyzed in terms of the Parsonian theory of action; Rostow's theory of developmental stages and his postulation of certain human economically orientated tendencies; Moore's emphasis on "labor commitment" et cetera.

Two approaches which deserve special mention are those concerned with acculturation and diffusion. First of all it is immediately apparent that these two approaches have a great deal in common and complement one another in several ways. However, the most important fact is that diffusion research particularly, gives attention to most of the factors indicated in paragraph 2.5.1 above as factors which play a role in economic development. The bringing together of these two approaches promises to produce an interesting, fruitful and comprehensive research programme.

CHAPTER 3

THE NATURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE HUMAN FACTORS INVOLVED IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In the light of the complex nature of the human factors involved in economic development and the great variety of approaches which are possible in the study of these factors (see Chapter 2), as well as the fact that this report aims, inter alia, at the establishment of a research strategy, a basic point of departure regarding the nature and functioning of the human factors involved in economic development will subsequently be set out.

3.1 ECONOMIC BEHAVIOUR AS AN ASPECT OF HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

Man's behaviour cannot be explained in simple terms. In other words, when Peter eats, the reason for his behaviour will not necessarily be found in his biological need for food alone : it may be his reaction to hunger pangs; it may on the other hand be a rational action (e.g. when he eats because his intellect tells him to); it may also be a cultural action (e.g. the ritual enjoyment of wine and bread) or it may even be an irrational action (e.g. a compulsive action); it need not necessarily be the same for Piet and Peter because each has a unique environment, a unique genetic composition and unique individual experiences. Economic behaviour, like all human behaviour, is also influenced in the same way i.e. by all the essential characteristics of man and by the nature of his entire environment, and can seldom be explained in isolation, as a closed system of behaviour.

Of course, in the analysis of a certain aspect of human behaviour, one could assume, for purposes of control, that some of man's characteristics and certain aspects of his environment are constant and do not exert any influence on that particular aspect of his behaviour. So, for instance, in the analysis of economic behaviour, it is sometimes accepted that only the rational characteristics of man and only his economic system, technological system and aspects of his natural environment exert an influence on his choice in the utilization of scarce resources for the attainment of alternative aims. Although such a method of approach has great analytical possibilities and is also followed on a large scale in economics, it is at the same time lacking in that it establishes a model of man (homo economicus) which can only partly be found in real life. Man does not only act rationally in real life but also irrationally and non-rationally (129, p. 97), while the various "economic" influences which are believed to elicit "economic" behaviour in man are mere aspects of a much wider array of socio-cultural, technological and ecological influences.

This criticism of the typical approach of Economics is not new - compare, inter alia, Veblen's attempts towards a new approach (Chapter 2, par. 2.2.3(a)); the Knight-Herskovits controversy (82, p. 507 - 531); as well as Cohen (34, p. 91 - 118); Dalton (38, p.1-25); Frankenberg (61, especially p. 65 - 67 and 81 - 85); Firth (55, especially p. 77 - 87); Polanyi (168, especially p. 124 - 127); Cook (35, especially p. 208 - 211); Pearson (164, p. 234 - 243). It is also understandably not an attempt to do away with this "economistic" approach. It is in fact a repetition of the viewpoint that the analytical use of the abstraction homo economicus and everything which goes with it can only partly explain and hardly predict in a reliable way the economic behaviour of man.

This standpoint is especially well illustrated in works where irrational man's reactions to stimuli which are assumed to elicit rational reactions, are treated. So, for instance, Katona points out that economic behaviour is not mechanistically explicable, i.e. that an individual in similar circumstances will not necessarily act similarly or like other individuals. This is due to the fact that he is not motivated by biological urges or needs alone but also by attitudes, other individuals and groups, expectations, emotions, habits, aspirations, perceptions, et cetera (see 111, p. 37). In this connection the reaction of non-Western persons to the Western capitalistic economy is also relevant. There are many and well-known examples of this. Well-known works which can be mentioned in passing are those of Hagen (72), Lerner (125) and Foster (58), as well as various anthropological works in which this aspect is discussed, inter alia, Schrieke (198), Viljoen (230), Pitt-Rivers (173), Mead (147), Bascom and Herskovits (9), Herskovits (81, 84), Coetzee (33) and works by non-anthropologists like Glass (67, 68), Lombard (130), Sadie (193) - see also Chapter 2.

3.2 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS PART OF A PROCESS OF CULTURAL CHANGE

It was argued in the foregoing paragraph that economic behaviour and, by implication, economic development should not be analysed on "purely economic" grounds only. It will

subsequently be indicated that the cultural frame of reference, as used in Anthropology especially, lends itself pre-eminently to an analysis of economic development in which human factors are also taken into account.

3.2.1 Man the creator of culture

In order to maintain himself as a living organism, man must at least take in and excrete such nutrients as water, air and food. In addition, he also has other biological needs, such as the regulation of his body temperature, the avoidance of pain and striving after that which is pleasant, e.g. the satisfaction of the sexual urge, sleep, et cetera. Man is to a greater or lesser extent dependent on his environment for the satisfaction of all these needs.

This typification largely corresponds to the view that man is an open system and is dependent for his continued existence on interaction with his environment; an essential characteristic which he shares with all living organisms;" ... they are open systems which maintain themselves in a steady state due to an influx and efflux of nutrients and waste materials" (110, p. 93).

Man's interaction with his environment does not, however, follow a simple give-and-take pattern as is the case in a simple metabolic process. This is due to the fact that, on the one hand, man lives in a relatively "aggressive" environment where that which is necessary for his continued existence is not always readily obtainable (or, in economic terms : man has a need for the scarce essentials of life); on the other hand, man is, by nature, not equipped in such a way that he can always easily obtain that which he requires from his environment. In certain respects and under certain circumstances he is, in fact, so inadequately equipped that his environment becomes a threat to him (cf. the so-called "human disabilities" such as his lack of natural weapons, body hair, etc.). The result is that man must sometimes, or even usually (but not always), exert himself to enter into an effective interaction with his environment (effective in the sense that it promotes his chances of a continued existence). This means that man in his daily life must adapt himself and his environment if he desires to continue his existence.

Man and his environment have certain typical characteristics which exert a determining influence on the way in which he adapts himself and his environment; a way which is singular in the sense that it leads to cultural creativity. In order to obtain a better concept of human behaviour, it is therefore essential to examine more closely those features of man and his environment which can have a determining influence on his behaviour, especially in so far as they can lead to cultural creativity.

(a) Typical behaviour-determining characteristics of man

(i) Biological characteristics

Except for those behaviour-determining ("gedragsbepalende") biological characteristics which man shares with all animals (e.g. metabolism, or reproduction on a genetic basis), he also possesses certain unique biological characteristics which work together to make him a creator of culture. According to Spuhler, these characteristics are the following:

1. Accomodative vision.
2. Bipedal locomotion.
3. Manipulation.
4. Carnivorous-omnivorous diet.
5. Cortical control of sexual behaviour.
6. Vocal communication.
7. Expansion of the association areas in the cerebral cortex." (211, p. 105).

(ii) Psychical characteristics

The biological and psychical characteristics of man can be separated for analytical purposes only. Biologically speaking, man has a unique brain. This brain, however, is also the main seat of his thought and emotions and can obviously not be dissected into biological and psychical halves.

There is, however, a certain logic in the distinction between that which is psychical and that which is biological, since thought and emotional processes in man operate in a much more complex manner than in even those animals which, biologically speaking, are closest to man (see 226, p. 177 - 184 and 188 - 189). In fact, man can even construct a complex world of ideas, which stands apart from the organic and inorganic worlds, and in consequence of which he can act.

A descriptive classification of the psychical characteristics which are peculiar to man, can be made on arbitrary grounds only, especially since, in this case, all classifications are, at the most, analytical and ignore the bio-psychic unity of man to a certain extent. A useful classification and description is the following:

(1) The rational

The human intellect is characterised by the fact that it has unique capacities for remembering, learning, perceiving, imagining and reasoning, that it is aware of itself and that it also has intentional capacity. Man can observe and remember things in a causal relationship, he can learn on the strength of principles or experiences which have been deduced and handed down, he can arrive at new knowledge and principles by abstract reasoning, he can plan by envisaging non-existing things for himself. He can even exercise a certain degree of rational control over his "basic urges" and act consciously (with self-consciousness) as a volitional being. It is especially this rational nature of man which, together with his social nature (see later), enables him to become culturally creative.

It can be mentioned in passing that this aspect of man, coupled with the fact that he is an open system, has thus far served as a basis for the classical economic model, homo economicus.

(2) The irrational

Man does not act only on the strength of his reasonable interpretation of a situation but also on the strength of subjective feelings and suppositions which need not have any direct connection with the situation and which may arise from fear, anxiety, aggression or affection, feelings which came into being previously or which may be related to neurotic tendencies such as phobias or obsessions, or which may even be the result of more serious deviations such as cognitive dysfunction (e.g. delusions or hallucinations). This results in the incorrect interpretation of the situation and a consequent inadequate or exaggerated action by such a person.

(3) The non-rational

Man's actions are also determined by factors which are neither rational nor irrational. Here particularly, one has in mind stereotyped actions based on a frame of reference which had previously been established on rational, irrational or non-rational grounds. This is essentially similar to a conditioned reflex action, where the individual's reaction to a stimulus is not determined by rational thought or irrational feelings, although it originally came into being in a rational or irrational manner. Non-rational behaviour is often elicited by socio-cultural stimuli such as values, norms, customs, habits and attitudes. So, for instance, no rational or irrational elements need be present in the action of greeting, since it is usually an habitual action related to a cultural frame of reference. There can, of course, be rational and irrational elements in a specific greeting situation e.g. when a White and a Bantu greet each other by shaking hands.

(iii) The social nature of man

Man, as a biological being, cannot exist without the aid of people and interaction with other people : he arrives in the world as a helpless being, is dependent on others for his continued existence for a long period after birth and, even as far as the reproduction of his species is concerned, is dependent on the part played by another person of the opposite sex.

Man is, however, not only biologically dependent on his fellow-man but also as a rational, irrational and non-rational being. He generally strives after interaction with his fellow-man for the sake of interaction itself and not necessarily for the satisfaction of his biological requirements. He therefore has a desire for sociality and where this is lacking (for example, in the case of certain mental deviations such as hebephrenic schizophrenia or serious mental deficiency) he can even die if he is left to himself. It is also known that a lack of opportunity for social interaction can lead to mental deviation in normal persons.

Whatever the case may be, man is inherently socially orientated. This social orientation should not, however, be confused with that of animals. While it is true that man can, in certain circumstances, act like a social animal (e.g. where two people fight over a piece of food), it is also true that his social behaviour is usually moulded in a cultural form.

(iv) The individuality of developing man

According to a well-known formulation by Kluckhohn and Murray, every person is in some respects like all other persons, in some respects like most other persons and in some respects unlike any other person (121, p. 53). This fact is related, on the one hand, to man's genetic characteristics, (which form the basis of similarities within the species or closer-related genetic groups such as races but which also, as the result of mutations, the re-combination of genes, et cetera, guarantee the genetic uniqueness of every individual) and, on the other, to the experiences of man (which are in a way the same for all people - all people eat, breathe, et cetera - but also differs from individual to individual and from time to time as regards immediate experiences, and also as regards the previous experiences used by man to interpret his immediate experiences).

In this connection individual development also plays an important part. Each person has an individual, unique history of experiences and a physical history of maturation which is, broadly speaking, the same for all other persons. On the one hand, physical maturation is important and, on the other, the learning of behaviour patterns is equally important. The interaction between maturation and learning can be regarded as development and is similar, but never the same, for all individuals.

The individual nature of man obtains special importance when it is viewed in the light of his particular psychic and social attributes, especially the fact that the normal person can think introspectively : he is aware of himself as an individual. The very fact that every person can observe, think, remember, plan, decide and feel individually and introspectively enables him to be creative.

(b) Typical behaviour-determining features of man's environment

(i) The natural environment

The concept "natural environment" denotes man's inorganic environment (the physical-geographical, e.g. air, water, light, temperature, basic materials, mountains, rivers, etc.) and his organic environment (animals, plants), and does not include other people (who are treated separately below as his social environment).

Man's natural environment is primarily a source of satisfaction of his biological needs (it provides, inter alia, air, light, water, food, heat, etc.) but it can also assist in the satisfaction of a wide series of non-biological needs (e.g. it provides material for ornaments, temples, books, et cetera and serves as a source of aesthetic satisfaction or inspiration for the artist and the prophet.)

The natural environment is changeable, however, and can also pose a threat for man in the form of earthquakes, floods, hurricanes and temperature fluctuations or in the form of scarcities or unobtainability of essential means of livelihood. He must consequently make an effort to protect himself against nature (e.g. the construction of houses, dams, granaries). Thus, for example, in order to obtain the scarce necessities of life, he can exploit and adapt nature (e.g. the pursuit of agriculture, stock breeding, mining or the manufacture of implements) or he can adapt himself to satisfy the demands of the changing natural environment (for example, change in his habits, change of residence or even biological change as the result of natural selection).

(ii) The socio-cultural environment

Man's socio-cultural environment consists of other people and their creations. It has already been stated that man is dependent for his continued existence on interaction with other people. This interdependence of persons is further increased where people live together in the group context : they are not only dependent on the same natural environment with its scarce means of livelihood and therefore forced into cooperation and consensus, they are also potential sources of frustration for each other as a result of differences in feelings, attitudes, aspirations, habits, et cetera. However, since man has specific psychical attributes (see above) which enable him to establish, learn and carry over rules of conduct, methods of approach and techniques according to which such difficult situations can be handled, a set of customs, values, norms and techniques to which everybody is supposed to subscribe, comes into being among a group of people who live together for long periods. Man's cultural environment thus originates by means of creativity, consensus and enculturation. As in the case of his natural environment, this human environment elicits further behaviour, especially culturally-creative behaviour, in man.

Like his natural environment, man's socio-cultural environment is also dynamic. This is especially true of the twentieth century with its rapidly changing technology, in which man is consequently also constantly confronted with new values, norms and techniques. This confrontation can initially be the result of contact with other cultures with alien values, norms and techniques but later tends to become self-perpetuating. In practice, man's cultural environment is inseparably bound up with his social environment (or: the fact that he has other people as an environmental factor). This explains the use of the term "socio-cultural environment" as used in the heading of this paragraph.

(c) The interaction between man as a unitary being and his complex, changing environment

The characteristics of man and his environment which were dealt with above seldom operate in isolation in the determination of behaviour. He does not act merely on the strength of only his rational, or his irrational or his non-rational characteristics and he does not act only as an individual or only as a social being, but he is, above all, a unitary being. He also seldom interacts with a purely natural or a social or a cultural environment but more usually with a changing, complex and compound environment consisting of all these elements. The interaction between man as a unitary being and his complex environment finds expression in the form of behaviour or action and constantly suggests a unique dynamic orientation of a person or group of persons in respect of his/their environment. It is, in effect, this interaction which leads to cultural creation, especially where old patterns of action offer inadequate or no solutions to new problem situations. In this way culture is born.

Culture can also be described as the result of creative activity by man in a process of adaptation to a complex, changing environment, in accordance with his human nature and existence (see also 31, p. 5).

It can be added that, although culture is a generic term applicable to all mankind, it is manifested in practice in more than one cultural pattern, in the sense that the culture of every nation or ethnic group reveals an individual content or character which comes into being, is altered and extended by a growth and learning process over a considerable period of time.

It is clearly apparent from the foregoing that man never acts solely as a rational, irrational or non-rational being and that his actions are always influenced by an environment which is more than merely physical-biological or social-cultural : man always acts as a complex actor against the background of a complex environment (see also par. 2.3). By implication, this means that a true picture of man's behaviour and a reliable prediction thereof are only possible if "whole" man and his "entire" environment and the interaction between these two are thoroughly known - something which certainly constitutes an impossible task but at least points to an approach which takes the complex nature of man's behaviour into account as far as possible; that is, if it is the aim of science to describe phenomena as truly as possible and to predict them as accurately as possible.

3.2.2 The process of cultural change

As has already been stated, all cultural creations are subject to change. Man finds himself from time to time in situations in which the culturally-determined actions of yesterday no longer offer a sufficient answer to the problems of today. He is consequently compelled to find new answers which may be taken up in the culture in the course of time.

The driving force behind cultural change can come from within the culture and its agents themselves (internal factors); it may, however, also come from without the culture (external factors). Internal factors here mainly refer to inventions and discoveries which are the result of individual thought or labour by members of the changing culture and go hand in hand with the creative potential of the individual (see also Chapter 2, par. 2.3.3 (d)). The stimulus towards individual thought and labour can take various forms, for example changing physical-geographical circumstances, personal factors, military threats, and can sometimes even be attributed to chance.

External factors here mainly refer to the influence of other cultures on the changing culture, in the form of certain alien cultural elements as well as in entire cultural patterns with which the changing culture is confronted.

An important aspect in the case of internal as well as external factors, is the acceptance or rejection of that which is new. In both cases, the so-called process of the diffusion of innovations plays a decisive role in determining whether the integration of

the new cultural elements into the existing cultural matrix will take place or not (see also par. 2.3.3 (e)). As regards external factors, however, the comprehensive process of acculturation also plays a decisive role in the integration, or non-integration, of the alien cultural patterns into the existing cultural matrix and the process of diffusion can be regarded as an aspect of the process of acculturation (see also par. 2.3.3 (b)).

3.2.3 Economic development as a growth process as well as a process of functional and structural change

The term "economic development" is often employed in Economics to indicate the increase in the production of an economy. According to Kindleberger, such a use of the term serves to constrict its meaning. He contends that there should be a distinction between economic growth and economic development: "... economic growth means more output and economic development implies both more output and changes in the technical and institutional arrangements by which it is produced" (119, p. 1).

The use of the term "development" in various other subject fields such as Economics (compare, for example, Psychology or Biology) supports Kindleberger's view. This term always points to the quantitative as well as the qualitative change of a phenomenon.

Where growth thus points to the increase, augmentation, et cetera of one or more aspects (e.g. content, length, volume, production) of a phenomenon, development also points to the structural and functional alteration of the phenomenon. So, for instance, a phenomenon can lose certain functions (for example the patriarchal family whose production function might lapse during a process of industrialization), it can obtain new functions (compare the functional change of the human hand in the theory of evolution), it can exchange or partially exchange an existing structure for a new one (compare the substitution of one economic system for another) or it can even give a new function to an existing structure (compare the changing function of the samurai in the economic development of Japan). It can also fulfil an existing function by means of a new structure (for example, syncretisms in the field of religion).

On the strength of the foregoing, economic development can be provisionally described as follows for the purposes of this study: Economic development entails the growth of one or more aspects of an economic system as well as structural and functional changes in the system.

This formulation fails in one important aspect: the criterion for the intensity and direction of development is not specified in it. In this connection, fruitful use could be made of the German economist Paulsen's view of economic development as "the increasing of capacity by the capacity-augmenting employment of part of the existing capacity" (162, p. 271). It could be stated in more simple terms that one can only speak of economic development if a surplus economy has come into being and if it can continue to exist as such on a sustained basis. It should also be mentioned that Paulsen's "capacity" does not allude to internal sources of capital only but also to other internal sources (for example the quality, aptitude, motivation and knowledge of the labour force), as well as to external sources (for example, external loans and manpower) (compare 162, p. 274 - 275, 277 - 279, 281, 284 - 285).

In the light of the foregoing, the economic development of an underdeveloped economy can consequently be described as that process by which the economic system grows to such an extent and undergoes structural and functional alterations to such a degree that it becomes a surplus economy, or, to put it otherwise, that a part of the internal and external capacity is utilized in a sustained manner to increase the existing capacity.

3.2.4 Economic development and cultural change

Considered from an anthropological point of view, man is constantly confronted by a changing environment, upon which he is dependent for his continued existence and he must, in accordance with his particular nature, constantly adapt that environment to his needs or adapt himself to the environment (see also par. 3.2.1).

This adaptation is especially true of man's economic life. He must, for example, constantly adapt his production, distribution and consumption of essential means of livelihood to scarcities and surpluses, to changing commodities and services, et cetera. Since man is a socio-cultural being, this adaptation usually takes into account the norms, values, techniques, habits, et cetera of those groups which are affected by the adaptation, or might even be a product of those norms, values, et cetera.

It can thus be postulated that the dynamics of economic patterns of action is the result of man's culturally-creative answer to his changing environment. Economic development must, by implication, be viewed to a great extent as a process of cultural change.

This conclusion does not only hold good where cultural creations from within a culture lead to cultural change but especially where cultural change occurs as a result of influencing by other cultures. In fact, acculturation, or the taking over and adaptation of ideas, techniques, habits, norms, et cetera from other cultures, must be viewed as one of the most important methods for the adaptation of or to a changing environment.

From an empirical point of view, economic development never occurs in isolation but always goes hand in hand with, and is actually a part of cultural change on a much wider front than mere economic development. This phenomenon is particularly evident in the case of the so-called underdeveloped nations among which, according to all available evidence, economic development is always accompanied by structural and functional changes in social organization, political organization, system of values, educational system, religion, legal system and even language, art and music. In fact, in the case of certain cultural elements, it is not always even possible to determine whether one is dealing with economic development or with something else such as changes on the ritual plane (compare, for example, the commercialization of the lobola custom).

The term "economic development" then, indicates, as far as underdeveloped nations are concerned, that process in which a non-Western, tradition-orientated, underdeveloped nation changes over from a subsistence to a surplus economy as the result of structural and functional changes which take place in the culture of that nation as a whole. In the twentieth century this also means, ipso facto, industrialization and technological change and for many writers "westernization" or even "civilization" or "modernization" (compare Nettl and Robertson in 1956, p. 274 - 291).

When economic development is typified as a process of cultural change, this does not mean that purely economic factors (such as natural resources, capital assets or the scope of investment, etc.) can be ignored. The role of these factors cannot be denied. On the contrary, in circumstances of continued economic growth, where the basic institutions, values and similar conditions for such growth have already been established to a great extent, these factors are of primary importance (see Rostow in 1960, p. 274 - 306 for an exposition of the conditions for continued economic growth). Where these conditions do not yet exist, however (Rostow's "traditional society"), changes on a broad cultural front are an essential condition for economic development (1960, p. 20 - 54) and basic cultural values and institutions must be taken into consideration. In such cases it is an untenable over-simplification to seek the basic determinants of economic development in "purely" economic factors only.

For this reason also, it is essential to distinguish between economic growth (quantitative increase in production and consumption) and economic development (quantitative increase in production and consumption, as well as qualitative changes in structures and functions) (see Kindleberger in 1969, p. 3).

At this stage, a serious objection can be raised against the use of the concept of "culture" in the analysis of economic systems. It is a fact that the concept "economic system" can be used to indicate both the economic system of a culturally bound group of people and, viewed in a certain context, an economic system which exceeds cultural boundaries. The Western-capitalistic economic system is, for example not bound by culture.

It should be remembered, however, that the concept, "Western-capitalistic system" is essentially ideal-typical, and that no country, nation or community's economic system can be held to be a perfect reflection of this model. Each such system is also characterized by unique deviations which are related to the cultural matrix in which that system appears - an idea which was propagated by Friedrich List as long ago as the first half of the previous century (see also p. 10).

It should also be remembered that every culture is structurally and functionally built up ("configured" in anthropological terms) around a central philosophy of life (compare Benedict's concept "patterns of culture" as described in 1935, p. 274 - 276), and that this philosophy of life exerts an influence on all facets of the culture, including the economic facet.

Viewed from a cultural framework of reference, the economic system of a country like England is therefore not "Western-capitalistic" but "British-Western-capitalistic" and the

economic systems of countries such as England, the Netherlands, France and the United States of America are all unique in so far as each forms a part of a specific cultural configuration. However, they also have broad communal characteristics if measured according to the "Western-capitalistic" model. In essence, this amounts to two possible meanings of the term, "economic system" : the one pointing to the cultural analytical order and the other to the supra-cultural analytical order. A comparable example is found in religion, where Christianity, for instance, is a religious system which serves as a model for a host of independent, unique religious systems.

It thus appears possible to study economic systems as cultural sub-systems (see also Parsons and Smelser's viewpoint that the economic system is a sub-system of the society, in 161, p. 1 to 38) and, in addition, to regard the economic development of a nation as part of a process of cultural change.

3.3 AN INTEGRATING SCHEME CONCERNING THE HUMAN FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In consequence of the foregoing exposition and the literature survey in chapter 2 (particularly par. 2.3.3) one can now attempt to establish an integrating scheme concerning the human factors involved in the process of economic development among underdeveloped peoples. It is unavoidable that such a structuralization of a multitude of elements will not satisfy all experts; it can also obviously not be complete. However, it is hoped that it will contribute in some measure to the formulation of a reasonably realistic and understandable integrated picture of the nature and functioning of manifold sets of factors.

3.3.1 The process of cultural change as a basic point of departure

The economic development of an underdeveloped nation always forms part of a wider process of cultural change which that nation undergoes. Economic development, then, embraces the growth as well as the structural and functional metamorphosis of the economic sub-system of that culture.

3.3.2 The influence of external and internal factors

Like the wider process of cultural change of which it forms a part, economic development is influenced by factors which are both external and internal to the changing people and their culture.

(a) External factors

- (i) Influencing "agents" (individuals, groups of people their ideas, attitudes, roles, actions etc.)
- (ii) Influencing culture patterns (systems of values, norms, customs).
- (iii) Influencing cultural elements (innovations).
- (iv) The ecological legacy (natural environment, man-made material environment).

(b) Internal factors

- (i) The members of the changing people (their personalities, skills, capacities, motives, etc.)
- (ii) The traditional culture itself.
- (iii) The socio-economic position of the people.
- (iv) New ideas or techniques (innovations) developed by members of the people themselves.

3.3.3 Sectors of reaction in the changing system

- (a) The reacting individuals and groups.
- (b) The traditional culture.
- (c) The socio-economic circumstances.

3.3.4 Course of the process of change

- (a) Initial origination of innovation (new ideas, customs, values, techniques etc.) within or without the culture.
- (b) Process of dissemination of innovation

- (i) Awareness.
- (ii) Interest.
- (iii) Evaluation.
- (iv) Trial.
- (v) Acceptance or rejection:
 1. Direct adoption without modification of the innovation or of the indigenous system.
 2. Reorganization of the indigenous system to accommodate the innovation.
 3. Adaptation of the innovation to the existing system.
 4. Stimulation to independent parallel creativity as a result of contact with innovation.
 5. Utter rejection of innovation.

3.3.5 Inducement techniques

Where the change is deliberately effectuated by an agent, he can employ various techniques, which, according to Jones, fall into four main classes (108, p. 196; see also p. 20 of this report):

- (a) Coercive techniques, e.g. direct coercion, induced tension.
- (b) Normative techniques, e.g. active participation, education and training, rational persuasion.
- (c) Utilitarian techniques, e.g. placement of manpower, utility demonstration.
- (d) Other techniques, e.g. the use of marginal persons, the technical modification of existing cultural elements and processes.

3.3.6 Aids in the inducement of change

- (a) Knowledge
 - (i) Knowledge of the changing culture (language, customs, values etc.).
 - (ii) Knowledge of the goals of change.
 - (iii) Knowledge of the capacities, skills, attitudes et cetera of members of the changing people.
 - (iv) Knowledge of the socio-economic condition of the changing nation.
- (b) Mass communication media
- (c) Economic factors, e.g. potential of the natural resources; availability of capital; infrastructure; capacities, skills and numbers of the labour force; demographic factors.
- (d) Other factors such as differences in cultural level, numerical strength, race, and historical factors.

3.4 SUMMARY

Man and his environment have certain characteristic qualities which have a determining influence on the manner in which he adapts himself and his environment to his needs. The interaction between man (with his unique biological, psychic and social qualities and his dynamic individuality) and his changing environment (natural as well as socio-cultural) is most clearly expressed in the form of culturally creative action.

The fact that man's adaptation of himself and his environment to changing demands is also applicable to his economic life, means that economic development can also be described as a process of cultural change. From this point of view, a thorough study, explanation, prediction and even manipulation of economic development is only possible if the interaction between the "whole" person and his "entire" environment is taken into account as far as is feasible.

In paragraph 3.3 an integrated picture is offered of the main elements of the process of economic development viewed as a process of culture change under conditions of guided acculturation.

CHAPTER 4

THE AIMS AND METHODS OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE BANTU HOMELANDS

4.1 INTRODUCTION : WHY DETERMINE AIMS?

When factors which play a role in a specific development situation are studied with an eye to the determination of principles which will render possible a more effective attainment of given policy aims, two basic ways of approach are open to the investigator: either he must try, from his knowledge of the developing phenomenon, to indicate what effect existing and proposed measures will have in practice on that phenomenon or why it had a certain effect; or he must take policy aims as his point of departure and, by employing scientific knowledge, formulate the most effective means of reaching those aims.

4.1.1 The study of practical problem situations

In practice this sort of approach usually takes the form of so-called "trouble shooting". In other words, a problem originates because certain principles were not previously taken into account and the scientist must then rectify the mistakes: he must, so to speak, pull the chestnuts out of the fire.

The study of problem situations can also of course give rise to fruitful insights, so that it can at least be determined what mistakes should be avoided in the future. However, this method of approach is, in the very nature of things, primarily therapeutic and not necessarily analytical, except where diachronic studies of such situations are being made.

Basically, there are four possible types of investigation according to this method of approach:

(a) The study of individual problem situations already in existence

As regards the human factors involved in the economic development of the Bantu homelands, this type of investigation would mean that a specific measure, for example the dipping of cattle, which has been rejected by a certain people at a specific time in a specific district, is investigated. In the light of his knowledge of the people whose cattle were to be dipped, the investigator would then determine why that measure has been rejected.

(b) The study of individual problem situations which might arise in the future

This approach amounts to a sort of anticipatory "trouble shooting". Once again a specific situation is taken up and the probable effects of certain proposed measures are determined with the aid of knowledge of the people concerned therein.

(c) The study of a group of similar problem situations which have already arisen

This method of investigation differs from that in paragraph (a) in that more than one of the same type of problem situation which has already arisen, is examined with an eye to the discovery of common features which might point to a "problem syndrome". If such a thing were found, it would increase the reliability of further predictions concerning similar problem situations.

(d) The study of a group of similar problem situations which might arise

In this approach one would in a deductive manner, go into the sort of factors which work together towards the creation of certain types of situations. This type of investigation differs from (b) in that there is no unique situation, but rather a fixed ideal typical situation which is being investigated.

Study along the lines of types (a) and (b) is only possible if the researcher has an intimate knowledge of the group under investigation. In addition, the findings of such a study are not conducive to generalization. Generalization only becomes possible when more than one similar situation can be compared.

Study according to the approaches typified in (c) and (d), on the other hand, requires less specialized knowledge of the group of people under investigation, but more knowledge concerning general theoretical principles such as economic development, acculturation, diffusion, cultural change, et cetera.

The determination of investigation topics is dictated by practice in all these cases. It is precisely in this connection that the most serious problem of this method of inves-

tigation is encountered. The question which arises is namely - according to what norms should a situation be classified as problematical? For example, is it enough to leave the identification of problem situations to administrative personnel?

The answer to the problem of identifying problem situations does indeed lie partly in the fact that administrative personnel must report problem situations and that these situations must be investigated by competent scientists. The answer however, also lies in the fact that the researcher should have intimate knowledge of the policy aims concerning the Bantu homelands, so that these aims themselves can be used as norms in the identification of problem situations. What is more, it is imperative that the researcher of human factors should take particular note of the implications of policy aims in terms of human action, and what influence such action might have on the socio-cultural world of those people.

In this respect there is, however, a close connection between the method of investigation employed in studying problem situations and that which adopts given aims as the point of departure (see par. 4.1.2).

4.1.2 The study of problems in the light of policy aims

According to this approach, the task of applied science is seen as the provision of a scientific basis for the establishment of methods directed towards the attainment of a given aim. As Tinbergen phrases it when considering the task of political economy: "The task of economic analysis is to consider the data (including the means of economic policy) as given or known, and the economic phenomena and variables (including the aims of economic policy) as unknown. The problem of economic policy considers the aims as given and the means as unknown, or at least partly unknown" (225, p. 9).

(a) General policy aims

Every government sets out to attain certain general policy aims. These aims, as expressed in policy speeches, reports, white papers, et cetera, are for the most part formulated in terms which are so general as to necessitate reformulation in clearer and more specific terms, even before these aims can be translated into specific action. It might also be that a certain generally formulated goal can be reached by the realization of more than one complementary aim and these aims, too, must be reformulated in clearer and more specific terms if methods of attaining such aims are to be outlined. Thus it can happen that the implications of a certain aim in terms of human factors are not apparent from a generally formulated aim. A good example in this connection is the general aim of "economic development" which does not specify whether or not the development should take place along "western" lines.

One could pose the question whether or not it is the scientist's task to formulate policy aims. This is not a new bone of contention and places the scientist, and particularly the anthropologist, who traditionally has an anti-ethnocentric attitude, in a dilemma. This is true even when he is specifically ordered to formulate such aims by the authorities. However, what usually happens is that methods for applying policy must be sought within a fixed framework of policy and that, therefore, the scientist must interpret broad policy aims in terms of specific implications or complementary aims within that framework (132, p. 127). Such a method of approach is both acceptable and possible (in the sense that it makes an objective approach possible) because a situation with certain broad given controls is offered and the scientist must explore that situation only and no other possible situation.

Nevertheless, it is still no easy task to interpret policy aims, and it requires insight into the moving spirit behind the policy aims, as well as constant reference to any source which can shed light on these interpretations (particularly policy speeches, white papers, reports, legislation, government decisions and current methods of policy implementation).

(b) Specific policy aims

The scientist is fortunately not dependent only upon himself for the formulation of specific aims derived from general aims.

On the contrary, it is possible, as far as certain policy aims are concerned, to obtain a clearly formulated set of specific complementary aims from the authorities. This is especially true for short-term projects where the carrying out of a definite plan with specific short-term aims is envisaged. It also applies in the case of some legislation where the aim is the implementation of the law, or contributes towards the attainment of a more general aim.

It is precisely such specifically formulated aims that enable the researcher to carry out purposeful applied research which may not only provide important scientific insights, but may also supply the administrator with immediately usable, practical results.

In the paragraphs which follow, attention is first given to the broad policy aims of the South African Government as regards the economic development of the Bantu homelands, with an indication of how these aims affect the study of human factors. Secondly, a short exposition is given of the possibilities which the applied researcher has at his disposal to carry out research which is concentrated on methods of realizing more specific and particularly short-term development aims.

4.2 GENERAL AIMS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BANTU HOMELANDS

4.2.1 Introduction

Seen from the point of view of the policy of separate development, two basic characteristics of the policy of homeland development (as an aspect of the policy of separate development) can be described as follows:

- (a) the attainment of optimal social well-being and independence of the homelands and
- (b) the attainment of their optimal carrying capacity in terms of human numbers.

This formulation makes provision for firstly the moral tasks of "a better life" and "independence" for the Bantu in the homelands and secondly the more mundane task of settling the Bantu in their own areas. Very little fault can be found with this formulation on intuitive grounds - although it is an accepted fact that unanimity on this sort of formulation is not easy to come by, particularly as regards (a).

Where it is reasonably clear what is meant by the expression "optimal carrying power in terms of human numbers" (viz. that in these areas as many people as possible should be able to live "decently" - "decently" in terms of objective (a)) the interpretation of objective (a) itself is problematical. This fact has already been noted by the Tomlinson Commission, although the members eventually agreed with the following criteria for the attainment of "optimal social well-being";

- (i) the attainment of maximum productivity;
- (ii) a "just" distribution of the national product;
- (iii) economic stability;
- (iv) political stability; and
- (v) factors which form a part of social welfare ... (216, p. 109)

The interpretation of each of these criteria is again problematical in its own right, or even impossible, in the case of (v) particularly. Thus, for instance, economic stability, viewed from a certain premise, may only be acceptable if it is accompanied by a system of free enterprise, while political stability may only be acceptable if it means "one man one vote".

The general aims of development in the Bantu homelands are dealt with in more detail in subsequent paragraphs, with an indication of the criteria for the interpretation of these aims.

4.2.2 The aims of development in the Bantu homelands

The logical point of departure in the determination of the aims of development in the Bantu homelands is the Tomlinson Report (216). This report was accepted by the Government in 1956 as a blueprint for the policy of separate development; the few points which were not accepted were trifling and were essentially concerned with methods rather than aims (see 216).

Although the Tomlinson Report nowhere gives an integrated summary of the aims of development in the homelands, it is possible, in consequence of chapter 26 of the report, to isolate the following aims:

- (a) The development of industries in the Bantu homelands.
- (b) The prevention of deterioration and destruction of the homelands' natural resources.
- (c) The increasing of food production in the homelands.
- (d) The more productive utilization of labour resources in the homelands.

- (e) The provision of free economic and political opportunities for Bantu in the homelands.
- (f) The raising of the Bantu's standard of living.
- (g) The development of cities in the homelands.
- (h) The creation of a diversified economy in the homelands.
- (i) The development of Bantu communities on a healthy social foundation.
- (j) Preservation of the Bantu's cultural identity.
- (k) Establishment of a foundation for the political development of the Bantu.
- (l) Co-operation with the "Union" of South Africa and co-ordination with the Union's development (216, p. 110 - 112).

These aims except for a few trifling changes, were accepted in principle by the Government in a White Paper in 1956. With a few exceptions they were re-affirmed in an explanatory memorandum to the Act on the Promotion of Bantu Self-government (Act no. 46 of 1959). The aims as formulated in the memorandum can be summarized as follows:

- (i) The creation of homogeneous administrative areas for the Bantu by the amalgamation of members of each Bantu ethnic group into a single national unit, where possible grouped together in one contiguous homeland;
- (ii) the education of the Bantu towards a clear understanding of the problems of soil conservation and agriculture so that full disposition rights over and responsibility for the Bantu territory can be transferred to them;
- (iii) the systematic development of a diversified economy in the Bantu areas;
- (iv) the leading of the Bantu towards a firm grasp of the problems of Bantu education so that by means of a decentralization of power, responsibility for the different levels of education can be transferred to them;
- (v) the education of the Bantu towards effective expansion of their own legal system and towards a thorough grasp and unimpeachable practice of common law in order that the responsibility for the administration of justice in their areas might be transferred to them;
- (vi) the education of the Bantu towards a thorough understanding of effective regional administration;
- (vii) the exercise by the Bantu of legislative power regarding their own area, initially of a limited nature, but with the intention of gradually extending this form of authority.

In consequence of these policy aims as well as a few speeches by the late Dr Verwoerd, Rhoodie also maintains that the Government has the following tasks in connection with the economic development of the Bantu homelands: "In the first place, the rehabilitation of the homelands in the field of agriculture; secondly, the creation of diversified national economies; thirdly, industrial development within the areas and the establishment of additional work opportunities as a result of development in the border areas; fourthly, co-operation between the Republic and the Bantu areas on the basis of the European market) and fifthly, the general social and educational betterment of the Bantu, directed towards the maximum utilization of their spiritual and intellectual capacity for purposeful, Bantu-centric, ordered socio-economic development" (182, p. 64 - translation).

The foregoing aim formulations are specific enough to serve certain development specialists as a basis for the determination of the technical aims and methods necessary for the achievement of those aims. Thus, for example, the agricultural development specialist, given the aim "increase of food production in agriculture", can to a large extent specify the technical provisos for the attainment of that objective (for instance that cattle should be dipped, fertilizer be used, crop rotation be applied, contour ploughing be done, selective breeding be undertaken, certain corn and grain types be used, etc.).

At the same time, however, these aim formulations are not sufficiently specific to determine the socio-cultural provisos for the attainment of technical objectives without further ado, for example the old question of whether farming should be done on a communal rather than an individual basis.

The essential question in this connection probably centres on this problem: How should the aim of "preservation of the Bantu culture" be reconciled with the aim of "westernization", which is implicit in concepts such as "co-operation with the Republic", "industrial development", "urban development", "diversified economy", et cetera? As the Bantu would phrase it:

Must the Bantu wear an "ibeshu" or trousers? Or can he wear both?

From a closer investigation it appears that neither the Tomlinson Report nor any Government source takes up any clear stand in respect of this question. Quite understandably so, since the Government's standpoint is after all that peoples must control their own destiny as far as is possible: that the Bantu people must be helped, in word, deed and method, to choose and work out its own future. As the late Dr H.F. Verwoerd once expressed it to the Transkeian Regional Authority: "Therefore, separate development means the growth of that which one creates by oneself and on behalf of yourself and your people" (165, p. 139 - translation).

A standpoint such as this can naturally be defended on various theoretical and even practical grounds, although the dictates of practice often differ greatly from the ideals of the theory. It is however, significant that many, if not most of the existing measures concerning development in the homelands (even in the Transkei) were inspired by Whites and even worked out according to the Western or partially Western model (compare for instance the Transkei's parliamentary system, the Bantu education system, the role of the Bantu and Xhosa investment corporation, the encouragement of White industrial activity within the homelands, etc.). By this it is not intended to imply that there have not been, and are, no substantial efforts towards Bantu-centric development (compare for instance the Bantu authorities system, mother tongue education, the recognition of Bantu law in the legal system, etc.); it is merely pointed out that development, in the view of the Government, also implies a substantial degree of westernization among the Bantu peoples.

From the foregoing it would then seem that the previously mentioned formulations of aims do indeed render possible the formulation of certain technical objectives and methods, but that they do not always specify the socio-cultural provisos for the attainment of those aims and the types of methods which must be employed.

It is therefore necessary to take a closer look at the methods which are employed in the development of the homelands and thereafter to determine whether they shed any light on the interpretation of the broad aims of development.

4.2.3 Methods of developing the Bantu homelands

The development of the Bantu homelands is tackled in various ways and takes place particularly through the mediation of and the influence exercised by the South African Government, although it is of course possible (and does even happen, as in the case of the Transkei) that these areas initiate development themselves (thus far not on a very large scale).

The Government (of the Republic of South Africa) makes use of different methods (inducement techniques, in the terminology of chapter 3, paragraph 3.3.5) to activate development in the homelands, to stimulate it and even up to a certain point, to control it. These methods naturally do not always necessarily have the desired effect and it may even be uncertain as to whether there will be a true causal relationship between the input factors and the final product. As Lewis pithily puts it: "Development planning is in this respect like medicine; the good practitioner knows some useful tricks; but it is still the case that many patients die who are expected to live, and many live who are expected to die" (126, p. 23).

However that may be, the most prominent methods employed by the Government in the development of the Bantu homelands are briefly treated in the following paragraphs:

(a) The provision of physical development media

Here one has in mind the provision (at no, or a low, cost) of particularly the production factors labour and capital. As regards labour, the provision of specialized high and middle level manpower immediately comes to mind (compare certain civil servants, for example high level clerks, engineers, agronomists, medical practitioners, land surveyors, certain artisans and technicians, etc.). Capital again, in this case mainly comprises technological aid (for example tractors, ploughs, laboratories, buildings, water, power and other similar facilities) and monetary support (in the form of government subsidies, loans, etc.).

(b) The establishment of development channels

Here a broad series of institutions are at issue:

(i) Communication channels For example, an effective transport system, postal system, radio service, et cetera, which to a large extent (road traffic included) are controlled from the Republic and for which the Republic is responsible.

- (ii) An institutional framework For example banks, development corporations, et cetera, which are necessary for the management of a variety of functions which accompany economic development. The creation of the Bantu Investment Corporation (B.I.C.) and the Xhosa Development Corporation (X.D.C.) was the tangible contribution of the Government in this connection.
- (iii) Organizational channels In this case the administrative system is the most important channel. The Government ensures that every homeland is provided with the core of an effective civil service. Provision is also made for the expansion of such a system and the eventual take-over thereof by the Bantu themselves.
- (iv) Certain production and distribution channels The Government contributes both directly and indirectly to the establishment of certain production and distribution channels which should actually, to a large extent, be the responsibility of the private sector in a capitalistic system. Examples of this are development of forestry and agriculture, the stimulation of industrial growth in the homelands (for example industrial development tackled by the B.I.C. or X.D.C., or the recent allowance and encouragement of White entrepreneurs in the homelands), the giving of aid to Bantu entrepreneurs (by means of the B.I.C. and X.D.C.). In these ways a contribution is made to the establishment of production channels (in the form of industries) and distribution channels (in the form of commerce) in the homelands.

(c) The establishment of control measures and bodies

This entails the creation of laws and regulations and the creation of organs which can make and apply those laws and regulations in a manner which will allow for the orderly progress of the development process. Although at present (except in the Transkei) most of the laws and regulations which are applicable to the homelands originate from the Republic and are implemented by the Republic's administrative machinery, a gradual transference of function is taking place.

(d) The establishment of outlets for products and labour

The major contribution of the Government in this context is the stimulation of the private sector, for example the spurring on of development in the border areas to create an outlet for labour. As regards products, it must be remembered that the homelands are still underdeveloped areas and most of their products as yet have only an internal outlet, while the few export products which exist are so small in terms of volume that their absorption into the Republic's economy does not at present give rise to any problems.

(e) The establishment of training facilities

One of the best-known and most perceptible contributions of the Government to the development of the homelands is its aid in the field of education. Thus, for example, the Government has had a very large share in the development of syllabuses and curricula, the building of educational institutions, the provision of educational equipment, the development and maintenance of an administrative system for education, et cetera. The Government also provides basic facilities for the vocational guidance which is essential if the homelands are to prosper. In this attempt, the Government is at present building on a basically Western system, while most of the training objectives are functionally directed towards finding a niche for the individual in a primarily Western-capitalistic system.

(f) Aid in the planning of development

Up to the present time the Republic has undertaken the major responsibility for the development of the homelands (except possibly in the case of the Transkei). The real planning of development in the homelands is closely interwoven with the transference of knowledge and techniques ("know-how") and the provision of high level manpower. On the one hand this planning activity reflects the Government's policy of guiding the homelands gradually towards emancipation and on the other it reflects the very real need for guidance and planning which the Bantu himself feels. (Compare for example the part played by White officials in the development of the Transkei).

(g) The transference of functions

One of the most basic developmental measures is probably the transference of functions to the Bantu wherever feasible. The government takes the lead in this itself by gradually handing over the political and governmental administrative functions to the homelands. However, it is also a part of the Government's task to propagate function transference in the private sector or to ensure it by means of legislation and regulations.

(h) The motivation of people

The premise which lies at the root of the development methods mentioned, is that people must be motivated towards action. On the one hand those Bantu who are involved in development must be motivated towards co-operation, insight, work, the acceptance of new ideas, the will to develop, et cetera. On the other hand, many Whites in the Republic must be motivated towards making different contributions to the development of the homelands.

It would appear from the foregoing exposition that the Government's development measures (or inducement techniques - compare par. 3.3.5) for the homelands chiefly amount to the following:

- (i) The supply of Western goods, services and "know-how" which are considered necessary for development and which the homelands do not possess in an adequate measure (particularly par. (a), (b), (d), (e) and (f) above).
- (ii) The gradual transference of functions and responsibilities to the Bantu. This naturally means the transference of those functions and responsibilities which typically accompany a Western-capitalistic system (particularly par. (c) and (g)).
- (iii) Adaptation and fitting-in of certain elements of the Bantu's cultural heritage in a system which in most respects is Western, capitalistic and industrial (compare particularly par. (b) and (e)).
- (iv) The motivation of a wide variety of people (par. (a) to (h)).

4.2.4 Interpretation of aims in the light of methods

(a) The development of industries in the homelands

In the light of the foregoing paragraphs, this aim implies the following:

- (i) Industrial development by Bantu entrepreneurs is imperative in the homelands. In terms of human factors, this means that such entrepreneurs should probably be selected, motivated and trained.
- (ii) If Bantu entrepreneurs are to undertake industrial development in the homelands, they must be gradually prepared to take over such industries (if not Bantu proprietors themselves then at least Bantu managers).

This implies that the Bantu must be selected, motivated and trained to take over administrative functions in what, presumably, will in the main be Western-type industries.

- (iii) Homeland industries must as far as possible be manned by Bantu personnel. On the one hand, this means that workers for different levels and branches of labour (for example labourers, operators, foremen, artisans, clerks etc.) must be selected, trained and even motivated. On the other hand it also means that in determining working conditions and instructions, the Bantu's own nature and circumstances must be taken into account.

(b) The protection of the homelands' natural resources

This aim, which is also an economic development aim, implies that people must be motivated to make use of recognized soil conservation techniques. Such people can either be forced to do this by means of legislation and regulations, or they can be led towards it by a systematic guidance programme. Both cases provide an example of an inducement technique and render it obvious that close attention must be paid to human factors as well as the entrenchment of soil conservation techniques.

(c) The increase of food production and rehabilitation of agriculture

It is stated in the Report of the Tomlinson Commission that "The aim of the Department is to help the Bantu to develop an efficient and self-supporting 'peasant farmers' class in their own areas, as part of a well-balanced and diversified economy. This aim cannot be realised unless the Bantu radically change their present attitude towards their land and their livestock. They will have to learn to live in symbiosis with the soil and vegetation. This essential metamorphosis will entail very far-reaching changes in their traditional ways of living and thinking" (216, p. 77). One cannot but agree wholeheartedly with this statement. The implication for the study of human factors is quite clear: it is imperative to discover ways in which the Bantu's traditional opinions and customs regarding agriculture can be changed, and new ideas and customs entrenched. At the same time, it is apparent that during this process, specific agricultural aims must be borne in mind (e.g. to promote the cultivation of a certain type of corn; to plough in a certain way;

to limit cattle to a certain optimum).

(d) The more productive utilization of labour resources

This aim embraces various complementary objectives:

- (i) The Bantu must generally be motivated towards greater productivity.
- (ii) The "right" man must be placed in the "right" job. In other words, in their placement, workers' interests, aptitudes, personality traits and socio-cultural background must be taken into account as well as the specific requirements of the work. This type of problem is not novel in Industrial Psychology.
- (iii) Even at school, the Bantu must receive a training and develop a purposeful attitude which will more effectively equip him for maximum productivity. Syllabuses and educational methods must therefore also take cognisance of the practical requirements for labour.
- (iv) Working conditions and remuneration must be of such a nature that they will promote and not undermine higher productivity. A whole new field of research is opened up by this aim.
- (v) Production techniques must be geared to the worker's capabilities. Ergonomics can make an important contribution in this context.
- (e) The provision of free economic opportunities

Although free economic opportunities can to a great extent be ensured by legislative means, this aim also implies that people must be helped to utilize those free opportunities. It is therefore connected with points (a), (c) and (d) above. It also points to the actual creation of opportunities, as dealt with in paragraph (g).

(f) The raising of the standard of living

This aim means that the per capita income of inhabitants of the homelands must increase. A few remarks should however be made in this connection:

- (i) Simply increasing the BNP of the homelands will not ensure a "just" distribution (see also par.4.2.1) of the national product. Whether or not such a "just" distribution is possible however, is a problem in itself. There are possibilities for research on this aspect also, although it is a case for economic more than social, psychological or anthropological research - except in so far that it is applicable to an investigation of minimum wages.
- (ii) Increase of the per capita income can only take place with difficulty in economically unstable circumstances. This field of research however also belongs more naturally to the economic sciences.
- (iii) Continuing increase of the per capita income is only possible under circumstances of sustained economic growth. Although economic growth also falls mainly within the province of Economics, various human factors also play a role in it. For instance, Rostow refers to factors such as the tendency for developing and applying science, for accepting innovations, for striving after material progress, for consumption, for having children (190, p. 11) as well as to factors such as the aptitude and training of the labour force (190, p. 13), reigning systems of values, the nature of the politico-economic system, efficacy of rules and regulations, demographic trends, et cetera (190, p. 73 - 75). Be that as it may, a wide series of human factors can be studied in this connection.

(g) The creation of a diversified economy

- (i) Although this is an aim which must be realized by means of preponderantly economic inflow factors, one should not lose sight of the fact that entrepreneurs must be motivated to set up industries and businesses in the homelands.

As regards the human factors which play a role in this regard, it is apposite to pose questions such as : Are the existing inducements and concessions which have been designed to attract entrepreneurs to the homelands effective? Are the considerations of an entrepreneur merely rational as far as this is concerned? Is there a difference in motivation between Bantu and White entrepreneurs?

- (ii) Another factor which deserves consideration in this context is the Government's aim of accomplishing a clear-cut division between the farming and non-farming population in the homelands (cf. the White Paper of 1956 which has already been mentioned - 218, p. 4, pt. 1). In this instance there is a wide series of psychological and socio-cultural factors which have a bearing on the values, attitudes and customs of the Bantu and it is possible to outline a fruitful field of research. Questions such

as the following are pertinent : What is the extent of concealed unemployment in agriculture? To what extent are the Bantu in the homelands bound to the soil? et cetera.

(h) Co-operation and co-ordination with the Republic

This aim is particularly valid in the economic sphere and implies that there will be basic concordance between the economic systems of the Republic and the homelands. It is also obvious that the economic systems of the homelands will have to be adapted to that of the Republic, and not vice versa. In this aim, we have one of the clearest indications of the future of the homelands, namely that they will find it difficult to follow any economic system other than one based on that of the Republic, i.e. a Western-capitalistic-type system. And that the influence of the economic sphere will penetrate to many other spheres, is no idle speculation.

As regards the study of human factors, this means that one must find out to what extent and in which respects it is necessary to westernize the homelands in order to ensure effective co-operation and co-ordination with the Republic. Although a study of this type would deal mainly with economic and political relationships, it is also necessary to take cognisance of the socio-cultural aspects of such relationships.

(i) The influence of other aims on economic development

Several aims which would not normally be classified as "economic" have an effect on the realization of economic objectives. These aims are as follows:

(i) The development of cities

The important part played by urban development in the economic development of underdeveloped areas has been thoroughly documented in the literature on the subject (inter alia 125, p. 43 - 75; 97, p. 162, 163; 119, p. 29, 30). Foster phrases it thus: "Cities are focal points of change" (58, p. 29). The aim of "the development of cities", which can also be seen as an aid to economic development, is influenced by a whole series of human factors - a fact which has been realized for a long time by various city planners. However, there are also lamentable lacks of knowledge in this regard and various possibilities are open to the researcher. The following research problems are apposite : What is the most effective size for Bantu towns and cities? Should the architecture of these be Western? What are the ideal recreation facilities for the Bantu? How can cities increase the attractiveness of the homelands? (See also the Tomlinson Report, chapter 37, p. 147 - 152).

(ii) The provision of unhampered political opportunities

This aim has a bearing on economic development in that it influences the political stability of an area and thus constitutes an additional requirement for economic stability. The study of human factors in this regard will probably be concentrated on questions affecting the correlation between political stability and political freedom as well as political stability and economic stability and development.

(iii) The development of Bantu communities on a sound social basis; the general social-educational betterment of the Bantu, et cetera

Objectives aimed at the socio-cultural development of the Bantu are chiefly important inasmuch as they can contribute to the creation of a fruitful breeding-ground for the acceptance of developmental ideas. However it is necessary to find out to what extent this objective facilitates or retards economic development. (For a concise formulation of social policy aims, see the Tomlinson Report, chapter 42, p. 167, par. 5 - 7).

(iv) Preservation of the Bantu's cultural identity

Many references to this aim have already been made in the course of this study. The problems which arise from the norm when it is viewed in conjunction with westernization have already been touched upon. This was summed up in the question of whether or not the Bantu could wear an "ibeshu" and trousers simultaneously.

It has already been pointed out that the process of development also implies a large measure of westernization, although it might be considered tactical and moral to retain certain aspects of the Bantu culture. There is, however, a paucity of clearly formulated norms in this connection and decisions regarding what features should be retained or relinquished are mostly on intuitive and/or utilitarian grounds.

A searching study of the points of intersection between Western and Bantu culture would be desirable in the determination of development aims and measures. It is un-

deniably true that such a study would demand singular knowledge, insight, experience and morality from the writer.

(v) Establishment of a political foundation

Since the political foundation of the Bantu homelands is already contained in legislation, it is important to determine how this given situation influences and can influence the process of economic development.

Thus, for instance, it can be asked whether the Bantu authorities system lends itself to the realization of economic objectives. It is often asserted that there is a considerable degree of correlation between economic development and what could be termed progressive chieftainship; that in cases where the chief is able and development-orientated, economic development takes place at a far more accelerated pace than is the case when the chief is incompetent and prejudiced against development. Is this assertion true? If so, in what way should this situation be utilized (where possible) or overcome (where feasible)? How can chiefs and headmen be motivated to adopt a development-orientated attitude?

Another aspect concerns the power and influence of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner. How great is this power and influence? How can it be utilized to further the cause of development? What expert aid can be offered him to ease his task? What happens if a White commissioner is replaced by a Bantu one?

(vi) Expansion and adoption of a Bantu education system in the homelands

This aim, treated earlier as a developmental method (see par. 4.2.3 (e)), contributes towards the attainment of economic development. Research possibilities in this regard arise in connection with various human factors. It might for instance be worth-while to go into Prof. J.A. Lombard's appraisal of the syllabuses and educational methods of Bantu education. According to Prof. Lombard a great deal more can be done to cultivate economically-orientated individuals at school (130).

One can mention research concerning occupational training in the same breath. Are there enough training facilities and centres? In what way can selection procedures contribute to the supply of more and better artisans, agricultural officers, technicians, et cetera? What other methods could be of help in this context?

(vii) Expansion and adoption of a Bantu legal system

This aim has already been touched upon as a developmental method (par. 4.2.3 (c)). On its own it has only indirect bearing on economic development.

(j) Initial aid by the Whites

The fact that the Whites will have to aid the Bantu in the homelands initially (and in fact for a considerable time to come) is apparent throughout the exposition given above. This assistance basically takes the form of goods and services.

(i) Goods

This entails the supply of physical development material as set out in par. 4.2.3 (a).

(ii) Services

This entails the supply of "know-how" or knowledge and functions such as guidance, training, motivation, et cetera (see also 4.2.3 (a)).

(k) Eventual take-over of functions by the Bantu

The Bantu in the homelands will take over responsibilities and functions in increasing measure. This fact emerges not only from fixed development objectives, but also in the practice of development. Development of the homelands, therefore, also to a large extent implies the emancipation of the Bantu in his homeland. One should not lose sight of the fact that emancipation also implies that the Bantu should be able to perform independently against a background which besets him with a wide variety of Western requirements.

(l) The utilization of elements from the Bantu culture in the realization of development objectives

The aim "preservation of the Bantu's cultural identity" is not merely a dead letter, but can be functionally implemented in the practice of development. It is possible in some cases to apply syncretically elements from the Bantu culture : to either give a

developmental meaning to an existing traditional technique or action (retention of the form but changing of the function) or to fulfil an old function by means of a new technique (change of form) (compare Foster in 58, p. 26 - 27). This principle is also apparent in the foregoing exposition. Thus, for example, as far as form is concerned, the political development of the homelands is built upon existing foundations and the traditional educational function is cast in a new mould.

- (m) A considerable amount of westernization and accompanying abandonment or transformation of things traditional or innate.

As emerges conclusively from the foregoing, it must be accepted as axiomatic that the development of the Bantu homelands cannot take place without a considerable degree of westernization (of individuals and groups). Thus, for example, as regards the economic sphere, there are distinct Western-capitalistic aims (the provision of free economic opportunities; co-operation with the Republic) and attempts at expanding a system with Western-capitalistic characteristics (cf. measures for the establishment of a market economy in which free enterprise reigns, e.g. the stimulation of the entrepreneurial function). Other examples of inevitable westernization are legion, for instance the creation of a complex organizational and institutional framework cast in a western mould; the raising of educational standards according to a basically western model, et cetera.

What is more, several factors which have not even been mentioned in paragraphs 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 substantiate this conclusion. For instance, the Christian evangelical effort (which is approved both by the Tomlinson Report and the Government) can be seen as a powerful force working towards eventual westernization. Another factor is the well-known phenomenon which accompanies acculturation, namely the tendency of the "higher" culture to supplant the "lower" culture. Coertze gives two reasons for this phenomenon. Firstly, the "higher" culture is more effectively equipped to cope with modern technology and secondly the members of the "lower" culture feel inferior and therefore are eager to adopt the "higher" culture (31, p. 23). A third factor is the visible fact that the Bantu have already adopted certain core elements of Western civilization, both superficial (the wearing of Western clothes, consumption of Western food, etc.) and more profound (the use of money, Western educational ideals, etc.).

4.3 SPECIFIC AIMS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BANTU HOMELANDS

It has already been indicated that research can be directed at not only general but also specific policy aims (see par. 4.1.2(b)). However, effective research on methods of attaining specific policy aims can take place only with difficulty unless the following conditions are met beforehand:

(a) Specification of aims

The researcher must be able to concentrate on a clearly delimited area of research. This presupposes that aims -

- (i) have been formulated as clearly and specifically as possible and
- (ii) have been specified for every region, tribe or even community (where applicable) separately, not only because each unit as such might have certain unique development needs, but also because each of them might necessitate a different set of development methods.

(b) Integration of aims

The researcher must be able to concentrate his research on a series of interconnected, rather than isolated problems, so that he does not develop principles which might prove incompatible in the long run. This presupposes that aims -

- (i) will be compatible
- (ii) will preferably be available in the form of a programme of interconnected aims.

It is precisely in this connection however, that the researcher on the development of the Bantu homelands experiences difficulties, for unless he acquires knowledge of aims by working in close co-operation with the authorities, it is impossible for him to direct his research towards aims which satisfy the demands of specification and integration set out above.

Even if the researcher should have a reasonable measure of access to the five-year development plans of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, the question arises whether he could acquire from these a set of aims which would adequately comply

with the stated demands of specification and integration. To be successfully carried out to any extent, general development plans must be grounded in specific development schemes, which in their turn are often beset by unique problems. Where the point at issue is the help which the human sciences researcher can offer to increase the possibility of realizing development objectives, it is necessary that he be confronted with these unique problems. This could be most successfully done if the authorities draw this type of researcher into development schemes.

It can be said, then, that human sciences research on methods of attaining specific development aims reaches its highest measure of potential efficacy if, in close co-operation with the authorities, it is concentrated upon the successful implementation of specific development schemes. It is obvious that this condition can be met only if the aims of such development schemes are clearly stipulated. It is unfortunately impossible to discuss these aims here, owing to the multitude of possible development schemes.

4.4 SUMMARY

In studying the human factors which play a role in the economic development of the Bantu homelands, one can either examine problem situations which arise in practice or hypothetical methods of attaining given policy aims. In both cases it is necessary to have a reasonably clear grasp of general and specific policy aims as well as feasible methods of attaining those aims.

Mere general descriptions of economic development objectives do not always provide applied science with sufficient grounds for the study of developmental methods. Even where more specific aim formulations exist, it is nevertheless sometimes necessary to examine methods already in progress in order to understand the finer nuances of policy aims. However, research aimed at facilitating methods of reaching specific policy goals can be effective if undertaken in co-operation with the authorities.

From the study of various policy aims and existing developmental methods concerning the general and economic development of the Bantu homelands, it can be deduced that development aims in the homelands amount, broadly speaking, to the following:

(a) The realization of economic development aims such as increased production (particularly in agriculture), raising of the living standard, industrial development and industrialization, continued economic growth, creation of a diversified economy, optimal utilization of natural resources, et cetera.

(b) The realization of a number of non-economic but related aims such as a measure of urbanization, social and social-educational development, political development, educational development, preservation of cultural identity.

(c) Initial aid by the Whites in terms of goods and services such as machinery, funds, high level manpower, knowledge, planning, guidance, training, motivation, et cetera.

(d) Eventual-take-over of functions by the Bantu.

(e) Utilization of elements from the Bantu culture in the realization of development aims - i.e. where possible and functional.

(f) A considerable degree of westernization of the Bantu and accompanying abandonment or transformation of existing elements. In terms of (e) above, this means retention of the indigenous if this is not dysfunctional in terms of general economic progress.

CHAPTER 5
DETERMINATION OF A RESEARCH STRATEGY

The general need for research in connection with the role of human factors in economic development has already been indicated. Subsequently, on the strength of Chapters 2, 3 and 4, an indication of relevant research requirements, priorities and strategies that could contribute to the development of the Bantu homelands, will be given.

5.1 RESEARCH REQUIREMENTS

It is one of the premises of this study that the realization of the Government's aims regarding homeland development (see Chapter 4) can be promoted by employing the knowledge and techniques offered by the human sciences. Where, for the purposes of this study, the Government's economic and related developmental aims can be seen as a set of new environmental factors to which the inhabitants have to adapt themselves, or which the inhabitants have to adapt to their needs (see Chapter 3, par. 3.2), it can be said that this research strategy must be primarily directed towards the research and publication of knowledge in connection with the adaptation of homeland inhabitants to new developmental requirements and the adaptation of new requirements to the nature, culture and environment of homeland inhabitants.

On the other hand, applied science also concentrates, in practice, on the development of techniques which the non-scientist can use for the furtherance of his aims, but which he himself cannot develop as a result of their specialised, scientifically-founded nature. A research strategy will therefore also have to be directed towards the development of such techniques, where practicable.

It would be generally conceded that there is a need for such knowledge and techniques in connection with human factors (compare also Chapter 1). It is difficult to determine precisely what this need is, however, especially since there is a lack of adequate knowledge of the factors which play a decisive role in the realization of developmental aims. It is clearly apparent from Chapters 2 and 3 that man's decisions to act (especially culturally-creative action) are directed by a great number of influences from his own complex and dynamic self, as well as from his changeable environment which constantly demands new adaptations from him. On the strength of the literature survey in Chapter 2 (especially par. 2.5) and of the expositions in Chapter 3 (especially par. 3.3) and Chapter 4, the influences which can possibly play an important role in the economic development of underdeveloped nations can, for analytic purposes, be categorized as follows:

- (a) The people involved in the process of change
 - (i) The influencing individuals and groups (their capacities, skills, interests, personalities, etc.).
 - (ii) The changing individuals and groups (characteristics such as (a) (i) above).
 - (b) The cultural systems involved
 - (i) The culture or cultures of the influencing persons (system of values, social organization, economic system, educational system, political system, legal system, religion, etc.).
 - (ii) The culture and sub-cultures of the changing people (characteristics such as (i) above).
 - (c) The innovations concerned
- The techniques, ideas and other cultural elements which are carried over, created or disseminated.
- (d) The processes involved
 - Especially (i) the creative process and
 - (ii) the diffusion process.
 - (e) The aims of change
 - (i) General policy aims.
 - (ii) Specific developmental aims.
 - (f) Inducement techniques and strategies

Techniques and strategies for the intentional establishment of change (compare par. 3.3.6 but also par. 4.2.3):

- (i) The motivation of people (e.g. by compulsion, rational persuasion, active participation, use of marginal persons).
- (ii) The selection, testing and placement of people.
- (iii) Education, training and general moulding.
- (iv) Economic measures (the provision of development channels, control bodies and measures, establishment of markets, et cetera, see p. 41 - 42).
- (v) Techniques for the diffusion of innovations.
- (vi) The use of aids such as mass communication media and the taking into account of historical factors, racial differences, economic factors, et cetera.
- (g) The socio-economic circumstances of the changing people.
- (h) The ecological system.

Where it appears from Chapters 2, 3 and 4 that these broad categories of influences each play a particular role in the economic development of underdeveloped areas, it is clear that they must also serve as a framework in the determination of research possibilities and needs.

5.2 THE DETERMINATION OF SPECIFIC RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES, NEEDS AND PRIORITIES

5.2.1 Research possibilities

Various research possibilities can be distinguished within the framework sketched above. One needs only to refer to the literature survey in Chapter 2 to realize how great these possibilities are. They can be varied thematically, analytically and in scope on the strength of various considerations, of which the following are the most important:

(a) Technique-knowledge considerations

The research can be aimed at the provision of either techniques or knowledge.

(b) The categories of influence as a consideration

The research possibilities can also be varied on the strength of the categories indicated in par. 5.1.

(c) Theoretical and methodological considerations

The method of studying a research problem can vary on the strength of the theoretical orientation, methodological approach and similar considerations of the researcher. He may choose to follow a cultural-historical approach, to work with ideal types, to adopt a deductive approach, to have a behaviouristic point of departure or to work within a set framework like that of Rostow, Parsons or Thompson. Yet another alternative is the method of approach advocated in this report, viz the interdisciplinary approach to economic development as a process of cultural change (compare Chapter 3), which lends itself very effectively to research relevant to problems formulated in terms of (b) above.

(d) Other considerations

(i) Development area and group

The research can be directed at problems in respect of all homelands or it can be limited to a specific homeland, region, tribe or community.

(ii) Economically functional roles

The research can be concentrated upon the role of a certain occupational group or even an occupation, for example the entrepreneur, or sexual roles, or the role of age groups, elite groups or the family (see also Chapter 1, par. 1.3.4 (a)).

(iii) Extent of westernization, et cetera

Various variables can be used here, for example urban-rural differences, extent of acculturation, tribal ties.

(iv) Sample considerations

Research can be varied on the strength of the size and composition of the sample. All possible considerations cannot be mentioned here and the above must only be regarded as the most important considerations which can possibly be taken into account in the variation of research possibilities. These considerations can, in fact, each be regarded as a directional set of variables to be used in the formulation of research possibilities. The number of considerations used together in this manner as sets of variables can naturally vary. The following examples are given by means of illustra-

tion (see also par. 5.2.2 for further examples):

1. The development of an aptitude test (considerations (a) and (b) and even (c)) for the selection of Zulu clerks (considerations (d) (i) and (ii)).
2. An investigation into the motivation of young Tswana men in the Rustenburg Bantu homelands who desire to work in Rand gold mines, but not in Rustenburg platinum mines (considerations (a), (b) and (d) (i) and (ii) are apposite and (c) is assumed).
3. The development of techniques for the diffusion of new agricultural techniques among Bantu farmers (considerations (a), (b), (c) and (d)).
4. The achievement motive as predictor of success as regards Bantu entrepreneurs (considerations (a), (b), (c) implied and (d) (ii) relevant).

5.2.2 Research needs and priorities

The indication of specific research does not provide any guarantee that these possibilities are topical, in the sense that they are adapted to specific needs-for-research encountered in practice. It could, of course, be argued that in this sense all research falling within the framework indicated in paragraph 5.1 is topical. It is true, however, that there are certain priorities in developmental practice, that specific problems do arise and that research may render a contribution which can facilitate the handling of these problems and priorities.

It is not always easy, even for the person who is intimately concerned with developmental practice, to identify these priority needs. The reason for this is, on the one hand, the comprehensive and multidimensional scope of the developmental task and, on the other, the fact that those people who are intimately concerned with developmental practice are not necessarily equipped to formulate problems and priorities in terms of research problems.

There are, nevertheless, especially two considerations which can be productively utilized in the determination of research priorities, viz

(a) The aims of development

(i) Thorough knowledge of the general aims of development is essential for the determination of priorities, especially in the formulation of general research problems. So, for example, it is obvious that a project which deals with the development of agriculture will, in the nature of things, be extremely topical.

(ii) The aims of specific development projects give the researcher another consideration for the determination of priorities. It is, however, obvious that the researcher can only utilize this consideration if he is allowed to study such a project in depth (see also par. 5.3.2) and if the aims of the project are clearly formulated.

(b) The present position of knowledge of science

It is true that science has already posited certain factors which appear to be important for the development of underdeveloped areas. A categorization of these factors has already been given in the framework in paragraph 5.1. The utilization of these broad categories of factors in the determination of factors is, in itself, important. It is true, however, that even in respect of these factors, further priorities can be determined on the strength of the importance attached to various factors in the literature and even various factors derived logically on a utilitarian basis. Two sets of factors, especially, are of importance in this connection, viz

(i) The processes involved in change (the creative process and the diffusion process, see paragraph 5.1 (d)).

(ii) The inducement techniques and strategies (see paragraph 5.1 (f)).

Although the number of research projects which can possibly be formulated are considerably reduced by the use of the above-mentioned priority indicators, it is clear that there are still extensive possibilities for research. It is, therefore, perhaps desirable to give a number of specific examples of research which is required. There should be the proviso, however, that research problems which are especially formulated in dialogue with persons intimately concerned with the practice of development, will probably produce the most topical research. A further proviso is that the problems which are formulated below naturally do not make the formulation of new problems unnecessary. The following research problems can be regarded as examples of the most topical research needs in connection with the human factors involved in the development of the Bantu homelands (see, however, also Chapter 4, par. 4.2.4 for

a further indication of a large number of research possibilities).

1. The development of techniques and principles for the diffusion of new agricultural techniques among Bantu farmers.
2. The designing of techniques for the prediction of the Bantu entrepreneur's success.
- 3.(a) The determination of general techniques and principles for the inducement of change among the Bantu.
(b) The determination of specific techniques and principles for the inducement of change aimed at the attainment of specific aims formulated for specific tribes.
4. The designing of techniques for the selection of Bantu personnel.
5. The analysis of the failure or successful implementation of inducement measures or of the realization, or non-realization, of expectations cherished by employers or by the authorities, for example -
 - (i) An investigation into the motivation of young Tswana men in the Rustenburg Bantu homelands who work in Rand gold mines but do not wish to work in Rustenburg platinum mines,
 - (ii) An investigation into the reasons why the activities of certain tribal authorities are accompanied by greater socio-economic development than those of others.
6. An investigation into the role of key figures (e.g. the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, the captain, the secretary of the tribal authority) in development.
7. The preparation, by educational training and general formative education of the Bantu, for participation in the economic development of the Bantu homelands.

Subsidiary problems :

- (i) An investigation into the preparation of the Bantu child for participation in economic development.
 - (ii) An investigation into the use of mass communication media in the education and motivation of the Bantu for economic development.
 - (iii) An investigation into the need for and training of Bantu artisans, et cetera.
8. The possible influence of urbanization on the Bantu's motivation as regards development tasks.
 9. The use of communal systems as a possible aid in agricultural development in the homelands.
 10. The determination of principles of conduct for White employers and administrative staff in their dealings with Bantu.
 11. The influence of certain motivational factors (e.g. wages) on the productivity of the Bantu worker.
 12. The influence of family planning guidance on the Bantu birth rate and its implications for economic development in the homelands.

5.3 THE INTEGRATION AND USE OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

It is reasonable to ask whether it is possible to integrate existing research findings in theory, but especially in practice, into a meaningful and useful unit. It is also a question which affects future research findings. The most important point in this regard is whether it is possible, on the strength of research findings, to establish principles and techniques which can, in the practice of Bantu homeland development,

- (a) be implemented, and
- (b) be implemented in such a way that they contribute to the attainment of an integrated set of policy aims.

The question is thus whether techniques and principles can be designed in such a way that they can be used in practice and, in fact, in such a manner that the implementation of technique A or technique B does not frustrate the implementation of technique C or technique D. Of course, these conditions are difficult or even impossible to satisfy. It is, however, obvious that the satisfaction of such conditions should be striven after as far as possible. At least three requirements must be met if these conditions are to be satisfied:

1. A framework of reference for the integration of knowledge from a variety of sciences, gathered according to a variety of theoretical and methodological principles, must be available.
2. Research findings should be cast in such a mould that they can be used in developmental practice.
3. The co-ordination of the application of the techniques and principles concerned in the practice of Bantu homeland development must be ensured.

5.3.1 The problem of a framework of reference

In this case, the problem is that a method should be available, according to which knowledge obtained from various human sciences or humanities can be integrated into a theory of economic development. In the past, more than one attempt at such integration has been made. Two of the most important works in this respect are those of Rostow (190) and Parsons and Smelser (161), which were discussed in Chapter 2, paragraph 2.3.2. A few other important contributions in this field are those of Hagen (72), Hoselitz (97), Moore (150, 151, 152), Nash (155) and Foster (58), which were also discussed in Chapter 2, paragraph 2.3.

In fact, the wider problem of the integration of knowledge in connection with man as a phenomenon is one which is today receiving increasing attention, as is especially apparent from the works of Thompson (221), Kapp (110) and Grinker (70), to mention but a few. For the purposes of this report, reference need only be made to the works of Rostow, Parsons and Smelser and Thompson, which were all discussed in Chapter 2, par. 2.3, to form an idea of the complexity of this problem and the divergent opinions in this connection. There is little uniformity and the task of the development of a satisfactory conceptual framework still belongs to the future.

Does this mean that there can be absolutely no attempt at the integration of relevant knowledge? After all, if Thompson's above-mentioned project on the Hopi Indians can be taken as an example, (see Chapter 2, par. 2.3.2 (d)) it would indeed appear that such an integration is definitely possible!

The answer must be found, on the one hand, in the fact that a useful framework of reference has already been established in paragraph 5.1 above, and that it is, for example, possible to at least indicate what existing research is relevant to the problem of human factors involved in the economic development of the homelands, or even to indicate how a research finding may be related to the attainment of a certain policy aim. On the other hand, the answer must be sought in the established fact of the insufficient empirical and theoretical knowledge in connection with the human factors which play a role in economic development, which at present makes it impossible to pass a final theoretically founded judgement.

In conclusion, while a tentative integration of knowledge based on the applicability or non-applicability which it may have for the attainment of policy aims is indeed possible, such an integration will not necessarily be based on true causal relationships between variables. It may thus be possible to indicate that research finding A is related to policy aim B. However, a great degree of theoretical knowledge and insight is demanded to indicate why and how the two are related. Furthermore, such an indication can only be offered as a supposition based on the researcher's scientific knowledge and insight. Final conclusions are not possible but well-considered suppositions are.

It is necessary, however, to continue with the development of a satisfactory theoretical framework for the integration of knowledge.

5.3.2 Research findings in useful form

"Usefulness", in this context, alludes to the translation of research findings into principles and/or techniques which can be implemented in the practice of policy-implementation.

This demand constantly puts the onus on the researcher to ascertain whether and how his knowledge can be used in practice - a task which, in itself, imposes particular demands on the researcher. It puts the further onus on him, however, that he must phrase his findings in the "language" of the authority which carries out the policy - also a difficult task.

In this connection, it is also necessary to refer to paragraphs 4.3 and 5.2 in which it was indicated that human sciences research on specific development aims will, in the nature of things, only have maximum utility value if the researcher is intimately involved in specific development schemes and if such schemes are planned in detail for each development area. A case in point is the possible participation of the human sciences researcher in regional planning and community development projects, i.e. if such projects exist and if sufficient attention has been paid to the specification and integration of aims (see also par. 4.3). In fact, the greatest and most essential contribution which the researcher in the human sciences can make to the development of the Bantu homelands lies at this level and it is essential for him to be involved in it.

Much has already been written on the question whether the scientist should thus purposefully indulge in finding ways for the attainment of policy aims. It is a question which cannot be satisfactorily answered here. However, it is understandable that any researcher who believes that applied science can contribute positively to the achievement of policy aims with which he associates himself, would want his own research findings to be "useful" (see also 32, p. 52 - 57).

5.3.3 The co-ordination of the implementation of principles and techniques in practice

Although, strictly speaking, the responsibility for compliance with this demand does not rest with the scientist, but with the person who implements the policy, it is nevertheless the duty of the researcher to ensure that his recommendations do not have conflicting implications in practice. Furthermore, it is his duty to point out to the person who implements the policy that his recommendations and techniques will have little value unless they are applied in practice in a responsible and co-ordinated manner. At the same time, it is clear that the duties of the researcher in this regard can be considerably lightened if there is effective communication between him, the policy maker and the policy executor. The necessity of involving the researcher in the planning stage of development projects can thus not be stressed enough.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the foregoing, the following recommendations can be made concerning research into the human factors which play a role in the economic development of the Bantu homelands:

(a) The multidimensional and multidisciplinary nature of the problem area must be taken into account. Not just one, but manifold factors play a role in the economic development of an underdeveloped area. Research concerning these factors extends to various fields of study. The necessity for interdisciplinary research must thus be emphasized. One must guard against naive cause-and-effect explanations of phenomena, i.e. the action of only one factor (e.g. the profit motive) or one set of factors (e.g. only economic or only psychological factors) should not be held responsible for the metamorphosis of a phenomenon.

(b) The necessity of developing a theoretical frame of reference according to which inter alia, social, cultural and psychological factors can be related to the process of economic development, should be stressed. In this connection one should also emphasize the possibility of using the theory of cultural change as an integrative theoretical tool, particularly where circumstances of guided acculturation are being studied (compare Chapter 3).

(c) Effective communication channels, and if possible, close co-operation between the researcher and the authorities must be ensured, particularly in the case of specific development projects. Research should also be closely linked to developmental practice. Research findings must be reported in a form accessible and useful to persons responsible for the practical implementation of development.

(d) Research should be concentrated upon making available knowledge and techniques related to the framework given in par. 5.1 of this chapter. Priorities can be indicated on the grounds of the considerations mentioned in paragraph 5.2.2 in which the most important research needs are specified in detail.

(e) The integration and use of research findings must be ensured in the practice of Bantu homeland development and in the practice of research (see par. 5.3.2 and par. 5.3.3.) (See also par. 5.4 (b) as regards the integration of developmental theory.)

LITERATURE

1. ALDRICH, R.A. The Primitive mind and modern civilization. London, Kegan Paul, 1931.
2. ALMOND, G.A. and COLEMAN, J.S. The Politics of developing areas. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1960.
3. ANDERSON, C.A. "The Impact of the educational system on technological change and modernization". In: HOSELITZ, B.F. and MOORE, W.E. (eds) Industrialization and society. Unesco, Mouton, 1963: p. 259 - 278.
4. APTER, D.E. "System, process, and politics of economic development". In: HOSELITZ, B.F. and MOORE, W.E. (eds) Industrialization and society. Unesco, Mouton, 1963: p. 135 - 158.
5. ARGYLE, M.; BENDIX, R.; FLINN, M.W.; HAGEN, E.E. Social theory and economic change. London, Tavistock, 1967.
6. BARNES, H.E. (ed.) An Introduction to the history of sociology. Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1958.
7. BARNETT, H.G. Innovation : the basis of cultural change. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1953.
8. BARNETT, H.G. et al. "Acculturation : an exploratory formulation". American anthropologist, 4 (1), 1954 : 973 - 1002.
9. BASCOM, C.W.R. and HERSKOVITS, M.J. (eds) Continuity and change in African cultures. Chicago, Phoenix Books, 1959.
10. BAUER, P.T. and YAMEY, B.S. The Economics of underdeveloped countries. Cambridge, Nisbet 1967.
11. BEALS, R.L. and HOIJER, H. An Introduction to anthropology. New York, MacMillan, 1965.
12. BHATNAGAR, K.A.P. and BAHADUR, S.A. A History of economic thought. Kanpur, Kishore Publishing House, 1954.
13. BIESHEUVEL, S. "The Occupational abilities of Africans" Optima, 2 (1), 1952: 18 - 22.
14. BIESHEUVEL, S. "Personnel selection tests, a means of improving the productivity of native labour." Municipal affairs, Johannesburg, 19 (220 and 221), 1953 - 54.
15. BIESHEUVEL, S. "The Measurement of occupational aptitudes in a multi-racial society". Occupational psychology, 28 (4), 1954: 189 - 196.
16. BIESHEUVEL, S. "Research into the occupational fitness of Africans in the Union of South Africa". Inter-African labour institute bulletin, 4 (5), Sept., 1957 : 8 - 33.
17. BIESHEUVEL, S. Personeelbeleid by die gebruik van naturelle-arbeid. Bloemfontein, Universiteit van die Oranje-Vrystaat, 1959.
18. BIESHEUVEL, S. "Some of the characteristics of the African worker". Journal of the South African institute of personal management, 15, Jan. 1962 : 10 - 14.
19. BIESHEUVEL, S. The Human resources of the Republic of South Africa and their development. Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1963.
20. BIESHEUVEL, S. "The Growth of abilities and character". South African journal of science, 59 (8), Aug. 1963 : 375 - 385.
21. BLACK, M. The Social theories of Talcott Parsons. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1961.
22. BLANKSTEN, G.I. "Transference of social and political loyalties". In: HOSELITZ, B.F. and MOORE, W.E. (eds) Industrialization and society. Unesco, Mouton, 1963 : p. 175 - 196.
23. BOYD, W.C. Genetics and the races of man. Oxford, Blackwell, 1950.
24. BRAIBANTI, R. "The Relevance of political science to the study of underdeveloped areas". In: BRAIBANTI, R. and SPENGLER, J.J. (eds) Tradition, values and socio-economic development. Durham, Duke University Press, 1961 : p. 139 - 180.
25. BRAIBANTI, R. and SPENGLER, J.J. (eds) Tradition, values and socio-economic development. Durham, Duke University Press, 1961.
26. BRAMELD, T. The Remaking of a culture. New York, Harper, 1959.
27. BRETT, E.A. African attitudes : a study of the social, racial and political attitudes of some middle class Africans. Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963.
28. BROWN, G.G. and HUTT, A. Anthropology in action. London, Oxford University Press, 1935.
29. BURNS, T. and SAUL, S.B. (eds) Social theory and economic change. London, Tavistock, 1967.

30. COERTZE, P.J. (red.) Inleiding tot die algemene volkekunde. Johannesburg, Voortrekkerpers, 1960.
31. COERTZE, P.J. "Akkulturasië". In: CRONJE, G. (red.) Kultuurbeïnvloeding tussen Blankes en Bantoes in Suid-Afrika. Pretoria, Van Schaik, 1968 : p. 1 - 34.
32. COERTZE, R.D. "Geleide akkulturasie". In: CRONJE, G. (red.) Kultuurbeïnvloeding tussen Blankes en Bantoes in Suid-Afrika. Pretoria, Van Schaik, 1968 : p. 35 - 59.
33. COETZEE, J.H. "Die Bantoe in die gevorderde bedryfsvorme". Koers : maandblad vir Calvinistiese denke, 29 (5 en 6), Nov. - Des. 1961 : 147 - 158.
34. COHEN, P.S. "Economic analysis and economic man : some comments on a controversy". In: FIRTH, R. (ed.) Themes in economic anthropology. London, Tavistock, 1967 : p. 91 - 118.
35. COOK, S. "The Obsolete 'anti-market' mentality : a critique of the substantive approach to economic anthropology". In: LE CLAIR, E.E. and SCHNEIDER, H.K. (eds) Economic anthropology. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Wilson, 1968 : p. 208 - 228.
36. CORTIS, L.E. "The Work attitudes of a multi-racial factory group". Proceedings of the South African psychological association, 1956 - 1957 : 24 - 26.
37. CRONJE, G. (red.) Kultuurbeïnvloeding tussen Blankes en Bantoes in Suid-Afrika. Pretoria, Van Schaik, 1968.
38. DALTON, G. "Economic theory and primitive society". American anthropologist, 63 (1), Febr., 1961 : 1 - 25.
39. DANZIGER, K., "Some social psychological aspects of economic growth". South African journal of science, 59 (8), August, 1963 : 349 - 398.
40. DAVIS, J., Modern industry and the African. London, MacMillan, 1933.
41. DE RIDDER, J.C. The Personality of the urban African in South Africa. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961.
42. DJESENBERY, J.S. "Some aspects of the theory of economic development". Explorations in entrepreneurial history, 3 (2), Dec., 1950 : 68 - 74.
43. DUMONT, René. False start in Africa. London, Deutsch, 1966.
44. DU PREEZ, P.H. Die Verkryging van verhoogde werkverrigting by die Bantoe in die landbou. M.Sc. (Agric), Pretoria, Universiteit van Pretoria, 1962.
45. DU TOIT, B.M. "Personality, stability and culture change". South African journal of science, 62 (8) : 267 - 275.
46. EASTERBROOK, W.T. "The Entrepreneurial function in relation to technological and economic change". In: HOSELITZ, B.F. and MOORE, W.E. (eds) Industrialization and society. Unesco, Mouton, 1963 : p. 57 - 73.
47. EISENSTADT, S.N. "Problems of emerging bureaucracies in developing areas and new states." In: HOSELITZ, B.F. and MOORE, W.E. (eds) Industrialization and society. Unesco, Mouton, 1963 : p. 159 - 173.
48. ELKAN, W. and FALLERS, L.A. "The mobility of labour". In: MOORE, W.E. and FELDMAN, A.S. (eds) Labor commitment and social change in developing areas. New York, Social Science Research Council, 1960 : p. 238 - 257.
49. ELKIN, A.P. "The reaction of primitive races to the white man's culture". Hibbert journal, 35, 1936 - 37 : 537 - 545.
50. ELLOFF, J.F. "Tempo van ekonomiese ontwikkeling in die Bantoegebiede". Tydskrif vir rasse-aangeleenthede, 10 (2), Jan. 1959, : 56 - 64.
51. EVANS-PRITCHARD, E.E. "Economic life of the Nuer : Cattle". Sudan notes and records, 20 : 209 - 245; 21 : 31 - 78.
52. FINKLE, J.C. and GABLE, R.W. (eds) Political development and social change. New York, Wiley, 1966.
53. FIRTH, R. Primitive economics of the New Zealand Maori. Toronto, Dutton, 1929.
54. FIRTH, R. Themes in economic anthropology. London, Tavistock 1967.
55. FIRTH, R. "The Social framework of economic organization". In: LE CLAIR, E.E. and SCHNEIDER, H.K. (eds) Economic anthropology. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Wilson, 1968 : p. 65 - 87.
56. FORDE, C.D. Habitat, economy and society. London, Methuen, 1934.
57. FORDE, D. (ed.) Social implications of industrialization and urbanization in Africa south of the Sahara. London, Unesco, 1956.
58. FOSTER, G.M. Traditional cultures : and the impact of technological change. New York, Harper & Row, 1962.

59. FOSTER, T.S. From savagery to commerce. London, Jonathan Cape, 1930.
60. FRANKEL, S.H. The economic impact on underdeveloped societies. Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 1953.
61. FRANKENBERG, R. "Economic anthropology, one anthropologist's view". In: FIRTH, R. (ed.) Themes in economic anthropology. London, Tavistock, 1967 : p. 47 - 89.
62. GEERTZ, C. Old societies and new states. London, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.
63. GERSCHENKRON, A. "Social attitudes, entrepreneurship and economic development. Explorations in entrepreneurial history, 6, Oct., 1953 : 1 - 19.
64. GIDE, G. and RIST, C. A History of economic doctrines. London, Harrup, 1953.
65. GILLIN, J. The Ways of men, an introduction to anthropology, London, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948.
66. GLASS, Y. "Management, supervision and worker productivity". Paper read to National Development Foundation, Johannesburg, 1960.
67. GLASS, Y. "Industrial man in Southern Africa". Paper read to the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa, Johannesburg, 1961.
68. GLASS, Y. "The Industrialization of an indigenous people". South African journal of science, 59 (8), Aug., 1963 : 386 - 393.
69. GOODFELLOW, D.M. Principles of economic sociology. London, Routledge, 1939.
70. GRINKER, R.G. Toward a unified theory of human behavior. New York, Basic Books, 1967.
71. HAGEN, E.E. "The Process of economic development". Economic development and cultural change, 5 (3), April 1957 : 193 - 215.
72. HAGEN, E.E. On the theory of social change - How economic growth begins. Homewood, Ill., Dorsey Press, 1962.
73. HANDE, W.A. African economic development. New York, Harper, 1958.
74. HANEY, L.H. History of economic thought. New York, MacMillan, 1949.
75. HARBISON, F. and MYERS, C.A. Education, manpower and economic growth. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964.
76. HELLMAN, E. Sellgoods. Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1954.
77. HELLMAN, E. "Tribalism in modern society". Race relations journal, 124 (1 - 2), Jan. - Jun., 1957.
78. HERSKOVITS, M.J. "The Cattle complex in East Africa". American anthropologist, 28, 1926 : 230 - 272; 361 - 388; 494 - 528; 633 - 646.
79. HERSKOVITS, M.J. Acculturation. New York, Augustin, 1938.
80. HERSKOVITS, M.J. The Economic life of primitive peoples. New York, Knopf, 1940.
81. HERSKOVITS, M.J. "African economic development in cross-cultural perspective". American economic review, Papers and proceedings of the 68th annual meeting of the American economic association, 46 (2), May, 1956 : 452.
82. HERSKOVITS, M.J. Economic anthropology. New York, Knopf, 1952.
83. HERSKOVITS, M.J. Man and his works. New York, Knopf, 1948.
84. HERSKOVITS, M.J. The Human factor in changing Africa. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964.
85. HERSKOVITS, M.J. "The Organization of work". In: MOORE, W.E. and FELDMAN, A.S. (eds) Labor commitment and social change in developing areas. New York, Social Science Research Council, 1960 : p. 123 - 135.
86. HERSKOVITS, M.J. "Economic change and cultural dynamics" In: BRAIBANTI, R. and SPENGLER, J.J. Tradition, values and socio-economic development. Durham, Duke University Press, 1961 : p. 114 - 138.
87. HICKMAN, C.A. and KUHN, M.H. Individuals, groups and economic behavior. New York, The Dryden Press, 1956.
88. HIGGINS, B. Economic development. London, Constable, 1959.
89. HIRSCHMANN, A.O. The Strategy of economic development. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1958.
90. HOEBEL, E.A. Man in the primitive world. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1949.

91. HOERNLE, A.W. and HELLMAN, E. "Analysis of social change and its bearing on (Bantu culture and) education". Race relations journal, 20(4), 1953.
92. HOGGIN, H.I. Experiments in civilization. London, Routledge, 1939.
93. HOLLEMAN, J.F.; KNOX, J.; MANN, J.W. and HEARD, K.W. (eds) Problems of transition. Pietermaritzburg, Natal University Press, 1964.
94. HOLLIS, W.P. (ed.) Comparative theories of social change. Ann Arbor, Michigan, Foundation for Research on Human Behavior, 1966.
95. HOSELITZ, B.F. The Progress of underdeveloped areas. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952.
96. HOSELITZ, B.F. "Problems of adapting and communicating modern techniques to less developed areas". Economic development and cultural change, 2 (4), Jan., 1954 : 249 - 268.
97. HOSELITZ, B.F. Sociological aspects of economic growth. New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.
98. HOSELITZ, B.F. "Tradition and economic growth". In: BRAIBANTI, R. and SPENGLER, J.J. (eds) Tradition, values and socio-economic development. Durham, Duke University Press, 1961 : p. 83 - 113.
99. HOSELITZ, B.F. "Economic development and social change in social values and thought patterns". In: ZOLLSCHAN, G.D. and HIRSCH, W. (eds) Explorations in social change. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964 : p. 673 - 693.
100. HOSELITZ, B.F. and MOORE, W.E. (eds) Industrialization and society, Unesco, Mouton, 1963.
101. HOSELITZ, B.F.; TEAF, H.M.; HIRSCHMANN, A.D. "Economic development". American economic review, 47 (2) May, 1957 : 28 - 41.
102. HUNT, C.L. Social aspects of economic development. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1966.
103. HUNTER, M. Reaction to conquest. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1936.
104. HUNTINGTON, E. Civilization and climate. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1915.
105. HUNTINGTON, E. The character of races. New York, Scribner, 1924.
106. JACKSON, E.F. Economic development in Africa. London, Blackwell, 1965.
107. JENNINGS, J.D. and HOEBEL, E.A. (eds) Readings in anthropology. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1966.
108. JONES, G.N. "Strategies and tactics of planned organizational change : case examples in the modernization process of traditional societies". Human organization, 24 (3), 1965 : 192 - 200.
109. KALDOR, N. Essays on economic stability and growth. London, Duckworth, 1960.
110. KAPP, W. Toward a science of man in society. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1961.
111. KATONA, G. Psychological analysis of economic behavior. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1951.
112. KATZ, E.; LEVIN, J.L.; HAMILTON, H. "Traditions of research on the diffusion of innovation". American sociological review, 28 (2), April, 1963 : 237 - 252.
113. KEESING, F.M. The changing Maori. Avery, New Plymouth, 1928.
114. KEESING, F.M. Modern Samoa : its government and changing life. London, Stanford University Press, 1934.
115. KEESING, F.M. and M. Taming Phillipine headhunters : a study of government and culture change in North Luzon. London, Stanford University Press, 1954.
116. KEESING, F.M. Cultural anthropology. New York, Rinehart, 1958.
117. KEESING, F.M. Culture change : an analysis and bibliography of anthropological sources to 1952. London, Stanford University Press, 1953.
118. KERR, C.; DUNLOP, J.T.; HARBISON, F.H.; MYERS, C.A. Industrialism and industrial man. The Problems of labour and management in economic growth. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1960.
119. KINDLEBERGER, C.P. Economic development. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1965.
120. KLUCKHOHN, C. and KROEBER, A.C. "Evolution, history and culture". In: Tax. S. (ed.) Evolution after Darwin, Vol. III. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960.
121. KLUCKHOHN, C. and MURRAY, H.A. (eds) Personality in nature, society and culture. New York, Knopf, 1967.
122. KOTZE, D.A. "Naturelle-arbeid as beleidsbepalende faktor in Suid-Afrika." Tydskrif vir rasse-aangeleenthede, 11 (1), Okt. 1959 : 12 - 44.

123. KUTTNER, R.E. Race and modern science. New York, Social Science Press, 1967.
124. LE CLAIR, E.E. and SCHNEIDER, H.K. (eds) Economic anthropology. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Wilson, 1968.
125. LERNER, D. The Passing of traditional society. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1958.
126. LEWIS, W.A. Development planning. London, Allen & Unwin, 1966.
127. LIONBERGER, H.F. Adoption of new ideas and practices. Ames, Iowa State University Press, 1966.
128. LINTON, R. (ed.) Acculturation in seven American Indian tribes. Appleton-Century, New York, 1940.
129. LINTON, R. The Science of man in the world crisis. New York, Columbia University Press, 1945.
130. LOMBARD, J.A. "Die Ekonomiese beskouingswyse ten opsigte van die beleid van afsonderlike ontwikkeling en die aandeel van die Blanke daarin". Tydskrif vir rasse-aangeleenthede, 15 (4), Okt. 1964 : 167 - 185.
131. LOMBARD, J.A. (red.) Die Ekonomiese politiek van Suid-Afrika. Kaapstad, HAUM, 1967.
132. LOMBARD, J.A. "Die Algemene beginsels van die ekonomiese politiek". In: LOMBARD, J.A. (red.) Die Ekonomiese politiek van Suid-Afrika. Kaapstad, HAUM, 1967 : p. 117 - 127.
133. MAIR, L.P. An African people in the twentieth century. London, Routledge, London, 1934.
134. MAIR, L.P. Native policies in Africa. London, Routledge, 1936.
135. MALINOWSKI, B. "The Primitive economics of the Trobriand Islanders". Economic journal, 31, 1922.
136. MALINOWSKI, B. Modern anthropology and European rule in Africa. Rome, 1938.
137. MALINOWSKI, B. The Dynamics of culture change. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1945.
138. MATHEWSON, J.E. "Impact of urbanization on lobola". Tydskrif vir rasse-aangeleenthede, 10 (3), April 1959 : 72 - 76.
139. MAYER, P. Townsmen or tribesmen. Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1961.
140. McCLELLAND, D.C. "The Achievement motive in economic growth". In: HOSELITZ, B.F. and MOORE, W.E. Industrialization and society. Unesco, Mouton, 1963 : p. 74 - 96.
141. McCLELLAND, D.C. The Achieving society. New York, Van Nostrand, 1961.
142. McCLELLAND, D.C. and WINTER, D.G. Motivating economic development. New York, The Free Press, 1969.
143. McEWAN, P.J.M. and SUTCLIFFE, R.B. Modern Africa. New York, Crowell, 1965.
144. MEAD, M. "Americanization in Samoa". American mercury, 1929 : 264 - 270.
145. MEAD, M. The Changing culture of an Indian tribe. New York, Columbia University Press, 1932.
146. MEAD, M. et al. Cooperation and competition among primitive peoples. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1937.
147. MEAD, M. Culture patterns and technical change. Paris, Unesco, 1953.
148. MEIER, G.M. and BALDWIN, R.E. Economic development : theory, history, policy. New York, Wiley, 1957.
149. MEYER, P.J. "Nywerheidsontwikkeling in die Bantoetuislande. III Die rol van private inisiatief". Tydskrif vir rasse-aangeleenthede, 18 (4) Okt. 1967 : 191 - 208.
150. MOORE, W.E. Industrialization and labor - social aspects of economic development. New York, Cornell University Press, 1951.
151. MOORE, W.E. "Industrialization and social change". In: HOSELITZ, B.F. and MOORE, W.E. (eds) Industrialization and society. Unesco, Mouton, 1963 : p. 299 - 370.
152. MOORE, W.E. "The Social framework of economic development". In: BRAIBANTI, R. and SPENGLER, J.J. (eds) Tradition, values and socio-economic development. Durham, Duke University Press, 1961 : p. 57 - 82.
153. MOORE, W.E. and FELDMAN, A.S. (eds) Labor commitment and social change in developing areas. New York, Social Science Research Council, 1960.
154. MORGAN, T.; BETZ, G.W.;; GHOUDRY, N.K. (eds) Readings in economic development. Belmont, Calif., Wadsworth, 1963.

155. NASH, M. "Some social and cultural aspects of economic development". In: FINKLE, J.C. and GABLE, R.W. (eds) Political development and social change. New York, Wiley, 1966 : p. 285 - 295.
156. NETTL, J.P. and ROBERTSON, R. "Industrialization, development or modernization." The British journal of sociology, 17, September, 1966 : 274 - 291.
157. NEWMAN, P.C.; GAYER, A.D.; SPENCER, M.H. Source readings in economic thought. New York, Norton, 1954.
158. NGCOBO, S.B. "The Response of Africans to industrial employment". Race relations journal, 21 (1), 1954.
159. NGCOBO, S.B. "African elite in South Africa". International social science bulletin, 8 (3), 1956.
160. NIEHOFF, A.H. and ANDERSON, J.C. "The Process of cross-cultural innovation". International development review, June, 1964 : 5 - 11.
161. PARSONS, T. and SMELSER, N. Economy and society. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956.
162. PAULSEN, A. "Real capital and human capital in economic development". The German economic review, 4 (4), 1966 : 265 - 286.
163. PAUW, B.A. The Second generation. Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1963.
164. PEARSON, H.W. "Parsons and Smelser on the economy." In: LE CLAIR, E.E. and SCHNEIDER, H.K. (eds) Economic anthropology. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Wilson, 1968: p. 234 - 243.
165. PELZER, A.N. (red.) Verwoerd aan die woord. Johannesburg, Afrikaanse Pers Beperk, 1965.
166. PENNIMAN, T.K. A Hundred years of anthropology. London, Duckworth, 1952.
167. PETER, H.W. (ed.) Comparative theories of social change. Ann Arbor, Foundation for Research on Human Behaviour, 1966.
168. POLANYI, K. "The Economy as instituted process". In: LE CLAIR, E.E. and SCHNEIDER, H.K. (eds) Economic anthropology. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Wilson, 1968 : p. 122 - 143.
169. PONSIOEN, J.A. The Analysis of social change reconsidered. The Hague, Mouton, 1965.
170. POOL, I. de S. "The Role of communication in the Process of modernization and technological change." In: HOSELITZ, B.F. and MOORE, W.E. Industrialization and society. Unesco, Mouton, 1963: p. 279 - 295.
171. PORTEUS, S.D. Primitive intelligence and environment. New York, MacMillan, 1937.
172. POTGIETER, E.F. "n Volkekundige ondersoek na die proses van integrasie van die Bantoe by die Blanke ekonomiese stelsel in Suid-Afrika. D.Phil., Universiteit van Pretoria, 1954.
173. PITT-RIVERS, G.H. The Clash of cultures and contact of peoples. London, Routledge, 1927.
174. PITT-RIVERS, G.H. "The Effect on native races of contact with European civilization". Man, 27, 1927, : 3 - 5.
175. RÄTZEL, F. The History of mankind. London, MacMillan, 1896.
176. RAUTENBACH, P.S. "Nywerheidsontwikkeling in die Bantoe-tuislande : II. Die Rol van die owerheid". Tydskrif vir rasse-aangeleenthede, 18 (4) : 184 - 190.
177. READER, D.H. The Black man's portion. Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1961.
178. READER, D.H. Zulu tribe in transition, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1966.
179. READER, D.H. "Tribalism in South Africa." Scientific South Africa, 3 (4), Febr., 1966 : 15 - 18.
180. READER, D.H. "Detribalization in South Africa." Scientific South Africa, 3 (5), March, 1966 : 29 - 31.
181. REDFIELD, R.; LINTON, R.; HERSKOVITS, M. "A Memorandum for the study of acculturation". American anthropologist, 38 (1), 1936 : 149 - 152.
182. RHOODIE, N.J. Apartheid en partnership. Pretoria, Academica, 1966.
183. RHOODIE, N.J. "Sosiologiese probleme wat gepaard gaan met die gebruik van Bantoe-arbeid in Blanke gebiede". Tydskrif vir rasse-aangeleenthede, 16 (3), Julie 1965 : 124 - 145.
184. RICHARDS, A.I. Hunger and work in a savage tribe. London, Routledge, 1932.
185. RICHARDS, A.I. Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia : an economic study on the Bemba tribe. London, Routledge, 1939.
186. RIGGS, F.W. Administration in developing countries. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1964.

187. ROBERTSON, H.M. The Rise of economic individualism. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1933.
188. ROBINSON, E.A.G. Economic development for Africa south of the Sahara. London, MacMillan 1964.
189. ROGERS, E.M. Diffusion of innovations. New York, The Free Press, 1962.
190. ROSTOW, W.W. The Process of economic growth. London, Oxford University Press, 1960 (2nd edition).
191. RUBIN, V. "The Anthropology of development". In: SIEGEL, B.J. (ed.) Biennial review of anthropology, 1961. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1962.
192. SADIE, J.L. "Tempo van ekonomiese ontwikkeling in die Bantoegebiede - kommentaar". Tydskrif vir rasse-aangeleenthede, 10 (3), April 1959 : 77 - 84.
193. SADIE, J.L. "The Social anthropology of economic underdevelopment." The economic journal, 72 (286), June, 1960 : 294 - 303.
194. SCHAPERA, I. (ed.) Western civilization and the natives of South Africa. London, Routledge, 1934.
195. SCHAPERA, I. Migrant labour and tribal life. London, Oxford University Press, 1947.
196. SCHAPERA, I. "Tswana chiefs as innovators". Kroniek van Afrika, 6 (2), Junie 1966 : 157 - 168.
197. SCHRAMM, W. Mass media and national development. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1964.
198. SCHRIEKE, B. (ed.) The Effect of western influence on native civilization in the Malay archipelago. Batavia, Kolff, 1929.
199. SHANNON, L.W. (ed.) Underdeveloped areas - a book of readings and research. New York, Harper, 1957.
200. SHERWOOD, R. "Motivation analysis : a comparison of job attitudes among African and American professional and clerical workers". Proceedings of the South African Psychological Association, 1956 - 1957 : 27 - 28.
201. SHERWOOD, R. "The Bantu clerk : a study of rôle expectations". Journal of social psychology, 47, 1958 : 258 - 316.
202. SIEGEL, B.J. (ed.) Biennial review of anthropology, 1959. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1959.
203. SIEGEL, B.J. (ed.) Biennial review of anthropology, 1961. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1962.
204. SMELSER, N.J. "Mechanisms of change and adjustment to change". In: HOSELITZ, B.F. and MOORE, W.E. (eds) Industrialization and society. Unesco, Mouton, 1963 : p. 32 - 54.
205. SMELSER, N.J. and LIPSET, S.M. Social structure and mobility in economic development. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964.
206. SOUTHALL, A. (ed.) Social change in modern Africa. London, Oxford University Press, 1961.
207. SPENGLER, J.J. "Sociological value theory, economic analysis, and economic policy". American economic review. Papers and proceedings of the 65th annual meeting of the American Economic Association, vol. 43 (2), May, 1953 : 340 - 349.
208. SPENGLER, J.J. "Theory, ideology, non-economic values and politico-economic development" In: BRAIBANTI, R. and SPENGLER, J.J. (eds) Tradition, values and socio-economic development. Durham, Duke University Press, 1961 : p. 3 - 56.
209. SPICER, E.H. Human problems in technological change. New York, Russel Sage Foundation, 1952.
210. SPINDLER, L.S. and SPINDLER, G.D. "Culture change". In: SIEGEL, B.J. (ed.) Biennial review of anthropology, 1961. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1962 : p. 37 - 66.
211. SPUHLER, J.N. "Somatic paths to culture". In: JENNINGS, J.D. and HOEBEL, E.A. (eds) Readings in anthropology. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1966 : p. 104 - 108.
212. STADLER, J.J. "Nywerheidsontwikkeling in die Bantoeuislande : I. Die behoefte aan nywerheidsontwikkeling". Tydskrif vir rasse-aangeleenthede, 18 (4), 1967 : 165 - 184.
213. STEWARD, J.H. "Prediction and planning on culture change". Human organization 18, 1959 : 5 - 7.
214. STILLMAN, C.W. Africa in the modern world. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955.

215. RO VIR RASSE-AANGELEENTHEDE. "Verslag van die projek vir skakeling met die Bantoe". Tydskrif vir rasse-aangeleentehede, 12 (4), Julie 1961 : 183 - 198.
216. SUID-AFRIKA, UNIE VAN. Opsomming van die verslag van die kommissie vir die sosio-ekonomiese ontwikkeling van die Bantoegebiede binne die Unie van Suid-Afrika, Pretoria, Staatsdrukker, 1954. (English title : Summary of the report of the commission for the socio-economic development of the Bantu areas within the Union of South Africa).
217. SUID-AFRIKA, UNIE VAN. Witskrif : memorandum ter verduideliking van die agtergrond en doelstellings van die wetsontwerp op bevordering van Bantoeselfbestuur. (W.P. 3 - '59).
218. SUID-AFRIKA, UNIE VAN. Witskrif : besluite deur die regering oor aanbevelings van die kommissie vir die sosio-ekonomiese ontwikkeling van die Bantoegebiede binne die Unie van Suid-Afrika. (W.P.F. - '56).
219. TAWNEY, R.H. Religion and the rise of capitalism. London, John Murray, 1943 (1st edition 1926).
220. THEODORSON, G.A. "Acceptance of industrialization and its attendant consequences for the social patterns of non-western societies". American sociological review, 18 (5), Oct., 1953 : 418 - 438.
221. THOMPSON, L. Toward a science of mankind. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1961.
222. THOMPSON, L. "Societal system, culture and community". In : GRINKER, R.G. Toward a unified theory of human behavior. New York, Basic Books, 1967 : p. 70 - 82.
223. THURNWALD, R. "Soziologische Forschungen über Veränderungen in Leben des Afrikaners unter den Einwirkungen der Europäischen Zivilisation". Forschungen und Fortschritte, 1931.
224. THURNWALD, R. Economics of primitive peoples. London, Oxford University Press, 1932.
225. TINBERGEN, J. Economic policy : principles and design. Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Co., 1964.
226. TOBIAS, P.V. "Australopithecus, Homo Habilis, tool-using and tool-making". South African archeological bulletin, 20 (80, part 4), Dec., 1965. : 167 - 192.
227. UDY, S.H. Organization of work. Connecticut, New Haven, PRAF Press, 1959.
228. VILAKAZI, A. Zulu social structure and its dynamics today : a study of the Zulu of the Valley of the Thousand Hills under the conditions of culture contact. Ph.D., University of Natal, 1960.
229. VILAKAZI, A. Zulu transformation : a study of the dynamics of social change. Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal, 1962.
230. VILJOEN, S. The economics of primitive peoples. London, King, 1936.
231. WEBER, Max. The protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. London, Allen & Unwin, 1962 (1st edition 1905).
232. WEBER, Max. The sociology of religion. London, Methuen, 1965 (1st edition 1922).
233. WESTERMAN, D. The African today and tomorrow. Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1939, (1st edition 1933).
234. WILLIAMS, R.M. "The sociological theory of Talcott Parsons". In : BLACK, M. The Social theories of Talcott Parsons. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1961 : p. 64 - 99.
235. WISSLER, C. The Relation of nature to man in aboriginal America. New York, Oxford University Press, 1926.
236. ZOLLSCHAN, G.K. and HIRSCH, W. (eds) Explorations in social change. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964.

LEAD VIR. GEESTESWETEN-
SKAPLIKE NAVORSING

BIBLIOTEEK

18-6-1971

LIBRARY

HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH
COUNCIL

