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The practice of erecting semi-detached or maisonette-type housing is one that can be defended on many practical economic grounds. However, it is a practice which can reduce pride in home ownership considerably. In Merebank it is a tragic sight to see semi-detached houses where one side of the house has been painted, improved and altered, and the other side has been allowed to fall into disrepair. How many owners of half of a semi-detached house would go to the trouble and expense of improving their home when the other man's half will ruin the whole effect?

One possible consequence of the massive resettlement programmes and the rapid growth of densely packed low quality housing is that slum conditions will develop in time. As indicated before, some overcrowding already exists, particularly as a result of the persistence of the joint family system among poorer families. Furthermore, unless people are encouraged by the very nature of the housing itself to take a pride in maintaining and improving the houses, the appearance of these housing schemes will deteriorate very rapidly.

There are naturally, numerous other effects on the social habits of Indian families which have resulted from resettlement in Municipal housing schemes. Some are known while others are not. Some can have important repercussions while others are largely inconsequential in their implications for the future.

There are indications that the local authority is becoming increasingly aware of the need for research in order to provide adequately for the masses to be rehoused. Already, a very salutary step has been taken in that a large scale housing survey has been conducted by the Department of Economics at the University of Natal on behalf of the Durban Corporation.

It is our contention however, that research should be conducted which goes further than the assessment of housing needs. Today there is an excellent opportunity of studying the social and cultural changes brought about by resettlement. Not only would such studies have tremendous academic value, but they would also enable city planners and Indian community leaders to keep abreast of all the unintended consequences of human relocation, and to guard against the less obvious dangers inherent in the process. The type of research suggested is of the inter-disciplinary community study type, with thorough investigations in depth being made of communities before and after resettlement.

The disenfranchised Indian community has very little power at present to guide their own social and cultural destinies. The type of research suggested would at least allow this handicap to be partly overcome by providing a basis for urban planning for the Indian community as a group possessing needs and characteristics which are in many cases unique.

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EMERGING SOCIAL PROBLEMS AMONG THE INDIAN PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

by Mrs. P. Ramasar.

INTRODUCTION

The Indian community, at this time, is going through a period of rapid social change. While social change is inevitable in a dynamic society, it does not necessarily result in social progress. Whereas change almost always affects structure, organisation and functioning of any society, no broad social progress comes without peril and pain. Though many consequences of social change are not poignantly felt immediately, one can discern many trends in changing patterns of Indian life resulting in individual and social problems which are either entrenched securely within the fabric of Indian society or are in the process of becoming so.

No discussion of these evolving changes in the individual and social matrix consequent upon the dynamic interplay of factors affecting the total human environment, with all their emerging consequences, can be undertaken without simultaneous reference to all the components that make up the total milieu into which the life of this community is projected in this country. Because of the constant interaction and the consequent change that is taking place, existing and emerging problems have to be viewed in relation to the individual, the family, other social institutions, and the wider community separately and at the same time as constituents of a totality.

In the absence of research into evolving and emerging patterns of Indian life, much of this formulation has been based on broad generalisations derived from available statistics and from closer examination of problems which come within the purview of social welfare agencies dealing with Indian families and also from impressions gained by observation. It must be mentioned, however, that the discernible strands and patterns are not unlike those of minority groups existing in close contact within a dominant culture whose influence and impact become a major factor in the nature and direction of this change.

PROBLEMS IN RELATION TO INDIVIDUAL AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

Individuals are almost always the first to feel the pangs of any change that is associated with adverse effects, and they in turn affect other institutions in the larger society, so that today personality patterns of a greater variety are being produced among Indians. Factors such as poverty, inadequate schooling, racial and other discrimination are providing a handicap to individuals in whom feelings of uncertainty and inferiority, envy and resentment are being aroused and persons are beginning to doubt their worth in the wider social milieu. These are serious consequences for a community that now, more than ever, stands in need of efficient workers, clear thinkers and loyal citizens strong enough to protect its way of life and flexible enough to co-operate with ways different to its own. But we see from these that it is not only personal and intra-psychic factors that underlie emotional ill-health but that economic, sociological, physical, psychological and spiritual forces combine to produce the many personality disorders and social failures that are emerging in our midst. The Mental Health Society in one city alone found that work amongst Indian patients has multiplied over the whole year, and what is significant is that it places as

one of the priorities for Indians, an occupation centre for retarded Indian children. In the absence of adequate information, it becomes difficult to see the trend, but the fact that people working in this field so firmly conclude that these are some of the requirements, gives one some indication of the problems that could be expected.

There are numerous environmental factors that handicap the personality development of many Indian children. Among them are inadequate food and housing, racial discrimination, physiological malfunctioning, lack of spiritual values, insufficient love from parents and other family relationships. The family, being the starting point of personality development, is the medium through which the process of socialisation of the individual is carried on. Hence deprivation of the normal conditions required for such a process can have serious effects on the personality development of a child.

That these stresses and tensions are having an obvious effect on personality development is evident from the increasing numbers of Indians suffering from personality defects. Among these defects, emerging very conspicuously are the schizophrenics, a high proportion of whom receive treatment at clinics of Mental Health Societies. Of all cases attending the Durban Neuro Clinic, roughly one-quarter are Indians.

It seems that in the present context individuals are losing the concept of a universe which is meaningful and benevolent, and in which they have a proper place and function. Former ethical and religious concepts appear to be breaking down and the core of security in the inner being is gradually declining. A sense of humility and a realistic view of oneself and one's capacities and limitations are being lost out of all proportion. In our rapidly changing society with shifting standards of values, there is much uncertainty for youth and adults and one is constantly seeking refuge from a world of change and relief from loneliness. Where individuals lack the ability to make adjustments and adapt themselves to changing conditions they steadily develop other ways of meeting these challenges. It is no surprise, therefore, that many Indians who are ill-equipped in their inner resources, resort to a life of make-believe, failing which they submit themselves to constant frustrations, anxiety and tensions which eventually erupt in seeking avenues such as alcoholism, anti-social behaviour, gratification of desires by undesirable means, and so on.

Those of us who deal daily with the human products of various forms of breakdown in Indian families, cannot avoid the feeling that at least in the family life our professional work encounters, there are glaring psychological omissions as well as distortions which appear to be the yield of a general departure from time-tested formulae in marriage and family life.

In the course of growth from birth through life, the natural hostility between generations can actually contribute to each individual's personal maturation and such conflicts are usually resolved in healthy personality development. But in our time, we do come across a large number of individuals who retain through life, relatively unmodified attitudes of rebelliousness against elders. This is generally an unconscious force that militates against complete maturation of developing persons. There is the danger then of immaturity becoming a subcultural trait incompatible with social maturation. Unhappy family relationships may have lasting effects on the child's mental health and may reflect in his own adult relationships.

With changing rôles of members in Indian families, there have come about corresponding changes in the personalities of husbands, wives and children. The increased social activity of women is being paralleled by a progressive diminution in male dominance. Aggressiveness of the male is being neutralised by greater female activity. It may be said that the man reacts to his frustration by renouncing his leadership rôle, and becoming a more passive member of the household. Despite the fact that records of social agencies dealing with marital problems, show male aggression and physical violence as a significant factor, in an increasing number of situations the husband will withdraw to a position of relatively uninvolved isolation within the family and even subordinate himself to the wife. Against traditional Indian culture and pattern of family life, this is regarded as a danger to be avoided, even if by assuming such a rôle, the man is merely trying to keep the peace, for such inhibitions and repressions may manifest themselves ultimately in far more dissatisfactory ways, both to the individual and to growing children.

Such reversal of rôles between parents, may result in a reversal in a child's identification with an adult image when the son may identify with the mother and hold his father as an ideal image, while the daughter resorts to the reverse. This will then bring about further complications in the already complicated inter-relationships of parents and children, resulting in the emergence of new problems.

Marriage as an institution has undergone many changes and in the transmutation process has shown up many personality problems. Romantic love is becoming the basis of marriage in which there is an over-emphasis on emotional needs arising out of being in love. Traditionally, the Indian marriage was arranged after careful thought had been given to many factors involved in marriage. Now that young couples place such a high preference for marriage based on love alone, when they are still very young and in reality and contrary to their own beliefs emotionally still very dependent on family ties, they find themselves ill-equipped to cope with the many irritations, frictions and conflicts of married life. This great emphasis on independence and a will to do what they please without consultation with elders, leads to personality problems which manifest themselves in states of "separation anxiety" when the need for emotional support from the family is greatly felt.

It is very easy to see how economic factors are affecting the development of personality of Indian children of today who are going to be the adults of tomorrow and from whom we will be expecting a sense of responsibility, capability and all those qualities necessary for them to become successful citizens. With so large a section forming the broad base of the economically underprivileged, parents in this group are finding their child-rearing efforts greatly hampered by their own feelings of incompetence, insecurity and worry.

Poor job conditions are having a harassing effect on the home life of the poorer Indian worker with consequent detriment to parent-child relationships. One wonders if, under such conditions, parents will be able to convey to their children that same sense of trust in the future, and feeling of dignity and worth in productive endeavour, as they were accustomed to doing in the past.

Low incomes have certain very definite effects on individuals and families. Apart from making poor diet and physical ill-health inevitable, poverty produces harmful effects on personal adequacy. The resulting tensions in inter-personal relationships in families seem to be eating into the very core of Indian family life. With the influences of westernisation and other cultural

factors, the Indian school child depends very much on the size of his family income in order to give him status among his peers. With income always falling short of expectations in such a large section of the community, feelings of inferiority and self-doubt are becoming more and more reinforced to produce stunted personalities in adulthood. On the other hand, one may also argue that life for children in wealthy families also undergoes heavy strains which eventually produce emotionally unbalanced children. Such children are under constant pressure to conform and to achieve, again being driven to do so, because parents themselves are so much under the sway of western culture and have cultivated and developed tastes and standards of western civilisation. The struggle for status and acquisition of status symbols permeate many aspects of Indian life.

To come back to the economically disadvantaged groups however, one can see how, when jobs are scarce and ill-paid, tensions are produced wherein the future is a subject of constant worry. Unemployment and inability to earn sufficient with which to provide for his family, seriously impair the status of a man. Not only does he begin to question his adequacy and self-worth, but so do his wife and children. Case records of welfare agencies show evidence of the tensions and conflicts in family life that are produced when a father is unable to provide adequately. Some of these tensions and conflicts remain unresolved, producing emotionally worn-out individuals, while many find outlets in other ways, not all of them desirable and acceptable. One notes with concern, the steady increase of disorganising factors such as desertion, marriage discord, juvenile delinquency, crime and even suicide as a result of the basic economic inadequacy of a large section of the population. Action taken against men for non-support alone, is increasing every year, so that, whereas in one large urban centre 437 orders of Court were made against men for failure to support their families two years ago, a year later the number of these orders increased to 811. One wonders about the wide effects on children if the support of families has to be ensured by compulsions imposed by authority of law while the bread-winner continues to show a loss of responsibility.

At the same time, an evil that seems to be creeping in is the fact that many Indian families are beginning to resort to illegal means of supplementing the meagre family income as lowered self-esteem, inability to give children opportunities for adequate education, and such other aims in life, are attacking the very value system of society. Will not such risks of demoralisation be avoided by more realistic incomes? When one constantly resorts to means of earning a livelihood which one knows are not legal, then one constantly lives a life of nagging fear of being found out. This itself produces a personality eroded of everything that makes for health and distorts value orientations in the minds of young children.

Prejudice and discrimination are other factors affecting personality development. Such effects are felt mainly by adolescents who are experiencing a sense of identity. Constant exposure to social discrimination shocks their sense of trust, incites feelings of shame and doubt. The reaction can be seen in young people breaking off from old standards and trying to form a synthetic equivalent of the personality patterns of the dominant group. Rebelling against discrimination, Indian youth finds expression in peculiar dress and other symbols which they feel guarantee self-worth and dignity.

From childhood individuals are subjected to discrimination. As these children grow up, they find it difficult to achieve or maintain trust in a hostile world. Their sense of autonomy is interfered with, initiative is curbed by many external factors and they develop shame, doubt and extreme wariness in anything they do, even if they know they are right. They are becoming a rising generation anxious of their status, ambivalent in feelings about themselves because of felt or unconscious rejection, and defensive and hypersensitive. Under this humiliation they tend to develop patterns of personality difficulties and any success they might achieve will be accompanied by a burden of resentment and bitterness.

Apart from personality patterns showing up in all their variety, as a result of the many socio-economic forces that contribute to their creation, physical disabilities and illness alone are also having far-reaching effects on the Indian people. Despite the advancement in medical science, the community is beset with illnesses too numerous to mention. Among those that have shown an increase resulting from high-tension living are cardiac diseases, ulcers, hypertension, etc. The most prevalent diseases arising purely out of socio-economic causes are malnutrition and tuberculosis. Figures for T. B. for the period 1964 to 1965 showed a 22% increase, the urban rates being higher in both years. In 1964 the urban rate was 921 and the rural 162, and in 1965 the urban rate was 1062 and the rural 261. The 1966 figures of T. B. cases for the Republic up to June are as follows :-

	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
January	77	14	91
February	68	10	78
March	101	14	115
April	71	12	83
May	60	18	78
June	84	14	98
	<u>461</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>543 (1)</u>

The rates for T. B. alone, therefore, give very much cause for concern: for apart from the effects of the disease on the community there are far-reaching effects for the sufferer, his personality and his family.

It is an accepted fact that the family plays one of the most important rôles in the socialisation of an individual. When one considers the number of ways in which the Indian family is battered from all directions in the present process of social change, one can well comprehend the effects of all the stresses and strains experienced by families, their members and those who depend very much on the family for the development of their personality.

THE FAMILY AND OTHER SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

At this juncture, it may be more appropriate to continue this discussion on the problems that are emerging in Indian life, with reference to the family as the basic institution in relation to other social institutions which together with the family help in moulding the individual into what he is and what he may become.

(1) Friends of the Sick Association : Durban.

The family through which sociability, communication, sense of responsibility, toughness of character, basic folkways, mores, economic security, affection and many other requirements are acquired, is one of the first social institutions to suffer under the stress and tension of modern living. The effects of these on the Indian family have in turn been manifested in a variety of other aspects of life. Inner, personal and outer, environmental factors have combined to bring about changes in structure and functions of the family and in the rôles of individual members of the family. Most families have become battered by many pressures and confused about values and rôles of family members. Anyone who seeks a broad overview of the course of growing up in our culture must at least be stimulated and disturbed by the evidence of family and social upheaval and change during recent times, the outcome of which constitutes our current social milieu and may even hold good for the future. Most problems of today and any that may arise in the future are related to family life with all its conceivable implications.

In a multi-racial society such as ours, it is a fallacy to believe that any one cultural group can exist in complete isolation from the others. Borrowing of certain features in the different cultures has gone on and will continue as long as social contact exists between the different cultural groups. Even if contact is reduced to the barest minimum, the impact of one culture on another will continue to be felt. Against this background then, we witness a number of changes that have already taken place in the Indian community and the problems that many of these changes have brought about.

The question of marriage itself, is undergoing marked changes, with some pleasant and other undesirable features. The traditional Indian pattern of arranged marriages which embraced all aspects of and the responsibilities attached to marriage, is being gradually replaced by young people's freedom to choose their own marriage partners. Very often, the young couple base their marriage on love alone and embark on a marriage, usually at a very young age, without consulting with elders and sometimes despite the latter's disapproval. No consideration is given to the family being harmed by an indiscretion in this respect. Very little of the old attitude of "honour being at stake" persists. Entering marriage under such circumstances is becoming a common feature amongst Indians. If these marriages work out well, then it may be a desirable trend. But when so many couples call on social agencies and request help in bringing about solutions to problems that have arisen in their marriage, and when, on enquiring one finds a growing number of such cases being couples who chose each other, courted each other for a number of years, considered each other the only ones destined to be life's partners, then one wonders, where the friction arose. Invariably, the marriage that was founded on love and affinity alone reached discord on other factors in the reality of living. Very often, when the glamour and enthusiasm of youthful emotions dulled, couples found themselves inadequate to play the other essential rôles expected of them. It is also worth noting that such marriages reached a stage when professional help became necessary very soon after marriage. The adaptation from the old to the new is not complete.

Marriage is still taking place at a young age and because of this and a longer life expectancy, we have more living generations. Further, we have a growing number of youthful grandparents. While this may be a boost to the elder generations' morale, it nevertheless, leaves today's youth with very little of an adult image and we wonder why the young adopt the attitude that they do, toward their elders.

A further factor of concern is that while the elongated family may be so, there appears to be no corresponding elongation of family unity not only within the nuclear family itself but also in the wider family circle.

The pattern that one sees emerging out of people marrying very young and having smaller families is that before they reach middle age, they have either launched their children into independence in accordance with norms that are becoming to be an accepted feature in Indian life, or that their children, have in any case, broken away from them. Such parents find that they have carried out this rôle for a shorter part of their lives in parenthood and find themselves at a point when life becomes lonely sooner than they had expected and they begin to live a life under stress thinking of the empty aimless years ahead. Many of the women particularly, who find themselves in this position, even if they are comfortably placed, will still find life unbearable if they have no training or skill to keep themselves occupied. These are going to be the people who will need help, even if it is only to meet the problem of their loneliness, because helping such people will be the prevention of further personality defects arising out of loneliness.

Marriage as an institution is also being weakened by a growing existence of infidelity and living together in loose union with lasting effects on the morals of a wide segment of the community.

One of the most obvious changes in the Indian family is that from the former extended family unit (i. e. the commonly known joint family system) to the nuclear family. The old pride in kinship, responsibility to relatives, rights of elders to exercise control, are all being steadily removed from the Indian domestic scene. The Indian culture was an essentially family-centred one and marriage helped to widen the circle of relatives. In times of crisis, there was always a relative close at hand to offer help and assume necessary responsibilities. The extended family's pooled resources acted as a buffer to economic situations whose pangs would otherwise have made deeper scars in the family set-up. Numerous kinsfolk lived nearby in a close geographical area. Any major undertaking in the larger family was always embarked upon after consultation amongst senior members of the family groups. There was always adequate accommodation for the aged, the orphaned relatives and the unexpected guests were always shared by different family units within the larger family. There was always a willingness and a sense of duty to help an invalid member of the family, because of the essential, cohesive bond that existed between and among individuals in the extended family.

Today the Indian family has changed from the large, settled, traditional and sacred institution of kinship to the small, isolated, secular household, many of whose functions are assumed by other institutions. The modern Indian family is the nuclear family comprising of father, mother and children, wherein new loyalties and responsibilities have been assumed. There are many factors which have brought about this change which has resulted in little contact with relatives in the wider circle. The family today is rapidly moving away from a way of life in which children grew up in piety and obedience, taught by the eloquent silence of example and expected not to stray away from the family tradition. There seemed to be a timeless unity from generation to generation in the old joint family and a mutuality of family life between generations was a feature. Mutual inter-relationship, tradition-boundness, close family ties, strong ego development and pride in family and veneration of elders have gradually given way to the modern manner of Indian family life. In the latter,

looseness of family ties is common and the control of an interlocking kinship system is lacking. Many factors are driving wedges of social distance between various family levels.

To aggravate the diluting and fragmenting effects of urban life, today the planning of housing and other facilities is bringing about numerous problems, some of which it is true to say, never existed before.

Families living in tightly-fitted city housing projects have only adequate accommodation for the strictly nuclear family. Some of the homes provided even place restrictions on the size of the family. Gone are the days when relatives congregated overnight or for several nights under the same roof perhaps to celebrate a social function. There is not enough room for an overnight guest. Social contact in this way is being reduced to a minimum.

The problem of the aged was an unknown thing amongst South African Indians. Today, the need has arisen for homes for the aged, and with the present longevity, one wonders what the needs of the aged will be like in the next decade. It is not only that younger generations are unwilling to shoulder the burden of their aged parents. Even if they yearned to do so today, other factors stand in the way.

Another emerging problem seen as a result of the effects of housing is in relation to children. Whereas in the past, and even until recently, a child who became an orphan, automatically continued to live in his home with other members of the extended family who assumed responsibility over him, a difficulty that is beginning to be felt keenly is the inability of relatives to take care of the orphans in the family. This may be attributed to economic conditions, to inadequate housing accommodation, and even to reluctance on the part of relatives because of a lack of the old traditional bond that existed amongst relatives. More and more the trend is for one generation to regard the other as strangers: kinsmen may not be aware of or even know each other as relatives. This is also because of the geographical distance wherein relatives are scattered with very little or none of the customary visits or contact of any kind.

Apart from problems emerging as a result of structural changes in the family, still further complications are setting in with changes in the rôles and functions of the different members of a family.

As far as the biological, reproductive and socialisation and affectional functions are concerned, the family retains these to a large extent although the problem that is becoming more known these days is that of children born without the benefit of a family. But the success of family functioning is not to be considered in isolation. To prepare children for later social life it is necessary to co-ordinate the functions of the family and those of other social institutions. The danger rears its head when the latter take over too many of the functions that a family should perform. When more than is necessary is entrusted to the school, outside recreational facilities, and economic and other institutions, then the hold of the family is beginning to weaken. This leads to members of the family going separate ways.

Formerly, however, the typical Indian family was one which was an important agent of social control in which members were expected to act and to behave in certain definite ways. Many factors are changing the functions of the family as a result of which the family which was the traditional multi-functional institution finds many of its functions shifting to other institutions. In this setting it is interesting to see how rôles of members in a family are

changing and thereby bringing about problems.

Major changes in rôles have now taken place and with these changes are emerging numerous problems. Established procedures are giving way to uncertainty, confusion and a more individuated style of behaviour. Rights and duties are not clearly defined, status and rôle in marriage are rapidly shifting as husbands and wives assume new social positions and play new parts in the family and the larger society. Rôles are not confined mainly to the primary group, but are being disproportionately played in secondary groups outside the family. The family is becoming more fragmented by highly divergent interests. The former cohesiveness and interacting relationships are giving place to conflicting interests, each generation making its own decisions. There is a general exodus from home, all members going for their recreation in their own separate ways. The opportunity to enjoy a genuine "togetherness" is becoming rare. With greater emphasis on secondary groups outside the home, the adults in a family are assuming a secondary leadership position and this powerlessness and lack of authority may yield a generation of impotent aged, a bewildered middle generation, and an arrogant and misdirected younger generation.

Traditionally the father was the head of the family and centre of authority commanding respect and obedience from his wife and children, his power being nearly absolute, giving overall guidance and being the all-round provider as husband and father, modified to a degree by custom, public opinion, and his own sensibilities, or even by the presence of a preceding generation. His paternal rights cemented the unity of the family yet retained reverential affection between parent and child, and his devotion was never clouded by his mastery. Any changes in his rôles, however, have been brought about largely by the change in rôle and status of the Indian woman with all its advantages and its problems.

The mother was a home-maker, provider of affection, wife and mother, showing utmost loyalty to her husband and children, waiting upon them and subscribing to her husband's opinion; yet she was also a strong figure of fortitude and honour, quietly a real centre of power, love and affection in the home. The older the generation in an extended family to which she belonged, the more senior her position, and the greater the reverence, with which she was looked upon by others in the household. Children rewarded her patient motherhood with profound love and respect.

A progressive emancipation is taking place amongst Indian women who are assuming new rôles and greater personal independence and social rights almost approximating to those enjoyed by men. With the increase in jobs outside the home, more Indian women are taking on such jobs. In the case of some this is absolutely necessary, for instance when there is economic necessity the wife is justified in working; when she has to help her husband meet current expenses or reach certain desired future goals; if the man is earning a low income; if he is disabled or if his opportunities to rise in income scale are restricted by lack of mobility in the quest of a better job, then the wife and mother has to work to preserve the economic security.

The tragic aspects of mothers being forced to work are the consequences to her young children and her marriage. Invariably children lack the necessary supervision when the mother is at work and they suffer in the absence of adequate substitute maternal care. Consequently their school attendance slackens, and delinquency and neglect may result. Complications of family problems occur when women regard their domestic duties as

undignified. The rôles of mother and wife seem to lose dignity and relevance. The husband and wife become competitive. Some well-educated wives may well regard their husbands as comrades rather than the traditional Indian husband, thus bringing about problems of adjustment. The changes in the rôle of the wife may be seen as a threat to the husband's ego; he may develop suspicions as regards her faithfulness; they may develop problems of adjustment in budgeting. Conflicts in attitudes may thus lead to strained ties between husbands and wives. Common objects and interests yield place to individual ones; co-operation slows down; interpersonal relationships are no longer co-ordinated and emotional attitudes become antagonistic or indifferent, all leading to family disorganisation.

The modern, educated, middle class, urban wife is emerging, confronted with several difficult, mutually contradictory rôle situations. She too will soon be expressing dissatisfaction with her rôles of housekeeper and mother since vocational opportunities and choice of rôles are open to her. At the same time, if the women do not have jobs, some will seek outside interests doing voluntary work in cultural or club activities, simply because they may feel constricted by a purely domestic routine. Still others may seek intellectual stimulation. While this is so, we can see certain emerging revolution of standards. In many circles young Indian women smoke, drink, are divorced or live alone without creating a scandal. The reason why this trend could be regarded as a problem, is that it is not becoming of women in any culture, not only the Indian, even in this day and age, to indulge in these habits. Yet while the women of the lower income classes are openly becoming addicts, there is a growing number who feel they are "squares" if they do not participate in social drinking.

The changing rôles of women will conflict with traditional rôles if the husband objects, so that it depends very much on his attitude whether these changes can be satisfactorily accommodated, especially as the fact of a wife working can have emotional overtones. Further, a reconsideration of the rôle of women in family life is necessary to enable girls to seek the kind of education needed. Only then will the women be able to take jobs either out of pleasure or from necessity, rather than suffering frustration or possibly causing domestic upheaval.

Among children, obedience and deference were an unquestionable expectation. There was a line of responsibility among siblings older to younger, male to female. Every individual member had his or her set of chores which each did without question. The frightening challenges of the changes in the modern Indian family are seen in the rôles of children. There are steadily diminishing communications between separated generations. Society itself is becoming more youth-centred. Younger age levels are apt to find a greater degree of mutual support among own peer groups than in the vertical relationships with elders. In the populous urban centres such reinforcement from youthful peers is more easily available and the young seek counsel about living from outside the family. Under such circumstances, the leadership of the elders becomes a hollow and impotent authority. Rebelliousness against elders is on the increase and it is a fashion to belong to "gangs" outside the home. The bulk of the values of social living of the young is a rejection of elders. There is a general "here and now" philosophy which makes elders feel useless in youth-oriented society. There seems to be a wide-spread paralysis among parents in their efforts to rear and discipline children. Children, sensing the ineffective efforts of parents are beginning to develop excess autonomy. They

are beginning to escape from family control to the new-found freedom of self-direction. Estrangements are increasing which divide parents and children as the latter explore the complex world beyond their homes. Children take joy in their own accomplishments only. There is a gradual loss of asking children to participate in household tasks, care of siblings, and a loss of regard for parents' feelings or family income. With more stress on getting along with peers, sibling co-operation is diminishing to a point where it may not be regarded as an expectation. Attitudes of children to work is sharply distinct from that of leisure, the former being arduous and distasteful and the latter highly-prized.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS TO THE COMMUNITY

I must repeat: whether these emerging problems occur in individuals, social institutions or communities, none of them can be considered in isolation, for many factors combine to produce these disorganising problems, so that many of these appear to be causes and symptoms at the same time.

On the whole it is easy to see how socio-economic and cultural situations are interfering with the orientation of an individual regarding his place and that of others in society, thus fostering psychiatric disorders, mild or serious, each person affected setting in motion a chain reaction of disorganisation in the form of alcoholism, neurosis and psychoses. Social strains in modern life are major factors in mental disorganisation bringing about tension, frustration, aggression, anxiety, need to be loved and to communicate with others.

Problems arising out of low income have cumulative effects. The contribution which a family itself can make to the welfare of its own children is necessarily greatly circumscribed. The ability of families to practise wise spending is limited as parents in this group are normally inadequately educated and lack proper knowledge of budgeting.

Children in such families also lack opportunities for adequate education. Consequently they have to leave school earlier than necessary to seek jobs so that they can make their contributions. With their own limited educational equipment, they face an immediate barrier to any progress in adulthood.

Problems also arise when the breadwinner dies or becomes disabled. Maintenance of family income becomes a question of concern. Year by year a greater number of Indian families is depending on the State. Whereas in 1953 1,800 Indian families depended on grants and social pensions in Durban alone, up to the beginning of this year there were over 11,000 families receiving State assistance. In Durban alone, the Indian Child Welfare Society supervised 2,175 families receiving Government maintenance grants in 1963 and 2,573 families in 1965.

Various factors such as low income, desertion, unemployment etc. render more and more families dependent on the State or voluntary social welfare agencies. Desertion and non-support, unemployment and sickness, figure prominently among those who receive help. These factors have combined to impose a certain amount of independence on Indian mothers and numerous problems are arising out of this newly-found independence to which they have not been accustomed.

Geographically too, the concentration of the low income groups renders any resources least adequate precisely in those areas where need for them to meet the well-being of children and families is greatest. With the new housing

projects, families are being compelled to regard as necessities what at one time were regarded as luxuries, e.g. the use of electrical appliances at Chatsworth. This is having a marked effect on their incomes and invariably leading these families deeper into debts and the consequent tensions.

With so many changes recently brought about in the ecological pattern of the Indian community, attitudes of frustration, insecurity and aggression are developing because of dense spatial aggregation with inter-personal relationships and culture contacts reduced to a minimum. There is the paradox of a highly fragmented individuated society in closely packed geographical areas lacking all the throbbing consensus of living neighbourhoods. There is a mere routine movement fixed and changeless in character, lacking all positive response. Provision of housing is characterised by a stultifying conformity occupied by two generations only.

Personal demoralisation is making heavy inroads into the life of the community. Suicide is becoming a final outcome of this process of individual disorganisation in an alarming number of cases. Desertion is a real issue of family disorganisation and one wonders how far off is divorce, a hitherto rare phenomenon in Indian life and culture.

It is possible that our present culture is to blame for the increasing juvenile delinquency and adult crime and offence, because of its exaltation of money over men, of material comforts over genuine human relationships, of commercial deception over truth. There is a growing tide of emphasis on conspicuous consumption and acceptance of material wealth as a basis for achievement and status, distorting social values and thus eliciting criminal conduct in society.

There appears to be chaos in contemporary attitudes to sex. Traditional attitudes and notions are confounded by the language, literature, present-day advertising, public entertainment - all of which seem to incite sexual thought and behaviour. The unsophisticated young girl soon mills around in circles where sex receives distorted sophistication only to end up finally in adding to the numbers of unmarried parents and children born out of wedlock.

The decline in the influence of the primary groups and increase in casual contacts of the secondary groups bring in their train progressive isolation, when alcohol becomes a substitute for the family, friends and neighbourhood.

What does the education of our children mean to us? Are needs and interests of children who are slow learners and easy "drop-outs" being met in our educational system? Is every child receiving the education he should have? Every child must have the opportunity to train and to develop his potentialities. It is the schools' responsibility to seek ways by which children of different backgrounds may be of equal value; curricular experiences should be designed less for college or vocation and more to give adolescents a sense of worthwhile activity, interest and achievement, so that children will not regard work painfully but with pleasure and satisfaction. In urban industrial environments where opportunities for spontaneous activity on the part of children and youth are limited, the environment lacking such stimulation, organised pursuits of leisure based on quality rather than quantity need to be made.

The rôle and importance of religion is dwindling so much so that children have no knowledge of their religious practices and the significance of these. The adult generation is under obligation to share their deepest insights with the immature members. Today parents themselves need continual renewal, support, encouragement, specific help in facing problems of family living and in carrying out responsibilities toward their children - so much so that the religious teaching, example and interpretation carried out by the family are battered by other pressures. Revival of religious teaching and with it the mother tongue is regarded by many as a solution to several of these emerging problems.

Aspects of direct community concern, therefore, are the unsocial juvenile behaviour leading to delinquency and a marked rise in truancy and dropping out from school; separation of children from own homes because of family upheavals, death and the numerous other reasons why children have to be removed to other care such as foster homes and the various types of institutions for children; crimes indicative of family disorganisation such as non-support, neglect, abuse, strict evidence of family disorganisation in desertion and separation; major crimes and a commitment to mental institutions as well as physical illness.

CONCLUSION

The most obvious counteracting forces against so many problems that beset a community are improved economic conditions, reduction in tensions, and a revival of interest in religion and aesthetics.

In order to prevent too much dependency there must be motivation of the disadvantaged to make their present and future lives more useful.

Needs of social services and resources to meet such needs have to be reviewed so that what is solved today does not become a new problem tomorrow.

If a society professes one set of values and practises another, a gap is sure to develop between creed and deed. If problems continue to mount in areas of education, housing, recreation etc. then the disparity between values and performances interferes with the functioning of the entire community.

Economic hardship in the modern world is a consequence of the failings of men or their relations to one another. Extreme inability to provide for oneself has become a source of partial separation from the normally functioning community and a condition favouring further disorganisation.

Extreme personal disorganisation or demoralisation leading to pauperisation, alcoholism, suicide, loneliness, perpetual discontent and unhappiness and failure to find a niche in the community can bring about high rates of family disorganisation of concern to society.

However, one need not be over-anxious and regard these problems as abnormal in any community, but at the same time, one must not assume an attitude of complacency and let these problems fester into deeper degeneration. The goal should be a positive environment for all members of the community, an environment in which strong, new buttresses appropriate to our times will replace the old family supports that have slipped away.

Housing projects must balance human values against cold financial calculations. The disadvantaged larger base of members of the community must have gates opened into the main stream of opportunity. With a general unblocking of opportunities for growth and upward striving, mental health and family welfare agencies may find far fewer severely disturbed families crowding their lists. Opportunity must be backed by motivation - for lack of motivation, hope and incentive are subtle, but more powerful, barriers than lack of financial means.

HIGHER EDUCATION — KEY TO INDIAN PROGRESS

by Dr. B. Rambiritch.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Higher education in South Africa has been defined by the Van der Horst Commission of 1928 to mean no other education than that provided by the universities. This definition aimed at excluding the technical colleges from encroaching upon the domain of the universities. Therefore, except for a brief reference to the post-matriculation work that is being done at one of our technical institutions, this study will, in the main, be confined to university education and its role in the future development of the Indian community. The area of Indian economic, social and cultural interests in this paper is restricted to those activities considered of importance and therefore it deals mainly with commerce, industry, medical services, education, professions and agriculture related to the legal and administrative structures.

The history of the development of university education in South Africa is interesting. The first institution that was later to develop into a fully-fledged university started as a commercial enterprise. When the S.A. College was started in 1829, shares were sold in the hope of making it an economic proposition. It soon became evident that from a commercial point of view the venture was not an attractive investment. In 1878 a College Council was instituted. For many years the College devoted itself mainly to school rather than to university work. It was only at the turn of the century that it began to fulfil its function of doing exclusively post-matriculation work. In 1850, the Cape Public Service Board was instituted to assess the attainments of candidates who applied for higher posts. In 1858, this Board was superseded by the Board of Public Examiners which issued certificates equivalent to the M.A., B.A. and the Matriculation. The Board of Public Examiners gave way to the University of the Cape of Good Hope in 1873 with its seat in Cape Town. It was modelled on the lines of the University of London. Provision was made in 1896 for the provinces to be represented on the Council. Natal was the first to take advantage, followed by the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. At the time of Union in 1910, a Minister of Education was appointed and all higher education was appointed and all higher education was entrusted to the Union Parliament. In 1907, the Pietermaritzburg High School was accorded the status of a University College. The University Act of 1916 created three universities, namely Cape Town which embraced the S.A. College, Stellenbosch (formerly Victoria College) and the University of South Africa with its seat in Pretoria. The latter became the successor of the University of the Cape of Good Hope and embraced all the remaining Colleges of South Africa. In time, the Universities of Witwatersrand, Rhodes, Natal and others received their independent status.

Prior to 1936, Indians in South Africa seeking university education had either to proceed overseas or seek admission at Cape Town, Witwatersrand or the S.A. Native College at Fort Hare. Natal had as yet not opened its doors to Indians. Besides, with one or two high schools producing matriculated students, the pressure for university education was not so great. Nevertheless,

