



THE INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN

PAPERS PRESENTED AT A CONFERENCE
HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE
RELATIONS (NATAL REGION) IN DURBAN
UKZN ON 14th OCTOBER, 1966.
Gandhi Luthuli
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South African Institute of Race Relations

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THE RÔLE OF THE INDIAN IN NATAL'S ECONOMY

by Mr. L.P. McCrystal and Mr. G.G. Maasdorp.

FOREWORD

The South African Institute of Race Relations expresses very sincere thanks and appreciation to the four speakers at the Conference whose papers appear in this publication for the time and work that they so generously devoted to preparing and presenting their addresses.

Any opinions expressed or statements made in the papers that follow are, of course, those of the individual authors and not necessarily those of the Institute.

It is the hope of the Natal Regional Committee of the Institute, as well as of the speakers and others who planned and participated in the Conference, that this publication will not only add to available material concerning the Indian people of South Africa, but will also stimulate thought and help to highlight fields for further research, fact-finding and discussion.

We have taken as the basis for our thoughts the fundamental proposition that a primary policy for South Africa is to achieve as high a rate of economic growth as our resources can sustain, not only for reasons internal to the country, but for external reasons as well. This implies using our resources to the full extent of their potential.

Indentured Indian labour was first imported by sugar planters in the second half of the nineteenth century. On the expiration of their indentures, many Indians turned to market gardening and trading, or were attracted to the coal mines of northern Natal. Their success prompted the entry into the Colony of a second category of immigrants known as "free passenger Indians", who were mainly traders and artisans.

Durban and Pietermaritzburg, the two largest towns, offered the best conditions for trading, but many ventured into the rural areas, mainly along the coast, where they played an important part in opening up the country, or spread to towns along the main line in search of business opportunities. Much of the trade in these centres is still today in the hands of descendants of these early Indian immigrants.

Indians in the coastal belt were for many decades predominantly employed in agriculture, either as labourers on the sugar estates or as market gardeners, or fruit or cane farmers. It did not take long for Indians to become the chief suppliers of fresh produce in Natal. By 1882, they almost monopolised the maize, tobacco and garden produce in the coastal belt. In fact the Magistrate of Inanda noted in 1878 that if it had not been for the Indian farmers, the inhabitants of the area would have been virtually without vegetables. They often converted waste and unproductive land into well-kept vegetable gardens. The Indian Immigrants' Commission Report of 1885 - 87 had this to say : "From an early hour in the morning Indian hawkers, male and female, adults and children, go busily with heavy baskets on their heads from house to house and the citizens can daily, at their own doors, and at low rates, purchase wholesome vegetables and fruit which, not many years ago, they could not, with certainty, procure even in public markets and at exorbitant prices". (1)

POPULATION

Natal is the only province in which Indians outnumber Whites. According to the 1960 census, the population of Natal was comprised as follows :

Table 1 Racial Composition of Population – Natal 1960

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	
Whites	340,235	11.4	
Coloureds	45,253	1.5	
Indians	394,854	13.3	
Africans	<u>2,199,578</u>	<u>73.8</u>	
	<u>2,979,920</u>	<u>100.0</u>	(Source: 1960 Population Census).

(1) From Prof. R. Burrows, Indian Life and Labour in Natal, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, 1952, p.14

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The age and sex structure of the population are important indices of both the present and future working potential of a community. Two features of the Indian community of Natal are its high degree of juvenility and sex parity, both of which favour a high rate of population growth.

The age structure of the three major race groups in Natal is shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Age Structure of Racial Groups - Natal 1960

Age Group (years)	Whites (%)	Indian (%)	Africans (%)
0 - 14	30.0	45.0	42.5
15 - 44	40.9	44.5	42.3
45 - 64	20.5	8.9	11.4
65 +	8.5	1.5	3.7
Unspecified	0.1	0.1	0.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: 1960 Population Census, Sample Tabulation Nos. 1 and 2).

This table reveals that in 1960 almost 90% of the Indian population was under 45 years of age, and that almost 45% fell into the 15 - 44 years age group. Although a high birth rate has been accompanied in the past by a high death rate, the Indian population has grown at the extremely high rate of 3.0 per cent per annum since 1951. Certain students of demography consider a 3.5 per cent growth rate to be the biological maximum. Viewed against this, it can be seen how rapid is the growth of the Indian population. This is, moreover, an extremely important aspect to bear in mind when considering the Indian's economic position.

Looking only at the working age population, i.e. between 15 - 64 years of age, it can be seen that 53.4% of Indians, 53.7% of Africans and 61.4% of Whites fell into this group. There was, therefore, a smaller proportion of Indians and Africans of working age than was the case with Whites.

The Indian Community displayed a greater degree of sex parity than did Whites and Africans, the number of males per 100 females for each of the 3 groups being: Indians 101.8, Whites 97.4, Africans 92.3. However, the odd thing about the Indians is that, whereas in the case of the other racial groups, females outnumber males, with the Indians it is the other way about. It is thought that the reason for this is that male immigrants from India outnumbered females and, further immigration having been stopped, it is not possible for this imbalance to be redressed other than in the course of time by natural factors.

The Indian population has become increasingly urbanised over the years. In 1960 the comparative urbanisation figures for the various racial groups in the province were: Whites 89.0%, Coloureds 86.1%, Indians 80.8% and Africans 19.2%. 60% of the total Indian population, and 73.3% of the urban Indian population, of Natal, was concentrated in the Durban - Pinetown region. The majority (60.5%) of the rural population was located in the districts of Inanda and Lower Tugela.

EMPLOYMENT

Only a little over one-quarter of all Indians are economically active, in the sense of being actually working or prepared to work. This compares

with nearly 40% in the case of Natal's Whites and some 32% in the case of Natal's Africans, and is reflected in the fact that, although there are fewer Whites in Natal than there are Indians, the latter form a smaller proportion of Natal's labour force than do the former. This difference is largely due to the small number of Indian females who enter the labour market. Only 5% of Indian females were classified as economically active, compared with over 28% in the case of White, and 12% in the case of African, women.

The degree of unemployment amongst Indians has been the subject of considerable debate in recent years. According to the 1960 census, 22.7% of the economically active Indian population in Natal were unemployed - a very high rate and the highest of all racial groups. However, a certain degree of slackness had developed in the economy at the time. Since then the position has improved considerably. By 1963, according to a study conducted by the University of Natal's Department of Economics in Durban, the proportion of unemployed in relation to economically active had dropped to 16 per cent, and by 1965, another of our studies revealed a further drop to 7.1 per cent which, in round figures, meant that 4,700 persons in Durban who were willing to work, did in fact not have employment. Of these, 2,750 were registered with the Department of Labour, the balance of 1,960 being unregistered. Although the position has improved, 7.1 per cent is still a relatively high unemployment rate when compared to the accepted 3 - 4 per cent which is considered to be a full employment level. Moreover, it could be even worse if Indian women were willing to work to the same extent as are, say, African women.

The weak employment position of the Indians derives largely from the interaction of two forces - dissatisfaction and, indeed, prejudice on the part of many employers (reinforced by custom) towards employment of Indians, on the one hand, and the attitude of Indian workers themselves, on the other hand. Employers often complain of the high rate of absenteeism and labour turnover amongst their Indian staff, whilst we have found that the Indian workers themselves are sometimes distinctly more selective about jobs than the position on the labour market and the economic position of their families would appear to allow. Many give up their jobs for no good reason and without having arranged alternative employment. Furthermore, Indians do not generally favour heavy manual work which has now become almost the exclusive preserve of the more robust Africans. These attitudes are often reinforced by the cohesiveness of the Indian family unit, and particularly by the joint family system, the unemployed being secure in the knowledge that they will receive protection from their kinsmen.

The aspirations of Indian youths are generally realistic in the sense that they do not aspire to jobs which circumstances would not allow them to undertake. Nevertheless, many encounter difficulty in fulfilling their aspirations on the labour market. The rate of labour turnover is consequently high during the early employment career, many youths regarding their jobs as temporary expedients prior to finding jobs which satisfy, or accord more closely with, their aspirations.

OCCUPATIONS

The main feature of Indian employment in Natal during the last few decades has been the increased dependence on commerce and industry for a livelihood, and the relative decline in importance of agriculture.

Table 3 Industry Divisions of Indian Population
(expressed as % of gainfully employed)

	1936	1960
Agriculture	34.5	12.0
Mining	1.9	0.6
Manufacturing	23.1	37.7
Commerce	15.4	18.1
Transport	4.0	4.7
Services	19.2	24.2
Other	1.9	2.7
	100.0	100.0

(Sources: 1960 Population Census, Sample Tabulation No. 2, and Prof. R. Burrows, Indian Life and Labour in Natal).

The most important of the Indian's activities in 1960 were manufacturing, services and commerce. In the case of manufacturing, Indians formed 24.4 per cent of total manufacturing employment in Natal, whilst in the cases of services and commerce they formed 10 per cent and 21.5 per cent respectively of the total for Natal. Agriculture has obviously declined considerably in importance in the course of time as an activity for Indians, whilst manufacturing industry has increased in importance. Overall, Indians formed nearly 11 per cent of Natal's labour force or economically active population.

Another way of looking at this is to consider the proportion of Indians in each occupational group in Natal. This is done in Table 4.

Table 4 Occupational Distribution of Indians and Whites - Natal 1960

Occupational Group	Indians as % of Economically Active (by area)			% of Indians Econ. Active	% of Whites Econ. Active
	Natal	Durban Pinetown	Inanda-Lower Tugela		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Professional, technical	12.3	15.9	49.3	4.2	13.5
Administrative, executive	15.6	14.7	36.3	1.7	6.0
Clerical Worker	13.7	13.0	48.6	6.0	27.0
Sales Worker	39.0	38.2	71.3	10.6	9.3
Farmer, fisherman	2.7	29.1	15.6	9.7	5.1
Miner	3.8	17.3	-	0.1	0.5
Transport worker	24.2	26.2	46.2	6.6	7.5
Artisan, production worker	15.7	22.6	27.9	33.5	24.7
Service worker	8.2	12.2	18.4	11.7	4.8
No occupation stated	21.4	38.7	39.6	15.9	1.6
	10.7	21.3	25.2	100.0	100.0

(Source: 1960 Population Census, Sample Tabulation No. 3)

Column 1 of this table illustrates that Indians were proportionately most important in the sales and transport fields. The sales category includes working proprietors in the wholesale and retail trade, and would therefore incorporate the many Indian traders of whom there were, in Durban alone, 3,191 in 1963. Indians also play an important role in transport in the major urban areas, e.g. in Durban in 1964 50 per cent of the motor transport drivers were Indians.

The Indian population is not uniformly distributed throughout the province, and its economic role is, therefore, greater in some areas than in others. It has been noted that 60 per cent of the Indian population of Natal lives in the Durban - Pinetown region. A further 17.5 per cent is concentrated in the Inanda - Lower Tugela districts, with 8.4 per cent in the Pietermaritzburg region, 5.8 per cent in the South Coast districts, 3.5 per cent in the Drakensberg - Midlands area, 2.9 per cent in northern Natal and 1.8 per cent scattered over the remainder of the province.

Column 2 and 3 of Table 4 show the Indians as a percentage of each occupational group in the Durban - Pinetown and Inanda - Lower Tugela areas. It can be seen that their relative importance in most occupational groups in these two areas (particularly the North Coast districts) was considerably greater than their share in Natal as a whole. Approximately 60% of Natal's economic growth is generated in the Durban - Pinetown region, i.e. the area where the majority of Indians are located. The Indian contribution was especially important in the sales, farming, transport and artisan sections in this region, and in the professional, administrative, clerical, sales, transport, and artisan spheres in Inanda and Lower Tugela.

Perhaps the most marked feature of these figures relates to the farming sector. Whereas Indians constituted only 2.7 per cent of all persons engaged in farming in Natal, they comprised 29.1 per cent of farmers and fishermen in the Durban - Pinetown area (due to the presence of small scale market gardeners, fruit farmers, and fishermen) and 15.6 per cent in the North Coast districts (where a considerable number were engaged in the sugar industry, as independent cane growers, sirdars and field workers).

Columns 4 and 5 of Table 4 compare the distribution of the economically active Indian and White populations of Natal. The preponderance of Indians in the lesser skilled jobs, as compared with the make-up of the White labour force, is clearly apparent. Indians have, of course, for a long time been important in the service sector, especially in the catering and laundry and dry cleaning fields, whilst many are engaged in trading, which accounts for the importance of sales workers. An increasing number are entering the clerical sphere, and this trend is also true of the professions. Entry into the professional field is, however, limited, because of the absence of training facilities for architects, engineers and accountants. Consequently Indians in the professional category are, today, virtually all teachers, doctors or lawyers. Only a small proportion are found in the administrative category. Until recently few have been absorbed into central, provincial or local government service, but new opportunities are now being created in this field with the establishment of the Department of Indian Affairs and various local government bodies for Indians, e.g. the first Indian town clerk in Natal was recently appointed in Verulam.

The small number of Indian females who enter employment results in the Indians forming a smaller proportion of the economically active population of Natal than would be the case if the Indian women were as prepared to enter employment as are African women. It is quite possible however, that the available figures might be an understatement of the number of economically active Indian women. Many women who undertake seasonal work on the sugar estates, or part-time or temporary work as domestic servants or on family smallholdings or family shops, might well classify themselves as housewives when completing census returns. The fact remains, however, that the proportion of females entering paid full-time employment is still low, and is hampered by age-old conservative attitudes within Indian society towards the employment of women. But these attitudes are breaking down, especially in the urban areas, and the proportion of females seeking employment can be expected to grow.

An increasing number of Indian women are entering the professions (as teachers and nurses), commerce (as clerks and typists), and industry (as operatives especially in the clothing industry).

The Indian labour force is already a rapidly growing one. With increasing participation of women, the rate of growth will be increased further. This is going to make it more difficult than it has been in the past to accommodate all those who are willing to work, in gainful employment. We know full well that in an economy with a population growth in the region of 3 per cent per annum, economic growth must be upwards of 7 per cent per annum in money terms, allowing for the effects of inflation, if a rising standard of living of the population is to be achieved. This is a high rate to aim at, by any standards. Our position in Natal is made more difficult by virtue of the fact that the projected rapid growth in the Indian labour force will have to be accommodated within Natal because of restrictions on the movement of Indians. Thus we can only hope that all the forecasts of rapid economic growth in Natal will in fact materialise.

Against this we do have a brighter side to look at. We want to put to you the proposition that, despite all the emphasis placed on Natal's natural resources, this Province's greatest growth potential lies in its labour force. And in this regard, we have in mind particularly the Indians. The Indians have, in our view, shown themselves to be an enterprising and adaptable people - the two elements which are most essential in the process of economic growth. A Pietermaritzburg manufacturer was recently reported as saying that Natal's Indians have proved to be the greatest single asset to the shoe industry in the Province. "Shoe-making requires a certain amount of skill, and Indians, who are very dexterous, are particularly suited to this kind of work". (2) What we have to do to achieve a growth rate in Natal of the order of magnitude which we have suggested, is to use the enterprise and inherent skills of the Indians to the full. This does not simply mean finding any old job for them. It means training those who seek employment to the limit of their inherent capacities. And it means giving to those who want to be entrepreneurs full scope and facilities to exercise their particular abilities. In this regard, the proposal to give the Indians greater financial assistance, both for farming and secondary industry, is to be warmly welcomed, even if it has to be by way of a separate Indian Development Corporation.

(2) Daily News, Pietermaritzburg Supplement, 11 October, 1966.

INCOME AND PURCHASING POWER

Indian household incomes are relatively low, and a substantial amount of poverty exists amongst the community. In Table 5 the income-earners are shown in various income groups.

Table 5 Percentage Distribution of Income-Earners by
Income Groups - Natal 1960

<u>Income Groups (R per annum)</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Coloureds</u>	<u>Indians</u>
Under 200	3.6	23.9	22.8
200 - 399	8.1	22.4	30.2
400 - 599	6.1	17.9	19.2
600 - 799	10.2	10.1	10.5
800 - 999	7.8	5.4	4.6
1,000 - 1,199	6.7	4.4	3.4
1,200 - 1,599	12.0	6.2	2.5
1,600 - 1,999	14.4	3.3	1.4
2,000 - 2,999	18.1	1.1	0.8
3,000 +	10.4	0.1	0.7
Unspecified	2.6	5.2	3.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: 1960 Population Census, Sample Tabulation No. 4).

Although this information is 6 years old, the general relative pattern as between the various racial groups is unlikely to have changed to any significant extent. The figures do demonstrate the low incomes, and therefore purchasing power, of the Indians relative to the Whites. Estimated mean per capita incomes in Natal in 1960 were: Whites R803, Coloureds R157, Indians R110, and Africans R59.

A recent survey by the Department of Economics of Natal University showed the median income per Indian household to be within the range R60 - R70 per month.

The relatively low income structure of the Indian community is illustrated further by information obtained from a study undertaken in Durban by the Department of Economics in 1963, in which it was found that 63.7 per cent of the sample were living below the poverty datum line level of R73 per month (i.e. the calculated minimum income required by an average family to live under humanly decent conditions). A further 28.3 per cent were barely above the poverty datum line, 6.6 per cent were living moderately comfortably, and only 1.4 per cent could be termed comfortably off.

Within the Indian community are a small number of wealthy merchants, entrepreneurs, farmers and professional men. However, there are clear indications that there is over-trading amongst Indian merchants, so that few make a really good living out of their businesses. Furthermore, most Indian farms are too small for even a modest living to be made, let alone, in the case of sugar farming, to derive such economies of scale as can be enjoyed on larger units.

Overall we estimate that the total purchasing power of all persons in Natal in 1965 was in the region of R710 million or a little over 12½ per cent of the total for South Africa. Of the Natal total Indians accounted for approximately 9 per cent which, in round figures, amounts to about R65 million. Probably about R40 million of this is accounted for by Indians in the Durban-Pinetown region. Thus although the figure does not seem very great when compared with the provincial total, its concentration in particular areas gives it substantial significance for those areas.

So much then for the Indian's importance to the economy of Natal on the side of demand. On the production or supply side, some indication has already been given as to the major activities of Indians and it remains to consider one or two of these in greater detail.

AGRICULTURE

Independent Indian farm holdings number about 2,900 (or 2.7 per cent of the total number of holdings in Natal). Over 90 per cent are located in the coastal belt, the largest concentrations being in the districts of Lower Tugela, Inanda, Pinetown, Umzinto, Port Shepstone and Durban, in that order, and in most of these districts the majority of farmers are Indians. The largest inland concentration is at Clifffdale in the Camperdown district.

In the Durban and Pinetown districts Indian agriculturists are mainly market gardeners and fruit farmers. Their numbers are declining, however, due to the spread of urbanisation, rising costs, insufficient capital and inadequacy of their land. In the other coastal areas the majority of Indian farmers are engaged in cane growing. Latest figures indicate that there are some 1,850 registered growers farming approximately 90,000 acres, of which slightly more than 60,000 acres are registered quota land. This figure is, however, expected to increase to some 71,000 acres by the end of this month (October 1966).

Although Indian growers hold 9.5 per cent of all registered quota land, they account for only 7 per cent of total sugar production in Natal. This is because of a combination of factors, notably the steepness of the land on which most Indian farms are found, lack of expertise and capital, and the absence of those economies which accrue with the increasing size of the unit. The majority have only small parcels of land and consequently the output is small, e.g. over 90 per cent of growers produce less than 1,000 tons of cane per annum, whilst the average quota in terms of cane output is only 557 tons. The small size of the holdings is reflected in the fact that some 75 per cent of growers have farms of under 30 acres, and some 88 per cent hold fewer than 50 acres each.

The low incomes which can be derived from the small pieces of land held by most Indians means that farming is often merely a sideline, and many growers rely on income received from non-farming activities, either as a major or supplementary source. Often several members of a family have a share in the farm, and in such cases it is common to find one individual running the farm while the others work as teachers, clerks or artisans in the urban areas.

The Indians' share of the production of the sugar industry has fallen over the years, as no additional land is available to them. Moreover, being effectively confined to certain areas of the province, fragmentation is

widespread, and this has led to many farms becoming so small as to be uneconomic.

The development of scientific farming methods amongst the Indians is inhibited by the complete absence of any agricultural education. Although farming methods have generally improved over the years - the application of fertilizer is widespread, intercropping is encountered less frequently than before, and a few growers have installed irrigation equipment - standards are lower than on White farms. There is comparatively little mechanization on Indian farms, and the majority rely on outside contractors to perform tasks such as ploughing, cutting and transporting. The performance of these tasks is hampered by the fact that the labour recruiting bureaux are precluded from supplying recruited African labour to Indian growers.

Indian fruit farming and market gardening has declined in recent years for reasons already mentioned. Thus Indian smallholders have been displaced from areas such as the Bayhead, Springfield Flats and Chatsworth, without the provision of any alternative agricultural land. The increased sugar quotas have also encouraged many to switch exclusively to the production of sugar. Nevertheless, Indians still play an important role in the production of sub-tropical fruit and vegetables in the coastal belt.

Mention has been made of the disabilities under which Indian farmers operate, notably lack of training in modern farming methods, lack of capital, and small land holdings. We believe that a strong case can be made on purely economic grounds, for the removal of these disabilities. Training is essential for the modern farmer and the Indians have proved themselves to be capable of good husbandry. Despite their lack of training they are turning to productive use land which would be rejected by White farmers as being too steep. Moreover, they are producing for the expanding Durban market, much needed fresh fruit and vegetables, but in declining quantities. It should not be forgotten that with the conversion of much of the Eastern Transvaal lowveld to sugar, supplies from this important source of winter vegetables for the Durban market will be reduced considerably. Here the Indian farmer could play a most valuable role.

As far as the availability of capital is concerned, Indian farmers experience difficulty in qualifying for loans from the Land Bank, which have in any event, we understand, only recently become available to them. It is in this regard, in particular, that the proposed Indian Investment Corporation could play a most important role.

If our proposition be accepted, namely that the Indian farmers, given the tools of expertise and capital, can deliver the goods in a most economic fashion, then we submit that here again Natal has an economic resource which is at present under-utilised and which would, we believe, more than repay the investment which is required to render it fruitful. We suggest that the way to derive this benefit, which will accrue to the community at large, be it noted, is not only to make the necessary training facilities available to Indian farmers, but also to provide them with the land upon which they can exercise their skills. To this end we suggest that the possibilities of an irrigation scheme on one of the north coast rivers be investigated with a view to settling Indian families on small holdings. Moreover, we would strongly urge that Indian farmers be given high priority in any scheme to promote Indian enterprises and that economies in the provision of capital to them be obtained by encouraging the establishment of a co-operative arrangement whereby individual farmers can share in a common "pool" of machinery and equipment.

INDUSTRY.

The provision of assistance to Indian industrialists on a similar basis to that given to European entrepreneurs appears to be the aim of the government. The Industrial Development Corporation has recently granted assistance to two Indian-owned textile concerns and a sugar mill, while in 1965, the government announced that it had decided to extend its development area scheme to Indian firms. Four towns in Natal were selected for this purpose - Pietermaritzburg, Stanger, Tongaat and Verulam - and industrial employment in the capital and in Tongaat has already been stimulated by the establishment of industries using the development area concessions. The proposed Indian Investment Corporation would, if it is established, presumably take over the functions of the Industrial Development Corporation in respect of Indian firms, under the development area scheme. Indian entrepreneurs have shown themselves to be industrially-minded by branching out from the retail and wholesale trades to industry, as is shown by the fact that there are over 80 Indian owned clothing factories within a radius of 50 miles of Durban. There are also a number of furniture, sweet and mineral water factories, a sugar mill and a rice mill, while other industries into which Indians have entered include tinned foods, and leather, shoe and cement products.

CONCLUSION

In an economic appraisal of this nature we take as our starting point and the criterion against which to assess all policy objectives, the need to achieve the most rapid rate of economic growth possible whilst economising on the available resources. In business terms this means putting your money where it earns the highest possible return.

We know that the Indian in Natal is becoming increasingly westernised, e.g. 98% of Indian youths communicate best in English so that there should be no language difficulties in imparting skills to trainees. We know too that he, and she, are becoming increasingly better educated. At the end of 1965 there were an estimated 14,900 Indians in Natal who had passed Std. 8. and a further 7,100 who had matriculated. Graduates numbered an estimated 1,200 and diplomates an estimated 2,000, while in 1966 1,661 Indian students were enrolled at universities in Natal. In addition we also know that the Indian population is growing very rapidly. All this adds up to a large and growing pool of increasingly better educated and potentially skilled labour. Yet somehow this great asset is not being fully exploited. What are the reasons?

Both legal and customary barriers are hindering the Indians' contribution to the economy. Of the former, job reservation has been mentioned as being important. However, we have been unable to find any evidence of this and conclude that, certainly under the conditions of rapid economic growth which the country has enjoyed in recent years, job reservation determinations have had little effect on the employment of Indians.

As far as the legal restrictions are concerned, of much greater significance in our view, are the restrictions on the inter-provincial movement of Indians and the Group Areas legislation. The former precludes the worker from seeking the best market for his labour whilst the latter restricts the freedom of the entrepreneur to find the most economic location for his business. In Durban's central area for example, there are numerous firms which would like to expand but which are not doing so because of uncertainty as to their future.

Important as these factors are, we believe that it is the customary rather than the statutory restrictions which constitute the greatest drag on the fuller realisation of the economic potential of the Indians. Whether or not one agrees with these customary barriers as manifested in the colour bar in commerce and industry, the fact has to be faced squarely that the attitudes of European employers and employees is restricting the rate of growth of Natal's economy to a level below what it could be if the full economic potential of the Indian community were to be exploited. This is the price we pay. But is it worth what we receive for it? We believe that it is a shortage of skilled labour more than anything else which is restricting the rate of growth of our economy. And the Economic Development Programme says the same about the country's economic growth over the next 5 years. Yet here in Natal we have a large under-utilised, potentially skilled, labour force.

We want to leave you with a question - which is better; to seek the most rapid rate of economic growth which the resources of the country can sustain, or to let some of those resources be idle, causing a lower rate of economic growth and necessitating much charitable assistance to the unemployed, in order to satisfy no more than a prejudice?

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THE RESETTLEMENT OF INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN DURBAN AND SOME ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL EFFECTS ON THE INDIAN COMMUNITY

by L. Schlemmer.

INTRODUCTION

The full range of effects of the resettlement of Indian families in Durban in terms of the provisions of the Group Areas Act have never been directly or systematically studied. At present very little material on the topic is publicly available. For this reason this paper cannot hope to be more than speculative and suggestive. The major aim is more to stimulate discussion and suggest fruitful lines of research than to draw final conclusions.

It is not the intention to provide a full documentation of the process of actual resettlement, and for this reason many statistics and facts which are in themselves important have been omitted. Instead, additional consideration has been directed to what are undoubtedly the more permanent and pervasive features of the process of resettlement; the effects on the economic cultural and social characteristics of the Indian community.

The successive local authorities in Durban have worked towards the goal of residential and commercial segregation of the Indian community with enthusiasm from the earliest days. After more than two decades of appeals from the White group in Durban for the prevention of infiltration by the Indian community into "White" areas, the Provincial Ordinance No. 14 of 1922 was passed. This Ordinance gave the local authority power to reserve occupation or ownership for a particular racial group when leasing or selling land. Up to that time a degree of commercial segregation had been achieved by the control of trading licences.

After 1922, followed the appointment of various "Penetration Commissions", the promulgation of "Pegging" Acts designed to maintain the existing distributions of property between Whites and Indians, and representations to the Government for more control over Indian settlement. This led to the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act in 1946, which provided for the demarcation of areas outside of which no Asiatic could acquire land from a non-Asiatic without permit. This was followed by the Group Areas Act in 1950, which sought to bring about complete residential segregation, and therefore could be seen as the culmination of a process commenced more than 50 years previously.

Kuper, Watts, and Davies⁽¹⁾ state that "of all the cities in the Union, Durban, through its City Council has shown the greatest enthusiasm for compulsory segregation". The position which exists at present should therefore not be seen as an imposition by the present central government. The Group Areas Act has merely provided final impetus to a process of segregated resettlement of Indians which had already been partly successful.

(1) Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts, and Ronald Davies. Durban, a Study in Racial Ecology, Jonathan Cape. London. 1958. p. 34.

The provisions of the Group Areas Act are well-known. It provides for the proclamation of areas for occupation by members of a particular race group, and controls by permit inter-racial property transactions and changes in the occupation of properties. Provision is also made for the proclamation of defined areas (or so-called controlled areas) where control is exercised over the occupation of any buildings which are erected or altered.

The Group Areas policy with regard to housing is of course only one aspect of a far wider framework of current legislation aimed at achieving separation between South Africans of different racial groups. As such, it is officially defended within the broad justifications of the policy of separate development. At the local level, the process of housing segregation has been officially justified as a measure which obviates conflict friction and mutual offence. (2) It would appear, however, that the desire among Whites in Durban for racially segregated housing arises out of fears which are not unique to South Africa. Factors isolated by American studies (3) seem perfectly appropriate to the situation in Durban. These, generally, are fear of a decline in property values; fear of a change in the characters of neighbourhoods and the resultant loss of personal status; fear of becoming a minority group; and the fear of, rather than the actual existence of, conflict.

THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF RESETTLEMENT

At the time of the promulgation of the Group Areas Act the ecology of Durban already revealed a pattern of racial separation in housing settlement. The racial composition in ecological zones related closely to altitude, slope, direction of slope and land values. Kuper, Watts and Davies (4) show that in 1951 Whites tended to predominate in areas on elevated seaward facing slopes and beach front areas and where land values tended to be high. Non-Whites, particularly Indians, tended to predominate on the alluvial flats between the seafront areas and the elevated areas of the Berea, and on inland-facing slopes and in inland valleys. In the areas on the periphery of the old Borough, Africans tended to outnumber even the Indians to the virtual exclusion of Whites.

Spatially therefore the position is that roughly one-third of the Indian population in 1951 (5) was settled on the alluvial flats stretching from the Umlaas to the Umgeni Rivers. An additional three-fifths the largest group, were settled behind the Bluff and Berea ridges and in inland valleys and other peripheral regions. The remaining 7% of Indians were situated in predominantly White areas with high land values. Roughly one-quarter of the White population were settled in areas where Indians or Indians and Africans formed the majority of the population. One can conclude that, particularly among the middle and upper-middle socio-economic strata, Whites had distinct and segregated areas of settlement.

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- (2) First Report of the Technical Sub-Committee on Race Zoning, 22nd June. 1951. The Sub-Committee was appointed by the Durban City Council in November. 1950, five months after the passing of the Group Areas Act.
- (3) Studies quoted by G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities, Harper and Row, 1965. p. 329.
- (4) Kuper, Watts, and Davies. Op. Cit., Chapter 4.
- (5) Proportions refer to population in the Municipal area.

SKETCH MAP OF GREATER DURBAN SHOWING INDIANS AS A PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION IN ZONES IN 1951, WITH THE OFFICIAL GROUP AREAS FOR INDIANS SUPERIMPOSED.

FIGURE 1

14

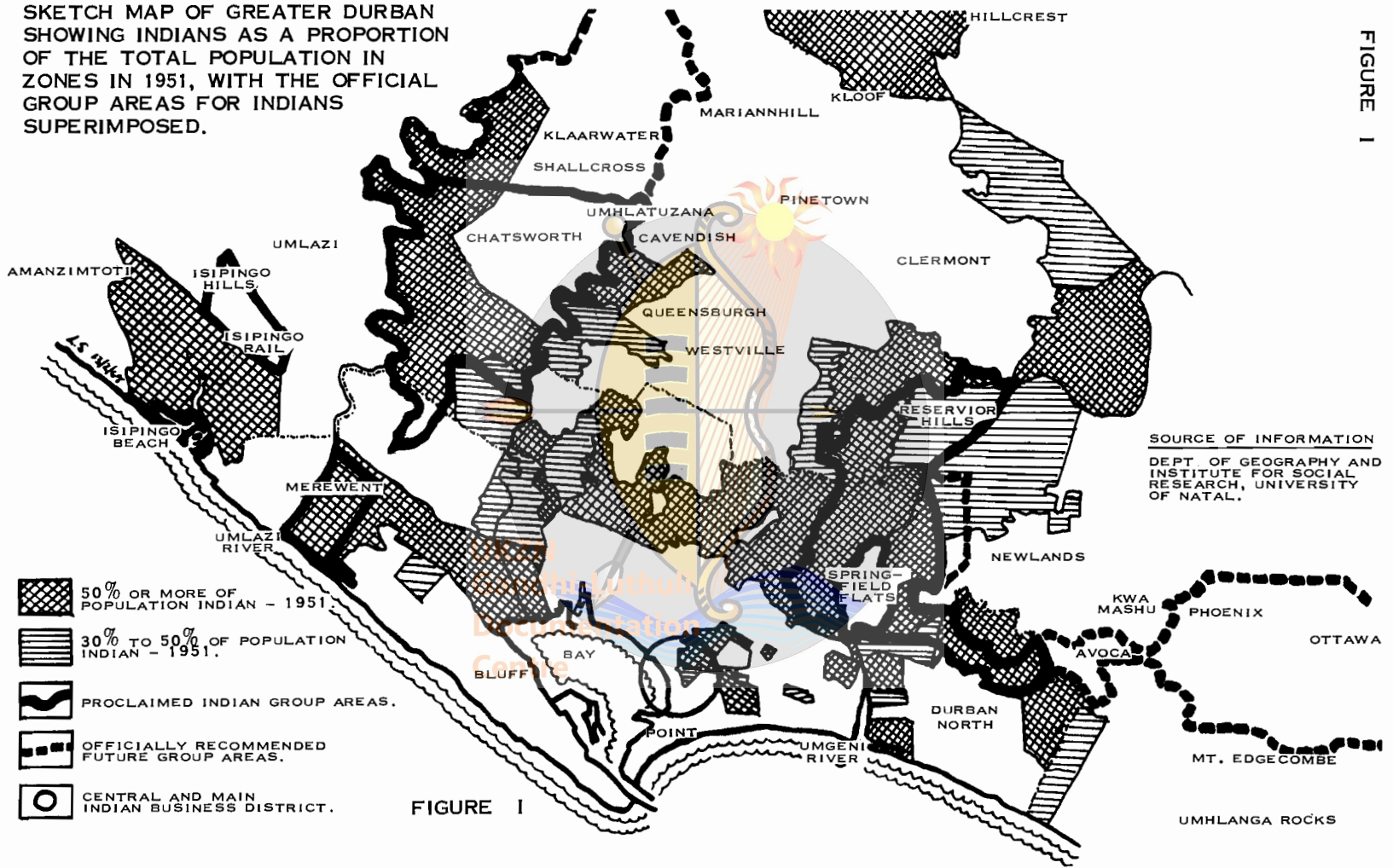


FIGURE 1

The Group Areas Act has, notwithstanding the position in 1951, provided for a far more rigid ecological separation of the races. If one looks at the map of the group areas as proclaimed, the future position becomes clearly apparent. (See Figure I) Once resettlement of the Indian population has been completed, (6) no Indians will live in the areas which in 1951 were predominantly White, and none will live on the alluvial flats (with the exception of the relatively small Merebank complex at the Southern extremity). The vast bulk of the Indian population will be housed in the peripheral areas to the North and South of the path of inland White expansion. The only areas of original Indian occupation which will remain as Indian group areas are the inland transitional areas of Springfield, Clare Estate, Sydenham, and Seacow Lake. (See Figure I) The difference between the 1951 position and the future picture is clearly revealed in Figure I where past and future patterns are superimposed.

Indian families which have been required to move have the alternative of either finding their own accommodation elsewhere in private Indian housing developments, or of making application through the Group Areas Development Board (renamed the Community Development Board in 1965) for accommodation in Municipal housing schemes at Chatsworth, Merebank or Springfield. Some idea of the magnitude of the operation to resettle Indian families can be obtained from the fact that to date 6, 146 (7) families from proclaimed and controlled areas have been resettled in Municipal schemes. This amounts to almost 41, 000 (8) people. Of this number the majority have been displaced from the Cato Manor area, an inland peripheral zone behind the high-quality Berea Ridge. This is an area in the path of White expansion. Large numbers of people have also been resettled from the old Borough area, the area on the Northern banks of the Umgeni River (Riverside), and the Southern and South-Western industrial and suburban areas (Clairwood, Jacobs, Hillary, Seaview etc.). However, the Department of Community Development estimates that some 13, 000 families (or roughly 86, 000 people) are still living in "incorrect" group areas (proclaimed). These families will all be forced to move within the next decade at the very most, and will have to find alternative accommodation. The majority will have to be accommodated in Municipal housing schemes.

In addition, there are some 60, 000 Indians living in controlled areas like the Central City (Grey Street) area, Clairwood area, and other industrial areas. Until or unless these areas are finally proclaimed White by the Group Areas Board, the inhabitants will not have to move in terms of the Group Areas Act. However, large numbers of them will be forced to move because of expropriation schemes for town planning and slum clearance purposes.

Within the next ten to fifteen years therefore, thousands of Indian families from suburban areas like Clairwood, Jacobs, Mobeni, Bellair, Seaview

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- (6) Here shifts from both proclaimed and controlled group areas is assumed.
- (7) Figure supplied by Department of Community Development. It reflects the position in mid-1966.
- (8) An average Indian family size of 6.6 members is assumed, which corresponds closely to the figure established by both the Bureau of Market Research, University of S. A. and the Department of Economics at Natal University.

Mayville, Cato Manor, Riverside, and perhaps even the Central City area (9) will have to find alternative accommodation. At least 90,000 to 100,000 people are likely to be affected, while the possibility exists that as many as roughly 150,000 or more will have to move.

If one considers the income distributions of Indians in the suburbs likely to be affected (10) one notices the tendency that in most areas likely to be affected. (excluding the City and Greyville areas) the average monthly income per earner and the average household income tends to be lower than the average figures for families who have settled in private townships. One can conclude that the greater majority of the people to be displaced will have to seek accommodation in Municipal economic and sub-economic housing schemes.

This probability is borne out by the fact that at the 21st July, 1966 there was a waiting list for Municipal houses of 10,012 (11) applicants, each representing at least one family. The majority of these people can be assumed to be anticipating forced resettlement sooner or later. Over 40% are affected by Group Areas proclamations, quite apart from those who will be affected by expropriation and slum clearance schemes. If one studies the income distribution of the group of applicants for Municipal houses one realises that the vast majority have no recourse but to wait for subsidised permanent accommodation, no matter how long it takes before houses are built.

TABLE I

<u>INCOME DISTRIBUTION</u> <u>of Applicants for Municipal Houses</u> <u>as at 21 st of July, 1966</u>	
<u>Monthly Income of</u> <u>Main Breadwinner</u>	<u>Percentage</u> <u>of Applicants</u>
R 0 - 20	7%
R 21 - 50	37
R 51 - 70	21
R 71 - 90	13
R 91 - 110	10
R111 - 130	6
R131 - 150	3
R151 - 180	2
R180+	1
	<u>100%</u>

It is interesting to see where the applicants are presently residing, since it gives an indication of the ecological patterns of movement which will take place with resettlement over the next decade. The Housing Section of the

- (9) The future position in regard to the Central City Indian area is in some doubt. As stated before it is presently an open "controlled" area. While it is possible that Indian traders will be allowed to continue business activities in these areas, the likelihood seems great that the residential population will have to move.
- (10) Feldman-Laschin : INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PATTERNS AMONG THE INDIANS IN DURBAN BUREAU OF MARKET RESEARCH, UNIVERSITY OF S. A. 1966.
- (11) Figure supplied by Housing section of the Durban Corporation.

Durban Corporation conducted a sample study of the records of applicants for Municipal housing and arrived at the following results.

TABLE II

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION
of the Present Addresses of Applicants
for Municipal Houses in Housing Schemes

<u>Residential Zone</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Indian and Coloured Group Areas - private settlements and Municipal housing schemes.	37%
Western White areas (Cato Manor, Mayville, Sherwood, Brickfield/Sparks Road area).	19%
Northern White Areas (Riverside, Redhill, Prospect Hall).	6%
Southern White Areas and Industrial Areas (Bluff, Wentworth, Jacobs, Clairwood).	17%
South Western White Areas (Old Main line suburbs and Rossburgh)	5%
Old Borough White Areas (Lower Berea, Umbilo, Overport, Greyville, Stamford Hill, Umgeni).	6%
Central City.	6%
Outside Municipal Area.	4%

General indications are that the families residing in the Northern and Southern White Areas will be the first to be relocated, long before those living in the Western White Areas, with the exception of those families still left in the Cato Manor area. Indeed, relocation of large numbers of Indian families from the Northern White Areas is in progress at the time of writing.

It will be noted from the map in Figure I that the Indian Group areas tend to be situated outside the fringe of the central core of White land, and between the radiating lines of the main highways to the West, North and South. The Indian housing schemes of Merebank and Chatsworth are between the 5 and 10 mile radius from the Central City. The projected areas of future Indian development at Newlands are also within this radius, while the areas of Shallcross to the South West, and Phoenix to the North, lie between a 10 and 15 mile radius from the centre of the town. Only the Springfield, Clare Estate and Sydenham areas are in relatively close proximity to the centre of the city. Inspection of the group areas map leaves no doubts that the Indian group areas generally tend to be much further removed from centres of commercial and administrative activity than the bulk of the White areas.

In the Municipal housing schemes the type of housing provided up to now has been mainly of the semi-detached or maisonette type. Of the roughly 16,000 municipal houses erected thus far, only slightly more than 200 are detached cottages. In addition, there are some 1,400 flat units which have been

erected at Chatsworth, in blocks of 6 flats per building. In the Municipal schemes some 1,400 undeveloped sites have been sold to individuals on Council loan schemes. Of these sites, a certain number have been sold by public auction. A total of 239 sites have been auctioned in Chatsworth to date.

The houses and flats are divided into two broad rental classes, the Sub-Economic and the Economic houses. The rentals of the Sub-Economic units range from R3.00 to R6.60 per month with a maximum size of 4 rooms including the kitchen, while the rentals for Economic houses range from R10.75 to R28.15 per month for a maximum size of 5 rooms including the kitchen. Rentals vary according to design and finish. Houses in the Economic category can be rented with an option to buy, usually on rental conversion deposit schemes.

Some 4,800 Sub-Economic and 11,400 Economic houses have been erected, in the ratio of roughly 30 : 70. The criterion for allocation of Sub-Economic housing is an income of the main breadwinner of R60 per month or less, and for Economic housing an income of R180 per month or less. Reference to the income distribution of applicants on the waiting list given in Table I suggests that in order to accommodate existing needs the proportion of Sub-Economic housing to the total will have to be nearer to 45% than to 30% in the future.

As regards town planning characteristics of the schemes, the trend is to build houses in large groups called neighbourhood units. Seven such units have been completed in Chatsworth, two of which already contain populations of between 20,000 and 25,000 people. For each neighbourhood unit the intention is to provide sites for the development of a neighbourhood shopping centre. A major commercial and recreational centre is planned for Chatsworth as a whole. (12)

These are the broad features of the resettlement programme for Indians which is presently in progress in Durban. It is an ambitious programme which is being carried out methodically. It has already had a major impact on the lives of Indian families in Durban, despite the fact that the implementation of policy is not yet half completed.

SOME ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL EFFECTS OF RESETTLEMENT

a. Economic Effects

Generally speaking, the forced resettlement of Indian families has had the effect of moving them further away from the centre of town. While there are industrial and commercial areas located fairly near to the Indian Group Areas, the bulk of the Indian population work or shop in the centrally situated business and industrial areas, or in areas well within the White group areas. This has undoubtedly meant an increase in the costs of transportation for Indian families. A single bus ticket from Chatsworth to town costs roughly 12 cents, a not inconsiderable amount if one considers daily return trips by 3 or 4 members of a family. The incentive to purchase motor vehicles on meagre incomes should also increase with resettlement further away from places of work and entertainment. It should be added here that although housing

(12) The details concerning the Municipal housing schemes were kindly supplied by the Housing Department of the Durban Corporation.

development has proceeded apace, as yet hardly any development of commercial and entertainment facilities has taken place in the Municipal housing schemes. The focal points of Indian community life still remain in the central Durban area.

We have pointed to the tremendous demand for housing among the Indian community. There is an equally high demand for land. This demand has caused land values in Indian areas to soar. The sites which are auctioned by the City Council at Chatsworth are usually disposed of at double the average upset price of R1,000 for 5,000 square feet. Recently, when 27 such sites at Chatsworth were auctioned, they were sold at an average price of just short of R3,200 per site. (13) An estate agent who deals mainly in Indian property had no hesitation in stating in a recent interview that all over Durban, Indians are paying abnormally high prices for land and ruining themselves financially as a result. A prominent Indian businessman, who is himself a property developer, has found that in a certain private township development, his concern had to adopt measures to prevent would-be purchasers from committing themselves to purchases far beyond their means to pay.

One of the reasons for the shortage of land, apart from the restrictions imposed on Indian property development by the Group Areas Act, is the fact that much of the vacant land in places such as Clare Estate, Seacow Lake, Kenville, Avoca, is underlaid by a bed of shale which prohibits septic tanks being installed. Until waterborne sewerage or an efficient bucket system of sewerage disposal is provided, the land cannot be fully developed. Apart from this, it is quite apparent from the map in Figure I that a disproportionately small area of land has been set aside for a group with a population larger than that of the White group.

A further economic ill besetting the families affected by group areas removal programmes relates to the prices realised for the properties expropriated or purchased by the Community Development Board. The properties are usually valued long before the families are required to move. In some cases market values of properties presently being vacated were assigned as long ago as 1958. The owners are therefore paid out at prices far below what the current market values would be if they were able to sell to other Indians. Naturally, in many cases they cannot sell to Whites since properties previously owned by Indians are usually of a type not desired by Whites, and former mixed areas retain a stigma until the removal of non-Whites is complete. Despite the economic safeguards contained in the provisions of the Group Areas Act therefore, many property owners have to relinquish houses at one-third or less of their replacement value. This unfortunate pattern has also been noted by Muriel Horrell in the Transvaal. (14)

A far more serious permanent economic threat to the Indian Community is contained in the Group Areas Act however. The major Indian trading area is in the Grey Street complex of the Central City area. General indications we have gained from conducting research among Indian shopkeepers in this area are that the customers of these Indian shops are comprised of roughly equal proportions of Indians and Africans. As both these race groups are resettled further and further away from the Central area, and as

(13) Natal Mercury, September 20th, 1966.

(14) Muriel Horrell, Group Areas, The Emerging Pattern, S. A. Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1966.

commercial facilities develop in the Indian and African townships, much of the custom enjoyed by the Central Area traders will be lost. General indications are that while the traders might be allowed to continue their business activities in the central area, the residential population of this zone will be relocated.

If the traders decide to move their businesses to the Indian townships they will lose their African customers. Besides which, the policy in the planned townships appears to be to concentrate trade in the hands of a few traders in shopping areas who will probably enjoy the tremendous turnover previously shared by many smaller concerns.

Much the same fate awaits the scattered Indian general dealers who depend so heavily on African support. A recent study (15) suggests that up to 24% of the Durban Africans' money is spent in Indian shops. This means that relatively few of the scattered Indian traders, whose numbers are considerable, will be able to survive with purely Indian support in the Indian group areas.

These possibilities are extremely serious if one considers the extremely high proportion of the Indian labour force which is involved in commercial activity. There does appear to be a great need for the establishment of free trading areas with ready access to all population groups.

b. Some Likely Social and Cultural Effects

A characteristic feature of Indian life in the past has been the "joint family system" which involved two, three or more related families sharing the same residence. The families usually comprised daughters and sometimes sons and their spouses living in the parental home. Hilda Kuper (16) makes mention of this as well as of the phenomenon of members of the extended family or "Kutum" often staying in close neighbourhood proximity to one another.

These family groupings are important factors in the social integration of Indians and in determining patterns of Indian social and cultural life. The close kinship system appears to operate to confer status on individuals, to preserve marital solidarity in the individual nuclear families, and to ensure a continuity in maintaining traditional values and cultural practices. The joint family system affords individual members material security and safeguards against the privations of unemployment and illness.

These patterns are likely to be undergoing a process of change, but research projects conducted by the Department of Economics at the University of Natal show that as much as 25% of Indian households still contain joint families. The impression is gained that kinship bonds are still very strong in Indian life. Central to the preservation of these systems is the large home with a sufficient number of rooms to accommodate multiple families with shared cooking and recreational space, and the opportunity of kin members to locate residences near to those of kinsmen.

The process of resettlement of Indian families in Municipal housing schemes has serious implications for these traditional ways of life. It is obvious from the description of the municipal houses that they are intended as

(15) B. M. Legwate. Buying Behaviour among Africans in Durban, B. A. CC. Market Research Series, 2, Durban, 1965.

(16) Hilda Kuper, Indian People in Natal, Natal University Press, 1960.

single family residence only. Apart from this, the official policy of the housing authorities is to disallow any sharing of dwelling units. In actual fact the joint family system tends to persist even in Municipal housing schemes. The Department of Economics at the University of Natal has found that as many households in Municipal schemes contain joint families (25%) as elsewhere. However, the conditions under which these families live in Municipal schemes is such that only the families in the lower socio-economic group are likely to continue living together in the housing schemes. The housing policy and the type of houses provided will inevitably discourage the joint family system among the middle-class families. The lack of choice in the location of houses is another factor which might weaken kinship bonds.

Generally speaking, it seems likely that the new housing patterns will hasten the change in the Indian middle-class family from the extended to the Western "nuclear family" pattern. If this happens one might expect even more far-reaching changes to occur, ranging from the growth of more individualistic norms and values; a breakdown of traditional and conservative cultural patterns and social habits; an altered basis of interaction between husbands and wives; and perhaps changes in child-training patterns.

Another feature of Indian life which is likely to change with mass resettlement is the traditional Indian attitude to land. One obtains the impression that land is very important for the social security of the Indian. The attitude to land seems to reflect the still enduring rural tradition of many in the Indian community. Land is valued for material reasons inasmuch as it can provide a supply of fresh produce, albeit limited. Land is also valued for social and sometimes for religious reasons. The religious shrine in the garden is a fairly common sight in the older Indian areas. In the Municipal housing schemes however, very little land is available for private gardens, and with the massive resettlement taking place, any traditional attachment to the land must very soon be lost.

A feature of the older Indian areas of Durban is the relative absence of class segregation in residential neighbourhoods. Large and small houses, modern houses and shacks, are often seen in close proximity to one another. Traditionally, Indian stratification patterns have rested on family origins rather than on achieved status or housing quality. However, in certain of the neighbourhood units in Chatsworth (No. 5 is a good example) the housing provided is all or mainly comprised of sub-economic units intended for families of lower economic status. One possible effect of this is the isolating of poorer Indian families from middle-class opinion leaders, and also of reducing the incentive among poorer people to improve their circumstances. In the Merebank Council scheme where better-class privately-built housing is interspersed among poorer quality housing, it is remarkable to see the extent to which those living in the cheaper houses have made alterations to these houses in order to make them conform more in appearance to the privately-built houses.

The phenomenon of vast concentrations of poorer people in defined residential areas usually has a far more pervasive ill-effect on the education of children. Where neighbourhood schools are filled with predominantly lower socio-economic pupils the standards of education and the incentives to achieve academic success are inevitably reduced.

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

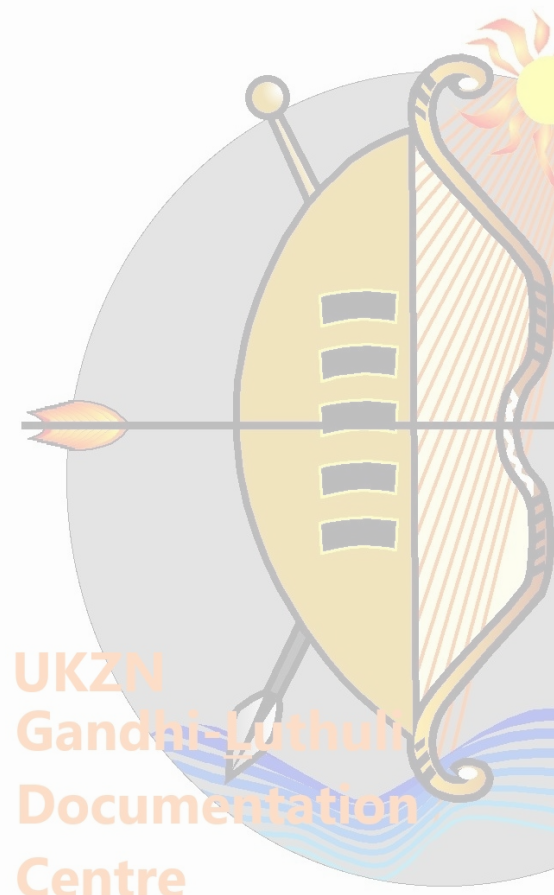
by Dr. B. Rambiritch.

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,



as early as 1928 Professor Bews, the Principal of the Natal University College saw the need for the provision of university education for the Non-White community of Natal, and in a scheme he proposed a College for Indians and another for Africans under the aegis of the University of Natal. In 1934, Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh, Agent General for India in South Africa, requested the Natal University College Council to admit Indian students to its courses. The Council was opposed to the concept of a mixed university. It favoured a separate Non-White section to which the community was totally opposed. Segregated classes were, however, initiated in 1936 with 11 students enrolling for the B.A. course. In time, enrolment increased and courses expanded and by 1960 there were 315 full-time and 241 part-time students following courses in the arts, commerce, education, social science, and law faculties. In 1951, a Faculty of Medicine for Non-White students was established. Following the provisions of the Extension of the University Act of 1959 by which separate university colleges were to be provided for the Bantu, Coloured and the Indian, a University College for Indians was established on 1st November 1960. It was opposed by the Indian community but nevertheless the College started with an initial enrolment of 114 students - 71 in the sciences, which were being offered in Natal for the first time, and 43 in the arts faculty.

INDIAN EDUCATION TODAY

The foregoing has made but a fleeting reference to the development of university education. However, the history of Indian education is a century old. Way back in 1867, thirty pupils sat in a little wattle and daub hut making history - the history of Indian education. Probably many did not go beyond Standard II, but the nucleus of an educational system was laid - a system that was to develop into a factor that would embrace over 25% of the entire Indian population of South Africa as the following table of Indian enrolments for 1965/6 at the various educational levels indicates :-

Table I

INDIAN EDUCATION - 1965-6 ENROLMENTS AT VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS

(NATAL ONLY)

	1965	1966
Primary	115531	129,000 ⁺
Secondary (includes 582 Post-Senior Certificate enrolments at Springfield Training College)	15459	17,000 ⁺
Technical College	6625	6,885
UNIVERSITIES :-		
University College, Durban	1014	1,129
University of Natal +	217	194

+ Excludes Medical Students

To this must be added about 150 at Cape Town, 240 at the Fordsburg Teacher Training College, 30 at Rhodes, 178 at Witwatersrand and the 1,029 students enrolled within the Division of External Studies of the University of South Africa. It is estimated that another 500 Indian students are at present studying in the United Kingdom, the Continent and India. It is safe therefore to assume that about 3,000 Indian students are pursuing a university career.

Mr. Stanley G. Osler in a paper delivered to the Natal Indian Teachers' Society Annual Conference in July 1965 made the observation that for every 100 pupils receiving formal education in South Africa in 1962 there were 6.5% doing post-Std. X and university work in the White sector; .8% in the Coloured sector; 1.9% in the Indian sector; and .1 in the Bantu sector.

The view is now gaining universal currency that university education is not the privilege of the few. Professor S. P. Olivier observes:

"Just as the end of the previous century saw the acceptance of universal primary education as a responsibility of the State - at least in Western Europe - and just as the end of the First World War saw the acceptance of the principle of a general secondary education for all "according to age, aptitude and ability" as a responsibility of the State, so the demand for the provision of post-high school educational facilities as a responsibility of the State was a universal cry after the Second World War."

(Diwali Herald, Vol. II No. 2 1964 p. 47)

In the United Kingdom, Professor Lord Robbins in his report on Higher Education (1963) makes the demand that the country should recognise the need for a greater provision of higher education than has ever been previously envisaged. By 1973/4 there should be accommodation places for 390,000 and by 1980, 580,000.

Indian post-graduate enrolments are also on the increase. In 1964, there were 168 registrations in the South African universities alone for courses in medicine, arts, education, law and pure science. A few followed courses in engineering as the table for post-graduate enrolments in South African universities for the years 1963-64 show.

Table II.

VOCATIONAL TRENDS

ANALYSIS OF VOCATIONAL TRENDS - S.A. UNIVERSITIES : 1963-4

POST-GRADUATE ENROLMENTS

ALL UNIVERSITIES

Universities :	Cape Town		Natal		Rhodes		Wits.		UNISA		Uni. Coll.	
	'63	'64	'63	'64	'63	'64	'63	'64	'63	'64	'63	'64
MEDICINE: Ph. D.		3										
Masters	5	3							1	1		
COMMERCE: Honours												
ENGINEERING: Masters							1	1				
ARTS: Ph. D.					1				1	2		
Masters	1		7	9	3	2			1	2	3	
Honours			10	10	3	2			3	12	18	
EDUCATION: Ph. D.			1	1								
Masters			6	5			1		2	1		
Honours			19	40			1		9	14		
LAW: Masters			1									
LLB.		1	15	18			12	11	2			
PURE SCIENCE: Ph. D.			2						4	7		

Since 1964 it has been possible for the University College, Durban to offer post-graduate degree courses in its various faculties. In 1966 there were 35 students in the Honours class and 6 were engaged in research for a master's degree.

THE INDIAN IN THE OCCUPATION STRUCTURE

Tables III, IV and V below reflect Indian occupational trends in 1960. Of a total population of 477, 125, a little over 25% were economically active (Table IV). The main industrial divisions into which they were concentrated were manufacturing, commerce and services. Increased urbanisation and the loss of market garden holdings accounted for the decrease in the agrarian life of the community, hence less than 10,000 Indians were engaged in agriculture while restricted employment avenues in mining and the electrical services accounted for the very low figures.

Table III.

OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS IN MAJOR INDUSTRY DIVISIONS OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA - 1960

	Males	Females	Total
Total Population	241,637	235,488	477,125
No. not active	129,055	222,250	351,305
Total No. active	112,582	13,238	125,820
Agriculture	8,736	851	9,587
Mining	466	-	466
Manufacturing	29,924	3,082	33,006
Construction	1,966	-	1,966
Electricity	266	-	266
Commerce	25,762	1,722	27,484
Transport	3,815	50	3,865
Services	18,743	3,513	22,256
Unemployed	22,904	4,020	26,924

Table IV shows the relation in which Indian contribution stands to the economic activity of the country as a whole.

Table IV.

OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS

OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS IN PERCENTAGES OF THE S.A. POPULATION IN THE MAIN INDUSTRIAL GROUPS - 1960

INDUSTRIAL GROUP	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIATICS	BANTU
Agriculture	10.30	21.75	7.60	37.40
Mining	5.45	0.75	0.35	13.85
Manufacturing	20.10	17.70	26.25	8.30
Construction	6.30	7.20	1.55	4.25
Electricity	0.95	0.50	0.20	0.65
Commerce and Finance	20.50	7.00	21.85	4.05
Transport	10.60	3.10	3.05	1.85
Services	22.10	25.70	17.70	20.90
Undefined and Unemployed	3.70	16.30	21.45	8.65
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

While in the previous table the distribution seems to taper off sharply in such industrial groups as transport, electricity, construction and mining, the table below, showing the analysis of Indians in the major occupational groups for the year 1960, indicates a more stable pyramid.

Table V.

ANALYSIS OF INDIANS IN MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS - 1960

	Males	Females	Total
Professional	3,909	1,215	5,124
Administrative - Executive	2,410	158	2,568
Clerical Workers	7,867	332	8,199
Sales Worker	20,901	1,454	22,355
Farmer etc.	9,241	820	10,061
Craftsman	33,869	3,377	37,246
Service	11,411	2,503	13,914

The Table endorses the view that craftsmanship is still part of Indian heritage. The distributive trade (salesworker) attracted 22,355 Indian workers. About 15 per cent were engaged in skilled work such as the professions, clerical positions and in administrative and executive capacities.

South Africa stands on the threshold of a phenomenal industrial development, yet the full potential of its Non-White resources remains to be tapped. Dr. F. Meyer, president of the National Development Foundation has said that the country needs 560,000 managers, officials, and working owners; 710,000 foremen, craftsmen and kindred workers; and 550,000 technical, professional and kindred workers to be geared up to the same economic efficiency as that obtaining in America.

In the economically active pyramid, these "high-level" workers constitute 18.5% of the White worker, 13.2% of the Asiatic; 3.4% of the Coloured and 1.7% of the African. Quoting these figures, Dr. E.G. Malherbe observes :-

"These figures indicated the vast untapped resources of manpower that South Africa still had in the Non-White sections of the population."

(Natal Mercury, October 8, 1966)

Even if the existing percentage of "high-level" workers were to be maintained, the total Indian contribution in these categories would be 73,920 managers, officials, and working owners; 93,720 foremen, craftsmen and kindred workers; and 72,600 technical, professional and kindred workers. Dr. Malherbe envisages that by 1969 the country would be short of 74,400 White workers.

PRESENT DAY VOCATIONAL TRENDS

With separate development now becoming a reality, further diversification in the professional services is taking place. This is becoming evident as the following Tables analysing the vocational trends of Indian students at the various universities reveal.

Table VI.

VOCATIONAL TRENDS (Cont'd)

ANALYSIS OF VOCATIONAL TRENDS - S.A. UNIVERSITIES : 1963-4

UNIVERSITIES :	Cape Town		Natal		Rhodes		Wits.		UNISA		Uni. Coll.	
	Years											
Courses	'63	'64	'63	'64	'63	'64	'63	'64	'63	'64	'63	'64
ARCHITECTURE	8	6					6	9				
MEDICINE	60	63	120	155			40	39				
COMMERCE & PUBLIC ADMIN.	13	12	15	9	6	9	13	11	44	55	23	25
ENGINEERING:-												
Electrical		3					1					
Combined B. Sc.	9			1			1	7				
Chemical	2	3					10	14				
Metallurgy							1					
Civil	1	1					6	9				
Mechanical		14					7	11				
ARTS:-												
Librarianship		1					1	1	4	3	4	6
Social Science	8	7	5	6	2	2	1		3	3	13	15
Others	9	10	251	210	27	2		36	463	557	218	342
EDUCATION:-												
Degrees			26	46			2	3	11	15	27	65
Diplomas & Certificates	1		37	10					16	11	21	63
LAW		1	18	22			12	11	2	21	6	13
FINE ARTS	2								2	4	6	5
DENTISTRY							3	6				
PURE SCIENCE	10	13		10	10	14	29	27	51	121	230	259
PHARMACY						6						
TOTALS :	123	134	472	469	51	27	133	184	596	790	548	793

The universities of Witwatersrand and Cape Town admit Indian students in their Faculty of Architecture and Engineering and in 1965, the University of Natal had 3 students in the Faculty of Engineering. Besides, the University College, Durban, Rhodes offered courses in pharmacy for Indian students. There is a steady increase in the number enrolling for pure science at the "open

universities". Given below are the most recent enrolment trends, i.e. at the University of Natal (Table VII), University of S.A. (Table VIII (a)), University of the Witwatersrand (Table VIII (b)), and at the various teacher training and technical colleges (Table IX) where some post-matriculation work has now been initiated.

Table VIII (a)

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

Table VII.

ENROLMENT TRENDS
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL.

	1964	1965	1966
ARTS : Undergraduate	199	104	97
Not for Degree	1	2	2
Honours	10	4	11
Masters	7	8	10
Diploma - Speech Therapy	2		
SOCIAL SCIENCE : Undergraduate	4	3	2
Honours	2	2	1
COMMERCE : Undergraduate	11	12	10
ECONOMICS : Undergraduate	2	2	2
LAW :	18	16	13
N. LAW CERTIFICATE	3	5	5
EDUCATION : Honours	41	36	31
Masters		2	2
Diploma - Rem. Educ.	5	7	7
Diploma - U. E. D. (Graduate)	3	3	1
Diploma - U. E. D. (Non Grad.)	7	3	
SCIENCE : Engineering (Under Graduate)		3	
Honours		2	
Masters		2	
Doctorate		1	

	1964	1965	1966
ARTS: Undergrads	536	557	625
Honours	23	28	31
Masters	4	1	3
Doctorates	-	1	2
FINE ARTS - (Bachelor's)	4	3	1
LIBRARIANSHIP - Certificate	1	2	5
N. D. P. (Non-Degree Purposes)	68	90	83
B. Sc.	49	71	98
MATHEMATICS: Honours	-	1	2
Masters			1
B. Com.	48	62	83
ACCOUNTING: Honours	-	1	1
B. Administration	3	1	4
C. T. A. (Certificate in the Theory of Accountancy)	3	2	2
BANKING - Diploma		1	
THEOLOGY - Undergrad		1	1
LAW: Diploma - Iuris		1	1
Attorneys Admission	18	20	25
Public Service Law Exam	1	-	1
LL. B. : Honours	2	4	6
Masters			1
SOCIAL SCIENCE: Undergrad	1	12	14
Honours		2	3
B. BIBLIOGRAPHY	2	1	4
EDUCATION: Honours	14	19	26
Masters	1	1	-
Doctorate	-	-	-
U. E. Diploma	11	8	6
MATHEMATICS: Honours		1	
Masters			1

Table VIII (b)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND.

	1964	1965	1966
Architecture	6	10	12
Medicine	39	40	36
Commerce	22	18	15
Chemical Engineering	6	7	7
Graduate Diploma	-	2	-
Electrical Engineering	7	17	18
Mining Engineering	1	-	-
Civil Engineering	9	5	5
Metallurgy		2	2
Mechanical Engineering	11	13	15
Librarianship (Post-graduate)	1	-	-
Logopedics	3	5	1
Arts	36	13	13
Education (Post-graduate)	3	-	2
Law	11	-	10
Dentistry	6	-	10
Science	27	25	31
Music		1	1
Social Work		1	
	188	159	178

Table VIII (c)

ENROLMENT TRENDS (Cont'd)
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DURBAN : 1961-66

FACULTIES	YEARS	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
Science		71	185	230	259	283	260
Commerce						35	60
Arts		43	248	384	588	492	553
Education						204	256
		114	433	614	847	1,014	1,129

Table IX

ENROLMENT AT TEACHER TRAINING AND TECHNICAL COLLEGES - 1966.

(POST MATRIC COURSES).

	Fordsburg	M. L. Sultan	Springfield	Univ. College
Teacher Training	240 ⁽⁺⁾	-	580	256
Chartered Institute of Secretaries		21		
Commercial Teacher's Diploma		14		
National Domestic Science Teacher's Diploma		8		
Medical Technicians		11		
Health Inspectors		15		
Chemical Technicians		14		
Total	240 ⁽⁺⁾	83	580	256

(+) Includes 40 Post J. C. Students.

THE INDIAN IN THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Commerce, Industry and the Professions are the cornerstones upon which Indian economy largely rests. Agriculture is fast losing its importance as the mainstay of Indian economic life. 83 per cent of Indians are now urbanised leaving 17% on the land. The role of higher education in these spheres of Indian activity will now be considered.

(a) Commerce

The 1960 statistics (Table IV) show that of the total economically active Indians, 21.85% were engaged in commerce and finance. Save for a few major enterprises, much that is common in the organisation of White commerce is almost non-existent in the Indian trading community. Very little use has hitherto been made of high level executives. This is so because Indian commerce has largely been built on orthodox methods - in most cases it is a family affair - and the importance of trained personnel has not been fully appreciated.

A recent survey on the possible employment opportunities for Indian graduates and diploma students in the Durban-Pinetown complex carried out by the University College, Durban showed that there existed immediately 38 vacancies for graduates and 14 for those with diplomas in high-level managerial, technical and administrative posts while another 226 positions for Indian graduates and 626 for Indian matriculants would become available in the not too distant future. These vacancies existed both in White and Non-White undertakings. White enterprise is finding it increasingly difficult to fill vacancies

with White personnel and a growing number of Indian undertakings is recognising the need and advantage of trained personnel. The table below gives a picture of the employment opportunities in the foreseeable future.

Table X

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY AS AT
1964 IN THE DURBAN-PINETOWN COMPLEX

Posts	Indian graduates	Indian Matriculants	Other Indians
High level Managerial	3	7	-
High level Technical	25	7	-
High level Administrative	10	9	-
Sub-professional Administrative	52	209	113
Sub-professional - production and services	138	157	185
Sub-professional level - stores	6	143	130
Sub-professional level - maintenance	-	-	109
Sub-professional level - sales	30	108	46
	264	640	583 *

* Vocational Opportunities for University Trained Indians in the Durban-Pinetown Complex; A survey undertaken by the Institute of Social and Industrial Research of the University College (for Indians) Durban. Nov. 1964 page 68.

1966 enrolment figures for commerce and economics for the University of South Africa (85), University of Natal (12) and the University College, Durban (60) indicate that the maximum anticipated output of students in the next few years would be 157, - over a hundred short of Durban's requirements.

While the demand for graduate teachers in our high schools must receive priority and therefore the present tempo of enrolments in the faculties of Arts, Science and Education must be maintained, student enrolments in Commerce and Economics need to be stepped up, if Indian commerce is not to lose its position of importance in Indian economy. The problem could be solved if the positions were made attractive and afforded security.

(b) Industry

Today, world industry is passing through a scientific and technological revolution. In the African continent, South Africa enjoys an unrivalled position in the industrial hierarchy. Recent industrial progress in South Africa has attained heights never reached before. It is inevitable that the Indian entrepreneur is sharing in the boom. This development has been the outcome of :-

- i. The increasing change-over from commerce to industry due to the rise of super-markets, overtrading and being displaced as a result of Group Areas;
- ii. The emergence of the African trader in place of the Indian in African residential areas;
- iii. The availability of loans from the Industrial Development Corporation; and
- iv. Border Area industry benefits.

But Indian participation in industry has not kept pace with the phenomenal expansion experienced by the country. Several factors contribute to the "snail's pace" of progress in industry. Among these include :-

- i. Inability to qualify for the Industrial Development Corporation's loan scheme;
- ii. Lack of industrial sites;
- iii. Monopoly, as a result of Capital being concentrated in the hands of a few and the lack of the sense of floating joint ventures such as limited liability companies;
- iv. Inadequate market research in areas of operation;
- v. Lack of know-how and technical personnel.

With the establishment of the envisaged Indian Industrial Development and Finance Corporation, (now in its embryonic stage) the problem of capital for the small industrialist is likely to be solved, while an approach is made by the S.A.I. Council for Industrial sites in Indian areas. The concept of Indian enterprises being exclusive to a particular religious or ethnic group is a problem still to be solved.

However, the greatest problem besides finance which faces Indian industrial expansion is the lack of technical know-how and trained personnel. At present there are only 6 Indian graduates with degrees in Engineering in the country having qualified overseas, while the enrolment figures for this branch of study for the Universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand are encouraging as the table below indicates.

Table XI

ENROLMENT OF INDIAN ENGINEERING STUDENTS : 1963-4

	CAPE TOWN		NATAL		WITS.	
	1963	1964	1963	1964	1963	1964
Combined B. Sc.	9		1		1	7
Chemical M. Sc.					1	
Chemical Under Grad (B. Sc.)	2	3			10	14
Electrical		3			1	
Metallurgy					1	
Civil	1	1			6	9
Mechanical		14			7	11
Total	12	21	1		27	41

While the needs of Cape Province and Transvaal could for the foreseeable future be met from its student potential, the position in Natal with its almost 400,000 Indians is critical. With the Tugela Basin project in which eight dams are to be constructed before the river empties itself into the ocean and 4 hydro-electric projects, and the opening up of another harbour on the coast of Zululand, the industrial potential of the Natal coastal belt and the hinterland is very great. A community bereft of technological personnel must lag behind in the industrial revolution facing Natal. At present the University of Natal admits students to its engineering courses provided Ministerial consent is obtained. A recent decision to institute courses in Engineering at the University College, Durban had been temporarily shelved until the College moves to its new site at Chiltern Hills.

Apart from these considerations for the future, secondary industries employing 21,000 Indians require the services of 135 engineers based on the White ratio of 1 engineer for every 150 workers and another 42 special category engineers (chemical, civil, electrical, mechanical, and metallurgical) based on the ratio of 1 per 500 workers in the secondary industry. To this must be added the vacancies that will arise in the several Indian townships where local authorities are being set up on the road to self-development.

(c) The Professions

(i) Medical Services

Medical services in South Africa are in a precarious stage as Table XII reflecting the position for the period 1958-1965 indicates.

Table XII

POSITION OF MEDICAL SERVICES (ALL RACES) IN SOUTH AFRICA
FOR THE PERIOD 1958-1965

	Medical Practitioners	Dental Surgeons	Pharmacists	Optometrists
Number in 1958	7,352	1,255	2,723	436
1958 Population Ratio	1,911	9,559	5,288	29,000
Number in 1965	9,352	1,526	3,723	470
Number required	11,782	1,734	4,623	706
Shortage experienced	2,430	208	900	236
Annual increase	270	50	180	5

Table XIII

POSITION OF INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICES

	Medical Practitioners	Dental Surgeons	Pharmacists	Optometrists
Indian Medical Personnel in 1963	240	10	6	1
1963 Population Ratio	2,084	50,000	83,000	500,000
Annual Output	20 ⁺	-	-	-
Shortage	200 [*]	50	50	50

+ Includes graduates from overseas

* 125 required in the various public services - 75 in private practice.

POSITION OF INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICES

In 1965, South Africa experienced a shortage of 2,430 medical practitioners, 208 dental surgeons, 900 pharmacists and 236 optometrists. As a result, the hospital and other health services are facing a crisis. Our annual output is far below our requirements. A survey by the Department of Education, Arts and Science showed that at its best South Africa can produce 270 general practitioners, 50 dental surgeons, 180 pharmacists and 5 optometrists.

Indian medical services are in no healthier position. In 1963 there was a shortage of 200 Indian doctors - 125 in the provincial health services and 75 for private practice to serve the needs of the country districts. The other medical services are also inadequately catered for. To solve part of the problem posed, it is learnt on good authority that the S. A. Medical Council is contemplating recognising degrees obtained in certain Indian universities at present recognised by the General Medical Council but not so by the S. A. body. Nevertheless, an increase in the existing training facilities for Indians is a pressing problem that requires urgent consideration. Each year there is an exodus of Indian students to overseas institutions because of the lack of accommodation in the country. There is also need for Indians to specialise as at present the specialists' services in the Non-White hospitals, especially in Natal, are totally inadequate.

On the other hand, the observation has also been made that posts in professional fields should operate without discrimination as far as remuneration of services is concerned. A recent Sunday paper reported that existing disparities between White and Non-White salaries drove many Indian doctors into private practice. Some Indian doctors received as low as 55% of the salary of their White counterparts.

Indian chemists and pharmacists are rare. Several White industrialists have indicated their willingness to employ Indian chemists if available in sufficient numbers. Chemists are indispensable to the industrial future of the community. Several Indian residential and business areas are without Indian pharmacists.

The dearth of Indian pharmacists may be attributed to the fact that only recently some serious attention was given to the introduction of Physical Science in Indian schools. This course will soon be an admission requirement from matriculants pursuing a career in science.

Several Indian students are following a course in radiology at the provincial hospitals, while 11 students are taking a course in medical technology offered by the M. L. Sultan Technical College with a view to serving the Natal Blood Transfusion Service.

In 1963, there was one Indian dentist for every 50,000 Indians. The ratio for the White community in 1958 was 1 : 2,500. In the U.S.A., the ratio in 1955 was 1 : 1,700, in New Zealand in 1929, it was 1 : 1,600 and in Latvia in 1928, it was 1 : 1,700. In 1964, six Indians were being trained at the Witwatersrand University, but owing to the lack of clinical facilities, this institution cannot offer a complete course. Hence, any extension of medical training facilities should also take into account the provision of a dental school.

(ii) Social Welfare Services.

While the ideal of social welfare work has been given practical definition by voluntary social workers, its status as a profession has only of recent received attention. A few students have graduated in social science, some having attained master's level. Improvement in living conditions as a result of ambitious programmes for the lower income group has brought in its train several social problems requiring the services of trained social workers. The Department of Indian Affairs, fully aware of this development is embarking upon a programme of providing the services of professional welfare workers. This would involve investigations, preventive measures, maintenance and welfare grants, after-care and reconstructive services for children and families, attendance and observation centres. Adequate training facilities for the would-be social scientist exist at the Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand, Natal and University College, Durban. In 1964, there were 30 students in these institutions following careers in social science. Several municipal authorities could also absorb the services of Indian social science graduates if they were available.

(iii) The Legal Profession

In recent years, Indians in the legal profession have made great headway. Several now possess post-graduate degrees in law. In 1964, there were 68 students in the South African universities pursuing courses in law of whom 30 were registered for the LL.B. degree. It is anticipated that in keeping with the policy of separate development, legally-trained Indians would be called upon to serve as magistrates, prosecutors and clerks of the court in their own areas. An experiment with such Bantu officers has already begun in the Bantu homelands.

(iv) Librarianship

Only recently have library services been organised on an urban and provincial basis for the White community and a recent conference in Pretoria of the Library Authorities resolved to explore the possibilities of forming a Library Association for the Indians and extending library services to them. The Division of Indian Education also proposes to improve on the present library services.

In a study carried out by the University College, Durban it was found

that there were 9 Indians either qualified or were studying for qualification, 7 were employed in library posts without the necessary qualifications while another 9 held technical posts in the libraries. This same study puts down a conservative estimate of the immediate future needs of Durban alone to be 20 librarians with degrees and 28 with diplomas. Another 50 would be absorbed in the rest of the country. Librarianship courses are offered by the Universities of South Africa, Witwatersrand and Cape Town and the University College, Durban.

(d) Education

Education posts held by the Indian range from the primary school teacher to the Professor at the University. In 1966, there were 4,359 Indian teachers in the Natal primary and Secondary Schools of which about 400 were graduates. Indian lecturers held posts in the Training Colleges at Springfield and Fordsburg and at the M. L. Sultan Technical College in Durban with branches in Stanger and Pietermaritzburg. At the latter institution, several Indians hold senior posts as heads of Department while the post of the registrar is occupied by an Indian. Seven Indians hold Inspectorial posts and one the post of Planner in the Division of Indian Education.

Several Indian doctors and lecturers hold part-time posts in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Natal and a few serve as research assistants. At the University College, Durban of the 120 (±) members on the lecturing staff, 20 are Indians. One holds the post of a Professor and 4 as Senior lecturers. In addition there are 14 Indian technical assistants of whom two are graduates.

A serious shortage of qualified teachers exists in the primary and secondary schools. In 1966, of the 4,359 Indian teachers, 907 were graded A, i.e. with only a matriculation certificate, while 2,301 were graded as either A or AA (i.e. below matriculation). An intensive teacher training programme has been already set in motion and enrolment for teacher training courses has been encouraged by the institution of bursaries, travelling and boarding allowances.

Staffing in the High Schools has not kept pace with the growth of the secondary school population. Due to the lack of sufficient graduate teachers, the burden is shouldered by undergraduates and in certain Transvaal Indian High schools by matriculants.

Lack of adequate trained personnel is hampering the educational development of the community.

(e) Agriculture

According to the Bureau of Statistics, in 1960 Indians in Natal owned 62,935 morgen of land. The major crops produced by Indians are maize, tobacco and sugar cane. In the same year Indian production of maize totalled 22,655 bags (of 200 lbs) and tobacco 221,888 lbs. In the 1964/5 season, Indians milled 751,112 tons of sugar cane from a registered quota land of 60,255 acres. Indian sucrose quota allocations amount to 142,390 tons sucrose.

The average yield on Indian sugar farms is far below national production. In 1956/7 the yield was 16.4 tons per acre, as compared with 30 tons for the industry as a whole. Dr. I.A. Allan in his "Indian Farmers in Natal" ascribes this to such factors as lack of capital, poor soil, lack of knowledge of sound methods of agriculture and poor management.

With regard to capital Land Bank loan facilities which have of recent been extended to the Indian farmer and the proposed Indian Industrial Development and Finance Corporation should solve the problem, but the other problems posed call for the use of trained agronomists. With 50 Indian planters owning sugar lands ranging between 300-500 acres each and another 32 owning between 200-300 acres each, it is possible for such farmers to combine and engage the services of qualified agronomists. But the greatest problem is that there is not a single Indian with either a degree or diploma in agriculture. It is estimated that should training facilities be available, Indian agriculture could absorb 10 Extension officers and about 20 graduates with a degree in Agriculture. Scientific methods and sound management would make farming an economic proposition.

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to prove that the key to the economic salvation of the Indian in South Africa lies in his greater participation in higher education. In 1964, there were 48,000 White students in the various universities in South Africa (full-time and part-time) representing over 1.5% of the population. In 1966, Indian student enrolment at all universities here and overseas numbered about 3,000 representing about three-fifth per cent calculated on an estimated population of 550,000. To raise the percentage to 1 we need some 2,500 students and to bring it on par with the White community there is need for some 5,250 students. This is however not possible for some time to come. However, with the intensive expansion programme for high school education contemplated by the Division of Indian Education the position would be different by 1980 when the estimated Indian population should be about 850,000. The university potential if brought on par with present European trends would be 12,750. Working on the assumption that the new University College at Chiltern Hills would absorb 5,000, there would be need by then for two other university colleges unless of course integration at university level becomes accepted.

The observation has been made in other quarters that South Africa is facing a shortage of skilled manpower. The country needs to tap the potential of the university or college trained Indian youth alongside with the resources existing among the other Non-White races. Non-White youth can make a positive contribution in securing the future economy of South Africa.

There is need for a greater diversification of the type of degrees taken. Attempts should be made to eradicate the snob value attached to certain professions, e.g. medicine. Perhaps an increased degree of nationalized medicine would solve this problem. There is room for Indian youth in Commerce, Economics, Social Welfare, Librarianship, Pharmacy, Agriculture, Engineering and Administration.

The gap between the salary scales of White and Non-White professionals must be swiftly narrowed down so that eventually there should be no gap at all. The existing disparities give room for discontentment.

Not enough Indian women are pursuing university careers. There is need to breakdown further the traditional conservatism among our people.

Finally, an acknowledgment must be made that during the last decade or so great strides have been made in educational and economic life of the community and this has been so because men with vision and having the cause of the Indian community at heart have been at the helm of affairs. May the educationists of the future be guided by the same philanthropic feeling.

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