

A S O C I O - E C O N O M I C S U R V E Y

of the

INDIAN COMMUNITY

in the

TONGAAT - VERULAM REGION

(A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master
of Commerce in the Department of Economics,
University of Natal, 1966)

by

Gavin Grant Maasdorp

---O---O---O---O---

Durban, 1966.

	TABLE OF CONTENTS	Page
	Acknowledgements	ii
	Introduction	v
	Note on Terminology	vii
Chapter		
I	The Region - Historical and Geographical	1
II	Population	14
III	Education	27
IV	Home Background of Pupils	56
V	Aspirations of Pupils	82
VI	Experiences of Youth on the Labour Market	95
VII	Attitudes to Heavy Manual Work	112
VIII	Occupational Structure	127
IX	Income Structure	140
X	Agriculture	155
XI	Housing	177
XII	Health, Social Welfare and Cultural Organisations	195
XIII	Local Government, Group Areas and Race Relations	214
XIV	Possible Future Trends	234
Annexure		
'A'	Questionnaire - Education and Employment of Youth	239
'B'	Questionnaire - School leavers : Employees	246
'C'	Questionnaire - School leavers : Work-seekers	250
'D'	Questionnaire - Job Study	254
Bibliography		255
	MAPS AND FIGURES	
Map		
I	The Tongaat-Verulam Region	1 - 2
II	Density of Indian Population	15 - 16
III	Township of Tongaat	187 - 188
IV	Racial Occupation of Land, Tongaat	225 - 226
V	Indian Group Areas, Verulam and Ottawa	226 - 227
Figure		
I	Age Distribution of Indian Population, 1960.	18 - 19
II	Growth of Enrolment at Indian Schools, 1934 - 1964	30 - 31
III	Income Distribution of Indian and White Males, 1960	147 - 148

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am greatly indebted to a large number of people for the unfailing co-operation, assistance, friendship and hospitality extended to me during the course of my field work.

Deserving of special mention in this regard are Mr. M. Perumal of Tongaat and Mr. Y.S. Chinsamy of Verulam who were my "key" contacts. It is difficult to express in words my indebtedness to these two gentlemen, from whom I received so much assistance and hospitality, and who provided me with a wealth of information throughout the survey.

Mr. J.M. Dannhauser of the Tongaat Town Board, and Messrs. M.P. Byrne and J.P. Naude of the Verulam Town Board, were the source of much useful information and made municipal records and maps available to me.

Messrs. N.S. Nandan, H.R. Singh, R.L. Beharee, A.K. Singh, H. Bughirathe, M. S. Reddy. B.P. Pillay, K.P. Desai and S.M. Moodley were always approachable, and gave generously of their time.

On the educational side, the names of Dr. B. Rambiritch, Messrs. S. David, M. Rangiah, O.M. Khan, A.M. Yusuf, B. Parag, S.Naidoo, V. Murugan, J.G. Naidu, C.R. Naidoo, A.L. Narayadu, R.L. (Maharaj) Jugpershad, E. Juguth, E.V. Naidoo, B. Sham, S.S. Maraj, M.V. Naidoo, J.M. Fakir, D. Moolchun and Sister M. Irmengard must be mentioned. Messrs. K.M. Naidoo, A.J. Khan and M. Juta were particularly helpful in the discussion of Indian languages.

Mr. P.R.T. Nel, Director of Indian Education, granted me a lengthy and informative interview. Mr. P. Raidoo, Secretary of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society, placed his society's records at my disposal. Mr. K.P. Naidoo of Sastri College, Durban, provided me with vital missing statistical material.

Mrs. K. Nandan of the Verulam Clinic Board, Mr. C.P. Naidoo and Drs. E.L. Batchelor, P.N. Labuschagne, E.M. Bhamjee, A.M. Bean, S.E. Rajmohamed and A. Brodie were of great assistance in the field of health and social welfare.

Mr. C.S. Mudely, Secretary of the Natal Indian Cane Growers' Association, was most co-operative in regard to the agricultural

aspects of the survey, as were Messrs. A. Stead and C. Whitehead of the Sugar Experiment Station, Mr. D.S. Rajah of the University College, Durban and Messrs. P. de Broglio, A. Herbert, K. Narain, R. Bisasur and G. Russool Saib.

In the sphere of local government, valuable data was obtained from Messrs. Sheik Mohideen, J.P. Cornelius, Hassim Arbee, G. Peters, S.K. Pillay, the late G. Hurbans, V.C. Govender, K.C. Naidu, H.E.T. Dickinson, G.M.E. Kaje, D.V. Moodley, S. Andhee, S.R. Joshua and Vassan Jutta.

Messrs. S.S. Maharaj, P.P. Pillay, S.P. Desai and J.R. Roper provided me with useful information regarding industry and employment.

The White viewpoint was solicited from, inter alia, Messrs. R. Rindel, H.H. Goodes, J.H. Marshall, P. Tod, D.V. Thompson, E. and C. Dykes and D. Tsampiras, and the African viewpoint from Messrs. E.T. Busane, C.M. Mfeka, A. Ngwenya, M.J. Makhetha and Rev. L.E. Zwane.

The Durban staff of the South African Institute of Race Relations granted me office facilities from time to time, apart from placing their knowledge and records at my disposal.

My colleagues in the Department of Economics, University of Natal, were extremely helpful. The wise counsel of Mr. A.S.B. Humphreys, Senior Research Fellow, was always highly valued. Mr. E. Smith (now of the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland) very kindly provided me with detailed population figures for the region, while Mr. L.P. McCrystal made several useful comments regarding the chapter on agriculture. Messrs. L. Schlemmer and L. Douwes-Dekker of the Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, were particularly helpful in regard to Chapter VII.

I am indeed deeply indebted to my colleague, Mr. P.N. Pillay, for much of my knowledge about the Indian community. Mr. Pillay accompanied me in the field work concerning education, employment of youth and attitudes to labour, during which time we shared many stimulating experiences. My appreciation for his friendship, companionship, and valuable suggestions is boundless.

Professor O.P.F. Horwood directed the project with a great deal of sympathy throughout, and made many valuable suggestions.

Mrs. H. Herbert and Miss M. Herbert patiently typed this manuscript and many of the preliminary reports.

Finally, my thanks are due to the Tongaat Sugar Company for endowing a Research Fellowship - a reflection of the Company's keen interest in the socio-economic structure of the region. The Company extended its fullest co-operation, and several of its officials assisted me from time to time. Of particular assistance was Mr. G.H. Mitchell, Personnel Manager, with whom many aspects of the study were discussed and from whom much valuable data was obtained.

It is always invidious to single out names, and the many teachers, farmers and men-in-the-street whose co-operation was instrumental in the completion of the survey have not been mentioned. To them, as indeed to the pupils who responded to the questionnaires, the debt of gratitude is great.

A great many views were expressed by many different people during the course of the field work; the interpretations and conclusions arrived at in this dissertation are, however, entirely my responsibility.

Durban, December, 1965.

G. G. Maasdorp.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Early in 1964, the Tongaat Sugar Company Limited requested the Department of Economics at the University of Natal to undertake, in association with the South African Institute of Race Relations, a socio-economic survey of the Indian community in the Tongaat-Verulam region of the Natal North Coast. A fellowship was created for this purpose in April, 1964, and the terms of reference were later extended, in 1965, to include a similar survey of the Indian community in the Mt; Edgecombe area, and a brief study of the African community in Tongaat and Verulam.

This dissertation is concerned only with the first project undertaken, viz., a socio-economic survey of the Indian community in the Tongaat-Verulam region.

Much of this dissertation has appeared, albeit in abridged form, in a series of preliminary reports which were issued at the conclusion of each phase of the field work. The following such reports were issued (the chapters in brackets refer to this dissertation) :

- No. 1 - Population (Chapter II), issued June, 1964.
- No. 2 - Education (Chapters III, IV, V), issued November, 1964.
- No. 3 - Employment (Chapter VI), issued November, 1964.
- No. 4 - Occupational and Income Structure (Chapters VIII, IX), issued January, 1965.
- No. 5 - Housing (Chapter XI), issued April, 1965.
- No. 6 - Health and Social Welfare Services (Chapter XII), issued April, 1965.
- No. 7 - Agriculture (Chapter X), issued May, 1965.

In addition, a special report concerning labour problems in a construction company (Chapter VII) was issued in August, 1965.

The only chapters which are entirely new, therefore, are Chapter I (in which a geographical and historical sketch of the region is given), Chapter XIII (which describes the position of the Indian in local government, and the effect of Group Areas declarations), and Chapter XIV (in which some possible future trends are discussed).

This study is essentially regional in character, and confirms much of what is already known (by regrettably few people) about

the Indian community through previously published works, notably those of the Department of Economics and the Institute for Social Research, University of Natal. For the position of the Indian community in the Tongaat - Verulam region is much the same as that pertaining throughout Natal, although there are naturally certain local idiosyncracies, and from time to time it has been necessary to refer to the broader provincial and national picture.

The present study has been an extremely rich and rewarding personal experience for me. During the past 21 months I have met members of the Indian community from all walks of life, and have entered numerous homes of all types and conditions. I have come to possess a great deal of respect for the Indian people, and indeed, a great deal of affection for the region as such.

One of the greatest tragedies of South Africa today is that so few people have the opportunity of meeting across the colour barrier, other than on a basis of master and servant, and such lines of communication as do exist are being systematically severed. These experiences have satisfied me that the country's grave and extremely complex problems can only be solved by the constant and unhampered meeting and discussion between men of different races. It is only in this way that understanding, sympathy and respect for the different cultures, religions and languages that make up the heterogeneous population of South Africa, can be gained, and through which the ultimate peaceful solution, which depends so much upon the exercise of the utmost patience and goodwill (both within and without the country) can be found.

NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

In Chapter II (and indeed throughout this dissertation), the population groups in the region are referred to as Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Africans. There are no people of Asian origin other than Indians in the region, and Indians resent the official term, "Asiatic." Similarly, the word "African" is used in preference to the unpopular official term, "Bantu", unless quoting from official documents or other writings.

A great deal of confusion exists amongst South African Indians about the spelling of the words "Gujerati" and "Telugu." Gujarati is sometimes spelt Gujarati or Gujarathi; variations of Telugu are Telegu and Telagu. The spellings contained in an official Government of India publication, the India Annual Survey, are used throughout this dissertation, viz., Gujarati and Telugu.

Finally, when referring to South Africa, the words "the Republic" which mar the writings and speeches of almost all South Africans, and which often fail to distinguish the country from the numerous other republics throughout the world, have been deliberately avoided.

CHAPTER I

THE REGION - GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

The Tongaat - Verulam region is not a region homogeneous within itself and set apart from its neighbours, i.e. there are no major rivers, mountain ranges or other physical barriers, or any climatic differences, which separate the region from the surrounding countryside. Rather, the boundaries of the region hinged on the nature of the study, viz., a socio-economic survey of the Indian community in those areas of the North Coast in which the Tongaat Sugar Company has interests. Furthermore, in order to obtain an accurate picture of the population, and for the sake of simplicity, the boundaries were selected so as to correspond with those of the enumerators sub-districts established in the 1960 population census.

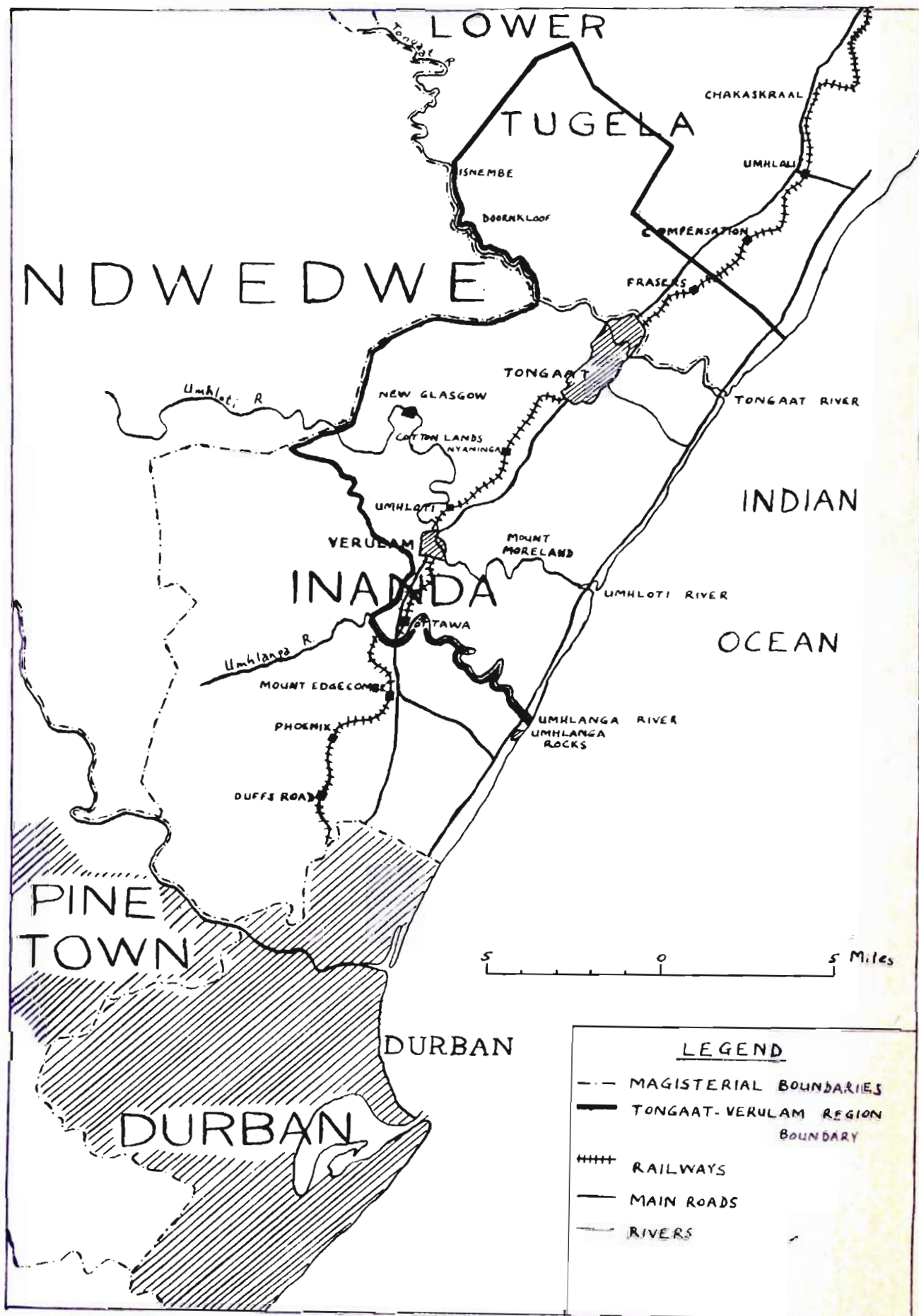
It may be argued with justification that several areas bordering on the region are inextricably linked, through business, transport or education, with the towns of Tongaat and Verulam. Nevertheless, the region as selected does cover substantially the surrounds of the two towns, and is representative of the conditions prevailing in the North Coast area, i.e. the area between the Umgeni and Tugela Rivers.

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

Situation

The region is some 121 square miles (77,440 acres) in extent. It is bounded in the east by the Indian Ocean, in the north by enumerators sub-districts, in the west by the Ndwedwe District which has as its boundary for portion of the way the Tongaat River, and in the south by the Umhlanga River and enumerators sub-districts. The Ndwedwe District is an African Reserve, and consists of the Inanda and Umvoti Locations.

The major portion of the region falls into the Inanda District, except for the area to the north of the Tongaat River (including Frasers, Wewe, Ngolomi, Isnembe and Sibutu) which is located in the Lower Tugela District. The region is situated in the heart of the most productive portion of the Natal sugar belt, and the townships of Verulam and Tongaat are within easy reach of Durban. Verulam is about 17 miles, and Tongaat about 25 miles, from the city centre.



MAP I - THE TONGAAT-VERULAM REGION.

Communications are good, and the region is linked with the port of Durban, and with Zululand to the north, by both road and rail. The old North Coast road winds through rolling sugar cane country some miles inland from the coast, while the recently constructed modern highway follows the coastline, and is linked to the interior by tarmacadamized feeder roads at Mount Edgecombe and Tongaat.

Physical Divisions and Relief

Most of the region consists of coastal lowlands lying at an altitude of below 500 feet. This area is of an undulating nature with some flat land, and varies in width from 5 - 9 miles. Tongaat and Verulam are both located about 5 miles inland at altitudes of approximately 150 feet.

Immediately inland, towards the African Reserve, lies the dissected coastal hinterland at altitudes of between 500 - 1,000 feet. The terrain is hilly, and this area contains broken country.

Relief is an important determinant of land utilization patterns, and the high proportion of gently undulating land, coupled with the virtual absence of very hilly land, renders the region well suited to intensive cultivation.

Land Drainage

The region is well drained, and is traversed by the Umhloti and Tongaat Rivers, while the Umhlanga River forms portion of the southern boundary. Numerous smaller streams feed into these rivers. Unlike most Natal rivers, the lower reaches of the Umhloti and Tongaat are not characterized by narrow gorges, but rather open out into rolling country.

Geology and Soils

Towards the coast, soils are derived from Recent Sands (mostly red but with small patches of grey sands), and their origin is associated with a rising and falling coastline. These Recent Sands range into Middle Ecca sediment (into which has been injected sills of Karroo dolerite) and Lower Ecca shales. Further inland are found the conglomerate soils of the Dwyka Series, and the sandstone of the Table Mountain Series which is the most important soil group on the North Coast. Granite soils occur in the higher-lying land bordering the Reserve where the rivers have cut their way deeply through Table Mountain sandstone. Alluvium deposited by flowing water occurs in

the lower reaches of the Umhlanga, Umhloti and Tongaat Rivers.

Soils vary in fertility, but the extensive use of fertilizer has led to increased yields. The majority of soils are fairly fertile, although some of the Recent Sands along the coast are of poor fertility and require heavy application of fertilizer.

Climate

The climate of the region is sub-tropical, with a mean annual rainfall of 35 - 40 inches, increasing to about 43 inches in some of the higher-lying parts. Summers are hot and humid and winters mild and mainly dry. Approximately 70% of the precipitation occurs during the summer months of October - March, March being the month of highest rainfall, and July the driest month. The region is free of frosts, and no extremely cold weather is experienced. The mean annual temperature is approximately 69.0°F, monthly means varying from approximately 75.0°F in February, the hottest month, to approximately 62.0°F in July, the coldest month.

Vegetation

The natural vegetation consists of coastal evergreen bush, which today survives only in isolated patches where its exploitation is difficult or where the land is not required for cultivation. Trees are widely spaced, with short boles and wide-spreading crowns, and undergrowth is dense.

Land Classification

The Inanda District (which includes the greater portion of the Tongaat-Verulam region) consists of the best type of land in the larger Umgeni-Umbilo-Umlazi catchment area, of which it forms the most productive region in terms of value of output. The region is suited to intensive farming, although towards the Reserve there is some medium quality land. Here the topography is hilly and the cost of intensification is increased.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The White Man

It was at about the beginning of the seventeenth century that the Nguni branch of the southward moving Bantu tribes entered Natal. The early years of the nineteenth century saw the rise of the Zulu nation under Shaka, and the wars set in train by this movement

resulted in the virtual depopulation of Natal south of the Tugela River by 1824, the year in which the White man arrived on the scene.

English hunters and ivory traders arrived at Port Natal, and made their way along the north coast route, which had been blazed by the Zulu warriors, to Zululand. The area to the north of Port Natal, with its abundant species of game and few kraals, became a favourite haunt of these adventurers. In 1835 a permanent British settlement was established at Port Natal, and was named Durban. In 1837 the Voortrekkers arrived from the interior and established their Republic of Natalia three years later. But the annexation of Natal by the British in 1843 saw the exodus of the trekkers, while many of the broken tribes which had fled from Shaka returned to the area. In 1846 tribal Reserves were established.

The first White settler in the Tongaat area was Captain Allen Francis Gardiner of the Church Missionary Society, who opened the Hambanati Mission on the banks of the Tongaat River in 1837. This was a short-lived venture, and the station was abandoned a year later following the massacre of Piet Retief and his Voortrekker party by Dingane.

In 1846 a government Commission was set up to select sites for villages and towns which, it was hoped, would be established through immigration. The sites had to be sufficiently far apart to prevent undue competition between them retarding their growth. Two of the sites selected were on the banks of the Umhloti and Tongaat Rivers where Verulam and Tongaat stand today. The report of this Commission contained glowing accounts of the agricultural possibilities of the districts, stated that Zulu labour was satisfactory (how incorrect they were will be seen shortly) and stressed the need for immigrant farmers.

At this time, Natal was thought to be suited to the production of cotton. The Natal Cotton Company was formed in 1847, and received a large grant of land along the Umhloti River. But the company failed due to the expense of clearing the dense bush, and the unsuitability of the land to cotton cultivation.

The Wesleyan Settlers

It was at about this time that a staunch English Wesleyan from St. Albans, W.J. Irons, learned that Natal was capable of growing cotton. As many distressed Methodists were desirous of leaving poverty-stricken England, Irons involved himself in the promotion of emigration to Natal. He interested the second Earl of Verulam in

the project, and formed the Christian Emigration and Colonisation Society (also known as the Natal Christian Colonisation Society) in 1849.

J.C. Byrne had also formulated a scheme, which had been accepted by the Colonial Office, to send emigrants to Natal. Byrne undertook to make the arrangements for Irons' Wesleyan settlers. Irons insisted on his settlers forming a completely separate settlement quite apart from the Byrne settlers, so that the identity of the Wesleyans could be retained. The cotton company's land had been declared forfeited, and two blocks of 6,000 acres each were to be set aside for the immigrants, who would each receive 40 - 50 acres instead of the 20 acres allotted to the Byrne settlers. Temporary accommodation would be provided on arrival at the port, and free transport would be provided to their allotments.

Irons' scheme was generally more successful than that of Byrne. The first settlers - 48 people from St. Albans and Wiltshire - arrived in January 1850, and the last batch in 1851. It is a little known fact that between 1849 - 51, 4,158 British immigrants (of whom 400 were Irons' Wesleyans) landed in Natal - more than the number of 1820 settlers.

Founding of Verulam

In March, 1850 a village was founded on the south bank of the Umhloti River on the route to Zululand, and was named Verulam after the old Roman city of Verulamium on the ruins of which St. Albans had been built (and not, as is commonly thought, after the Earl of Verulam, who had, in fact, withdrawn his patronage when the prospects of Irons' scheme was published).¹ The Wesleyans arrived from Durban in ox-wagons, and were soon building houses and planting crops. Zulu trading was a profitable sideline to cultivation, and Verulam was only a short distance from Zulu country where "a young ox could be procured in exchange for a blanket."²

The Government Immigration Officer, George Macleeroy, reporting in 1850, stated that of the 70 - 80 acres under cultivation by the Byrne settlers, half was at Verulam, Victoria and other parts of the cotton lands. Verulam was laid out in one acre lots, each holder

1 Vide Margaret Park, The History of Early Verulam, 1850 - 1860, p. 258.

2 A.F. Hattersley, The British Settlement of Natal, p. 128.

receiving $\frac{1}{4}$ acre and paying Byrne's agent, John Moreland, 36/9 for the other $\frac{3}{4}$ acre. About 12 - 15 acres in the village were under cultivation - potatoes, cabbages and mealies. Some 2 - 3 miles nearer the sea, on the north bank of the Umhloti, was a small settlement called Victoria, which did not prosper. It was badly situated for water, and there was little cultivation in this area.

Moreland also contemplated two further villages. The first, 3 miles up the Umhloti from Verulam, at the extremity of the cotton company's lands, was to be called New Glasgow. Maoleroy, in his report, was critical of Moreland's scheme, recommending instead one village to serve the lands on both sides of the Umhloti River, rather than several small, isolated communities. "...one village in a thriving state would be more beneficial to the surrounding immigrants than several half-formed and nominal ones."³ In the event, New Glasgow has never become a populated centre. Allotments there were badly situated for water, and while the colonists were satisfied and industrious, lung sickness in the cattle put paid to hopes of pastoral farming. Nor did the contemplated village of Mt. Moreland thrive. Settlers deserted their allotments, and there remained "...one solitary house and a neat little church."⁴

Some of Irons' Wesleyans were tradesmen and mechanics who preferred to receive town allotments. In May 1851, the village of Verulam consisted of 156 White inhabitants comprising 56 families: Half had farming allotments, while the remainder had town erven of one acre. There were 23 houses and a dozen temporary huts. Little cotton was grown, but the majority sold market produce.

Sugar

Despite the failure of the Natal Cotton Company, Irons' settlers had been advised to concentrate on cotton, and some had hoped to erect gins at Verulam. But cotton failed in this area, and the settlers turned their attention to other crops. The Tongati Estate was converted to the production of maize, but arrowroot proved to be the most profitable crop, and by 1857 there were 8 mills along the Umhloti producing arrowroot. The boom in arrowroot was short-lived, and was later followed by experiments in the cultivation of coffee. However, the first small beginnings had been made in the industry which was to change the economy of the province.

³ A.F. Hattersley, More Annals of Natal, p. 6.

⁴ A.F. Hattersley, Portrait of a Colony, p. 54.

Several other settlers, apart from the Methodists, were located on the North Coast. Amongst them were some sugar planters from Mauritius who had emigrated to Natal after the fall of sugar prices in 1847. In 1849, one of their number, E. F. Rathbone (with the assistance of 4 Indians from Mauritius) experimented with sugar on 5 acres close to the Umhloti River. Some of these plants were given to Edmund Morewood, who is generally regarded as the first serious cultivator of sugar cane in Natal. On his farm, Compensation, north of the Tongaat River, Morewood planted cane, built a crude sugar mill in 1850 and produced sugar from his first crop the following year.

His success persuaded other settlers to follow suit, and some of the Wesleyans were notable pioneers in the sugar industry. It was sugar which led to the establishment of Tongaat.

The Tongaat

Settlement had also taken place in the area, near the Tongaat River, known as the "Tongaati". The Republican Volksraad had granted Klipfontein Farm to Jan Meyer, and this was later confirmed by a Crown grant. Tongaati Estate was allotted to Edward Chiappini in 1848, and in 1852 Izak Vermaak received a Crown grant of the farm Buffels Kloof. Another colonist in this area was George Marcus who had come from Ceylon to start a cotton plantation.

At this time, rivers were all impassable in times of flood, and caused great damage. When J. R. Saunders arrived at Durban in 1854 to manage the Tongaati Estate and other properties of "The Natal Company", his ox-wagon had to ford drifts on the Umgeni, Umhlanga and Umhloti Rivers before reaching the Tongaati. The White community of the Tongaati was small and scattered, and Saunders regarded the establishment of a township as a matter of priority. In 1856 the village of Victoria was established with an area of 172 acres at the confluence of two small tributaries of the Tongaat River. Provision was made for 144 one-acre erven, together with plots for a market, church, etc.

The cultivation of sugar cane was progressing favourably, but the settlers had experienced economic setbacks largely due to the poor communications in the area. In 1856 the mills and plantations were badly damaged by floods, and the roads were atrocious. Saunders clearly perceived the need for bridging the rivers, and began making representations on this score.

But the lack of an adequate communications system was not

the only problem confronting the planters.

Labour

By the time Natal became a separate colony in 1856, it had become evident that sugar was the crop to which the coastal area was best suited. Land, capital and skilled management were available, but the problem was labour. The Zulus had proved unreliable - they were unaccustomed to regular work, and with a subsistence economy and abundant land, had little inducement to work on the plantations. Shepstone opposed any move to compel the Zulus to work on the sugar estates, the colonists would not undertake manual labour in sub-tropical conditions, and eyes were turned towards the East. A system of indentured immigration had been permitted by the Government of India for Mauritius in 1842, and had later been extended to the West Indies.

The earliest protagonist of a system of indentured Indian labour for Natal was probably J.R. Saunders, who wrote a letter on the subject to the Natal Mercury of 25 April, 1855.⁵ This proposal eventually won the support of the planters and the Natal Legislative Council, and after negotiations with the British and Indian Governments, the first shipload of indentured immigrants reached Durban on board the "Truro" on 17 November, 1860.

Indian Immigration

Because the facts are generally poorly known, it is necessary to briefly review the history of Indian immigration in Natal.

Indentured Indian labourers entered into contracts for periods of 3 years, after which they were to re-indenture for a further 2 years. After 5 years they were free, and after 10 years residence in Natal, they could either claim a return voyage to India or a grant of Crown land of equal value. A Protector of Indian Immigrants was to be appointed to supervise their welfare - something that was not carried out until 1872 by the Natal Government, who merely appointed an Immigration Agent to arrange the assignment of "coolies" (as the Indians were called) to planters.

The first wave of Indian immigration was halted by the world depression of 1866. The second wave commenced in 1874 and continued steadily until 1911 when further emigration to Natal was stopped by the Indian Government. Between 1874 and 1897, the Natal Government subsidised immigration to the tune of R20,000 per annum.

⁵ Vide Mabel Palmer. The History of the Natal Colony.

The attitudes of the Indian and Natal Governments towards immigration differed from the outset. The former regarded the exodus of indentured labour as a permanent migration, while the latter never realised that the steady and continuous stream of immigrants of both sexes would result in the establishment of a permanent alien community in Natal. "So greedy for cheap labour were the planters, that they and the government and the Press were all blind to the inevitable results of the immigration policy."⁶ The Australians, by way of contrast clearly foresaw the consequences of such immigration, and dropped a proposed scheme for the private importation of Hindus.

Few Indians opted for the return voyage to India - the majority had emigrated for very much the same reasons as had the British and other European colonists - and many turned to market gardening and trading, or were attracted to the coal mines where wages were higher than on the sugar estates. Their success prompted free immigrants, called "free passenger Indians", to enter the Colony, first from Mauritius and later from India. Passenger Indians were often called "Arab traders", because the majority were Muslims (Gujerati and Urdu speaking). However, they also included many Gujarati Hindus. "It is on record that among the free Indian immigrants were priests, teachers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, agriculturists and other artisans."⁷

Official distinction continued to be drawn between immigrant and passenger Indians until 1 January, 1964, when the newly created Department of Indian Affairs placed all Indians on an equal footing and abolished the anachronistic office of Protection of Indian Immigrants. Differences in economic position, however, still exist between the descendants of immigrant and passenger Indians, the latter generally being wealthier than the former.

The indentured Indians were almost entirely Hindus, and consisted mainly of Tamilians from the Madras Presidency, and Hindi from northern and central India - Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal. Also included were a considerable number of Telugu from the Andhra district of the Madras Presidency, and a few Malayalees from Malabar. The passenger Indians were mainly Gujarati speaking Muslims and Hindus from Kathiawar, Surat and Porbandar, and Urdu speaking Muslims from northern India.

⁶ Palmer, op.cit., p. 26.

⁷ Dr. A. D. Lazarus, The Aspirations of the Indian People in South Africa, Optima, March, 1962, p. 54.

White Antagonism

Passenger Indians did not constitute more than 10% of the total Indian population of Natal, but it was their success in trading which aroused White antagonism. The Wragg Commission reported in 1887 that while the planters were determined to continue importing indentured labour, the "...majority of white colonists are sharply opposed to the presence of the free Indian as a rival and competitor either in agricultural or in commercial pursuits."⁸ J.R. Saunders was a member of this Commission, and strongly opposed the proposal that Indians should be returned to India on the completion of their indenture without the option of residing as free men in Natal.

As indentured labourers guaranteeing the prosperity of the sugar industry, the Indians were "...welcomed as harbingers of wealth and economic progress"⁹; as successful traders or farmers, they were regarded as unwelcome competitors. The stage had been set for the direction of prejudice and discriminatory legislation against the Indians, beginning with their disenfranchisement in 1896 and continuing to the present day. Out of the social attitudes towards Indians was born legislation which restricted their freedom of movement and ownership of property.

Early Growth of Tongaat and Verulam

Having digressed in order to examine the background to Indian settlement in Natal, we now turn to look at the economic development of the Tongaat - Verulam region.

The first indentured Indian immigrants assigned to Tongaat, 52 in all, arrived on the Calcutta ship, "Belvedere", towards the end of 1860. The introduction of Indian labour proved a great stimulus to the sugar industry, and production increased rapidly.

A further impetus to the economic development of the region was the improvement of transport and communications. In 1864 the Umgeni River was bridged, but the railway terminus continued to be the south bank of the river. Beyond the river was a small hostelry, and a transport service operated thrice weekly to Verulam. The road was bad, and twisted through a patchwork of farms - Duffs Road, Phoenix, the small settlement of Mt. Edgecombe, and Ottawa (the estate of a Canadian settler) - before reaching Verulam.

⁸ Vide Palmer, *op.cit.*, p. 46.

⁹ T.J.D. Fair, The Distribution of Population in Natal, p. 17-19.

Verulam was the capital of Victoria County (the area between the Umgeni and Tugela Rivers) and had become a separate magistracy in May, 1852. It was an important centre in the 1850's, and apart from the magistracy, was also the seat of the district surgeon, law courts, attornies, gaol, hospital and post office. Verulam was an important religious centre for both Wesleyans and Anglicans. In 1851 the first Methodist church in Natal outside of Durban or Pietermaritzburg was opened in Verulam, while the foundation stone of the present church was laid in 1862. The Bible Society had a flourishing branch there, and a library and day school had been established. Of the 40 children at the school in 1854, 14 were from the Native Christian Society. The school became exclusively White in 1859, when a non-White school was opened at the Mission Station.

Tongaat "... had its civic birth as a line of tin shanties and one dusty road,"¹⁰ and grew later than Verulam. Yet, by 1869, John Robinson was able to write of the village of Victoria (as Tongaat was known) : "There has always seemed to me to be, just here, a greater buoyancy in the atmosphere than you meet with elsewhere on the coast."¹¹ Nearly a century later, these words still ring true.

Railway construction on the North Coast only started after the completion of the Durban - Transvaal line. In 1878 the Natal Government Railway extended the line from the Umgeni to Avoca, and in September, 1879, Verulam became the terminus. Tongaat then became a post cart halt on the road to the Tugela. The Tongaat River had been bridged by J.R. Saunders, but the bridge was washed away by floods and was replaced by a strong iron bridge which is still in use. Paradoxically, this bridge had the effect of curbing the expansion of the village for some years, as travellers were no longer held up by floods and the demand for accommodation declined.

The North Coast railway terminus remained at Verulam for some years, and the village, as the railhead, had grown rapidly. It also received a short-lived injection of prosperity with the outbreak of the Zulu War in 1879, when it became the centre of military operations. In 1882 Verulam received its first Town Board, and in 1885 a Roman Catholic missionary, Rev. Louis Mathieu, founded Oakford on the banks of the Umhloti.

The rail route to the Zululand border had been surveyed by 1890, but construction was delayed by the expense of bridges. In 1894, a private concern, the Zululand Railway Company, obtained a concession

¹⁰ T.V. Bulpin, To the Shores of Natal, p. 256.

¹¹ See p. 256.

to construct the line from Verulam to the Tugela River. This line reached Tongaat in December, 1897, and the Tugela the following year.

In the meantime, the Indian population of Tongaat and Verulam had begun to increase. The Magisterial Report of 1884 for the Inanda Division stated: "A few more Indian stores have been opened in the town of Verulam during the year, and two European stores have been closed for want of support, the Indians having entirely absorbed the petty trade, as well as that with Indians and Natives."¹² In Tongaat, the stagnation of the village as a White settlement was one of the causes of its becoming popular amongst Indians. The township had been laid out with streets and erven, but there was no local government, rates or by-laws. Extensive unfarmed areas were owned by absentee landlords, and it was easy for Indians to lease land and buy up unsold erven.

Tongaats Sugar Company

Tongaats today is larger and more progressive than Verulam. That this is so is due to the growth of the Tongaats Sugar Company. The arrival of indentured Indian labour saw the extension of the acreage under cane, and accentuated the demand for large centrally-situated mills, the first of which was opened at Mt. Edgecombe in 1878. The small miller-cum-planter disappeared from the scene, and private planters and large miller-cum-planters became clearly differentiated. The growth of the sugar mill on the Tongaats Estate (which had become the property of J. R. Saunders on the dissolution of The Natal Company) was hampered by the shortage of capital, but this position was rectified in 1896 when Edward Saunders, who had succeeded his father in 1880, and W. J. Mirrlees, a Scotsman, became partners in the Tongaats Sugar Company. Three years later, the company was formed into a limited company.

In 1920 the company purchased the Umhloti Valley Mill and Estate Company Limited, which mill was moved to a site at Maidstone, on the north bank of the Tongaats River, in 1922. Five years later, Tongaats and the old Umhloti mill were consolidated as a single factory on the site of the present mill at Maidstone (which had become the White section of Tongaats).

Sugar milling did not make the same progress in Verulam. Park ascribes the slow growth of Verulam to the Indians, writing that "...the Asiatic intrusion...is largely responsible for the present dejected condition of Verulam."¹³ This is not so - Tongaats, after

¹² See Palmer, op.cit. n 16

all, also experienced an Indian "intrusion" - and the reason must be sought rather in the fact that the large mills were situated at Tongaat and Mt. Edgecombe, and in the extension of the Zululand railway line. The mill established at Canelands on the north bank of the Umhloti by Hill and Groom in 1874, was purchased by the Armstrong brothers in 1894, but remained relatively small and was finally absorbed by Tongaat in 1946 and closed down.

Today the company has approximately 25,000 acres under cane, producing approximately 500,000 tons of cane annually. The mill at Maidstone is geared to produce 200,000 tons of sugar annually (production in 1964 was 171,000 tons), and is one of the four largest raw sugar mills in the world. Company production accounts for about 12% of the total raw sugar produced in South Africa.

Stagnation and Progress

The story of Verulam and Tongaat during the last few decades is one of stagnation, in the case of Verulam, and progress, in the case of Tongaat.

The White population of Verulam has remained constant over the years, while Indians have increased in numbers. Elderly White residents of the town reflect nostalgically on the gay social life of bygone years, and lament that the sports clubs and Dramatic Society have ceased to function. The Verulam Government School, at one stage an important educational institution on the North Coast, today has 71 pupils. "Today, Verulam appears to be but a shadow of the past. It would seem that all the labour and energy expended by the pioneers was simply wasted effort, the fruits of which have been reaped by the Asiatic community."¹⁴ Time has proved this statement to be tragically true, as we shall see in Chapter XIII.

While Verulam has changed little, Tongaat has been almost entirely replanned and rebuilt in the last three decades. In 1930, Tongaat possessed some of the worst slums in Natal. People lived in hovels, and filth and degradation were the order of the day. Beginning in that year, with the establishment of the first form of local government (a Health Committee), and at the instigation of the Tongaat Sugar Company, plans were launched to redesign the township. The depression years intervened, but in 1939 the Hambanati African Village was opened, and later the Indian section of Victoria was rebuilt. Architecture in Tongaat is based on neo-Cape Dutch style

which lends an air of distinctiveness to the town. In 1945 Tongaat received its first Town Board with both White and Indian members.

This, briefly, is the background to our study. Our task now is to paint the picture of the Indian community at the present time.

C H A P T E R I I

- - - - -

POPULATION

Since the formation of Union in 1910, population censuses have been taken in 1911, at 5 - yearly intervals between 1921 - 1951, and in 1960. Indians were not enumerated in 1926, 1931 and 1941. Population figures in this chapter have been culled from official reports of the Department of Statistics (formerly the Department of Census and Statistics):¹

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

The population of the region in 1960 numbered 40,927 persons of all races, composed as follows :

<u>Table 1 Ethnic Composition of Population -</u>		
<u>Tongaat - Verulam Region, 1960</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of Population</u>
Whites	2,057	5.0
Coloureds	370	.9
Indians	23,099	56.5
Africans	15,401	37.6
	<u>40,927</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The Indian group, therefore, accounted for over one-half of the population of the region in 1960. This was atypical both of South Africa (where Asians constituted only 2.98% of the population in 1960) and Natal (13.3%). In fact, it approximated more closely to the population pattern of Durban (37% Indian) and the economic region of Inanda - Lower Tugela² (39.2%): A comparison of these percentages reveals the degree of concentration of Indians in the Tongaat - Verulam region.

¹ Report No's. UG 40/1924, 28/1938, 60/1950, 42/1958, RP 62/1963 and 1960 Population Census Sample Tabulation Reports.

² The Bureau of Statistics groups the magisterial districts of Inanda and Lower Tugela into a single economic region for sample tabulation purposes.

The urban areas in the region are essentially Indian. Tongaat itself has the third largest Indian population in Natal, behind Durban and Pietermaritzburg. In Tongaat Indians comprised 66.3% of the population in 1960, in Verulam 68.8%, in Grangetown 74.2% and in Ottawa 90.5%.

There are variations in the ethnic composition of the population in Tongaat and Verulam. The population of Tongaat increased six-fold during the period 1921-60, from 1,487 to 9,051. Over these four decades, both the Indians and Whites declined as a proportion of the total population of the township, the former from 75.9% to 66.3% and the latter from 10.0% to 6.3%. The proportion of Africans, on the other hand, doubled, rising from 13.2% in 1921 to 27.2% in 1960.

Population growth was less rapid in Verulam, the numbers increasing two-fold during the period 1921-60, from 1,395 to 2,627. This growth was accounted for largely by the Indians, and was mainly at the expense of the Whites. The proportion of Indians rose from 56.7% in 1921 to 68.8% in 1960, while that of Whites declined from 19.5% to 9.7%. During the same period, the proportion of Africans increased slightly from 20.4% to 19.0%.

Coloureds constitute an insignificant group in both towns, and in 1960 numbered 17 in Tongaat and 66 in Verulam.

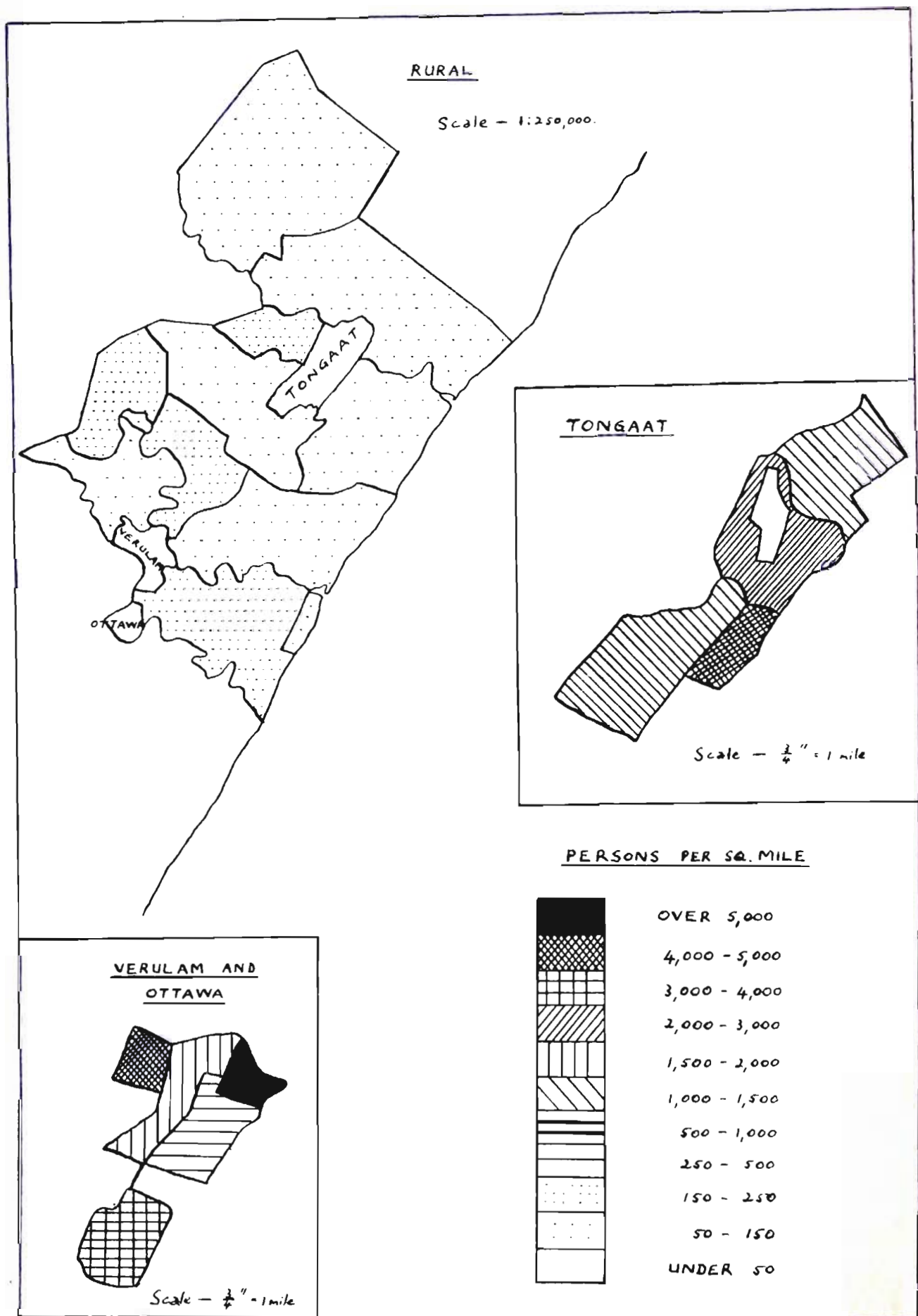
Our concern, however, is with the dominant ethnic group in the region, viz., the Indians.

DENSITY AND DISTRIBUTION

The only urban areas (in terms of population census definitions) in the region are the townships of Tongaat and Verulam, the Public Health Areas of Ottawa and Grangetown, and two White holiday resorts on the coast, Newsel and Umhloti Beach. The remainder of the region is classified as rural.

The Indian population of the region is mainly rural (55.6% in 1960), although less so than in the Inanda - Lower Tugela region where the equivalent figure was 66.4%. In Natal only 19.2% of the Indian population was classified as rural.

The average density of the Indian population in the region in 1960 was approximately 191 per square mile. For the province as a whole the equivalent figure was 11.8 per square mile, while in Inanda - Lower Tugela the density per square mile increased from 91.3 in 1951



MAP II - THE TONGAAT-VERULAM REGION:
DENSITY OF INDIAN POPULATION.

to 113.5 in 1960. The settlement of Indians in the Tongaat-Verulam region is thus more dense than in the Inanda - Lower Tugela region, although not quite as dense as in the district of Inanda where there were 223 Indians per square mile in 1960,

Population density was fairly uniform throughout the rural areas, varying between approximately 60 and 220 per square mile and being for the most part between 100 and 200 per square mile. It should be pointed out that maps showing density of population are based on total area and total population, and make no allowance for pockets of close settlement within a particular locality, in this case within enumerators sub-districts.

Rural population density was highest (219 per square mile) in the Canelands - Cottonlands area near Verulam, and lowest (61 per square mile) in the adjoining Frosterly - Inyaninga sub-district. There were no marked differences in population densities between those sub-districts which consisted mainly of sugar estates and those in which Indian farms covered large tracts. On sugar estates, the characteristic pattern of Indian settlement, from the earliest days of the industry, has been one of concentrations of barracks on each estate "section". Indians employed by private White planters were also usually housed in barracks. Indian-owned farms were generally small in size, and population was more evenly distributed in such areas.

Urban population density figures varied from nil per square mile in the Hambanati African Township, Tongaat, to about 5,300 per square mile in portion of Verulam. Grangetown and Ottawa had densities of just under 5,000 and 3,200 per square mile respectively. In portion of Tongaat density reached over 4,300 per square mile, although the local authority based their calculations on densities of 12,800 per square mile (20 per acre) in respect of residential land.³ However, in some areas of the township, where houses were built on 1/6 acre sites, and with families of 7 - 8 persons, population density would have been as high as 40 - 50 per acre. There were few blocks of flats in Tongaat and Verulam.

SEX STRUCTURE

The sex and age structure of a population are important indices of both the present and future working potential of that population.

³ This information was supplied by Mr. J.M. Dannhauser, the Town Clerk of Tongaat.

Although the number of Indian women entering the labour market has increased during recent years, women, by and large, continue to fulfil their traditional role as housewives. Furthermore, most women who do enter the labour market do so for short periods only, e.g. prior to marriage, and few remain in employment for the entire duration of their working lives.

The sex ratio, therefore, is a relatively more important measure of the Indian labour potential in South Africa than it is in the case of Whites. The higher the proportion of males in the population, the higher the proportion of workers; the higher the proportion of females, the lower the proportion of workers (i.e. the higher the proportion of dependents.)

Although a preponderance of males usually means a large labour potential in the short run, it may mean a diminishing long run potential. This is because the rate of natural increase is closely related to the number and proportion of females of child-bearing age. Both the marriage rate and the birth rate will tend to increase with the levelling of the sex ratio.

The trend amongst Indians in Natal has been towards sex parity. A high birth rate has been coupled with a high death rate of the older population, and these effects have been reinforced by restrictive immigration laws, which favoured the entry of females, and the government-aided repatriation scheme, which was most effective during the 1920's and early 1930's, and under which the majority of repatriates were males. The result has been that the natural trend towards sex parity has been accelerated.

Table 2	Sex Ratio of Indian Population - 1921-1960				
	1921	1936	1946	1951	1960
Natal	1.31	1.12	1.06	1.05	1.02
Inanda-Lower Tugela	1.24	1.11	1.03	1.02	.99
Tongaat	1.29	1.12	1.00	1.03	1.006
Verulam	1.10	1.10	1.04	.98	1.04
Tongaat-Verulam region	(Figures not available)				1.004

⁴ Population may increase either through reproduction (i.e. natural increase) or immigration, or both. Immigration of Indians was restricted by legislation in 1913 (which allowed only wives and dependents of South African-domiciled Indians to enter the country) and has been prohibited altogether since 1956. This means that the Indian population is now able to increase only through natural means, i.e. an excess of births over deaths.

A greater degree of sex parity had thus been reached in the Tongaat-Verulam region than in Natal as a whole. This was especially true in the urban districts of the region (where females exceeded males by 6 in a population of 10,252), while the masculinity rate was slightly higher in the rural areas.

AGE STRUCTURE

Age structure has an important bearing on future population growth through its influence on birth and death rates, and is therefore a useful measure of the labour potential of a community. The age structure of the Indian population in the region is shown in Table 3 and Figure I, from which the juvenility of the population is readily apparent.

Table 3⁵

Age Structure of Indian Population - Tonga-at - Verulam Region, 1960.

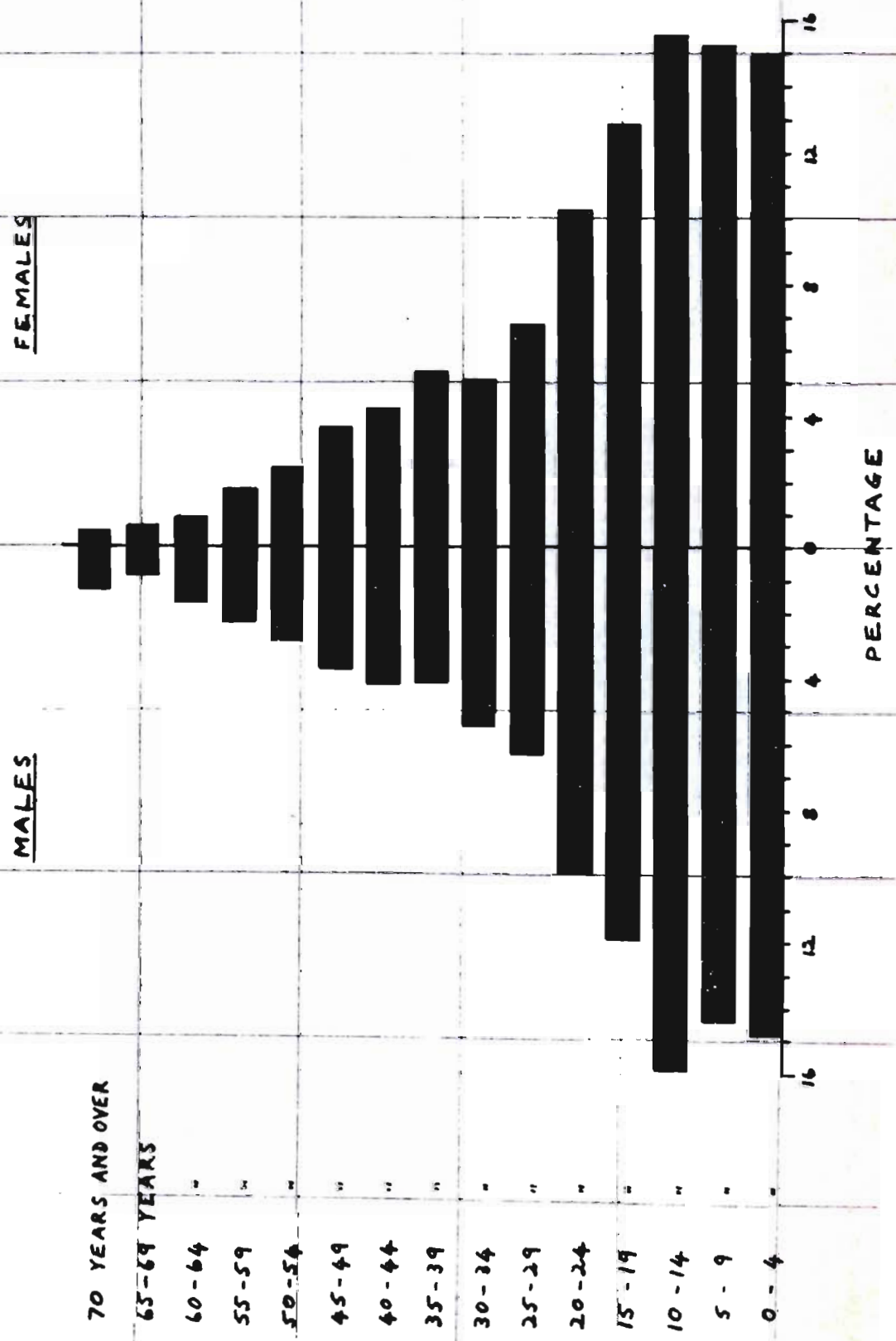
Age Group (Years)	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0 to 4	1,714	14.8	1,715	14.9	3,429	14.8
5 to 9	1,669	14.4	1,748	15.2	3,417	14.8
10 to 14	1,831	15.8	1,791	15.5	3,622	15.7
15 to 19	1,383	12.0	1,481	12.9	2,864	12.4
20 to 24	1,156	10.0	1,177	10.2	2,333	10.1
25 to 29	733	6.3	780	6.8	1,513	6.6
30 to 34	636	5.5	580	5.0	1,216	5.3
35 to 39	477	4.1	618	5.4	1,095	4.7
40 to 44	484	4.2	489	4.2	973	4.2
45 to 49	433	3.7	421	3.6	854	3.7
50 to 54	333	2.9	286	2.5	619	2.7
55 to 59	269	2.3	205	1.8	474	2.0
60 to 64	194	1.7	108	.9	302	1.3
65 to 69	98	.9	60	.5	153	.7
70 and over	161	1.4	56	.5	217	.9
Unspecified	3	-	10	.1	13	.1
Total	11,574	100.0	11,525	100.0	23,099	100.0

⁵ Adapted from: Population Census, 1960, Sample Tabulation No. 2, Table 2.3, Region 32, p. 57).

FIG 1

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN POPULATION.

TONGAAT - VERULAM REGION, 1960.



It might be more useful, however, to divide the population into 4 age groups, viz:

0 - 14 - pre-working
 15 - 44 } - working
 45 - 64 }
 65 and over - post working

Using this age division, we are then able to derive Table 4 :

Table 4 Age Structure of Indian Population -
Tongaat - Verulam Region, 1960

Age Group(Years)	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0 to 14	5,214	45.0	5,254	45.6	10,468	45.3
15 to 44	4,869	42.1	5,125	44.5	9,994	43.3
45 to 64	1,229	10.6	1,020	8.8	2,249	9.7
65 and over	259	2.3	116	1.0	375	1.6
Unspecified	3	-	10	.1	13	.1
Total	11,574	100.0	11,525	100.0	23,099	100.0

Over one-half (53%) of the population, therefore, fell into the working age group, and 45% into the juvenile group. One of the outstanding features of this age structure is the extreme youthfulness of the population. This is true too of the Indian population of Natal as a whole, which exhibited an almost exactly identical division of age groups in 1960. This high proportion of juveniles is, according to Burrows, "surpassed by few countries in the world."⁶

The large youthful adult population (i.e. 15 - 44 years) of 43% is favourable to a high rate of natural increase (i.e. a low death rate and a high birth rate) but, on the other hand, this is counter-balanced by the depressing effect of the high proportion (47%) in the pre- and post-working groups. Both these groups are assumed by demographers to be non-productive, and both display a tendency towards high death rates. In 1959 the Indian infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births) in Natal was 67.7, in Durban 59.46. For Whites the national figure was 27.7.⁷

⁶ John R. Burrows, The Population and Labour Resources of Natal, p. 13.

⁷ S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Durban, Nr.63/1962.

The two major demographic features, then, have been the trend towards sex parity and the preponderance of juveniles. Increases in femininity and juvenility are "features of a growing population."⁸

POPULATION GROWTH

Table 5 shows the growth of the Indian population in Natal and Inanda-Lower Tugela during the period 1921-1960.

Table 5 Growth of Indian Population - Natal and Inanda - Lower Tugela, 1921 - 1960

Census	Natal		Inanda-Lower Tugela	
	Population	Mean Annual Rate of Growth %	Population	Mean Annual Rate of Growth %
1921	141,600	1.7	38,086	.01
1936	183,661	2.3	38,824	2.1
1946	232,317	5.1	47,766	3.0
1951	299,491	3.0	55,619	2.3
1960	394,854		69,157	

Population growth during the period 1921 - 36 was retarded by the repatriation of some 17,000 people to India. The 1946 census took place in an atmosphere of animosity on the part of Indians in protest against the Land Tenure Act, and large numbers of Indians were not enumerated. It has been suggested⁹ that 250,000 would have been a more likely figure for the total Indian population in Natal. It is doubtful whether the high mean annual rate of growth of 5.1% for the period 1946-51 could have been due to natural increase or to illegal immigration. Although the lower growth rate of 3.0% p.a. for the same period in the Inanda-Lower Tugela region does suggest that this spirit of non-co-operation exerted a stronger influence in the urban rather than in the rural areas, the 1946 census nevertheless does not reflect an accurate portrayal of the Indian population, and we shall consequently consider the censuses of 1936, 1951 and 1960 as the most accurate in respect of this group.

⁸ C.A. Woods, The Indian Community of Natal, p. 9.

⁹ ibid., p. 9.

Future Trends

It is impossible to make precise prognostications about future trends in population growth. It is particularly difficult in our case, dealing as we are with a region in which the towns have recently been declared "border areas" for industries employing Indians. Furthermore, the township of Verulam has been declared Indian in terms of the Group Areas Act, while a decision regarding the future of Tongaat is expected shortly. Some influx of Indians to the region may, therefore, be expected, and may well depend upon the rate of industrialisation.

We shall, however, attempt a tentative projection based upon past population growth performance in the region. Whilst this method may be justified for a short run analysis, it can be used less confidently in long run forecasting as certain factors (quite apart from political decisions) influencing long run trends come into play, e.g. extensions of medical services and changes in social and economic conditions. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to possible trends over the period 1960-1975, as it is likely that further far-reaching political decisions regarding the future of the region will have to be taken by the latter date. This contention seems to be borne out by the increasing attention paid to the Indian community by the Government of late.

We have noted the possible stimulating effect on birth and marriage rates of :

- (1) the achievement of near parity of the sexes, and
- (2) the juvenility of the population, 45% of which still had to reach child bearing age in the Tongaat-Verulam region in 1960.

Although Professor Sadie has observed a decline in the fertility rate amongst Indians⁽¹⁰⁾ - this may be due to urbanisation, industrialisation, the absorption of women into employment and the adoption of Western attitudes towards family planning, but some of these influences have had, until now, little scope for operation in this region - this fall may be outweighed by the two factors mentioned above, resulting in a higher birth rate.

(10) Vide C.B. Strauss, Population Growth and Economic Development, S.A.J.E., June, 1963.

The death rate may be expected to rise as more and more people reach the post-working age group (the group in which most deaths occur), but this may be offset by the effect of improved medical and hygiene services. It is possible, therefore, that the rate of natural increase may rise slightly in the short run, and figures of births and deaths obtained from the Protector of Indians in Durban and the Magistrates Offices in Verulam and Stanger, reveal (although they do not show a consistent trend) that this might, in fact, have been the case in the Inanda-Lower Tugela region during the period 1960-63. Too much store should not be placed on these figures, however, as from the beginning of 1964 a penalty of R2.25 was imposed for the registration of each child over the age of one year. Many Indian parents have been inclined to neglect altogether, or to postpone, the registration of births, and have often registered several children (some as old as 10 or 15 years) at the same time. In an attempt to beat the penalty deadline, parents rushed to register their children during the latter months of 1963, and such registrations would have included some children who had been enumerated in the 1960 census.

Population growth in the region took place at a remarkably constant mean annual rate for 24 years from 1936 - 1960 (see Table 5). Using the 1960 population of 23,100 in the Tongaat - Verulam region as a base, and projecting population growth at 2.4% (on past performance) and 3.0% (allowing for a possible accelerated rate of growth), we obtain the following results for 1970 and 1975 :

Table 6 Projected Indian Population Growth - Tongaat - Verulam Region, 1970 and 1975

Year	Population growth at mean annual rate of	
	2.4%	3.0%
1970	29,300	31,000
1975	33,000	36,000

By 1975, therefore, it is probable that the number of Indians in the region will have increased, *ceteris paribus*, by between 10,000 - 13,000 over the 1960 figure.

A similar projection for the townships of Tongaat and Verulam yields these results:

Table 7 Projected Indian Population Growth - Tongaat and Verulam, 1970 and 1975

Year	Tongaat (1960 base = 5,996)		Verulam (1960 base = 1,807)	
	2.4%	3.0%	2.4%	3.0%
1970	7,600	8,000	2,300	2,400
1975	8,600	9,300	2,600	2,800

The mean annual rate of growth during the inter-censal period 1951 - 1960 was 2.8% in Tongaat (the Tongaat Town Board based their estimates on a 2.5% growth rate) and 2.2% in Verulam. The population of Tongaat in 1975 may, therefore, be expected to approach the upper limit of 9,300, and that of Verulam the lower limit of 2,600, depending upon the effect of Group Areas declarations on the influx of outsiders to the region.

THE WORKING POPULATION

From the existing age structure of a population, it is possible to set the upper limits of various age groups at some specific future date. It would be useful to know the number of people in the working age group (i.e. 15 - 64 years) in the Tongaat-Verulam region 5 and 10 years hence. Table 8 shows the upper limits of people in this age group in 1970 and 1975 (factors such as deaths and inter-regional migration have, of course, been excluded), based on the age structure of the community in 1960.

Table 8 Indian Population in the 15 - 64 years Age Group - Tongaat - Verulam Region, 1960 - 75

Year	Males	Females	Total
1960	6,098	6,145	12,243
1970	9,135	9,371	18,506
1975	10,516	10,800	21,316

The total working-age population can thus be expected to increase by a maximum of 74% between 1960 and 1975. However, some people in this age group will not be economically active, e.g. scholars and housewives.

Table 9¹¹

Activity Breakdown of Indian Population -
Tongaat - Verulam Region, 1960

Activity	Males		Females		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Employed	4,231	35.6	374	3.2	4,605	19.9
Unemployed	1,114	9.6	104	.9	1,218	5.3
Total Economically active	5,345	46.2	478	4.1	5,823	25.2
Total Economically inactive (Scholars, Housewives, etc.)	6,229	53.8	11,047	95.9	17,276	74.8
Total	11,574	100.0	11,525	100.0	23,099	100.0

A comparison of Tables 8 and 9 reveals that, in 1960, 87.6% of the males, and only 7.8% of the females, between the ages of 15 and 64, were economically active. Assuming that this trend continues, we may calculate the maximum size of the economically active population in 1970 and 1975.

Table 10

Economically Active Indian Population -
Tongaat - Verulam Region, 1960-1975

Year	Males	Females	Total
1960	5,345	478	5,823
1970	8,002	731	8,733
1975	9,212	842	10,054

This shows an increase of over 4,000 people in the economically active category in the region between 1960 and 1975. But not all those in the working age group are employed at any given moment, and allowance will have to be made for unemployment. In 1960 unemployment in the region stood at 21% of the economically active population - a much higher rate than the 2 - 3% which is usually accepted as representing full employment. The persistence of an unemployment figure of 20% of the working population would result in the future unemployment position assuming serious proportions, rising from 1,200 in 1960 to 1,750 in 1970 and 2,000 in 1975. But 1960 was an abnormal year, and the position has improved considerably since then. If full

¹¹ Adapted from : Population Census, 1960, Sample Tabulation No. 2, Table 1.3, Region 32, p. 47.

employment in the region is to be attained (i.e. with 2 - 3% unemployment), the number of people who will require to be placed in employment will increase from the 1960 position of 4,600 filled jobs to approximately 8,500 in 1970 and 9,700 in 1975, i.e. an increase of over 5,000.

It is possible that the number of new entries into the labour market may be diminished by a growth of educational facilities, inducing young people to prolong their stay at school or continue their studies at a higher education level. This factor, however, may be offset by an increasing tendency for women to seek employment. The low proportion of women in employment has always been a characteristic of the Indian community, but the number of young girls seeking work was increasing. Yet it was in precisely this sphere, i.e. the employment of women, where jobs appeared to be most scarce. A leading merchant in Tongaat who recently created an opening for a female shop assistant, was inundated with applications for this single post.

In our discussion of future labour market trends, we have so far ignored the question of inter-regional movements of labour. Several hundred Indians from Tongaat and Verulam were employed in Durban, the majority of whom commuted daily. But in Durban, too, Indian unemployment presented a problem, and was particularly sensitive to fluctuations in economic conditions. Professor T. H. Kelly estimated that in Durban in May, 1963, some 12,250 out of a total Indian working population of 60,000 (i.e. over 20%) were unemployed.¹² The position has doubtless eased since then, and statistics obtained from the Department of Labour showed that in September, 1965, 2,031 Indians in Durban were registered as unemployed, i.e. an unemployment rate of just over 3% (allowing for an annual increase of 2 - 3% in the working population since 1963). It is common knowledge, however, that many Indians do not take the trouble to register as unemployed with the Department of Labour, a phenomenon which has been referred to by the Minister of Indian Affairs himself. "...a fairly large percentage of unemployed Indians, for reasons best known to themselves, do not register at employment bureaux."¹³ Official departmental figures may consequently be accepted as being understatements of the true position, and it is submitted that inter-regional migration of workers cannot take place on a large scale until the existing Indian unemployment problem in the cities is solved.

¹² Natal Mercury, 18 July, 1963.

¹³ Department of Information. A Permanent ...

We must conclude, therefore, that the provision of an additional 5,000 jobs between 1960 and 1975 will have to be met by an expansion of the economy in the Tongaat-Verulam region, a process which dovetails with the Government's "border industries" policy, and which will be referred to again in Chapter XIV.

C H A P T E R I I I

EDUCATION

Education is one lever by which an economically depressed group may raise itself. An improvement of educational facilities will, through action and interaction, open up a greater range of employment possibilities, and raise family incomes and standards of nutrition, health and housing. Indians in Natal have long appreciated this fact, and their desire to expand and improve their educational standards has been stimulated by their struggle to prove themselves in the face of racial prejudice and discrimination.

GROWTH OF EDUCATION

The Beginnings

The historical development of Indian education in the Tongaat-Verulam region is typical of that in Natal. The terms of indenture did not provide for the education of children, and it was not until 1878 that any serious official attention was paid to the problem. In that year, the Indian Immigrant School Board was set up. In 1883 a Board school was established at Tongaat, but this was a short-lived venture and the school closed down 5 years later.

Indian education in the region owes much to the Wesleyan Mission, which was active in establishing English schools for non-Whites in many parts of Natal in the late nineteenth century. Mission activity amongst Indians in the region started at Verulam in about 1880, when a school for both Indians and Africans was opened on the site of the present African Methodist Mission. In 1898 the Mission started a purely Indian school, the Verulam Wesleyan Indian School, across the Umhloti River. Mr. T. Naby was installed as first principal, but this was the period of the "guru" - the poorly trained teacher with about a Standard IV education. St. Xavier's, founded by the Roman Catholic Mission at Oakford, also dates from the 1890's.

Two schools were established by the Wesleyans in Tongaat. With the closure of the Board school in 1888, the Reverend S.H. Stott founded the Tongaat Wesleyan Mission School (popularly known as the "number one" school) under Mr. E.J. Choonoo. In 1895 the Fairbreeze Wesleyan Mission School (the "number two" school) was established with Mr. A. Jeeawon as principal.

In 1894 the Indian Immigrant School Board was abolished, and the Natal Department of Education assumed responsibility for Indian education. The pattern of racial separation in the field of education was by then well entrenched, and from 1899 onwards the admission of Indian boys to White schools was discontinued. From 1905 Indian girls were precluded from attending White schools.

An Education Commission appointed by the Natal Government in 1909 drew attention to the disabilities facing Indians in the sphere of education, and recommended that on any estate where there were over 20 children of indentured origin, the employer should be compelled to provide elementary education. Little was done to implement this recommendation, but the number of schools slowly continued to increase. In Verulam, the Wesleyan School moved back across the river in 1920, the old school being renamed the Umhloti School. In 1921 the Tongaat Girls' School was opened in a 3-roomed house, with an initial enrolment of 17 pupils and Mrs. F.E. Choonoo as headmistress.

The Breakthrough

In 1927 came the first major breakthrough in the development of Indian education in Natal. In that year, the South African and Indian Governments concluded the Cape Town Agreement, one of the terms of which related to the provision of educational facilities. A Commission of Inquiry was appointed to investigate the position of Indian education, and the number of government-aided schools in the province increased rapidly.

By 1929 there were 579 pupils at school in Tongaat - 147 at the Tongaat Boys' School (as the old Wesleyan Mission School was then known), 60 at the Girls' School and 372 at Fairbreeze. In addition, 30 pupils had to be turned away because of a shortage of accommodation. The Tongaat Indian Schools' Committee complained of the low teachers' salaries, the poor equipment and the lack of accommodation and playing fields. "Under present conditions, the work at the Boys' School is being carried out under distinct disadvantages, by having six teachers teaching at one time in one large hall. Similar conditions apply at the Girls' School."¹

The number of schools in the region had grown to 7 (all government-aided primary schools) in 1934 - Fairbreeze, Tongaat Boys' and Girls', Verulam, Umhloti, St. Xavier's, and Isnombe. Fairbreeze,

¹ Letter from Tongaat Indian Schools' Committee to Mr. D. Saunders, 25 February, 1929.

with 354 pupils, was the largest, and Tongaat Girls' School (50 pupils) the smallest. In 1936 the Tongaat Boys' School moved into the building vacated by the White school, and requests for government status to be conferred on the Tongaat Boys' and Girls' Schools were turned down. However, in the following year Fairbrooze became a government school - the first in the region. In the same year the Girls' School moved into a larger house, and the Jhugroo School at Ottawa was opened. In 1938 a school was established by the Dominican Sisters from Oakford at New Glasgow on land donated by a well-known Indian planter. A Roman Catholic sister continued as principal until 1942, after which the first Indian principal was appointed.

The Period of Rapid Growth

From 1943 rapid strides were made in Indian education in the region. In the Tongaat area, the Sarasvati School at Frasers was opened in that year, and the Boys' School moved into a large new building (now occupied by the Victoria School) erected by the community. The Girls' School occupied the old Boys' School premises. Secondary education made its appearance in the region for the first time in 1945 when the Tongaat Boys' School attained government status and had a secondary division of 22 pupils. Twenty was the minimum number of pupils required for the establishment of a secondary school, and members of the local Indian Schools' Trust Board canvassed parents to persuade them to allow their children to continue to the secondary classes, and in some cases contributed the money required for books. Girls in Standards IV - VI were transferred to the Boys' School.

This school became known as the Tongaat Boys' Secondary School in 1947, the following year the number of secondary pupils passed the hundred mark, and in 1951 the school became a fully-fledged High School. The Tongaat Girls' School also became a government school in 1945, but it ceased to function under that name after 1948, the Tongaat Junior School taking over. In 1947 the Vishwaroop Temple Society established a primary school in the Gokhale Hall.

Further expansion occurred during the 1950's. In 1951 classes commenced in a hall at the Maidstone mill, wooden partitions separating the classrooms. Two schools were opened in 1954, one at Sandfields and the other in the Shree Subramaniam Temple Hall at Brake Village. The Tongaat Hindu Sabha established a school in 1956, and in 1958 the Vishwaroop School moved into a new building. Educational development also took place in the rural areas, schools being opened at

Emona in 1952 and Doornkloof in 1957, while in 1959 a further school (Mohangi) was erected in the Isnembe area.

The Tongaat High School moved to a new building in 1960, the old building being occupied by the new Victoria School which absorbed the Maidstone School. Finally, in 1964 Isnembe became a government secondary school, and its lower primary classes were formed into a separate school known as the Bhugwandass School.

In the Verulam area, the year 1942 signalled in a period of rapid expansion in the field of education. Accommodation was acute, and this prompted two retired teachers to open classes at a private residence. Free tuition was offered, but classes ceased when it was discovered that a private school could not be registered without the provision of proper sanitary and other facilities. However, the Shree Gopallal Hindu Temple Trust converted its temple hall into a school, and the accommodation problem was alleviated somewhat.

Big strides were made after the war with the setting up of the Verulam and District Indian School Board. In 1946 links with the Methodist Mission were severed when the Verulam School was taken over by the Board. In the same year, a school was established at Cottonlands, and in 1949 the first school in Verulam with substantial buildings, the Talwantsingh School, was opened. In the meantime, the need for secondary education in the area had become apparent, and work on the Verulam Secondary School was completed in time for the opening of the 1952 school year. The school became a High School the following year when its enrolment in the secondary division exceeded 200 pupils.

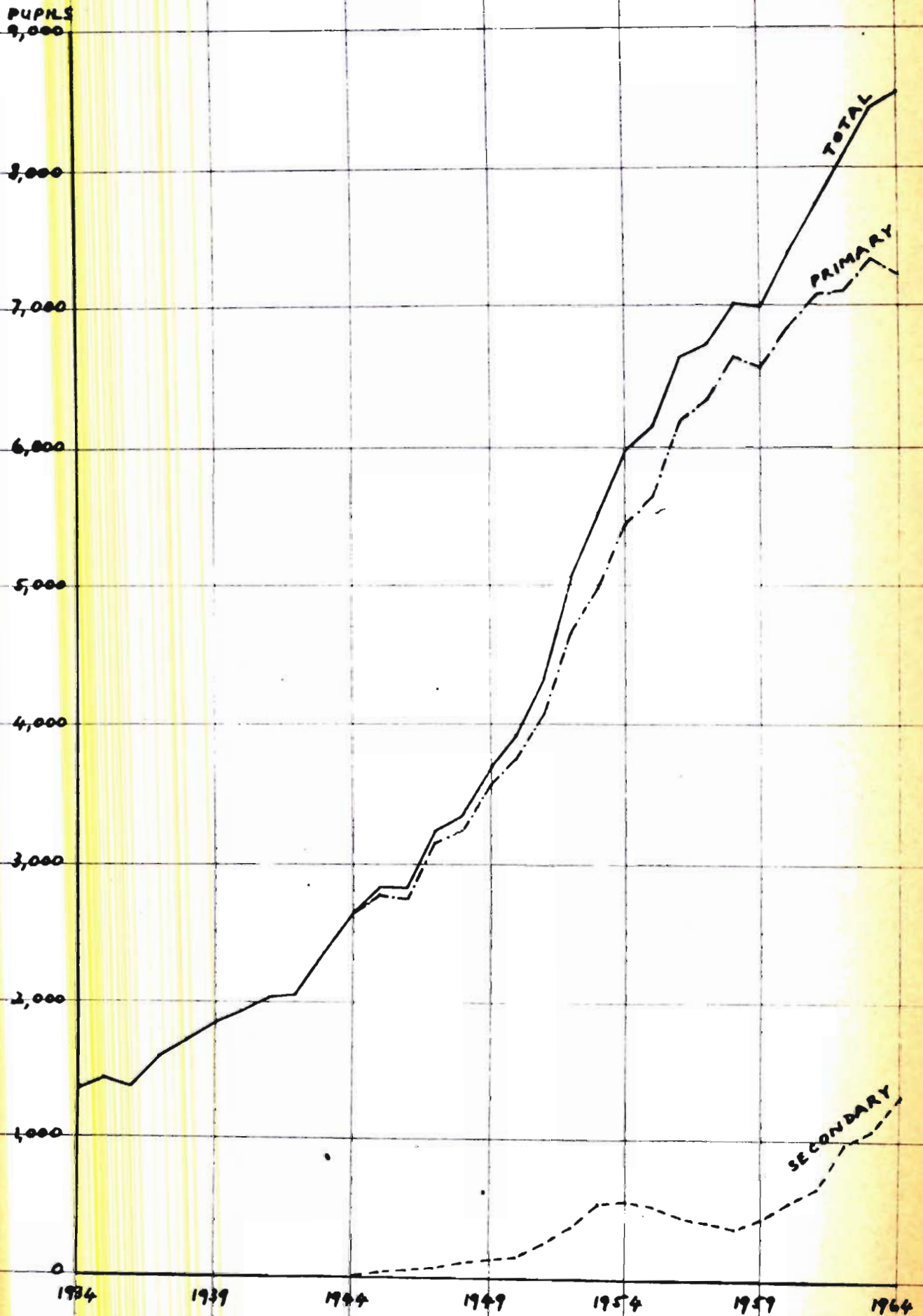
The Shree Gopallal Temple Trust opened a modern, double-storeyed building adjacent to the Talwantsingh School in 1958, to house the classes which had been given for 15 years in the temple hall. In 1961 teaching commenced at the Madhosing School at Redcliffe, and the next year the Madressa, built by the Verulam Young Muslim Society, was opened.

Figure II traces the increase in school enrolment in the region over the three decades 1934 - 64. During this period, enrolment increased by 526%, from 1,361 to 8,531 pupils, and it will be readily seen that growth was particularly rapid from the early 1940's. Until 1944, the graph for primary enrolment was the same as that for total enrolment, since secondary education was only introduced into the region in 1945.

FIG I

GROWTH OF ENROLMENT AT INDIAN SCHOOLS

TONGAAT-VERULAM REGION - 1934-1964



The graph for secondary enrolment requires some explanation. The numbers in the secondary classes fell between 1954 - 58, probably due in part to the expansion of secondary school facilities elsewhere (notably in Durban), which had the effect of curbing the flow of pupils from outside the region to the high schools in Tongaat and Verulam. It is doubtful, however, whether this could have accounted for the entire decrease, but school principals were able to offer no other explanation. The sharp increase since 1961 seemed to hinge upon the Natal Education Department's definition of "secondary", which since 1962 has included Standard VI pupils at high and secondary schools (Standard VI pupils at primary schools are still regarded as primary pupils). This accounts for the corresponding tailing off in the graph for primary enrolment since 1961.

The Present Position

Indian education has grown to the point where there are today 24 schools in the region, attended by over 8,500 pupils (Table II). The educational position of Indians in the region showed some improvement on the overall provincial situation in 1964. Of the 24 schools, 6 (i.e. 25%) were government, compared with 18% for Natal as a whole, and of the 8,531 pupils in 1964, 1,315 (i.e. 15.4%) were in the secondary division, the corresponding figure for the province being 10.7%. Although the government schools comprised only 25% of the schools in the region, they accounted for 39.7% of total pupil enrolment. In Natal 31.9% of Indian pupils were attending government schools in 1964. The great majority (91.1%) of secondary school pupils in Natal, and all in the Tongaat - Verulam region, were enrolled at government schools. In the field of primary education, 28.7% of the pupils in the region, and 24.8% in Natal, were attending government schools.

Fourteen schools are urban (8 in Tongaat, 5 in Verulam and 1 in Ottawa), and the remaining 10, rural. Of the rural schools, 6 are in the Tongaat area (one each at Frasers, Emona, and Doornkloof, and 3 at Isnembe) and 4 in the vicinity of Verulam (at Rodcliffe, Oakford, Cottonlands and New Glasgow). The urban schools contained 76.2% of the total number of pupils in 1964. Of the rural school-children, only 115 were in the secondary division - ~~at~~ Isnembe which attained secondary school status in 1964 with a Standard VII class. This school will produce its first matriculants in 1967, by which time it will have become a fully-fledged high school.

Table II²

Indian Schools and Number of Pupils -
Tongaat - Verulam Region, 1964.

Name of School	No. of Pupils	
	Primary	Secondary
<u>Government Schools</u>		
High : Tongaat High		629
Verulam High		571
Secondary: Isnombe	207	115
Primary : Fairbreeze, Tongaat	551	
Tongaat Junior	667	
Victoria, Tongaat	648	
	2,073	1,315
<u>Government-aided Schools</u>		
Primary : Bhugwandass, Isnombe	166	
Brake Village, Tongaat	159	
Cottonlands	180	
Doornkloof	153	
Emona	198	
Jhugroo, Ottawa	521	
Madhosing, Redcliffe	232	
Mohangi, Isnombe	82	
New Glasgow	188	
St. Xavier's, Oakford	407	
Sandfields, Tongaat	204	
Sarasvati, Frasers	267	
Shree Gopallal Temple, Verulam	442	
Talwantsingh, Verulam	264	
Tongaat Hindu Sabha	87	
Umhloti, Verulam	592	
Verulam Madressa	661	
Vishwaroop, Tongaat	340	
	5,143	-
	7,216	1,315

² Source: Natal Education Department, Statistical Supplement to the Monthly Notice to Schools, August, 1964.

The present position is that both Tongaat and Verulam are in need of an additional school each. In Tongaat, the lower primary classes at the Brake Village (159 pupils) and Hindu Sabha (87 pupils) schools are held under poor conditions, while platoon classes (attended by 199 pupils in 1964) are held at Tongaat Junior School. This means that there were, in 1964, almost 450 primary school pupils who required, ideally, to be consolidated into a new primary school. In Verulam, a similar number of pupils attended platoon school in 1964, and the need for another new primary school in that town is apparent.

Future Needs

In addition to the immediate need for two additional schools, several schools will require extension, in order to cope with accommodation demands during the next few years. This is particularly true of the high schools, as the proportion of pupils (especially girls) continuing to the secondary level is bound to increase. Indications are that such extensions will be required shortly. With enrolment at both high schools around the 600 mark, and an optimum number beyond which schools become difficult to manage, additional high school facilities in the region will become necessary. It is encouraging to know that efforts are being made to locate a comprehensive school, i.e. with both academic and technical sections, in Tongaat.

FACILITIES IN THE SCHOOLS

Indian schools do not compare with those for Whites so far as the range of subjects offered, buildings and recreational facilities are concerned. Even the two government high schools in the region possess facilities far inferior to those of White high schools. This shortcoming is true of both government and government-aided schools, although obviously more so in the case of the latter type of school, and is not surprising when the method of financing Indian education in Natal is taken into account.

Financing of Indian Education

Although the state has never assumed the entire responsibility for the education of Indians, it has always been said that the provision of such facilities has been a financial burden on the Province. The Minister of Indian Affairs, for example, has gone on record as

saying that because of the Indian burden, Natal has a leeway to make up in the education of Whites compared with the other provinces.³

The Province undoubtedly has been in a difficult position financially, for, despite additional subsidies received from the Government, the latter has never seen its way clear to providing a special dispensation to Natal by way of subsidies to cover the entire cost of Indian education. The fact remains, however, that the education vote in Natal has been apportioned on a colour caste basis, the Whites receiving the best facilities, followed by the Coloureds (prior to Coloured education being removed from provincial control) with the Indians trailing behind.

Nevertheless, advances have been made in Indian education, and prominent educationists from this community have often praised the achievements accomplished by the Province in a race-orientated society. Expenditure on Indian education increased from 15% of the total education vote in Natal in 1946, to 37% in 1964 (when it exceeded R6 million). Between 1957-1963, there was a net gain of 738 classrooms in Indian schools. But in 1964 there was still a great discrepancy in the annual per capita costs of education - R130 per White pupil and R50 per Indian pupil.⁴ This discrepancy assumes even greater proportions when the figures for government and government-aided schools, and the percentage of pupils at each type of school, are examined separately.

Table 12⁵ Annual Unit Cost per Pupil - Recurrent Expenditure on Education, Natal, 1960-61

	Cost per Pupil(R)		% of Pupils	
	Indian	White	Indian	White
Government	61.50	125.10	30.0	91.0
Government-aided	38.40	23.70	70.0	9.0

The annual per capita cost of education was R125 in respect of 91% of White pupils, while for the bulk (70%) of Indian pupils, the figure was about R24.

³ Assembly, Hansard 12/1965, col: 4434.

⁴ *ibid.*, col. 4457.

⁵ The Teachers' Journal, July, 1962, p.9.

It is often claimed that Whites bear the burden of the cost of Indian education through high taxation - indeed, Natal has the highest provincial tax in South Africa - and this argument is used to justify the poorer services provided for Indians. This is a specious argument. No distinction is usually drawn between the rich and poor classes in the provision of social and educational services in the modern state, merely because of the higher taxes paid by the rich. Yet the theory of public finance which is often applied in South Africa, e.g. in the case of Bantu Education, and which seems to have been applied to Indian education in Natal, is that such services should be provided for various racial groups in proportion to the direct contribution made by each group in taxation to the state.

But there is another aspect to this matter which is often overlooked. While the Province bears the full cost of providing schools for Whites, approximately 90% of Indian schools either are now, or were originally, government-aided. This means that the Indian community has provided the land plus 50% of the building costs, and has, therefore, borne the greater part of expenditure on new schools. This represents an additional charge on the community by way of indirect taxation, quite apart from the direct taxation which Indians pay in the same way as do Whites.

The Indian community has lifted itself up largely by its own bootstraps as far as education is concerned, and has mobilised large sums of money for the provision of school sites, buildings and equipment, e.g. in the decade to 1962, Indians contributed over R1.1 million towards the cost of school buildings.⁶ It was only in 1930 that the Province assisted with a grant-in-aid of one-third of the building costs. This was increased to 50% in 1944. In 1951 the Natal Indian Teachers' Society embarked upon a programme of raising R300,000 (R50,000 of which would be contributed by the teachers themselves), which would be matched by the Province on a Rand - for - Rand basis. The great majority of teachers pledged to contribute 6% of their salaries to this fund until the target had been met. This illustrates the strength of the urge within the community to improve its educational facilities. Tributes are often paid to the Indian community by speakers on public platforms for their initiative in this regard.

We have already alluded to the fact that no fewer than 18 of the 24 Indian schools in the Tongaat - Verulam region in 1964 were government-aided. But in addition, 4 of the 6 government schools

⁶ibid., p.3.

were originally government-aided, and one (Verulam High School) was built by the community and handed over to the Province as a free gift. This means that only the high school in Tongaat was built by the Province, and even then the land was donated by the Tongaat Sugar Company. The school at Ottawa is a good example of a school which was built by the community, who worked voluntarily over week-ends and holidays. Building commenced in 1959, and the project was completed in time for the opening of the 1962 school year. Indians from all walks of life - teachers, businessmen, artisans - assisted in construction, and a total of R26,000 was raised by the community.

School Buildings

The schools investigated were generally substantially built, the architecture varying from the neo-Cape Dutch style of Tongaat High School to the modern design of Verulam High School, and the materials from the well constructed wooden buildings of St. Xaviers to the equally well constructed corrugated iron of Fairbreeze.

The only school which could boast of a hall - an amenity which is surely one of the hubs of extra-curricular activity - was the Verulam Madressa. At the other schools, morning assembly was held in the open air, and was only possible in fair weather! The annual speech day at Tongaat High School was held out of doors, the pupils, parents and guests sitting in the blazing December sun. Verulam High School staged its prize-giving in the local cinema, while plays were presented in the Madressa Hall.

Classroom space at most schools appeared to be adequate. Pre-fabricated classrooms were found at some schools, including both high schools, and such structures, as one teacher put it, seemed to have come to stay although they were originally temporary devices. Furniture and lighting were, on the whole, satisfactory, although there were exceptions with dilapidated furniture and poor standards of lighting. At Victoria Primary School in Tongaat, the only 3 classrooms which were equipped with electric light were those which housed the evening classes of the local Technical College branch.

Umhleti School was, without exception, the most ill-equipped school in the region, and was one of the five at which the platoon system was operative. Three classes were held in the open air - during the summer months teachers and pupils clustered under

shady trees, while in winter sunny spots were in great demand. Apart from the obvious distractions to the pupils, open air classes were most unpleasant on windy days and had to be abandoned altogether during wet weather. The school buildings, which dated back to the turn of the century, were constructed of wood. One block originally served as a hall, but had subsequently been partitioned into four classrooms. Entrance to this block was through one door only, and the classrooms nearest the door were thoroughfares. The partitions did not reach the ceiling, and the four teachers could all be clearly heard at the same time. Concentration must have been extremely difficult. Two of these rooms were occupied by Standard VI pupils, and when we briefed these classes on a dull day, the rooms were almost dark. The effect on eyesight of studying under such conditions can well be imagined.

To compensate for the lack of accommodation in the main building at Fairbreeze, the nearby Sabha and Madressa halls had been hired, and housed 2 classes each. There was no electric light at this school.

At several schools, pupils from different standards shared teachers and classrooms. At Madhosing School, Standards IV and V were combined. At Cottonlands, the shortage of staff together with the 10 cubic feet per pupil requirement, had resulted in the Class 2 pupils being split, one section being combined with Class 1 and the other with Standard I. These two factors had forced the Standard IIIa and IVb classes at Ottawa to be combined.

A lobby and an outside shanty were used as classrooms at New Glasgow, to make up for the accommodation shortage. The shanty was ill-constructed, dark and exposed to the full force of the wind. Sanitation at this school was primitive, to say the least, and the latrines were an eyesore.

Laboratory facilities at the high schools left much to be desired. Tongaat High School possessed a laboratory for Biology, but not for Physical Science, while Verulam High School was due to receive its first laboratory facilities in 1966.

Separate library rooms were almost non-existent, and books were usually housed in a classroom or staffroom. The government schools seemed fairly well supplied with books, and even at government-aided schools few principals complained of insufficient books. Library books at aided schools were purchased entirely out of school

funds, no grant being forthcoming from the Province for this purpose. Some schools showed resourcefulness in building up a library, e.g. Jhugroo School held a bazaar and raised over R400, which sum was to be utilised to purchase, in addition to library books, a sowing machine for needlework and a projector.

Sportsfields

It was in the sphere of sport that the difference between White and Indian schools was most marked, the paucity of recreational facilities at Indian schools standing out by way of sharp contrast. Some schools in the region possessed no playing fields of their own, and of those which boasted such facilities, not one could be said to have adequate fields.

Not even the government schools are exempted from this statement. Tongaat High School was perhaps the most fortunate, having access to the adjacent fields of the Tongaat Recreation Union. This school also possessed a netball field and 2 tennisette courts. Verulam High School had a half-sized field and a small ground for tenniquoits, but most schools in the township used the Town Board fields. Isnembe, Fairbreeze and Victoria Schools each possessed one field, that at Victoria having been levelled gratis by the Tongaat Sugar Company.

Almost all playing fields were in need of levelling, top dressing and re-grassing. In several cases the potential for adequate fields undoubtedly existed. Schools in this category were Jhugroo (where the ombankment had been converted into terraced rows of concrete seats), Isnembe and Doornkloof (where 3 acres were available). At both Victoria and Madhosing Schools, land was available but development would be costly due to the hilly terrain. Most of the remaining schools possessed level, but very small, fields. Notable exceptions were Umhloti, where the boys played on a sawdust dump and the girls on a vacant adjacent plot, and New Glasgow, where the ground was sloping.

STAFF

Of the restricted number of professions which are open to Indians in South Africa, teaching is the most popular. The reasons for this are three-fold. Firstly, the training course is shorter than that for medicine or law, and it is thus less costly to qualify

as a teacher. Secondly, teaching offers a secure job, and at a comparatively attractive salary. Thirdly, teaching enjoys great prestige in the community, and confers a high status on the individual.

Teachers were mainly men, and the majority were qualified, holding either a University degree or a teachers' diploma. At Springfield Training College in Durban, student teachers may obtain either a Natal Teachers' Diploma, a 2 year course for primary school teachers, or the Natal Teachers' Senior Diploma, a 3 year course which includes some first year University courses.

Some of the unqualified teachers were in locum tenens posts, while others were in possession of a Licence to Teach - a special licence which has been granted by the Director of Education since 1930 to professional unqualified teachers with a certain length of teaching experience, e.g. a Junior Certificate plus 10 years experience, a Senior Certificate plus 8 years experience, etc. A third category consisted of those who had not yet qualified for a teaching licence. This category was commonly referred to as the "temporary indefinites". A number of the unqualified teachers were studying for degrees and diplomas by correspondence.

The teacher pupil ratio ranged, for the most part, between 1:32 and 1:40. Most schools had sufficient teachers, although we have already noted that at some schools classes had been combined owing to a shortage of staff. All teachers were Indians, with the exception of 7 Whites (Roman Catholic Sisters) at St. Xavier's.

Teachers' salaries, although far lower than those of Whites, could nevertheless be considered attractive by Indian standards. In 1964, Indian male school principals in the three highest brackets earned 40 - 63%, and female principals 36 - 49%, of the salary of their White counterparts.⁷ It took an Indian male graduate on the M + 4 (i.e. matriculation plus 4 years training) grade 16 years, and an Indian female graduate over 17 years to reach the commencing salary of their White counterparts.⁸ A number of teachers have recently left for Zambia, where attractive salaries have been offered. The financial advantages of such moves are essentially short-term, as those who taught in Ghana found out to their cost. When the teaching profession in Ghana was Africanised, Indian teachers returned to Natal and started from the bottom rung of the ladder.

⁷ The Teachers' Journal, July, 1964, pp. 35-36.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 37.

It is interesting to note that in 1964, the Government offered to pay 50% of increased salaries if the Province would agree to raise the salaries of Indian teachers to the same level as those of Coloureds. The Natal Provincial Administration refused this offer, and instead produced a different scale allowing for a rise of one notch on existing scales. The cost to the Province of implementing the Government suggestion would have amounted to R400,000, while that of the new scale amounted to R350,000 - a difference of only R50,000.⁹ When this fact was mentioned in Parliament, it was very rightly referred to as "a disgrace".¹⁰

SOME DIFFICULTIES AND PROBLEMS

In the field of Indian education are to be found certain difficulties and problems which affect the internal organisation of schools, and which have a retarding effect on pupil enrolment.

The Platoon System

During the immediate post-war years, there were 2 - 3 year waiting lists for admission to Indian schools. To alleviate the chronic shortage of accommodation, a system known as the "platoon" (or "double session") system was introduced into certain government-aided schools in 1952. Under this system, a school building houses two separate sessions of teaching, the one group of pupils attending school in the morning, and the other in the afternoon. Different teachers are in charge of the different sessions, although there may be some degree of overlapping.

In 1964, afternoon classes were in operation at 118 primary schools in Natal, and were attended by 31,986 pupils.¹¹ Percentage-wise, such classes operated at 42.1% of Indian schools, and were attended by 25.2% of Indian pupils, in the province. These figures showed a slight increase over those for the previous year. Thus the platoon system, originally intended as a temporary palliative, has become entrenched in the Indian educational system in Natal.

⁹ The Teachers' Journal, July, 1965, p. 4.

¹⁰ Assembly, Hansard 13/1965, col. 5117.

¹¹ Natal Education Department, op.cit.

In the Tongaat - Verulam region, the system operated at 5 schools, including one government school (Tonga Junior).

Table 13¹² Operation of Platoon System at Indian Schools -
Tonga Junior - Verulam Region, 1964

Name of School	Enrolment at	
	Morning classes	Afternoon classes
Tonga Junior	468	199
Sandfields, Tonga	144	60
Shree Gopal Temple, Verulam	376	66
Umhloti, Verulam	319	273
Verulam Madressa	575	86
	1,882	684

The position in the region showed a considerable improvement on the provincial situation, only 8% of the pupils attending afternoon schools. However, Table 13 illustrates the urgent need for increased school accommodation, particularly in Verulam where 425 pupils were obliged to attend afternoon classes.

Many criticisms have been levelled at the platoon system over the years. Teachers have contended that children who attend the second session expend their energy in a host of activities during the morning, with a consequent diminution in their mental capacity in the afternoon.

Dr. C. Ramphal conducted an investigation in an attempt to ascertain the merits or demerits of the platoon system as regards intellectual work.¹³ Questionnaires answered by Durban teachers revealed a widespread belief that pupils in afternoon schools were unable to display their full mental potential because they were tired and had lost their morning freshness. To check this conviction, pupils in certain afternoon schools in Durban were tested, both in the morning and afternoon. Ramphal found no significant difference in performance between the two sessions, and concluded that "...neither the morning nor the afternoon possesses any inherent advantage over the other for work of an intellectual nature in school."¹⁴

¹²Source : *ibid.*

¹³C. Ramphal, A Study of Three Current Problems of Indian Education, 1961.

¹⁴*ibid.*, p. 97.

Nevertheless, several objections to the platoon system remain, not the least of which is that it disrupts the smooth organisation of school routine. At schools where the system operated, lunch breaks were usually cut to about half their normal duration. No organised sport could be provided for those who attended the afternoon session, it was difficult to detain morning school pupils for special attention, and little time was available to clean the classrooms.

Many children in the region had to walk several miles to school. The morning session usually commenced at 7.30 a.m., and the afternoon session at 1 p.m. The latter session was attended by pupils in the lower standards, and finished at 5 p.m. or 5.15 p.m. If there were several children from one family at such a school, they were all obliged to leave home early in the morning, and while the elder children were at school, the younger ones loitered around (on rainy days shelter often presented a problem). The older pupils then had to wait at school in the afternoon, in order to escort their younger siblings home. This made the day a long one for the pupils, particularly in winter, after which they were expected to attend to their studies in the evenings.

The platoon system sometimes imposed a burden on the staff, e.g. at one school, the principal and 2 vice-principals all taught for 7 hours per day, the lessons being staggered over both sessions.

Credit must be given to the platoon system, however, for alleviating the shortage of school accommodation. In Natal in 1951, the year before the introduction of the system, 16,029 children of school-going age failed to secure admission to schools. By 1962, all such children were able to be accommodated. The platoon system is a harsh measure, but it has produced results.

Distance and Transport

Transport was one of the greatest difficulties confronting pupils in the region, especially those in the rural areas. The majority of high school pupils lived in Tongaat and Verulam. Bus services from the towns to some of the outlying areas were regular, but other areas were not served by buses and, furthermore, many pupils could not afford the fares, e.g. the monthly fare from Tongaat Beach to Tongaat (a distance of 4 - 5 miles) was 75 cents.

Groups of school-children carrying their books were a common sight in the early morning or mid-afternoon on the roads leading out of Tongaat and Verulam. Sometimes lifts were obtained from passing vehicles. Pupils from outlying areas had to walk distances of anything up to 9 miles either way, through hilly terrain. School attendances were affected by inclement weather, and influenza and colds were additional hazards. At one rural school, on a cold mid-winter day, we noted that few pupils wore pullovers or blazers.

For pupils who had to leave home early and then arrived back late, the day was a long one, and this was aggravated where the platoon system was operative. Often pupils could not participate in sport after school, lest they should arrive home after dark.

Two rural schools reported a falling off in the number of female pupils after Standards III or IV, as there had been instances of girls being molested on their way to and from school by African workers in the canefields. Such incidents attach a stigma to the girl's family, and the girl herself has no demand as a marriage partner. Pupils were instructed to walk in groups in order to overcome this hazard. Almost all the high school girls in the region resided in the towns, and it was considered risky sending girls from rural areas to high school in the absence of a transport system.

School Meals

The school meals system at primary schools was introduced in 1944, the Province making available a grant of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pupil per day. The system was intended to provide supplementary feeding, the onus for proper feeding still resting on the parents. It was considered difficult to provide a satisfactory meal on a subsidy of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents, but this was reduced in 1957 to $1\frac{2}{3}$ cents per pupil per day, and has remained at that level ever since.

Pupils qualify for a free meal if their household income is less than R2 per person per week. Few failed to qualify, e.g. at Jhugroo School, 498 out of 522 pupils participated in the feeding scheme. At Victoria, participants numbered 456 out of 648, at Frasers 247 out of 275, and in the Standard VI class at Tongaat High School, 61 out of 76. Of 3,523 pupils between Class 1 - Standard VI at the 10 schools in the Verulam area in 1964, 3,205 (91.0%) received school meals.

The grant of $1\frac{2}{3}$ cents must be regarded as wholly inadequate

and unrealistic in the light of the increased cost of foodstuffs in recent years, and even bearing in mind the purpose of the school feeding system, the provision of satisfactory meals has become increasingly difficult as costs have spiralled. Scope for variation in menus has become increasingly restricted, as the following three typical weekly menus show.

	School A (Rural)	School B (Urban)	School C (Urban)
Monday	Dholl curry (i.e. lentil soup) vegetables, brown bread	Dholl curry, vegetables, brown bread	Curry (vegetables or fish), brown bread.
Tuesday	Curried sugar beans, vegetables, brown bread	Mealie rice, dholl curry, potatoes and cabbage	Dholl curry, vegetables, brown bread
Wednesday	Mealie rice biryani	Curried sugar beans, vegetables, brown bread	Mealie rice biryani, vegetables
Thursday	Dholl curry, vegetables, brown bread	Dholl curry and mealie rice (with mutton fortnightly)	Curry (vegetables or fish), brown bread.
Friday	Mealie rice biryani	Dholl curry, vegetables, brown bread	Dholl curry, vegetables, brown bread

Other variations in menus included canned fish, jam and margarine. Menus consisted mainly of starch, and were selected for their bulk content rather than their nutritional value. One school reported that when the grant was 2½ cents, pupils were provided with a slice of bread at 10 a.m., and occasionally with fruit, but that this was no longer feasible.

Mutton curry and rice was a luxury for the pupils. One school endeavoured to give its pupils mutton once a fortnight, another once a month. Some schools gave their pupils a treat of mutton curry and rice, and perhaps some fruit, on the last day of each term. The necessary funds for this treat were often contributed by the teachers, who derived great pleasure from seeing the pupils enjoying themselves. Some pupils from very poor homes walked several miles to school on empty stomachs, and relied almost entirely on the school meal. As one teacher put it: "What they eat over week-ends and holidays, one can only guess." The position had not changed materially since 1955, when it was stated that "...very often the only substantial meal that ...

they have at school."¹⁵

The following extract from a school magazine illustrates some of the achievements and frustrations in the way of providing pupils with satisfactory meals: "We are able to give the children rice biryani at least once a fortnight. On the last day of each school term we provide the pupils with fruit and cakes. During the course of the second half year we were not able to give them as much mutton as desired because the price of mutton was beyond our reach."¹⁶

At some schools special preparations were provided for vegetarians. Religious differences did not appear to have any effect on the menu, nor were there any inhibitions regarding the religious affiliations of the cooks. Fuel costs and the wages of cooks were borne by the schools themselves. The kitchens often left a lot to be desired, and at least one had been condemned.

Cost of Education

Free primary education has never been provided for Indians, as it has for Whites. The cost of education imposes a great financial strain on many families, and parents have made great sacrifices to educate their children. Costs of education were obtained from four schools (a primary school in each town and the two high schools), and showed a slight variation from school to school. These costs are averaged out in Table 14, and exclude clothing, sport and transport.

Table 14 Average Approximate Cost of Education per Indian Pupil - Class 1 to Standards VI, VIII and X

From Class 1 to	Text Books(R)	Station- ery (R)	School Funds(R)	Examination Fees(R)	Total(R)
Standard VI	33.50	27.25	3.45	.25	64.45
" VIII	54.60	35.25	6.00	4.25	110.10
" X	89.80	45.95	8.55	11.25	155.55

The cost of educating a pupil to Standard VI was approximately R65, to Standard VIII approximately R110 and to the matriculation level approximately R155. The enormity of these costs can only

¹⁵The Teachers' Journal, June, 1955, p.3.

¹⁶Victoria Primary Government Indian School, Newsletter, December, 1964, p. 13.

be gauged when they are measured against wages. As the Chairman of Tongaat Sugar Company has pointed out, "the average labourer's family of five to be educated to Std. VI will require from his income R300. This represents one whole year's wages of the labourer for his children's books and stationery alone."¹⁷

Many pupils were unable to afford new books, and the exchange of books, purchasing of second-hand books and book sharing (something which is not conducive to study) were common practices in the schools. Some indigent pupils in the rural areas were forced to work on farms during their holidays to earn money for the purchase of school books and clothing. The schools themselves often provided books for the poorer children. Some pupils donated their text books to the schools when they were finished with them, and this assisted the schools in building up a stock of books for loan to the indigent. At one school, which drew its pupils from one of the poorest localities in the region, a charity fund had been instituted. Those who were able contributed one cent per week to this fund, and the proceeds were used to equip their needy schoolfellows with books, pencils, rulers, etc., and for donations to charity.

Some relief was obtained in 1965, when the Natal Education Department decided to grant free books to 50% of the pupils at all Indian primary schools. Principals had to decide which pupils constituted the 50%, but this was sometimes extremely difficult as in some schools the indigency rate was felt to be much higher than 50%. In practice, most schools spread the benefit of free books more or less evenly amongst all those who were considered to be indigent.

Comparatively few bursaries were available to Indian pupils in the region, particularly at a primary school level. Natal Education Department bursaries were awarded to high school pupils on the basis of outstanding examination results, and at Tongaat High School, for example, 5 pupils received such bursaries in 1964. The Tongaat Sugar Company has, for some years now, provided some bursaries for children of their employees, e.g. in 1964 there were 7 such recipients at the local high school. A tea company donated one bursary to each high school, while in Verulam bursaries for high school pupils were made available by several local organisations, e.g. the Hindu Society, the Deepavali Union, the Verulam Young Muslim Society (to a girl), and the Teachers' Society (3 awards).

¹⁷The Daily News, 30 June, 1964.

The school fund at each school was used for repairs and maintenance of buildings and sportsfields, the purchase of sports equipment, and the entertainment of visiting teams. Indigent children, e.g. child welfare cases, were usually exempted from paying towards school funds, and one school merely appealed to its pupils to contribute to the fund. Charges differed from school to school, and usually also between standards, the older pupils paying more than those in the lower standards. An example of a sliding scale is : Class 1 - 2 25c, Std. I - II 50c, Std. III - IV 75c, Std. V - VI R1.00. At a few schools, school fund charges were the same for all standards. High schools augmented their school funds with the proceeds of school plays and tuck shop profits.

Attitudes towards Female Education

The growth of female education was for many years retarded by the traditional conservative attitudes towards the education of girls. It was believed that the Indian girl's rightful place was in the home, and that schooling was unnecessary. Co-educational schools were not favourably regarded, and the relative shortage of girl's schools and women teachers in the early days, together with economic factors, militated against female education. Then too, few boys progressed beyond the primary standards, and parents realised that "educated daughters...(might)....not easily find husbands of their own standard."¹⁸

These traditional attitudes have broken down to a large extent in the last two decades, particularly in the urban areas. Girls have accounted for the increasingly large proportion of secondary pupils in the region in the last 10 years, and the fact that girls were still heavily outnumbered in the higher standards must be attributed not only to the persistence of parental conservatism in some quarters, but also to poverty. Many parents wish their daughters to be well educated, but, due to economic considerations, are obliged to remove them from school so as to provide their sons, the future breadwinners, with the best possible education. Furthermore, in large families the mother often requires her older daughters to assist in the household chores and help care for the smaller children, and the educational career of girls is sometimes terminated for this reason.

¹⁸ Prof. Raymond Burrows, Indian Life and Labour in Natal, p. 13.

Traditional attitudes exerted a stronger influence in the rural areas. Parents in those areas were often reluctant to allow their daughters to remain at school once they had reached the age of puberty. The danger of the bigger girls being molested on their way to school, and poverty, were contributory factors to the fall in the number of girls between Class I and Standard VI at some schools. At St. Xavier's, for example, of 40 girls in Standard I in 1959, only 9 reached Standard VI in 1964, and of 32 girls in Standard I in 1960, only 13 remained at school in 1964, and this number was expected to be reduced to 8 in 1965.

Further erosion of these conservative attitudes may be expected to take place, and the proportion of girls reaching the matriculation level is likely to increase. In the meantime, however, tradition continues to put a brake on the growth of female education, especially amongst the Muslim community.

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Despite the generally poor playing fields and the absence of school halls, schools endeavoured to maintain a full programme of extra-curricular activities.

Sport

The most common sports were soccer, netball, athletics and tenniquoits. Few primary schools played cricket because of the expensive equipment required, but this game was played by high school pupils. The absence of hockey and tennis was also explained by the expense of equipment. Rugby, the national game of South Africa, held little appeal for Indian youths, the preference being for soccer. This was the most popular sport amongst the boys, and school magazines carried glowing accounts of the achievements of the footballers, or "socceritos" as they were quaintly called. Another sport conspicuous by its absence was swimming. There was only one swimming bath for Indians in the region - in Tongaat - and children learnt to swim either in the sea or in bilharzia-infested streams.

House Competitions

Each school had 4 "houses" and competition between them was keen. Points were awarded for sport, examination results, thrift

and attendance. Houses were named after famous Indian statesmen and political figures, sportsmen, the planets, birds, flowers, the seasons, human virtues or saints.

Societies.

At both high schools, pupils were active in a number of societies. Inter-school and inter-house debates, and speech contests, were popular. Annual plays were produced by the dramatic societies or concert committees, while other pupil committees related to social clubs and film and radio societies.

RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between Hindu, Muslim and Christian pupils were reported to be cordial at all schools. Pupils mixed well together in a spirit of harmony and compatibility. This spirit has manifested itself during the last decade or two - prior to that Hindu and Muslim pupils tended to separate outside classes.

Muslims were in the minority at all schools with the exception of the Verulam Madressa, where they constituted approximately 60% of the pupil enrolment. The principal of this school, and all but 3 of the teachers, were Hindus. Christians were a small minority at all schools, e.g. even at St. Xavier's there were only 55 Christians out of 407 pupils.

No religious instruction was given in Indian schools, and hence there was no opportunity to fan the fires of religious controversy. Instead, there were "moral education" lessons.

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TO SCHOOLS

The community generally displayed a keen interest in school activities, and supported functions such as concerts and sports meetings. At a small rural school, the annual sports day was attended by over 500 people and Rs20 was collected for prizes so that the school fund did not have to be tapped for this purpose. Another rural school held an exhibition every 2 years, and this was well patronized by the local community.

One urban school did, however, report a decline in the enthusiasm of parents who did not take sufficient interest in the work of their children, e.g. few responded to a circular regarding

homework. Very often the great majority of those attending school functions were women, as the men found it difficult to take time off from work, e.g. at a primary school sports day in Tongaat, few men were present.

While parents served on school boards, they usually left the administration of schools entirely in the hands of the principals, e.g. at Frasers, the community, which consisted mainly of sugar estate workers with a handful of independent farmers, was poorly educated, largely illiterate and easily swayed.

There were no parent-teacher associations, and the view was generally held that the Indian community was not yet ready for such developments as many parents were poorly educated.

VERNACULAR EDUCATION

The responsibility for mother-tongue education rests with the community themselves, as vernacular languages are excluded from the school syllabus. More will be said in the following chapter about the displacement of the vernacular by English, both as the home language and as the language of communication of the different linguistic groups. Our purpose now is to discuss the provision of vernacular education in the region and the attitude of the Indian community towards such education.

Vernacular education held a stronger foothold amongst the Muslim community than amongst the Hindus. This was particularly true of the Muslims in Verulam, where classes were held at the Madressa. The original Madressa building for vernacular classes was built in 1918, and in 1965 the school had a full-time staff consisting of a principal and 8 teachers. Enrolment totalled 435, all but 6 of whom were pupils at the Madressa "English" school which was opened in 1962. Pupils from the sub-standards commenced their vernacular classes at 12.30 p.m. and those from Standards I - VI at 2 p.m., i.e. half an hour after "English" classes ended. Pupils were taught to read and write Urdu, and learnt Urdu poems. They also learnt to read the Quran in Arabic, and were taught Islamic history and religion, the important prayers being learnt by heart. These classes were attended not only by Urdu children, but also by Gujarati Muslims.

The syllabus was completed by the end of Standard VI, at which stage vernacular classes in Urdu ceased. Three Muslim pupils

from the high school did, however, attend short classes, but after leaving the Madressa pupils usually became absorbed in high school activities or found that they were unable to cope with both their school subjects and vernacular classes.

In Tongaat, vernacular education in Urdu was not centrally organised. Instead, there were 3 vernacular schools - at the Anjuman Islam and Habeebeeah mosques (classes at the former were in charge of a "Moulvi") and at the Fairbreeze Madressa. Attendances were lower than in Verulam, the combined total being 250 pupils. This included some Gujarati Muslim and Koman pupils.

The Hindu community were less enthusiastic about mother-tongue education. There were small Tamil and Hindi classes in Tongaat, but Telugu classes had ceased. In Verulam neither the Hindi nor Telugu groups had vernacular schools (classes in Hindi lasted for only 2 months), but a total of about 60 Tamil pupils attended 2 schools at temples. The Verulam Tamil Institute which was in charge of vernacular schooling, collapsed when its chairman, a school principal, went to India on holiday, and efforts were being made, at the time of writing, to resuscitate this body. The Gujarati Hindus who constituted small groups of approximately 6 families in each of the 2 towns, had no organised vernacular education, but learnt the language in their homes.

The attitude of the majority of Indians towards education in the vernacular languages was one of indifference, except amongst the Muslims to whom the vernacular has a religious appeal. But even in the Muslim community some of the younger elements were reported to be indifferent. Indians regard themselves as South Africans, and realise that their progress depends upon their acculturation in a western society. One of the indices of acculturation is the adoption of the English language. The standard of spoken vernacular was poor. Tamil and Hindi films imported from India were said to be above most of the audiences, while the most fluent Indian linguist in Verulam was an elderly White who was born, and had spent most of his life, in India.

A Durban Indian newspaper, in a recent leader article, made an impassioned plea for the introduction of Indian languages into the existing school syllabus.¹⁹ These sentiments were not voiced by any Indians encountered during the course of the survey.

¹⁹The Graphic, 10 September, 1965.

The Natal Indian Teachers' Society has resisted the introduction of vernacular languages into the school system. "...we owe it to ourselves as South Africans to uphold the South African way of life, and we Indian teachers have no desire to help build a Tower of Babel."²⁰ The Department of Indian Affairs, which is to assume control of Indian education in 1966, has stated that, while the teaching of the vernacular at a primary school level will continue to be the responsibility of parents, pupils will be permitted to study an Indian language as an optional subject in their secondary syllabus.

In principle there can be no objection to such a move. Africans study their home language at school, while German and French are offered as optional subjects in some White schools. But the introduction of vernacular languages into the school syllabus would raise several practical difficulties. Determined efforts are to be made to introduce Afrikaans into Indian schools - a move which has been welcomed by the community. In addition to both official languages, how many of the four major Indian languages in the region (Tamil, Hindi, Telugu and Urdu) would it be possible to offer at any one school, or would the different language groups be obliged to attend different schools if they wished to learn their particular mother tongue? Attendance at all schools in the region cuts clean across linguistic lines, and the Indian community has no desire to be segregated internally by language or religion.

It is surprising that the two languages which are offered by the Joint Matriculation Board and the University College for Indians are Hindi and Arabic. Hindi ranks second to Tamil amongst Indian languages in South Africa, while Arabic caters essentially for the religious needs of the small Muslim community, and is seldom, if ever, spoken with any degree of fluency. Tamil lays obvious claim as the first Indian language which should be introduced into the school syllabus, while if a language is to be offered specifically for the Muslims, it would be more useful to teach a spoken language (Urdu being the obvious choice) rather than Arabic.

ADULT EDUCATION

Branches of the M.L. Sultan Technical College have been established in both Verulam and Tongaat. The Tongaat branch was

²⁰ Dr. A. D. Lazarus, *The Teachers' Journal*, July, 1965, p. 6.

opened in 1949, classes being held at a local school. Enrolment reached its peak in the mid-1950's, when there were approximately 250 students, consisting mainly of those attending sewing and physical training courses. High fees proved to be a stumbling block, and enrolment has fallen as a consequence. In 1965 there were 108 registered students, including 32 girls (mostly from the primary schools) in a ballet class. Of the adults, 30 belonged to a physical training club, 24 were studying Book-keeping, 12 Latin and 10 Afrikaans.

Classes in Verulam commenced in 1963, and were held at the Madressa School. Enrolment in 1965 totalled 68, the majority of whom were studying Book-keeping and Commerce, and the remainder Afrikaans. Few young women displayed any interest in the dress-making course, and this had, therefore, been discontinued.

With few exceptions, all those studying Afrikaans were teachers. In the Book-keeping and Commerce section, students were drawn from the ranks of businessmen and clerks.

TAKE-OVER OF INDIAN EDUCATION

No discussion of current Indian education would be complete without reference to its transfer from the Province to the Department of Indian Affairs. This transfer becomes effective on 1 April, 1966, and forms part of the Government's policy of racial segregation, under which the different racial groups in the country are to be compartmentalised. The control of African and Coloured education has already been removed from the hands of the provinces and taken over by the Central Government.

When the transfer of Indian education was first mooted in 1962, it was opposed by the Natal Indian Teachers' Society on several grounds, the chief of which was the fear that the standard would decline and that a separate type of education something akin to "Bantu Education" would be provided to fit Indians for their lowly station in life. The Society urged that the Government rather increase its subsidy to the Province. This viewpoint was held until 1964, when after several interviews between delegations from the Society and the Minister, the Society changed its outlook.

The Indians' Education Act was passed by Parliament in 1965, and it must be stated frankly that, whilst one may disagree with the

philosophy behind the Act, it does seem as if a new era in Indian education in South Africa is about to be ushered in. Both the Minister and the Director of Indian Education, Mr. P.R.T. Nel (who is extremely well liked by the Indians) have publicly given assurances²¹ which, if carried out (and there is no reason why they should not be), will eliminate the disabilities of the present system, enable more pupils to complete their education, and hasten the process of westernisation of the community. Some of these assurances are detailed in the following paragraphs.

There will be no lowering of standards, and Indian pupils will continue to write the examinations of the Natal Education Department. Conditions of service will be based on the Education Ordinance of Natal, and teachers will be allowed to serve in civic and social welfare organisations. The Natal Indian Teachers' Society will be recognised as the negotiating body for Indian teachers in the province. Teachers' salaries will be raised to the same level as that for Coloureds. The amount set aside for Indian education will not be pegged, as has been the case for Africans, but will come out of general revenue.

A rapid expansion of the school building programme is planned, to eliminate the platoon system, while an immediate programme will be launched to train sufficient teachers to relieve the shortage.

Compulsory education will be introduced, and free books will be provided immediately for all pupils up to Standard VI. Initially, a loan scheme is to be introduced for needy pupils in the secondary standards, but later free books will be provided up to the matriculation level. Vocational guidance and medical services, and aptitude and psychological tests, will be instituted, and school feeding will continue.

With regard to the syllabus, Afrikaans will be introduced as soon as possible, and the subjects offered will be extended. An extremely limited range of subjects has been taught in Indian schools, and this has probably been one of the most important reasons for the high percentage of failures compared with White schools, e.g. at Verulam High School, subjects offered at the Senior Certificate level were English, Latin, Mathematics, Biology

²¹Vide : Natal Mercury, 1 July, 1964; The Daily News, 2 October, 1964; Assembly, Hansard, 12/1965 and 13/1965; The Graphic, 10 September, 1965; et al.

History and Geography. There was no choice of subjects, and girls in particular were stated to experience great difficulty in passing Mathematics.

Cordial relationships have been established between the Natal Indian Teachers' Society and the Director of Indian Education, and this augurs well for the future. Dr. A.D. Lazarus has referred to the consultations between the Society and the Director as "refreshing breezes."²² "...never before in all the years that I have held office in the Society had we been consulted before some dispensation or other had been put into regulation or law; instead of confrontation there has been this degree of consultation with both the Minister and the Director of Indian Education."²³

Many Indians, including teachers, still harboured doubts about the take-over, and felt that these assurances might not be implemented. A Durban Indian newspaper summed up these feelings when it stated that "...we fear the Minister's good intentions will be defeated by his Government's very own political ideology, which demands that non-Whites must be treated differently even in the sphere of education."²⁴ Coming from people who have always worked under difficult conditions, such suspicions are not unexpected. A heavy responsibility rests upon the Minister to see that these fears are dispelled.

²² The Teachers' Journal, July, 1965, p. 5.

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ The Leader, 17 September, 1965.

C H A P T E R I V

HOME BACKGROUND OF PUPILS

Having discussed the broad picture of Indian education in the region, we now go on to examine the pupils themselves - their home background, their aspirations and their educational and vocational plans for the future.

METHODOLOGY

Selection of Sample

It was with these aims in mind that a study was conducted amongst pupils. A questionnaire (see Annexure 'A'), based largely on a model used by Dr. S. Cooppan during a similar study amongst Indian pupils in Durban from 1955 - 1957,¹ but adapted to local conditions and our purposes, was drawn up.

Questionnaires were distributed amongst pupils in Standards VI, VIII and X. It is in these standards that pupils sit for the public examination of the Natal Education Department. Successful candidates in the Standard VI examination obtain either a Continuation Certificate which entitles them to proceed to high school, or a School Leaving Certificate. Some pupils in the latter category, and, of course, some unsuccessful candidates, repeat their Standard VI year in the hope of obtaining a Continuation Certificate (White pupils are not required to obtain such a certificate in order to proceed to high school). Possession of the Junior Certificate (Standard VIII) is the minimum qualification required by girls wishing to train as nurses, while candidates in the Standard X examination who obtain a Senior Certificate with matriculation exemption, are eligible to proceed to University or Teachers' Training College.

For many, Standards VI or VIII are the end of the educational road, and a fall-off in numbers after these standards has long been a characteristic of Indian education in Natal. Parents usually endeavour to keep their children at school until they have completed primary school or the Junior Certificate, at which points economic pressure often compels them to cease their studies and seek employment.

¹S. Cooppan, The Level of Education and the Employment of Indian Youth in Durban (manuscript awaiting publication).

It is true that many pupils are unable to complete their primary school education, e.g. Standard IV is a fairly common stage for leaving school. Pupils in the lower standards were ignored, however, as they were unlikely to have been able to complete a detailed questionnaire satisfactorily, and would, furthermore, have been below the working age of 15 years. Pupils in the intermediate standards, i.e. VII and IX, were also ignored, as the great majority who reach these levels complete Standards VIII and X respectively.

Field Work

Permission to undertake the study had to be obtained from the Director of Education in Pietermaritzburg. Unfortunately this proved to be a frustrating experience - bureaucracies are not usually noted for swift action - and it was only after protracted negotiations that permission was finally granted on 13 June, 1964, six weeks after our request was lodged.

It had been hoped that the field work would be completed before the June terminal examinations in the schools, but this was rendered impossible. However, as soon as permission to proceed with the study was obtained, the writer, accompanied by his colleague, Mr. P.N. Pillay, undertook a reconnaissance tour of all Indian schools in the area. Discussions were held with school principals, their co-operation was sought and readily obtained, and dates were agreed upon on which to distribute and collect the forms at each school.

Of the 24 schools in the region, 16 had Standard VI classes, viz. Tongaat High School, Verulam High School, Isnembe, Fairbreeze, Victoria, Cottonlands, Doornkloof, Emona, Jhugroo, Madhosing, New Glasgow, St. Xavier's, Sarasvati, Talwantsingh, Umhloti and Verulam Madressa.

Field work unavoidably had to be sandwiched into the period between the completion of the examinations and the commencement of the school holidays. This period varied with each individual school. Field work commenced on 16 June, 1964, and was completed on 25 June, the day before the schools closed. The time factor did not permit our distributing questionnaires at all the legible schools, and we were reluctantly compelled to omit 4 small schools, 3 rural (Doornkloof and Emona near Tongaat, and Madhosing near Verulam) and one urban (Jhugroo at Ottawa) from the survey. The pupils in Standard VI in

these schools totalled only 79 (6.3%) out of 1,245 pupils in Standards VI, VIII and X in the region, and the representativeness of the sample was not affected by their omission.

Distribution of questionnaires was followed immediately by a briefing session, either in the open air or in classrooms. Briefing commenced with Mr. Pillay explaining the objects of the study and the necessity of co-operation on the part of pupils if the study was to yield any benefits to the Indian community. The writer then followed, reading through the form question by question and explaining how answers should be given. The completed questionnaires were collected 2 days (and in some cases, 3 days) after distribution.

In the event, it was not difficult to win the confidence of the pupils. Co-operation from pupils and teachers alike was spontaneous, and in most instances teachers scrutinized the completed forms and had the pupils correct any errors or omissions prior to our collecting the forms. On these visits, we endeavoured, wherever possible, to briefly examine the answers and to obtain clarification from the respondents wherever necessary. In this way, the answers were rendered more complete. It proved necessary to undertake an additional visit to one school in order to gather satisfactory answers.

Altogether 1,151 questionnaires were distributed (15 pupils were absent from school when we called), and the degree of co-operation received from the pupils may be judged from the fact that 1,074 forms were completed - a response of 93.3%. This meant that the sample represented 86.3% of the total number of pupils in the three standards in the region.

ANALYSIS OF THE SAMPLE

We shall now examine the family background of the pupils, and then, in the following chapter, discuss their aspirations and career preferences.

Although 1,074 pupils responded to the questionnaires, usable household details were only obtained from 940 pupils. In some cases vital questions were either unanswered or inadequately answered, and in others more than one pupil from the same household was included in the sample. When considering the personal details of pupils and parents, the figure of 1,074 will be used, but when analysing household

details, this will be reduced to 940.

Sex and Standard

The sample consisted of 759 boys and 315 girls distributed between standards as follows :

Table 15 Distribution of Sample by Sex and Standard

		<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
Standard	VI	420	238	658
"	VIII	258	59	317
"	X	81	18	99
		<u>759</u>	<u>315</u>	<u>1,074</u>

The ratio of boys to girls increased from 1.8 : 1 in Standard VI to 4.3 : 1 in Standard VIII and 4.5 : 1 in Standard X - a characteristic pattern in Indian education.

Age Distribution

An astonishing feature of pupils' answers was their apparent inability to calculate their ages correctly - their ages given in years and months invariably differed from those reckoned from their stated dates of birth. In all cases calculations of pupils' ages were based on their dates of birth.

Table 16 Distribution of Sample by Age and Standard

Age (Years)	Standard VI			Standard VIII			Standard X			Total		
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T
11	3	1	4							3	1	4
12	43	29	72							43	29	72
13	104	79	183	1		1				105	79	184
14	109	67	176	11	5	16				120	72	192
15	82	44	126	52	18	70	1		1	135	62	197
16	53	13	66	79	16	95	2	2	4	134	31	165
17	17	4	21	66	12	78	11	3	14	94	19	113
18	7	1	8	27	3	30	20	3	23	54	7	61
19	2		2	20	3	23	24	4	28	46	7	53
20				2	1	3	8	3	11	10	4	14
21					1	1	6	3	9	6	4	10
22							6		6	6		6
23							3		3	3		3
	<u>420</u>	<u>238</u>	<u>658</u>	<u>258</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>317</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>759</u>	<u>315</u>	<u>1,074</u>

The age structure of Indian pupils is higher than that of Whites. The median age of White pupils in Natal in 1963 was 13.56 years in Standard VI, 15.60 in Standard VIII and 17.34 in Standard X.² Not so the Indian. Only 40% of the Standard VI pupils in the sample were aged 13 years or younger; in Standard VIII only 25% were 15 years or younger; while in Standard X no fewer than 80% were 18 or older. This difference is due largely to the economic position of the Indians, which forces many pupils to enter school at an older age than their White counterparts. In the past, the shortage of accommodation at schools has had a similar effect. Then too, some pupils are obliged to interrupt their school career for a year or two in order to work and assist their families, before resuming their education. Classes at Indian schools are "...notoriously heterogeneous with respect to age"³

There are, however, encouraging signs that the age structure of Indian pupils is falling, e.g. between 1960 and 1963, the median age of Indian pupils in Natal decreased from 19.19 years to 19.02 years in Standard X, 17.12 years to 16.95 years in Standard VIII, 15.23 years to 14.79 years in Standard VI, and 6.93 years to 6.70 years in Class 1.⁴

Girls were generally younger than boys, both in the sample and in Natal where, in 1963, the median age of boys was higher than that of girls in all classes from Standard I upwards.

Religion

The religious affiliations of the respondents were as follows :

<u>Table 17</u>	<u>Distribution of Sample by Religious Affiliations</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Hindu	888	82.7
Islam	119	11.1
Christian	44	4.1
Other	3	.3
Unspecified	20	1.8
	<u>1,074</u>	<u>100.0</u>

"Other" religions in Table 17 consisted of 2 Buddhists and one Parsee.

²Province of Natal, Tables of Educational Statistics (Triennial), 1963.

³C. Ramphal, op.cit., p. 14.

⁴Province of Natal, op.cit., 1960 and 1963.

The 1960 population census revealed that 71.6% of Natal Indians were Hindus and 14.5% Muslims.⁵ Hinduism had proportionately more followers in the rural areas (80.3% compared with 69.5% in the urban areas), whereas Islam was stronger in the urban areas (16.6% as against only 5.9% in the rural areas).⁶ We have seen that the Indian population in the Tongaat-Verulam region was classified as approximately 56% rural and 44% urban. The pattern of religious affiliations in the sample was, therefore, fairly typical of such an area, with Christians and others being slightly under-represented and Hindus and Muslims being somewhat over-represented.

Hindus, with the exception of the Gujarati-speaking group, are descended mainly from indentured immigrants, and account for all but a few per cent of Indians in agriculture. The majority of Muslims, on the other hand, are descendants of "passenger" Indians, and are concentrated in the towns and cities where the bulk of Indian-owned shops and businesses are in their hands.

Christianity has made a relatively small impact on the Indian population of Natal - in 1960 only 6.7% were Christians. The majority of this group are converts from Hinduism, who have adopted biblical surnames. All the Christian pupils in the sample were of Hindu origin - of the parents, 22 fathers and 25 mothers were Tamil, 13 fathers and 12 mothers Telugu, and 5 fathers and 7 mothers Hindi. However, there has been little incentive for Indians to adopt the Christian faith, as any advantage which might have been gained by escaping from the Hindu social caste system (which, in any event, has almost disappeared in the South African milieu) would have been nullified by becoming ensnared in the Christian colour caste system.

There is little inter-marriage between Hindu and Muslim. Only two such examples occurred in the sample, the one between a Tamil-speaking Hindu man and an Urdu-speaking Muslim woman, and the other between a Malayalee man and Gujarati Muslim woman. As is usual in such instances, its policy of proselytism resulted in Islam predominating - the children were Muslims and it was almost certain that the husbands had converted to the Islamic faith.

Linguistic Stock

Over 90% of the pupils were the issue of marriages between partners of the same linguistic stock.

⁵Population Census, 1960, Sample Tabulation No. 6

⁶ibid.

Table 18 Distribution of Sample by Linguistic Stock
of Parents

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Both parents Tamil	387	36.0
" " Hindi	341	31.8
" " Telugu	146	13.6
" " Urdu	67	6.2
" " Gujerati	39	3.6
" " Memon	15	1.4
Exogamous marriages	79	7.4
	<u>1,074</u>	<u>100.0</u>

This language composition is much the same as that for Natal Indians as a whole. The Tamil, Telugu and Hindi groups are almost all Hindus by religion, while the Urdu and Memon groups are Muslims. About 75% of the Gujerati are Muslims, and the remainder Hindus.

The Tamil and Telugu speakers are of South Indian, and the remaining linguistic groups of North Indian origin. Tamil is a Dravidian language, while the others are Indo-Aryan languages of Sanskritic origin. Telugu and Urdu are closely related to Hindi (or "Hindustani" as it is often called by Natal Indians) although not to each other. Gujerati is also similar to Hindi in some respects, especially when written. Memon is generally regarded as a dialect, an offshoot of Gujerati, rather than as a separate language, but this is vehemently denied by the Memon themselves. This group, who use Gujerati in their business correspondence, are sometimes known as "Kutchis" (having emigrated from the Kutch area of India), and distinguish themselves from the "Surtis" (the Gujerati Muslims from Surat).

Some writers⁷ have classified Telugu as a Dravidian language, and have referred to wide language, religious and cultural differences between North and South Indians. Telugu is, however, derived from Sanskrit, but the Telugu and Tamil groups have cultural and religious affinities. It is in these two spheres that North and South Indians differ (although differences between North Indians and Tamils exist too in the linguistic sphere). Culturally, there are differences in dress and in the preparation of food, e.g. curry dishes. South Indians are predominantly rice eaters, unlike those from the North

⁷ Vide : S. Cooppan, op.cit., p.29; Hilda Kuper, Indian People in Natal, pp. 6, 40; Pierre L. van den Berghe, Canoville, p.39.

Table 19

Distribution of Sample by Standard and Linguistic Stock (Endogamous Marriages)

Language Group	Standard VI						Standard VIII						Standard X						Total					
	B		G		T		B		G		T		B		G		T		B		G		T	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tamil	147	38.3	78	35.6	225	37.3	108	45.0	25	42.4	133	44.5	22	29.0	7	41.2	29	31.2	277	39.6	110	37.3	387	38.9
Hindi	130	33.9	73	33.3	203	33.7	81	33.8	17	28.8	98	32.7	34	44.7	6	35.3	40	43.0	245	35.0	96	32.5	341	34.2
Telugu	56	14.6	37	16.9	93	15.4	30	12.5	13	22.0	43	14.4	9	11.8	1	5.9	10	10.8	95	13.6	51	17.3	146	14.7
Urdu	32	8.3	12	5.5	44	7.3	14	5.8	1	1.7	15	5.0	8	10.5	-	-	8	8.6	54	7.7	13	4.4	67	6.8
Gujerati	15	3.9	13	6.0	28	4.6	3	1.2	2	3.4	5	1.7	3	4.0	3	17.6	6	6.4	21	3.0	18	6.1	39	3.9
Memon	4	1.0	6	2.7	10	1.7	4	1.7	1	1.7	5	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	1.1	7	2.4	15	1.5
	384	100.0	219	100.0	603	100.0	240	100.0	59	100.0	299	100.0	76	100.0	17	100.0	93	100.0	700	100.0	295	100.0	995	100.0

whose staple food is bread. In the sphere of worship, North and South Indians place an emphasis on different members of the Trinity.

The majority of linguistically exogamous marriages (54 out of 79) were between Tamil and Telugu spouses. Of these 54 unions, 31 were between Tamil men and Telugu women. Marriages between North and South Indians were infrequent, the sample containing only 5 such cases, viz., Tamil-Hindu (2), Tamil-Urdu (1), Telugu-Hindi (1) and Malayalam-Gujerati (1). Cultural affinity, therefore, appeared to be more important than language affinity with regard to inter-linguistic marriages. But such marriages may be expected to become more common as the vernacular is displaced by English.

Of the remaining exogamous marriages, 2 were between Gujarati and Urdu (with Islam as a common bond), other languages were coupled with an Indian language on 8 occasions (English 6, French 1, Malay 1), while in 9 instances the linguistic stock of one of the parents was unspecified.

In both the Gujarati-Urdu marriages, the husband was Gujarati. There is a social distinction between the Gujarati Muslim and Urdu groups, the latter being of a lower status because of their more recent conversion from Hinduism, and the Gujarati are loth to allow their daughters to marry Urdu men, although they do not object to their sons marrying Urdu girls.

Confining our attention to endogamous marriages, we shall now discuss the distribution of pupils of each language group in the three standards.

There were proportionately more Tamil, Hindi and Urdu boys than girls, and proportionately more Telugu, Gujarati and Memon girls than boys, in the sample. Amongst the matriculation pupils, the Gujarati, Urdu and Hindi were proportionately over-represented. These were the three most affluent linguistic groups⁸ (together with the Memon who constituted only a small proportion of the sample), and this illustrates the important influence of the economic factor on the scholastic career of the Indian pupil.

Few clear-cut trends emerge when examining the proportional representation of each language group by sex and standard, but those that do appear are more precise with regard to girls. The Urdu were the most conservative in respect of girls' education (this is

⁸ Cooppan, op.cit., p. 30.

consistent with the findings of Cooppan in his Durban study,⁹ being consistently under-represented and, in fact, being without representation in Standard X. In each class, there were more Gujarati than Urdu girls. Few Muslim girls seemed to enter high school - there were only 3 (Memon, Gujarati and Urdu) in the Junior Certificate class, and one (Gujarati) in Standard X.

Tamil girls were over-represented in Standards VIII and X, while amongst the Standard VI and VIII girls, the Telugu were over-represented and the Hindi under-represented. The poorest group - the Telugu - had only one girl in the matriculation class.

Telugu boys were consistently under-represented in the sample, while in the case of Hindi, both sexes were under-represented in the 2 lower standards and over-represented in Standard X. A comparison of the Tamil and Hindi groups in Standard X affords an interesting contrast - there were many more Hindi boys, but in the case of girls, there were more Tamil. The Tamil group predominated in Standards VI and VIII, and in the sample as a whole, but its more than proportionate numbers of both sexes, particularly the boys, in the matriculation class, enabled the Hindi to predominate in that standard.

The Telugu bear special examination. We have already alluded to the fact that there were a less than proportionate number of boys from this group in each standard, and that the matriculation class contained only one Telugu girl. Furthermore, the proportion of Telugu pupils in each class decreased the higher the educational standard - from 15.4% in Standard VI to 14.4% in Standard VIII and 10.8% in Standard X. This would seem to indicate that there was a particularly high correlation between income and educational opportunity amongst the Telugu, and that whilst preference was given to the education of boys, many were expected to curtail their schooling and seek employment.

Home Language

Although most marriages were linguistically endogamous, the Indian languages had been supplanted to a significant extent by English as the home language of the respondents. (Table 20).

Almost one-half of the pupils, therefore, came from homes in which English had displaced the vernacular as the chief medium of communication. This is merely one aspect of the process of

⁹ibid., p. 76.

Although only 45% of the pupils gave English as their home language, we found, in a subsequent study amongst school-leavers, that, when questioned closely, even those who regarded the vernacular as their home language admitted that they addressed only the elders in the household in the vernacular, while amongst siblings and friends, English was the lingua franca. This observation was confirmed by our informants. Several school teachers quoted examples of their young children being unable to communicate with their grandparents because of a total lack of knowledge of the mother-tongue - an almost complete change within the space of three generations. Dr. Cooppan has aptly referred to this as a "silent linguistic revolution."¹⁰ A similar trend was reported in Durban by Dr. Ramphal, who found that English was spoken either wholly or mainly by 30.5% of the pupils when speaking to their elders, by 72.5% when speaking to their brothers and sisters, and by 95.2% when speaking to their three best friends.

Language Proficiency

If the above figures are significant, then what follows is perhaps even more illuminating. With the intention of measuring the displacement of the vernacular by English as the chief language amongst the youth, pupils were asked what language they read, wrote and spoke best and second best.

No fewer than 95.1% of the pupils replied that they could read, write and speak English best; 98.1% could read English best, 98.6% could write and 95.6% speak the language best. Considering the semi-rural nature of the region, the figure of 95.1% compares very favourably with the 98.2% of pupils whom Cooppan found read, wrote and spoke best through the medium of English in Durban¹² (although it should not be forgotten that the two studies were separated by 9 years). The close correlation between our findings and those of Cooppan, make the results of Ramphal's study surprising. Ramphal concentrated entirely on Standard VI pupils, only 78.1% of whom read, wrote and spoke English best. However, a further 20.6% declared themselves equally proficient at English and their home language.¹³ If, as seems

-
- 10 ibid., p. 136.
 11 C. Ramphal, op.cit., p. 169.
 12 S. Cooppan, op.cit., p. 136.
 13 C. Ramphal, op.cit., p. 170

Table 20

Distribution of Sample by Home Language

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
English	486	45.2
Tamil	222	20.7
Hindi	166	15.5
Telugu	63	5.9
Urdu	39	3.6
Gujerati	31	2.9
Memon	7	.6
English and Indian Language	8	.7
Unspecified	52	4.9
	<u>1,074</u>	<u>100.0</u>

acculturation that is taking place in the Indian community. However, not all the Indian language groups are becoming westernised at the same rate, as may be seen from Table 21.

Table 21

Distribution of Linguistically Endogamous Marriages
by Home Language

Language Group	Vernacular		English		Both		Unspecified		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tamil	201	51.9	174	45.0	-	-	12	3.1	387	100.0
Hindi	164	48.1	159	46.6	-	-	18	5.3	341	100.0
Telugu	55	37.6	86	56.2	-	-	9	6.2	146	100.0
Urdu	39	58.2	24	35.8	1	1.5	3	4.5	67	100.0
Gujerati Muslim	22	76.0	7	24.0	-	-	-	-	29	100.0
Gujerati Hindu	8	80.0	2	20.0	-	-	-	-	10	100.0
Memon	6	40.0	4	26.7	4	26.7	1	6.6	15	100.0
	<u>495</u>	<u>49.7</u>	<u>452</u>	<u>45.4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>.5</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>4.4</u>	<u>995</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The retention of the vernacular as the home language was, therefore, most common amongst the Gujarati and Urdu, i.e. amongst the descendants of "passenger" Indians who have always enjoyed a higher economic status than those of indentured origin. For the latter, adjustment to local conditions has been an urgent priority, and one of the chief agents in this process of westernisation has been the adoption of English. The effect of economic security on language assimilation may be further illustrated by the fact that the Urdu and Telugu,

the Muslim and Hindu groups with the lowest average annual incomes, had fewer mother-tongue adherents than the other linguistic groups in their respective religions. An exception must be made here, however, of the Memon. There were about 10 Memon households in the Tongaat area, but this group was not found in the Verulam area. The majority of Memon in the region were well-to-do merchants, and appeared to be in an intermediate position, with 26.7% using English and the vernacular equally as a home language. This state of linguistic flux on the part of the Memon is probably due to their small numbers, and their somewhat inferior social ranking to that of the Gujarati Muslims, although it will be seen that if the home language of the 4 pupils who answered "both languages" is taken as Memon, their position becomes almost identical to that of the Gujarati Muslims.

In Table 21, a distinction has been drawn between Gujarati Hindus and Gujarati Muslims. We are thus able to see that, generally speaking, the Muslims displayed greater resistance to the adoption of English than did the Hindus. However, the exceptions to this general pattern - the apparently progressive Memon on the one hand and the conservative Gujarati Hindu on the other hand - would seem to indicate that socio-economic status, rather than religion, is the more important factor influencing the adoption of English as a home language.

The influence of religion is probably most strongly felt amongst the Christians. With 34 out of 44, i.e. 75%, using English as their home language, the Christians had progressed further in this respect than the Hindus and Muslims. Of the remaining 10 Christians, 6 spoke Tamil, 2 Telugu and one Hindi, with one unspecified answer.

Focussing our attention now on the exogamous marriages, we find that more pupils (34) spoke English at home than any of the Indian languages. Of particular interest in this regard are the Tamil-Telugu marriages. Of the 54 such cases, English was the home language of 23, Tamil of 19, and Telugu of 9, with 3 unspecified answers. Tamil, the most important Indian language in Natal, tended to oust Telugu as the home language, irrespective of which spouse was Tamil. Of the 28 Tamil-Telugu marriages in which the vernacular was retained, the language of husband and wife each predominated on 14 occasions. But while the language of Tamil male spouses ousted that of Telugu spouses of the same sex (12 - 2), Telugu wives held their own with Tamil wives (7 - 7). English predominated in marriages between North and South Indians.

likely, this group was in fact more proficient at English, and the two figures are added together, the answer of 98.7% corresponds with Cooppan's 97.9% for Standard VI.¹⁴

Urdu was mentioned most often by those who communicated best in the vernacular, 6 reading, 4 writing and 10 speaking best through the medium of this language. Hindi and Tamil were the best spoken languages of 12 and 9 pupils respectively. The remaining Indian languages were insignificant in this regard.

Command of a second language was poor - 54.8% of the pupils could not read, 56.6% were unable to write, but only 16.6% could not speak, a second language. Urdu was more than proportionately represented in this category. Although there were only 67 pupils from endogamous Urdu marriages in the sample, no fewer than 85 pupils read, 87 wrote and 60 spoke the language. This is explained by the attendance of Gujarati Muslims and Memon at Madressa vernacular classes at which Urdu is taught. Fifteen Gujarati Muslims and 12 Memon mentioned Urdu in the second language category, mainly for reading and writing. Tamil as a second language was read by 195 pupils, written by 190 and spoken by 347 pupils, while the figures for Hindi were 121, 116 and 277 respectively. Telugu was spoken by 112 pupils, but few were able to read (25) or write (24) the language. More pupils spoke (33) than read (8) or wrote (8) Gujarati, while Memon was only mentioned as a spoken language (by 14 pupils). A handful of Muslims mentioned Arabic as a second language, mainly for reading (8).

The Muslims and the Gujarati Hindu, therefore, showed greater overall proficiency in the vernacular than did the Tamil, Hindi and Telugu. More pupils were able to communicate in Urdu than there were Urdu in the sample, while almost all the Gujarati and Memon pupils were able to speak their mother tongue. Of the Hindu languages, Telugu had lost the most ground. Cooppan's contention that "...except for a significant number of Muslims and Hindu-Gujarati, the rest do not really possess an effective command of an Indian language as a second language,"¹⁵ applies with equal force in the Tongat-Verulam region.

A number of non-Indian languages were mentioned in the second language category. English was read second best by 11 pupils,

¹⁴S. Cooppan, op.cit., p. 136.

¹⁵ibid., p. 136.

written by 7 and spoken by 37 pupils. This meant that of the 1,074 respondents, only 8 did not read, 9 did not write and 10 did not speak, English best or second best (figures which, incidentally, coincide exactly with the number of "unspecifieds" in each category). Five pupils each stated that they read, wrote and spoke Afrikaans as a second language, while for Zulu the figures were 4, 1 and 7 respectively. A number of pupils, mainly matriculation candidates, even mentioned Latin, 23 for reading and 26 for writing, but none for speaking!

We may, therefore, conclude that fluency in the vernacular is fast dying out amongst the youth, with the increasing westernisation of the Indian community. But while the large percentage of pupils who communicated best in English is impressive, the same cannot unfortunately be said of the standard of English. "The present position is that the average Indian child is in the process of making his second language his first, with the result that he is not really conversant with either of them."¹⁶ Part of the problem is that few Indian pupils come into close contact with English-speaking Whites and so seldom hear the language being spoken correctly. But an important contributory factor is that few teachers in the schools possess an adequate command of the English language, e.g. we were asked to read the draft of a paper on education prepared by some high school teachers, and were appalled at the poor standard of English and the many grammatical errors. The teachers are, therefore, unable to correct the children, with the result that unidiomatic usage of English continues.

This can best be illustrated by quoting some of the common expressions we encountered during the course of our field work: "I left school last before year"; "I am working to Mr. Smith"; "Next year I go to school back"; "I work in the farm"; "The pay is very less"; "I can't go to school because the finance is too less"; "I want to farm after being school"; "I went by the doctor". As in the case of Afrikaans, the inculcation of grammatical English in Indian schools presents a challenge to educationists in South Africa.

Having examined the personal details pertaining to the pupils, we shall now discuss the characteristics of the 940 households covered by the survey.

¹⁶C. Ramphal, op.cit., p. 15

Sex and Age Distribution of Households

We were able to determine the size of 935 households, which were found to contain 7,712 persons (4,103 males and 3,609 females). In Chapter II we noted the almost perfect sex parity in the region in the 1960 population census, yet the sex ratio in the sample was 1.13. It is not clear why this ratio should have differed from that obtaining in the region as a whole, but the explanation may perhaps be found in the predominance of males in the 3 standards under survey (male pupils exceeded females by 444, a figure which is not far short of the overall male majority in the sample of 494).

The age distribution of the households was, by the very nature of the survey, biased towards the age groups of the pupils, i.e. 10 - 19 years, and their parents, i.e. 35 - 55 years. This can be seen in Table 22 in which the age distribution of the sample is compared with that of the region as shown in Table 3 (p.18).

Table 22

Age Distribution of Households

<u>Age Group (Years)</u>	<u>No. of Persons</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>% for Region</u>
0 - 4	511	6.6	14.8
5 - 9	861	11.2	14.8
10 - 14	1,516	19.7	15.7
15 - 19	1,585	20.6	12.4
20 - 24	710	9.2	10.1
25 - 29	320	4.1	6.5
30 - 34	248	3.2	5.3
35 - 39	432	5.6	4.7
40 - 44	430	5.6	4.2
45 - 49	364	4.7	3.7
50 - 54	277	3.6	2.7
55 - 59	122	1.6	2.1
60 - 64	85	1.1	1.3
65 +	95	1.2	1.6
Unspecified	156	2.0	.1
	<u>7,712</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The sample had a smaller proportion of people in the 0 - 9 years and 20 - 34 years age ranges.

Type of Household

Of the 940 households, 624 (66.4%) were single, 277 (29.5%) joint and 39 (4.1%) unspecified. It is interesting to note the extent to which the joint (or extended) family system has been replaced, even in a comparatively rural area, by the single (or conjugal or independent nuclear) family unit, consisting of husband, wife and unmarried children. More will be said about this process in Chapter XI.

Size of Household

A household unit comprises persons ordinarily living together in the same house, dependent on a common income and sharing a common table.

Household sizes ranged from 2 to 24 persons, but were mainly between 5 - 11 persons.

Table 23Size of Households

Households			Persons
Size (No. of Persons)	No.	%	No.
2	2	.2	4
3	37	4.0	111
4	39	4.2	156
5	93	10.0	465
6	92	9.8	552
7	129	13.8	903
8	149	15.9	1,192
9	112	12.0	1,008
10	91	9.7	910
11	70	7.5	770
12	47	5.0	564
13	32	3.4	416
14	20	2.2	280
15	10	1.1	150
16	3	.3	48
17	1	.1	17
18	2	.2	36
19	2	.2	38
20	-	-	-
21	-	-	-
22	1	.1	22
23	2	.2	46
24	1	.1	24
Total	935	100.0	7,712

(We were unable to deduce the size of 5 households.)

The mean household size was 8.25 persons, the median size 8 persons.

Educational Attainment of Parents

The educational attainment of parents reflected striking differences between the sexes. These differences were largely the result of traditional attitudes towards the education of Indian women which have held sway in the past, and to which we have already alluded.

Table 24 Educational Attainment of Parents

<u>Educational attainment</u>	<u>Fathers %</u>	<u>Mothers %</u>
Nil	18.6	59.8
Class 1 - Std. IV	37.9	28.3
Std. V - VI	31.9	9.9
Std. VII - X	8.4	1.4
University graduates	1.7	-
Unspecified	1.5	.6
	100.0	100.0

The large proportion of mothers who had received no education is especially noteworthy, whilst it may be seen that virtually all female education ceased at Standard IV level. No mother had in fact reached Standard X, and only 2 had progressed as far as Standard IX. In the case of the fathers, it is probable that a number of those who had passed Standards VIII or X and who had entered the teaching profession, had obtained a teacher's diploma.

Educational Attainment of Households

The 935 households in the sample whose size we were able to determine consisted of 7,712 persons (4,103 males and 3,609 females). We were unable to determine the educational attainments of 9 households consisting of 94 people. This left us with a total of 7,618 people (4,051 males and 3,567 females), of whom 6,011 (78.9%) had received some schooling.

A higher proportion of males than females - 87.6% as against 69.6% - had been to school. Percentage calculations by standard for each sex would serve no useful purpose, as the sample was heavily biased in favour of Standards VI, VIII and X. However, it can be calculated from Table 25 that 69.2% of the males and 88.3% of the females had reached an educational level no higher than Standard VI. This does give some indication of the fall off in female education in the secondary and high schools.

Table 25

Educational Attainment of Households
(Highest Standard Reached but not Necessarily Passed).

Standard	Past Pupils/Students			Present Pupils/Students			Total		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Class I	6	4	10	108	85	193	114	89	203
" II	18	25	43	77	85	162	95	110	205
Std. I	72	73	145	121	127	248	193	200	393
" II	80	110	190	145	132	277	225	242	467
" III	84	171	255	137	127	264	221	298	519
" IV	163	232	395	111	131	242	274	363	637
" V	200	232	432	126	117	243	326	349	675
" VI	532	280	812	462	262	724	994	542	1,536
" VII	93	24	117	90	23	113	183	47	230
" VIII	140	46	186	308	71	379	448	117	565
" IX	50	7	57	49	10	59	99	17	116
" X	107	12	119	122	24	146	229	36	265
Training College	7	-	7	5	1	6	12	1	13
University	19	1	20	6	-	6	25	1	26
Unspecified	18	9	27	71	63	134	89	72	161
	1,589	1,226	2,815	1,938	1,258	3,196	3,527	2,484	6,011

The questionnaire asked for the highest standard passed, but unfortunately, many respondents stated the present standard of pupils or students. Table 25, therefore, shows the highest standard reached but not necessarily passed in respect of both past and present pupils.

The Training College and University figures were probably deflated, as the households in the sample contained 104 male and 17 female teachers, most of whom would have been qualified. The figures for Junior and Senior Certificate would, therefore, be correspondingly inflated (some Indian teachers had a Junior Certificate only.)

Household Activity Breakdown

Of the 7,712 persons, 1,830 (23.7%) were economically active, 5,721 (74.2%) economically inactive, and the balance unspecified. These figures approximated closely to those of the 1960 census which gave 25.2% as economically active and 74.8% as economically inactive in the Tongat-Verulam region. The economically active group were engaged as follows :

Permanent employment	1,468
Casual "	193
Unemployed	169
	<u>1,830</u>

This represented an unemployment rate of 9.2% of the economically active population - a considerable improvement on the 1960 figure for the region of 21%. It must, however, be remembered that the 1960 census took place in the midst of great political and economic uncertainty, and the national economy has staged a remarkable recovery over the last few years. A concomitant improvement in the unemployment position is, therefore, only to be expected.

The economically inactive groups were classified as follows :

Pre-school age	691
Scholars	3,213
Household duties	1,667
Pensioned	82
Retired	68
	<u>5,721</u>

(The household figure includes all those who had left school but were under working age, i.e. under 15 years).

We shall examine the occupational structure of the households in detail in Chapter VIII.

Employment Position of Fathers (or Guardians)

Pupils gave the employment position of their fathers or guardians as follows :

Table 26 Employment Position of Fathers or Guardians

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Permanently employed	720	76.6
Casually/temporarily employed	35	3.7
Unemployed	27	2.9
Pensioned, disabled	50	5.3
Of independent means	2	.2
Deceased	101	10.8
Unspecified	5	.5
	<u>940</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The large number of deceased is consistent with the comparatively short life expectancy of the Indian reflected in the age structure of the population.

Occupation of Parents (or Guardians)

(a) Fathers (or Guardians) : In an endeavour to ascertain the occupational class of household heads, pupils were required to name the present or past occupation of their fathers or guardians (past occupations applied where fathers or guardians were deceased). Replies to this question totalled 852, and revealed that 245 fathers were, or had been, in business on their own account, and that 607 were, or had been, employees.

The occupational categories of the 245 self-employed fathers were : farm (144), sales (39), artisan (31), transport (11), service (11), managerial (7) and professional (2). The figure for the farming category included 9 who were engaged in both farming and other pursuits, e.g. retail storekeeping and transportation. Cane growing (106) was the dominant agricultural pursuit, followed by market gardening (18) and mixed agriculture (10), while retail storekeeping (31) and building (10) were the chief activities in the sales and artisan categories respectively.

Employees were divided between the occupational classes as follows : artisan (251), farm (107), transport (66), professional (55), service (50), sales (49), clerical (27), and managerial (2). The majority of artisans were mill, factory or building industry workers. The farming category consisted largely of sirdars and field workers, while drivers, teachers and shop assistants predominated in the transport, professional and sales categories respectively.

Table 27 Distribution of Fathers (or Guardians) by Standard of Pupil and Employment Category

Employment Category	Standard VI		Standard VIII		Standard X		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(a) Self-employed Employee	129	25.2	82	32.4	34	38.6	245	28.7
	382	74.8	171	67.6	54	61.4	607	71.3
	511	100.0	253	100.0	88	100.0	852	100.0
(b) Non-manual Manual	101	19.7	51	20.1	29	33.0	181	21.2
	410	80.3	202	79.9	59	67.0	671	78.8
	511	100.0	253	100.0	88	100.0	852	100.0

Table 27 (a) shows that the Standard X respondents had the highest proportion of self-employed fathers, followed by pupils in Standard VIII. It would, therefore, appear that proportionately more children of self-employed fathers continued their education than did children of employees.

In Table 27 (b), the fathers have been divided into non-manual (professional, managerial, clerical and sales) and manual (farm, transport, artisan and service) workers. Again, the higher the standard, the higher the proportion of children with fathers in the non-manual class. A similar trend was discerned in Durban by Cooppan.¹⁷ However, the difference in the proportion of pupils from the non-manual class in Standards VI and VIII was almost negligible, and no consistent trend appears in the Table. The usefulness of any deduction from Table 27 (b) must be queried because of the complicating factor introduced by the farming sector. This sector is included in the manual class, yet it contained a large proportion of self-employed fathers (in fact constituting the largest occupational group amongst the self-employed fathers), including some of the most affluent members of the Indian community in the region, e.g. 33% of the Standard X respondents to this question had fathers in the farming sector, compared with 37.2% of Standard VIII and 28.0% of Standard VI pupils (Table 28).

Table 28 Distribution of Fathers (or Guardians) by Standard of Pupil and Occupational Category

Occupational Category	Standard VI		Standard VIII		Standard X		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional	32	6.3	14	5.5	11	12.5	57	6.7
Managerial	5	1.0	2	.8	2	2.3	9	1.5
Clerical	15	2.9	9	3.6	3	3.4	27	3.1
Sales	49	9.6	26	10.3	13	14.7	88	10.2
Farm	143	28.0	79	31.2	29	33.0	251	29.4
Transport	51	10.0	21	8.3	5	5.7	77	9.0
Artisan	175	35.2	86	34.0	21	23.8	282	33.0
Service	41	8.0	16	6.3	4	4.6	61	7.1
	511	100.0	253	100.0	88	100.0	852	100.0

Amongst the fathers of Standard X pupils, farming had supplanted the artisan class as the dominant occupational group. The proportion of fathers in the sales class increased the higher the

¹⁷S. Cooppan, op.cit., p. 103.

standard of the pupils, while the proportion in the artisan, transport and service categories decreased the higher the standard. No consistent trend was visible in the professional, managerial or clerical categories, although the matriculation pupils had approximately twice as high a proportion of fathers in the first two of these groups than did the pupils in Standards VI and VIII.

(b) Mothers : Precisely 900 pupils replied to the question concerning the past or present occupational class of their mothers. Of the 900 mothers, only 57 (5.7%) fell into the economically active category, the remainder being engaged in household duties only. Thirty-four mothers were employed outside the home (10 on a casual basis), 5 were stated to be conducting their own business, and 12 were helping in the family business (mainly retail stores and farms). Most respondents did not specify the type of work or business their mothers were engaged in, but occupations included field workers (3), food factory workers (2), a laundrywoman, a domestic servant, a district nurse and a prison wardress. A widow was managing a sugar cane farm on her own account, while family businesses in which mothers were assisting included retail stores (4), farms (2), a wholesale fresh produce concern, a tea room, a butchery and a photography studio.

Incomes of Parents (or Guardians)

The sub-sample in the case of fathers (or guardians) incomes was 839 (101 fathers or guardians were deceased). The majority of respondents (753) stated the incomes of their fathers, and a further 12 gave some indication of incomes. Of this latter group, 5 fathers could be categorised in the A+ (very comfortably off) group, and were accordingly placed in the R400+ per month income group; 4 were receiving disability or pension grants and were placed in the R10-19.99 per month income group; while 2 who refused to disclose income on grounds of privacy and one who worked on a commission basis, were classed with the "unspecified". (Table 29).

We have already noted that only 51 mothers were economically active. Twelve pupils did not reveal the income of their mothers, but this was counterbalanced by the number of mothers receiving grants, rent or a share of the profits, hence the sub-sample of 62.

Income here consists of money received by way of wages, pensions, grants, rent or any other source.

Table 29

Distribution of Parents by Monthly Income

Income Group	Fathers		Mothers	
	No.	%	No.	%
No income	25	3.0	-	-
R00.01 - 9.99	22	2.6	19	30.7
10.00 - 19.99	104	12.4	19	30.7
20.00 - 29.99	134	16.0	2	3.2
30.00 - 39.99	104	12.4	1	1.6
40.00 - 49.99	89	10.6	3	4.8
50.00 - 59.99	50	6.0	-	-
60.00 - 69.99	47	5.6	2	3.2
70.00 - 79.99	18	2.1	-	-
80.00 - 89.99	42	5.0	1	1.6
90.00 - 99.99	10	1.2	-	-
100.00 - 124.99	34	4.1	2	3.2
125.00 - 149.99	24	2.8	-	-
150.00 - 174.99	28	3.3	1	1.6
175.00 - 199.99	4	.5	-	-
200.00 - 249.99	10	1.2	-	-
250.00 - 299.99	2	.2	-	-
300.00 - 399.99	6	.7	-	-
400 +	10	1.2	-	-
Unspecified	76	9.1	12	19.4
	839	100.0	62	100.0

The above Table illustrates that 18.0% (almost one-fifth) of the fathers had incomes of less than R20 per month, 46.4% (almost one-half) less than R40 per month and 63.0% (almost two-thirds) less than R60 per month - the "two Rand a day" level which is often mentioned by proponents of minimum wage legislation. Only 14.0% received monthly incomes in excess of R100. The monthly income of 61.4% of the mothers was below R20.

Questions relating to income, in any survey, usually meet with some resistance on the part of subjects. The large proportion of unspecified incomes in Tables 29 and 30 was thus not entirely unexpected, and detracts from the usefulness of any deductions which may be drawn from the latter Table.

Table 30

Percentage Distribution of Fathers by Standard of Pupils and Monthly Income

Income Group	Standard VI	Standard VIII	Standard X	Total
Nil	3.2	3.1	1.2	3.0
R0.01 - 49.99	57.6	48.4	47.6	54.0
50.00 - 99.99	17.9	24.8	17.4	19.9
100.00 +	15.3	9.5	21.3	14.0
Unspecified	6.0	14.2	12.5	9.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The proportion of unspecified incomes was particularly large in respect of the two higher standards. In the nil and R0.01 - 49.99 income group, the proportion of fathers decreased the higher the standard of the pupil. No such trend was discernible in the over R50 per month income group, although it is noteworthy that the Standard X pupils had the highest proportion of fathers in the over R100 per month income group.

Income of Household

In attempting to ascertain whether the continuation of education is associated with an economic barrier, it is not only parental income which must be taken into account. The Indian kinship system places an obligation upon elder brothers and sisters, if so required, to assist younger siblings in continuing their education. Such obligations still exist, even though there are signs of increased individualism weakening these bonds as the joint family system disintegrates.

Multiple wage-earner units are still common within the Indian community (Table 31). The sub-sample in this instance consisted of 917 households, as 23 forms were unusable.

Table 31 Distribution of Households by Number of Wage-earners

Number of Wage-earners	Households	
	No.	%
Nil	47	5.1
1	401	43.7
2	269	29.3
3	120	13.1
4	58	6.3
5	17	1.9
6	4	.5
7	1	.1
	917	100.0

The majority (51.2%) of households, therefore, were multiple wage-earner units. This is in direct contrast to the situation pertaining in Durban, where it was found in 1963 that 54.8% of the households were single wage-earner units,¹⁸ a natural consequence of the faster breakdown of the joint family system in an urbanised and industrialised community.

¹⁸ Unpublished survey by Department of Economics, University of Natal.

The average number of wage-earners in the sub-sample was 1.8 per household.

After discarding the unusable forms, it was possible to determine the monthly income of 801 households.

Table 32 Distribution of Households by Monthly Income

Income Group	Households	
	No.	%
No income	8	1.0
R00.01 - 9.99	12	1.5
10.00 - 19.99	54	6.7
20.00 - 29.99	93	11.6
30.00 - 39.99	83	10.4
40.00 - 49.99	83	10.4
50.00 - 59.99	59	7.4
60.00 - 69.99	67	8.4
70.00 - 79.99	35	4.4
80.00 - 89.99	44	5.5
90.00 - 99.99	32	4.0
100.00 - 124.99	65	8.1
125.00 - 149.99	53	6.6
150.00 - 174.99	30	3.8
175.00 - 199.99	18	2.2
200.00 - 249.99	28	3.5
250.00 - 299.99	14	1.7
300.00 - 399.99	14	1.7
400.00 +	9	1.1
	801	100.0

This table shows that 49.0% of the households received incomes of under R60 per month, while 71.3% received less than R100 per month. Household incomes will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter IX, when we shall see that the average monthly income per person in the 801 households was R10.34.

CHAPTER V

ASPIRATIONS OF PUPILS

An important aspect of the study concerned the aspirations of pupils, their career preferences and actual plans for the future. This aspect was covered by questions in Schedule II of the questionnaire distributed to pupils in Standards VI, VIII and X (see Annexure 'A').

CAREER PREFERENCES AND PLANS

Pupils were asked what they would most like to do the following year, i.e. 1965, and what they actually intended doing.

Table 33 Aspirations and Future Plans of Pupils

	Aspirations		Plans	
	No.	%	No.	%
Continue full-time studies	870	81.0	821	76.5
Get a job	19	1.8	54	5.0
Stay at home	11	1.0	23	2.1
Uncertain	172	16.0	174	16.2
Unspecified	2	.2	2	.2
	1,074	100.0	1,074	100.0

The overwhelming majority of pupils desired to continue their education. A comparison with the pupils in Standards VI, VIII and X in 1963, revealed that 107 boys entered the labour market and 77 girls stayed at home in 1964. It seemed likely, therefore, that the fate of the "uncertains" would depend largely upon the financial position of their families at the end of the year, and that a large number would either seek work or stay at home.

Table 34 Aspirations and Future Plans of Pupils by Standard

	Aspirations						Plans					
	Std. VI		Std. VIII		Std. X		Std. VI		Std. VIII		Std. X	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Continue full-time studies	523	79.5	257	81.1	90	90.9	493	74.9	243	76.6	85	85.9
Get a job	10	1.5	7	2.2	2	2.0	30	4.5	19	6.0	5	5.0
Stay at home	10	1.5	1	.3	-	-	22	3.4	1	.3	-	-
Uncertain	115	17.5	50	15.8	7	7.1	112	17.0	53	16.8	9	9.1
Unspecified	-	-	2	.6	-	-	-	.2	1	.3	-	-
	658	100.0	317	100.0	99	100.0	658	100.0	317	100.0	99	100.0

Tables 33 and 34 show that more pupils aspired to further their education than actually planned to do so, and that more planned to work than preferred to work - an illustration of economic effects on career planning. These trends were found in all three standards.

The proportion of pupils both preferring and planning to continue their full-time studies increased the higher the standard, the increase being particularly sharp between Standards VIII and X. But Table 35 shows that this trend was not the same for both sexes - amongst the boys, Standard X had the highest, and Standard VIII the lowest, proportion with preferences and plans directed towards continuing their education.

In Standard VI, proportionately more boys than girls aspired and planned to further their studies, while in the higher standards the reverse obtained. In the Senior Certificate class, 90.1% of the boys expressed a preference for further study, but only 84.0% had formulated plans in this direction, whereas in the case of the girls, preferences and plans co-incided.

That Standard X pupils had the highest expectation of continuing their education, is probably explained by the fact that the completion of a high school career is not looked upon as the end of the educational road. Rather, the possession of a matriculation certificate is considered as the key that unlocks the door to higher education, the open sesame to one of the professions.

The Junior Certificate class contained the highest proportion of pupils aspiring and planning to enter the labour market, while the lowest percentage in this category was found in Standard VI. Amongst the boys, there was little difference in the proportion in each standard preferring to work, with the highest proportion in the matriculation class and the lowest in Standard VIII. But when it came to plans, the proportion more than doubled in each class, the highest being in Standard VIII. The only girl who declared a preference for working was a Standard VIII pupil, but 5 girls (3 in Standard VI and 2 in Junior Certificate) planned to enter into employment.

With one exception, all the pupils in the "stay at home" category were in Standard VI. It would appear that the completion of the primary school standards is the crucial point in the educational career of the Indian schoolgirl, because it is at this stage that the vital decision on whether or not to enter high school has to be made.

Table 35

Aspirations and Future Plans of Pupils by Sex and Standard

	Aspirations								Plans							
	Std. VI		Std. VIII		Std. X		Total		Std. VI		Std. VIII		Std. X		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Boys</u>																
Continue studies	350	83.3	208	80.6	73	90.1	631	83.2	332	79.0	196	76.0	68	84.0	596	78.5
Get a job	10	2.4	6	2.3	2	2.5	18	2.4	27	6.4	17	6.6	5	6.1	49	6.4
Stay at home	1	.2	-	-	-	-	1	.1	4	1.0	1	.4	-	-	5	.7
Uncertain	59	14.1	43	16.7	6	7.4	108	14.2	57	13.6	44	17.0	8	9.9	109	14.4
Unspecified	-	-	1	.4	-	-	-	.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	420	100.0	258	100.0	81	100.0	759	100.0	420	100.0	258	100.0	81	100.0	759	100.0
<u>Girls</u>																
Continue studies	173	72.7	49	83.1	17	94.4	239	75.9	160	67.3	46	78.0	17	94.4	225	70.8
Get a job	-	-	1	1.7	-	-	1	.3	4	1.6	3	5.1	-	-	7	2.2
Stay at home	9	3.8	1	1.7	-	-	10	3.2	18	7.6	-	-	-	-	18	5.8
Uncertain	56	23.5	7	11.8	1	5.6	64	20.3	55	23.1	9	15.2	1	5.6	65	20.6
Unspecified	-	-	1	1.7	-	-	1	.3	1	.4	1	1.7	-	-	2	.6
	238	100.0	59	100.0	18	100.0	315	100.0	238	100.0	59	100.0	18	100.0	315	100.0

Economic and psycho-social factors (the latter chiefly in the form of conservative attitudes towards female education) come into play in influencing this decision. However, once having decided to continue studying, the majority of girls would seem to have little difficulty in completing their high school education, at any rate, while it should be noted that 94.4% of Senior Certificate girls intended continuing their studies.

The degree of uncertainty amongst pupils in the sample decreased the higher the standard. This pattern was true of the girls, and the great degree of uncertainty - over 20% - amongst girls in Standard VI lends strength to the contention that this is the crucial point in the education of females.

Amongst the boys, however, uncertainty as to preferences and plans was most prevalent at the Standard VIII level, followed by Standard VI and Standard X. We have already alluded to the fact that the highest proportion of boys planning to work was encountered in Standard VIII. Many parents who are able to keep their children at school until this level, are unable to readily meet the costs of a Senior Certificate education. Boys from such families face a dilemma. On the one hand, the possession of a Junior Certificate still represents a comparatively high educational achievement for Indians, and affords openings to white collar and the more skilled artisan jobs. On the other hand, a further two years at school would offer the prospects of a professional career with higher potential earning power. Non-economic factors, too, may exert an influence on such decisions. Outright failure, or failure to obtain a Continuation Certificate, in the examination, may act as a disincentive to further education. The enhanced social status conferred upon both the individual and his family by the attainment of higher education, may lead to great sacrifices being made to ensure continuation of studies. The effect of conditions on the labour market must also be considered - in times of high unemployment, parents may keep their children at school rather than have them face the demoralising prospect of walking the streets in search of employment.

Our follow-up study of school leavers revealed that proportionately more Standard VI boys had entered the labour market than had those from Standard VIII, and indicated that once the transition from primary to high school had been made, the chances of a pupil continuing his studies were greater. In particular, those who were

fortunate enough to obtain their Senior Certificate seemed to experience less difficulty in proceeding to an institution of higher education.

In Standards VIII and X, proportionately more boys than girls were in the "uncertain" category, while the reverse was true of the Standard VI class. For the sample as a whole, proportionately more girls than boys were in a state of uncertainty about their immediate future, a reflection of "...the internal tensions and dilemma in a society which is in a state of cultural flux, particularly in respect of the status and role of women."¹

We have already mentioned that the fate of many pupils in this state of mind might hinge upon the financial position of their household towards the commencement of the following academic year. A comparison of preferences with plans shows that the number of boys who planned to work, and the number of girls who planned to stay at home, exceeded the number who indicated preferences in these directions. While these increases in preferences over plans merely offset the decrease in the number who planned, as compared with those who preferred, to study, and while the number in the "uncertain" category was consistent as regards both preferences and plans, Cooppan's observation that "...tradition seems to decide the issue for those who are in doubt"² would appear to be valid.

The fact that 75% of the pupils planned to continue their studies, is encouraging. More especially, encouragement may be drawn from the high proportion (over 70%) of girls intending to prolong their education - an index of changing parental attitudes towards female education, and an indication of a possible increase in the supply of female labour in the next few years.

Comparison with Indian Pupils in Durban

It is interesting to compare the above findings with those of Cooppan in Durban. Due allowance must naturally be made for the time interval of approximately 9 years between the two studies, and the fact that the one study was conducted in an industrialised and urbanised community, and the other in a region with a predominantly rural (56%) population. One would, therefore, expect some time lag in so far as the rate of acculturation in the two areas is concerned,

¹S. Cooppan, op.cit., p. 149.

²ibid., p. 153.

as rural folk are traditionally more conservative and resistant to change than their urban counterparts.

Amongst Standard VI pupils, those who opted for further studies in the sample totalled 79.5% (preference) and 74.9% (plan) compared with 69.0% and 65.4% respectively in Durban.³ Proportionately more pupils of both sexes favoured further education in the Tongaat-Verulam region than in the Durban survey, fewer were attracted to the labour market, fewer girls expressed a preference or had formulated plans for staying at home (only 7.6% had planned to stay at home as compared with 14.6% in Durban)⁴, and more were in an uncertain state of mind.

Of the Junior and Senior Certificate pupils, proportionately fewer boys and proportionately more girls in the sample opted for further studies than was disclosed by the Durban study, although the percentage of boys in this category in the two studies was almost identical. Boys in the sample found the labour market more attractive than did those in Durban, while the reverse was true of the girls. The degree of uncertainty was greater amongst both sexes in Standard VIII, and less amongst both sexes in Standard X, in the sample than in Durban.

Generally speaking, there was little difference between the results of the two studies so far as the boys were concerned, the most significant differences which emerged being in respect of the girls, viz., their greater inclination towards continuing their studies, and their greater disinclination towards entering the labour market, in the sample than in Durban.

It is probable, however, that the aspirations of Indian youths (and parents) in Durban have become even more gravitated towards education in the past decade, and that a study amongst pupils in Durban today would reveal a time-lag on the part of their more rural counterparts in the Tongaat-Verulam region.

PLANS FOR THE FOLLOWING YEAR

We shall now examine the career plans of those who expected to continue their studies or enter the labour market, and the reasons advanced by those who planned to stay at home.

³ibid., Table 44, p. 141.

⁴ibid., Table 48, p. 144.

Continue full-time Studies

Those who wished to continue their studies intended enrolling at the following institutions :

High School	708
University	22
Training College	64
Technical College	10
Hospital (Nursing)	8
Other institutions	4
Unspecified	5
	<hr/>
	821
	<hr/>

Of the 1963 school leavers, 22 were at University in 1964, and 24 at Training College. Thus a number of those who would have liked to go to Training College might have been unable to for various reasons (e.g. lack of finance, non-acceptance at College, failure in examinations) and would probably have entered the labour market.

Those proceeding to University intended reading for degrees in Arts (6), Law (4), Medicine (4), Science (3), and Pharmacy (2). Five pupils specifically mentioned that they hoped to teach after obtaining their degrees, while 3 made no mention of the courses they hoped to follow. At Technical College, pupils favoured commercial and secretarial (3), teaching (2), electrical (1), dress-making(1) and motor mechanics (1) courses. Two did not specify their intended courses.

Included in the number who planned to proceed to Training College were 4 Junior Certificate pupils. Until recent years, those who had passed Standard VIII were eligible to train as teachers, but this is no longer the case, Senior Certificate now being the minimum entrance qualification at Training College. These four pupils must, therefore, have been labouring under a misapprehension, and would probably have joined the ranks of those returning to high school.

One boy stated that he was going to a hospital to train as a doctor. It was not clear whether he intended studying medicine at University (perhaps confusing the Durban Medical School with King Edward VIII Hospital where students do some practical work), or becoming a male nurse. He was, however, included amongst the 8 who were going to undergo training at a hospital.

Of the 4 who were proceeding to other institutions, 2 Urdu boys intended taking up Islamic studies in India (although one intimated that he might continue to high school), one boy intended studying

Hindi at home and also occasionally helping in the family shop, and one girl planned to do a correspondence course. All the pupils in this category were in Standard VI.

The religious affiliations and linguistic groups of those who intended proceeding to University and Training College make an interesting study.

Table 36 Percentage Distribution of Aspirant University and Training College Students by Religious Affiliation

Religion	University			Training College			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Hindu	82.4	80.0	81.8	85.7	100.0	88.3	84.8	93.8	86.6
Islam	17.6	-	13.6	12.2	-	10.0	13.6	-	11.0
Christian	-	20.0	4.6	2.1	-	1.7	1.4	6.2	2.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Overall, both the Hindus and Muslims were slightly over-represented at the expense of the Christians. The most significant feature of Table 36 however, is that not a single Muslim girl intended enrolling at either of these two institutions of higher education (although this is not surprising when it is remembered that there was only one Muslim girl in Standard X in the sample).

Table 37 Percentage Distribution of Aspirant University and Training College Students by Linguistic Group

Linguistic Group	University			Training College			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Tamil	23.5	20.0	22.7	30.6	45.5	33.3	28.8	37.5	30.5
Hindi	41.1	20.0	36.4	47.0	45.5	46.7	45.5	37.5	43.9
Telugu	5.9	-	4.6	6.1	9.1	6.7	6.0	6.2	6.1
Urdu	11.8	-	9.1	6.1	-	5.0	7.6	-	6.1
Gujerati	5.9	40.0	13.6	4.1	-	3.3	4.5	12.6	6.1
Other +	11.8	20.0	13.6	6.1	-	5.0	7.6	6.2	7.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Other linguistic groups were Tamil-Telugu, English-Tamil and Urdu-Gujerati.

Overall, the Tamil and Telugu groups were under-represented, and the Hindi and Gujarati groups over-represented. The under-representation of the Telugu, the poorest section of the Indian community, was especially noticeable.

Amongst the boys, the South Indian groups were under-represented, and the Hindi, Urdu and Gujarati groups over-represented. The Tamil, Hindi and Gujarati groups were over-represented, and the Telugu under-represented, amongst the girls. We have already remarked on the absence of Urdu girls in Standard X in the sample (page 65).

The wealthier linguistic groups were over-represented in the University category - the Hindi and Urdu amongst the boys and the Gujarati particularly amongst the girls. Proportionately more Tamil, Hindi and Telugu, and proportionately fewer Urdu and Gujarati, intended proceeding to Training College than to University. This is a reflection of the lower costs of training at the former institution, which makes it more attractive to the less affluent linguistic groups - the Tamil and Telugu - than the University.

Although proportionately more Hindi than Tamil boys intended entering University and Training College, the proportion of girls from these two groups was equal.

The seven girls who planned to train as nurses were all Hindu by religion, and mainly Tamil (5) by linguistic group. The remaining 2 linguistic groups represented here were Hindi and Telugu. Again, it was the low cost of training, and the faster breakdown of conservative attitudes, which attracted the Tamilians to the nursing profession.

The 10 pupils who intended to proceed to Technical College consisted of 6 Hindus, 2 Muslims (both boys) and 2 Christians. Linguistically, 3 were Hindi, 3 Telugu, 2 Tamil, one Memon and one Urdu.

Get a Job

Fifty four pupils (including 5 Standard X's) indicated that they would seek a job in 1965. Standards VI and VIII pupils were asked why they intended leaving school to seek a job. Thirty three replied that they would be forced to begin work owing to family circumstances, while 16 preferred working to studying.

Pupils were asked what sort of job they would most like to do. Eleven aspired to become clerks, 6 factory workers, 4 teachers and 3 motor mechanics. Other jobs mentioned were: laboratory worker (2), farmer (2), hairdresser (2), driver (2), salesman (2), mill worker (1), field worker (1), hotel worker (1), waitress (1), shorthand typist (1), bookkeeper (1) and handyman (1). Eleven did not specify their career preferences, and 2 stated that they wished to do "any job to earn a salary."

Aspirations were modest and pupils did not allow their imagination to run riot. Jobs mentioned were in spheres in which Indians were already established, and few looked to new fields. This was probably due, on the one hand, to a lack of awareness - studies in other countries have shown that children from socially underprivileged groups are more restricted in their range of occupational choice, and are aware of fewer opportunities, than are socially privileged adolescents⁵ - and, on the other hand, to a realisation of the confines within which Indians have to seek employment in South Africa due to legislative and racial barriers.

Seven girls intended entering the labour market. The job preferences of the 3 Junior Certificate girls were teaching, shorthand typing and clerical work. Only two of the 4 Standard VI girls stated their preferences, which were directed more towards manual work, the one wishing to become a factory worker and the other, a waitress.

A similar trend was found amongst the boys, those in Standard VI showing a greater inclination towards manual work (i.e. the farm, transport, artisan and service categories) than their seniors who indicated a marked preference for non-manual occupations (i.e. the professional, managerial, sales and clerical categories). Of the Standard VI boys, 15 wished to become manual, and only 3 non-manual workers. Manual work was preferred by 2 Standard VIII pupils, as against 11 who chose non-manual jobs. Amongst the Senior Certificate boys, 4 out of 5 preferred non-manual work.

Within the non-manual category itself, there was also a stratification of occupational preferences. The 4 matriculation boys favoured the professional field (3 teachers and one laboratory technician). Amongst the Standard VIII boys, 10 chose clerical work and one a career as a laboratory assistant, while of the Standard VI's, 2 preferred to become shop assistants and one, a clerk.

All the respondents replied in the affirmative to the question asking them whether there was a reasonable hope of their obtaining their most preferred job in Natal. This was a further indication that the narrow prospectives imposed by their working class environment, coupled with their sense of social awareness, mitigated against the pupils indulging in flights of imagination.

Pupils were next asked to state what sort of job they hoped to obtain in 1965. Two important points emerged from the answers

⁵ibid., p. 215.

to this question - firstly, the prevalence of uncertainty (20 of the 54 pupils were uncertain), and secondly, the fact that in only about 60% of the cases (25 out of 41 who specified their preferences) did the jobs which the pupils hoped to obtain correspond with their job preferences. However, in two of these cases, pupils displayed a lack of awareness of reality. A Standard VIII girl hoped to become a teacher the following year, but did not have the necessary qualification, viz. a Senior Certificate pass, while a 14 year old Standard VI boy hoped to obtain a job as a driver without realising that he was too young to obtain a driver's licence.

There were two further examples of such lack of knowledge of the labour market, viz., a 16 year old boy who hoped to become a driver, and a 14 year old Standard VI girl who stated that she had to work to support her family and hoped to obtain a job as a nurse - a career which requires at least a Junior Certificate education.

Uncertainty was more prevalent amongst the girls than the boys. Five of the 7 girls were uncertain as to the job they would obtain, while the remaining 2 would be unable to obtain the work they listed, i.e. teaching and nursing, because of insufficient qualifications. The high degree of uncertainty amongst the girls was probably indicative of the chronic shortage of suitable employment opportunities for Indian females in the region. Amongst the boys, uncertainty was greatest amongst the Standard VI's, followed by the Standard VIII's.

Jobs which the Standard VI boys hoped to obtain were mainly in the manual work category, while those in the Junior and Senior Certificate classes mentioned mainly non-manual occupations. A breakdown of the jobs which the pupils hoped to enter, revealed the following (excluding the uncertain pupils and those who were unaware of employment conditions) : clerk (9), factory worker (4), shop assistant (3), laboratory assistant (2), mechanic (2), mill worker (2), driver (2), hairdresser (2), and teacher, farmer, field worker, bricklayer, handyman and hotel worker (one each).

The next question pupils were required to answer related to parental preferences towards career selection for their children. The career preferences of pupils and parents corresponded in 28 cases, while in 21 cases one of the parties was uncertain. This meant that on only 5 occasions did the views of parents and pupils on the choice of a career clash. Only in 2 cases did parents disapprove of the

pupil's choice of a job for the following year - the one boy (a Standard VIII pupil) hoped to obtain a job as a mill worker, and it is probable that his parents, although not stating their preference, felt that his education had fitted him for something better; while in the second case, the parents wanted their son to continue his education.

Parents were not fastidious about the type of work their children aspired towards or hoped to obtain in 1965, and opposition to pupils' employment plans was negligible.

There was a fairly high degree of uncertainty amongst pupils not only with regard to the type of work they hoped to obtain the following year, but also as to whether or not they would be successful in obtaining employment. Four pupils had been promised a definite job, 7 knew of a job they were certain to get, 19 thought they would obtain some sort of job, and 16 were uncertain whether they could obtain a job at all upon entering the labour market. Eight pupils did not respond to this question.

An examination of the religious affiliations of the pupils in this category reveals an over-representation of Hindus and an under-representation of Muslims - a reflection of the relative economic status of the two groups. No Muslim girls intended entering the labour market.

Table 38 Distribution of Aspirant Workers by Religious Affiliation

<u>Religion</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Hindu	49	90.7
Islam	2	3.7
Christian	3	5.6
	<u>54</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Amongst the linguistic groups, Hindi and Telugu were over-represented while Tamil was proportionately represented. Urdu was under-represented, while no Gujarati or Memon pupils planned to seek employment.

Table 39 Distribution of Aspirant Workers by Linguistic Group

<u>Linguistic Group</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Tamil	19	35.2
Hindi	24	44.4
Telugu	8	14.8
Urdu	2	3.7
Other	1	1.9
	<u>54</u>	<u>100.0</u>

No fewer than 5 of the 7 girls belonged to the Tamil group. The over-representation of Hindi was surprising, since this group is generally in a better economic position than the South Indian groups.

Stay at Home

Twenty three pupils stated they would stay at home in 1965, 7 out of their own choice and 16 because of family circumstances. The reasons advanced by those who actually wanted to stay at home included a preference for household work, learning dress-making at home, studying sewing part-time at Technical College, and marriage (advanced by a 15 year old girl). Sixteen said they would be forced to stay at home because of: poverty (8), ill health of mother (3), assist mother (2), distance from school (1), and attitude of parents towards education of girls (1). The latter reason was given by a 13 year old Hindi girl in Standard VI whose father was a cane grower at New Glasgow. She stated that "being a girl, my parents want me to stay at home and do household work, e.g. cooking." This was the only example in the sample of a girl being deliberately kept at home because of the conservative attitude of parents. The girl who gave distance from school as her reason for staying at home was a 13 year old Standard VI pupil who had to walk 6 miles to reach her school in Tongaat.

Those who would be forced to stay at home included 5 boys, 3 of whom stated that they could not afford further studies but were too young and too small to work. However it appeared that one boy would help on his father's farm, and that 3 others would seek work. One girl who intended staying at home because of the ill-health of her mother, hoped to do a part-time course in domestic science at the Technical College branch in Tongaat.

None of the 5 girls who advanced poverty as their reason for staying at home, stated why they would not be seeking some type of paid employment.

All but 2 of the pupils in this category were under 16 years of age, and 16 were under 15 years of age. The youngest was a 12 year old girl. Those who were 13 years of age included 6 girls and a boy.

C H A P T E R V I

EXPERIENCES OF YOUTH ON THE LABOUR MARKET

Having examined the aspirations of pupils in Standards VI, VIII and X, our next step ~~was~~ to trace those who had reached these levels of education the previous year, and who had subsequently left school. Our primary object was to establish to what extent the aspirations of school leavers had been met on the labour market, and we did not, therefore, concern ourselves with those who had enrolled at University or Training College, or with those girls who had remained at home. In the event, our study was confined entirely to males, as no girls had entered the labour market.

METHODOLOGY

School principals willingly made available their school registers to us, and from these records it was possible to determine which pupils had left school at the end of 1963. Information relating to the whereabouts of school leavers was obtained from senior pupils, e.g. Standard X pupils who knew the movements of their immediate predecessors, previous classmates and pupils who were relations, neighbours and acquaintances. Teachers and pupils went out of their way to obtain the necessary information for us, but in the isolated instances where they were unable to assist us, we questioned former classmates encountered during field work, or the parents of the school leavers.

In this way, we were able to establish the whereabouts of school leavers as follows :

Studying :

At University	21	
At Training College	24	
At Medical School	2	
At Home	3	
In India	<u>1</u>	51
Girls at home		77
Boys working or seeking work		106
		<u>234</u>

Visits were paid to the Registrars at the University College, Durban, and Springfield Training College, and their records were found to correspond with the above figures.

Our concern, however, was with the 106 boys who had entered the labour market. Two questionnaires were prepared, one for employees (Annexure 'B') and one for work-seekers (Annexure 'C'). We cast our net wide, and managed to contact 97 boys, all but a handful of whom were personally interviewed. Three eluded our grasp entirely, while 6 of the 8 questionnaires posted to places as far afield as Pietermaritzburg and Umhlathuzi in Zululand, yielded no response. The time taken in tracking down the boys was well spent, and vindicated our belief that the personal interview method would yield the best results.

In many cases, tracing was extremely difficult, and we would be directed to a particular place, only to find that the lad had moved on to pastures new. Many people, both important and humble, assisted us during the tracing work, and without the magnificent co-operation we received, a larger proportion of boys would not have been contacted.

Field work was carried out during the period August - September 1964, and the writer was once again accompanied by Mr. P.N. Pillay.

The interviews revealed that 81 boys were working, the remaining 16 being unemployed.

EMPLOYEES

Of the 81 boys in employment, 10 were matriculants, 6 had left school after Standard VIII and 65 at the end of Standard VI.

Examination Results

The majority (52) had achieved a full pass in the school examinations at the end of 1963.

Table 40 Distribution of Employees by Standard and Examination Results

Examination Results	Std. VI	Std. VIII	Std. X
Matriculation Exemption	-	-	2
Continuation Certificate	44	6	-
School Leaving Certificate	8	-	8
Failure	13	-	-
	65	6	10

The possession of a School Leaving Certificate ordinarily entitles matriculants to enter Training College, but in practice, due to the pressure of accommodation, those with a Matriculation Exemption pass

obtain preference. Many matriculants who obtain a School Leaving Certificate, therefore, repeat the examination the following March in the hope of obtaining an exemption, e.g. 7 of the 8 boys in this category had written supplementary examinations and 5 had succeeded in obtaining a matriculation exemption.

Religious Affiliation and Home Language

Seventy of the 81 boys were Hindu, 9 were Muslim and 2 Christian.

The percentage of boys who gave English as their home language was substantially smaller than that found in our study of pupils still at school.

Table 41 Distribution of Employees by Home Language

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Tamil	31	38.3
English	21	26.0
Hindi	16	19.6
Telugu	6	7.4
Urdu	4	5.0
Gujerati	1	1.2
English and Indian language	2	2.5
	<hr/> 81	<hr/> 100.0

Amongst pupils, 45.2% came from homes in which English was used as the home language. Not only did further discussions with the employees reveal that the vernacular was used mainly in communicating with elders, but a further explanation of the disparity in the proportions using English as a home language in the two samples may perhaps be sought in the fact that the employees generally came from poorer homes (the majority, as we shall see, were forced to discontinue their studies because of economic pressure) in which the vernacular had been largely retained.

Reasons for Leaving School

This question applied only to the ex-Standard VI's and VIII's. The majority (47) stated that they had been forced to leave school because of family circumstances. All but one - a boy whose father was ill - in this category advanced financial difficulties as the reason for terminating their studies.

Of the remainder, 21 boys had preferred to work and earn rather than return to school, 2 had left school because of physical

defects (deafness and fits) and one had not been admitted to high school. Three of the lads who had preferred working to studying, indicated that they would, in any event, have been precluded by financial difficulties from continuing their studies had they so desired. The economic factor, therefore, was present in no fewer than 49 of the 71 cases.

The case of the boy who could not gain admission to high school is interesting. He had boarded with a cousin while attending school in Verulam in 1963, but because of strained relations, had decided not to return to Verulam in 1964. A few days after the 1964 school year had commenced, he had applied for admission to another high school, but had been told that the Standard VII class was full. Working as an apprentice carpenter for a sugar company, he was not interested in his job and intended resuming his education the following year.

Vocational Preference for 1964

Vocational preferences for 1964 were heavily weighted in favour of education, 59 (72.8%) ex-pupils indicating that they would have preferred to continue their full-time studies, and 22 (27.2%) that they had entered the labour market by choice. All the matriculants, and all except one of the ex-Standard VIII class, displayed a preference for studying, but almost one-third of those who had left school after Standard VI opted for employment. This tended to confirm the opinion of a school principal who stated that the "duds" were rooted out before entering high school.

Aspirations

The most popular aspirations were: teacher (17), motor mechanic (14), bookkeeper (6), clerk (6), bricklayer (5), shop assistant (4) and farmer (3). Professions were represented by medicine (2) and law (2), one wished to study commerce and one engineering, and other aspirations included a pilot, a policeman and a Roman Catholic Brother. Others wished to become commercial travellers (2), waiters (2), drivers (2), factory operatives (2), a switchboard operator, a carpenter and a general dealer. Five boys were uncertain as to their aspirations.

The matriculants appeared more ambitious than those from the lower standards, no fewer than 7 of the 10 wishing to become

teachers. Of the remaining 3, one wished to graduate in commerce and enter business, another to become a pilot, and the third to qualify as an engineer. The ex-Standard VIII boys showed a marked leaning towards clerical posts, while those with a Standard VI education were mainly divided between trades on the one hand and the professions and clerical work on the other hand.

Ambitions, therefore, became more modest the lower the educational standard attained, confirming the trend noted in the previous chapter.

Occupations

All the matriculants were locum tenens teachers. There were 15 factory workers, 10 shop assistants, 9 farmers, 8 building industry workers, 5 waiters, 4 gardeners, 4 clerks, 2 hotel pages, 2 laboratory assistants, 2 office boys, 2 field workers, 2 sugar estate workers (a time-keeper and a pipe-fitter), a bookkeeper, a butchery canvasser, a shoe repairer, a service station driveway attendant, and a driver's assistant. One lad was helping to build his family's new farmhouse, but later intended looking for a job as a shop assistant.

Let us look at some of the occupations listed above in greater detail. The majority of the factory workers were operatives - clothing factory (3), candy company (2), shoe factory (2), timber ~~and~~ mill (1), plastics factory (1) - with 4 packers (3 in a biscuit factory and one in a rice mill) and 2 handymen (both in a box factory). Those in the building industry comprised 3 bricklayers, 2 apprentice carpenters, a painter's handyman, a builder's handyman and a building demolisher. The waiters were distributed between hotels (3) and tea rooms (2). All 9 boys engaged in farming were on their family farms, while the 4 lads working as gardeners were employed by White families.

The type of job obtained was stratified according to the educational attainments of the boys. We have noted that all the matriculants were in professional posts. Amongst those with a Junior Certificate, we found 2 laboratory assistants, 2 clerks (sales record and cash) in a departmental store, a bookkeeper and a canvasser for a family butchery. The artisan and labouring jobs were filled exclusively by the ex-Standard VI pupils.

Aspirations and Realisations

Of the 81 employees, only 19 (23.5%) were engaged in the type of work they aspired to do. The main reasons cited for the

divergence between aspirations and occupations were lack of education (23) and no vacancies (18). Other reasons advanced were : lack of experience (3), too young (3), obliged to assist in family business (3), no attempt made to obtain aspired job (2), race (2), examination failure (1), father's insistence (1), and first acquiring a trade (1). The latter reason was given by a youth who was learning the carpentry trade prior to taking holy orders at a Roman Catholic seminary.

The two instances in which race was given as the reason for the divergence between aspirations and realisations both related to matriculants. One boy wished to become a pilot, but could not enlist in the all-white South African Air Force. Nothing daunted, he had applied to both the Royal Air Force and the United States Air Force, but had been rejected by the former on the grounds of alien citizenship. His second priority was to qualify as a medical doctor, but he felt the course was too long and expensive, and he had more or less resigned himself to becoming a teacher, third on his list of vocations. (He did, in fact, enrol at the Springfield Training College in 1965).

This lad came from a good home, his father being one of the few Indians to hold a doctorate degree. He was the only boy in the sample whom one could say had, without intending the pun, indulged in a flight of imagination. Aspirations on the whole were remarkably modest and realistic, and showed an appreciation of the limits within which Indians have to search for jobs in South Africa. Once again, aspirations were mainly directed towards jobs in which Indians were already well established, and the only two who broke new ground, faced a racial barrier.

The second boy desired to become an engineer. However, there is no engineering faculty at the University College for Indians, and whilst it is true that a few have recently been granted special Ministerial permission to study at the Universities of Natal and the Witwatersrand, it is nevertheless difficult for an Indian to qualify as an engineer in South Africa.

Aspirations had been realised most often in the case of the matriculants. All seven who wished to become teachers were in temporary teaching posts, and later hoped to obtain professional qualifications. Apart from the aspirant pilot and engineer, a third matriculant had not fulfilled his aspiration because of failing his examination. He had, however, subsequently passed the supplementary examination, and expected to study commerce at University the following year.

Three of the 6 Junior Certificated boys were in their aspired jobs. Lack of education had prevented an aspirant teacher and doctor from satisfying their ambitions, and both were employed as laboratory assistants.

Amongst the ex-Standard VI pupils, lack of education and the shortage of jobs were especially evident as factors preventing the attainment of aspirations. Lack of education was mentioned 21 times, and the shortage of jobs on 17 occasions. Inadequate education prevented youths from becoming teachers (9), bookkeepers (4), clerks (3), lawyers (2), a doctor, a policeman and a motor mechanic. The scarcity of employment opportunities was cited most often by aspirant motor mechanics (11), and was also mentioned by an aspirant bricklayer, waiter, hotel switchboard operator, clerk, clothing factory operative and sewing machine mechanic.

Other inhibiting factors mentioned by this group of school leavers included age (3) and lack of experience (3). Two youths were too young to obtain driver's licences, while those who quoted inexperience were all holding positions which could ultimately lead to their aspirations being realised.

Race of Employer

The employers of the boys engaged in the private sector were divided ethnically between Indians (39) and Whites (32). The majority of the ex-Standard VI and VIII pupils were employed by Indians. Indian employers consisted largely of family farms, shops, cafes, factories and builders, while White employers were mainly the sugar company, factories, hotels, builders and private households. The matriculants were all engaged in the public sector, viz., as employees of the Natal Education Department. Their immediate superiors were the Indian school principals.

Security of Employment

Forty-eight boys were in jobs of a permanent nature, while 33 held temporary positions. The matriculants were all in temporary teaching posts, the Junior Certificate school leavers were equally divided between permanent and temporary jobs, while the majority of the ex-Standard VI pupils had secured jobs of a permanent nature (45 as against 20).

Incumbents of permanent posts were not necessarily, however, intending to remain in such posts. On the contrary, many youths were filled with the natural urge for bettering their positions, and were merely marking time while waiting for better openings to present themselves.

Waiting Period before First Job

Examination results were announced in mid-January, and it is from this date that we determined the waiting period prior to the boys obtaining their first job. Thirty-eight boys had in fact commenced work during the summer holidays, but 34 of them were Standard VI pupils who knew in advance that they would not be returning to school in 1964 (11 because of a preference for work and the rest because of economic reasons). The remaining 43 youths had awaited the outcome of their examinations, or else had waited upon the economic circumstances of their families, before seeking employment.

The study was conducted during the latter half of August and early September, i.e. at least 7 months calculated from mid-January.

<u>Table 42</u> <u>Waiting Period before obtaining First Job</u>	
<u>Period unemployed</u>	<u>Number of Boys</u>
Nil	38
Under 1 month	9
1 - 2 months	10
2 - 3 "	8
3 - 4 "	8
4 - 5 "	5
5 - 6 "	-
6 - 7 "	2
Over 7 "	1
	<hr/>
	81
	<hr/>

Twenty seven boys, therefore, were placed in jobs within 3 months, while 16 experienced waiting periods of over 3 months. Generally speaking, the matriculants found jobs sooner than did those from the lower standards. Of the 10 matriculants, 8 found locum tenens teaching posts within 5 weeks, while 2 waited for over 6 months before securing such positions. There was no difference in the waiting period experienced by the ex-Standard VI and VIII pupils.

Period in Present Job

We next ascertained how long the boys had been in their

present jobs. The shortest period was 1 week, the longest $8\frac{1}{2}$ months.

Table 43

Period in Present Job

<u>Period</u>	<u>No. of Employees</u>	
Less than 1 month	14	} 33 under 3 months
1 - 2 months	11	
2 - 3 "	8	
3 - 4 "	4	} 19 from 3 - 6 months
4 - 5 "	6	
5 - 6 "	9	
6 - 7 "	7	} 29 over 6 months
7 - 8 "	12	
Over 8 "	10	
	<hr/> 81 <hr/>	

Tables 42 and 43 should, however, be examined in conjunction with the number of jobs held by the youths since leaving school.

Labour Turnover

The majority of employees (49) had held only one job, while the remaining 32 (i.e. 39.5%) had all held more. This reflects a high rate of labour turnover in a short period of 7 - 8 months. Twenty two boys had held 2 jobs, eight 3 jobs and two 4 jobs.

The most important reasons advanced for leaving previous jobs were: low wages (11), temporary jobs (10), and distance and travelling expense (7). Three had changed jobs because of long hours and 3 because they had found the work too difficult. Two had left their family smallholdings to obtain some outside income for their households. The following reasons were advanced on single occasions: obtained better job, employer left South Africa, employer a difficult man, no prospects of promotion, factory closed down, desire to widen experience, required to assist in family business.

Difficulties Experienced in Obtaining Employment

Thirty two boys stated that they had experienced difficulty in obtaining a job. The greatest single difficulty encountered was severe competition and lack of jobs (26). Fifteen boys thought they would have been able to obtain employment more easily had they known some person of influence. Other difficulties cited were: distance (10),

inexperience (10), low wages (9), too young (7), lack of technical skill (6), lack of education (5), language (4), race (4), long hours (4), work suited to less educated people (4), monotonous work (3), dead end jobs (3) and heavy manual work (3). One youth who obtained employment in Durban encountered serious accommodation problems. Another had received no reply to his application for a vacancy.

This list of difficulties, while encompassing to a large degree the normal difficulties experienced by work-seekers with low educational qualifications in most economies, nevertheless illustrates the paucity of jobs available to Indians in the region.

The four jobs in which language was quoted as an obstacle, required a knowledge of Afrikaans, Zulu, an Indian language and a higher standard of English respectively. The racial factor applied to vacancies which were required to be filled by Whites only.

Prospects of Promotion

Fifty two employees believed there were prospects of promotion or of wage increases in their present jobs, while 28 felt they were in dead-end jobs with no prospects. Included in the latter figure, however, were the 10 locum tenens teachers, who could naturally expect no improvement in their position until such time as they had obtained professional qualifications. The remaining 18 who felt there was no future in their existing jobs included shop assistants, gardeners, field and sugar estate workers, a hotel page, a shoe repairer and 2 youths working on their family farms.

Job Satisfaction

Fifty seven employees were happy in their jobs, and 23 (28.4%) were unhappy. The main reasons for this high degree of job dissatisfaction were: bored and disinterested (9), low wages (8), no prospects (3), long hours (2) and arduous nature of work (2). One boy found his employer a difficult man, another felt insecure in his job, and a third complained of receiving no overtime payment. A laboratory assistant was unhappy because he had to work with acids which he felt were dangerous. He stated that his parents would never have allowed him to accept the job had they known of its nature.

The foregoing two paragraphs, therefore, disclose that approximately 25% of the employees felt frustrated and unhappy in their jobs.

Wages

The monthly wages earned by the boys are given in the following table:

Table 44 Monthly Wages of Employees

<u>Wage per month</u>	<u>Number of Employees</u>
R 0 - R 9.99	19
R10 - R19.99	26
R20 - R29.99	11
R30 - R39.99	7
R40 - R49.99	-
R50 and over	8
Joint family income	10
	<hr/> 81 <hr/>

The 8 wage-earners in the R50+ group were all locum tenens teachers earning R50 per month. 55.5% of the boys were earning under R20 per month and 69.1% under R30 per month. Of the 10 who belonged to the joint family income group, 2 could be considered very poor, and one wealthy. It should be mentioned that several of those earning under R10 per month were provided with one or more meals per day, but even taking this into account, the general picture that emerges is that approximately 70% were earning, in cash or in kind, less than R30 per month.

Wages were higher the higher the educational standard attained by the youths. The least a matriculant earned was R33.80 per month. None of the Junior Certificate boys earned under R10 per month, the highest monthly wage for this group being R30.33 received by a laboratory assistant. No fewer than one-third (19 out of 55) of the Standard VI group's incomes were under R10 per month, but, on the other hand, this group also reflected some higher individual earnings than did the ex-Standard VIII's, e.g. a carpenter's handyman earned R37.44 per month and an office boy with a firm of duplicating specialists in Durban received R33 per month.

Educational Plans, Part-time Study and Employment

Several employees intimated that they would further their studies at some future stage. In particular, almost all the matriculants expressed the hope that they would be in a position to attend university or training college in 1965. Of the ex-Standard VIII's, 2 planned to do commercial and bookkeeping courses, and one his Senior

Certificate part-time, at Technical College in 1965. While the majority of those who had reached the Junior and Senior Certificate level harboured ambitions towards further studies, only two of the ex-Standard VI pupils displayed any inclination towards improving their education. One boy intended obtaining his Junior Certificate by part-time study, while one youth who was working on a sugar estate was hoping to save enough money during the course of the year to enable him to enter high school the following year.

Five boys were engaged in part-time study (2 for matriculation exemption, one his Standard IX, one a B.A. and one bookkeeping), and 2 in part-time work - one delivering newspapers and one as a building labourer - in addition to their full-time employment.

Location of Employment

The majority of the boys had obtained employment within the region itself, 31 in Tongaat and district (including one boy at Umhlali) and 24 in Verulam and district (including three youths who were working for a Verulam-based building firm which had contracts at Tongaat and Stanger).

The remainder were employed outside the region, in Durban (19), Mt. Edgecombe (4), Pinetown (1), Umhlanga Rocks (1), and Umhlatuzi (1). The Durban - Pinetown complex had, therefore, absorbed 25% of the school leavers in employment.

UNEMPLOYED

Sixteen school leavers were unemployed - 2 matriculants, 2 ex-Standard VIII's and 12 ex-Standard VI's - of whom 5 (all in Standard VI) had failed their year-end examinations.

Religious Affiliation and Home Language

All but 2 of the 16 boys were Hindus, Islam and Christianity each being represented by a single individual.

As was the case with the employees, the majority of the boys in this group spoke the vernacular at home - Tamil (7), Hindi (3), Telugu (2) and Urdu (1). Only 3 came from homes in which English predominated as the spoken language.

Vocational Preferences and Reasons for Leaving School

Eleven boys would have liked to continue full-time studies and 5 (all Standard VI's) to obtain employment. Of the non-matriculants,

5 had preferred to leave school, and 9 were forced by family circumstances to enter the labour market.

Aspirations

Both the matriculants aspired to become teachers, and the ex-Standard VIII's clerks. Amongst the ex-Standard VI's, 2 each favoured teaching and bricklaying while other aspirations listed were shop assistant, sailor, factory operative, plumber, storoman, waiter and motor mechanic. One boy was in an uncertain frame of mind.

Period of Unemployment

Six boys had never been employed since leaving school, two had held 2 jobs each, and the other 8 all one job each. One matriculant had never been employed while the other had held a locum teaching post for $2\frac{1}{2}$ weeks and had been unemployed for the rest of the time. Neither of the ex-Standard VIII's had been employed, and we found both of them at the local golf course where they caddied over week-ends and occasionally on week-days. To find that lads who have attained this standard of education are apparently unable to obtain employment is disconcerting, to say the least.

Table 45

Period of Unemployment

<u>Period</u>	<u>Number of Unemployed</u>
Under 1 month	3
1 - 2 months	3
2 - 3 "	1
3 - 4 "	1
4 - 5 "	1
5 - 6 "	1
6 - 7 "	1
Over 7 "	5
	<hr/> 16 <hr/>

Reasons for Leaving Job

Of the 10 unemployed youths who had been in employment, 4 had held jobs of a temporary nature. One of these jobs was a locum tenens teaching post, one was in the kenaf plant at Tongat, and 2 were in the building trade. Other reasons advanced for giving up jobs were : low wages, obtained a better job which was subsequently given up because of high travelling costs, affected by dust in cement factory, arduous nature of field work, closure of business, and dismissal due to lack of education.

Difficulties Experienced in Obtaining Employment

Almost all the boys (13) believed they had exhausted all possible ways of obtaining employment. However, only one had registered as unemployed with the Department of Labour. Severe competition for available jobs again appeared to be the greatest difficulty facing work-seekers, being mentioned on 8 occasions, while other common obstacles encountered were: no influential backing (6), inexperience (6), lack of education (3), lack of technical training (2), and heavy manual work (3). Two thought the wages offered were too low, and 2 encountered language difficulties (English and an Indian language). Difficulties mentioned once each were: too young, monotonous work, work suited to less educated people, long hours and distance.

Only one boy had refused an offer of a job (because he felt that his Standard VI education had fitted him for something better than field work), while only one had heard of a vacancy for which he had not applied, viz. a lad who had failed Standard VI did not apply for a job as a bookkeeper. Thirteen said they were desperately in need of a job, and 12 declared themselves willing to work outside the Tongaat-Verulam region and live away from home. However, in only 2 instances had boys heard of vacancies outside the region, both applications being unsuccessful. Two of the unemployed were not desperately in need of a job. One such boy had been promised a position in a laboratory at the end of the year, and in the meanwhile was caddying at the local golf course. His weekly earnings from caddying and tips amounted to approximately R6, the week-ends being the busiest period. He aimed at studying for his Senior Certificate by correspondence once he had commenced work in the laboratory.

Educational Plans

Several other unemployed youths had expectations of furthering their studies. Both matriculants hoped to do their Teacher's Diploma course at Training College. The one boy was engrossed in a Shakespeare when we called, and stated that he would have liked to have attended University. Unfortunately, his family income amounted to only R16 per week - his father received R6 per week working in a Durban laundry, his mother was employed in a food factory at a similar wage, and his sister, a shop assistant, earned R4 per week - and some younger siblings were still at school.

An aspirant teacher with a Standard VI certificate expected to be sent back to school the following year in place of his elder brother who was to be removed from school after completing his Junior Certificate. The lad had been apprenticed to a tailor who had closed down his business. His entire family were imbued with the desire for higher education, but were very poor. His father, a cobbler, attempted to augment his earnings by fishing in the early morning and by acting as a warden in charge of convict gangs, but such additional income was irregular.

IMPRESSIONS

Out of 97 school leavers interviewed, therefore, 48 were permanently employed, 33 were holding temporary positions and 16 were unemployed. In other words, only 50% were in permanent jobs. Furthermore, only 19 had seen their aspirations fulfilled on the labour market. The impression we gained was that many youngsters were merely marking time in their present jobs waiting for a more suitable post to become vacant. This is probably an important reason for the high labour turnover amongst Indian youth, about which the personnel manager of a large Durban industrial concern complained to us. Only 57 felt happy in their work, and this figure reveals a high proportion of instability and job dissatisfaction.

No fewer than 25% of the employees were working in the Durban - Pinetown complex, the majority of whom would have preferred to work nearer home. This preference was strongly brought out in discussions with both youths and parents. The latter were particularly perturbed lest their children got into bad company in the city, but their attitude was also motivated by a desire to maintain close kinship bonds. This factor operated to a lesser extent amongst the youths, who were more concerned with the practical difficulties, e.g. accommodation problems, travelling costs and time, than with the possible deleterious effects of the bright lights. One boy left Tongaat by bus at 4 a.m. in order to start work in Pinetown at 6.45 a.m., and remained in the job for only one week; another left by train for Durban at 5.30 a.m. and returned home at 6.45 p.m.

However, the shortage of employment outlets (and, to a lesser extent, the lower wages) in the Tongaat - Verulam region, forced both parents and youths to look further afield and to modify

those attitudes, e.g. one boy left his job as a shop assistant in Tongaat when offered a higher wage by a shoe factory in Jacobs. He soon became disillusioned when he found that travelling expenses absorbed R3.10 of his weekly wage of R5.06. His father would not allow him to board with relations in Durban, and he relinquished his job after three weeks. Since then, he had been unable to obtain employment in Tongaat, but his father had changed his mind and the boy was to seek work in Durban and stay with relations. Another youngster spent six months searching for a job in Tongaat before finding one in Durban.

Almost all these boys had contacts in Durban who were able to arrange employment for them, and it appeared difficult to obtain a position without such contacts. One matriculant, for example, approached 15 firms - textile, food, heavy and light industry - but was turned away at each. One of the most important ways of hearing about vacancies was through friends and relations, who arranged interviews for the boys, e.g. a Verulam youth obtained a job with a textile factory in Durban through the influence of his brother-in-law who was employed there. Influence also appeared to play an important role in obtaining information about vacancies in the region itself, e.g. one boy hoped that his father, a bricklayer employed by a sugar company, would be able to arrange a job for him with the company.

On the whole, the boys were not too fastidious with regard to their acceptance of jobs. There was, however, a marked evasion towards heavy manual work. Such attitudes on the part of Indians will be probed in the following chapter.

We have noted that the aspirations of the Indian youth are both modest and, in the light of existing conditions in South Africa, realistic. Teaching enjoys great prestige but there is little doubt that many aspirant chartered accountants, architects, scientists and engineers become teachers because these avenues are closed to Indians. "...one is amazed at the number of square pegs who make a success of fitting into the proverbial round hole".¹

The difficulties experienced by Indian youth in obtaining employment, the months of idleness while seeking work, and the divergence between occupations and aspirations, present a challenge to both society and economy in South Africa. For, as Dr. E. G.

¹ Dr. A. D. Lazarus, The Aspirations of the Indian People in South Africa, Optima, March 1962, p.58

Malherbe has stated, "education is dynamite in any society where there are not proper outlets for the skills and aspirations generated by that education."²

² In a message to the 38th Annual Congress of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society, The Teachers' Journal, July 1964, p.3.

C H A P T E R V I I

- - - - -

ATTITUDES TO HEAVY MANUAL WORK

Some employers view the problem of unemployment amongst Indians in an unsympathetic light. There is a fairly widespread belief that much of the unemployment is of the Indians' own making, and that they would rather be jobless than take on heavy manual work. This belief is not without foundation, e.g. a Town Board employee stated that in certain departments, Indians lasted for only a few days and then resigned, complaining about the nature of the work.

In South Africa, occupations are stratified according to race. The jobs which demand the greatest skill are filled by Whites, and the intermediate jobs by Coloureds and Indians, while labour for unskilled occupations is mainly African. Indians in the agricultural, manufacturing and construction sectors are usually engaged in the lighter semi-skilled and skilled jobs. The tendency to-day amongst the youth is to aim for such jobs, and aspirations are directed away from those types of work which require physical exertion.

During the course of the survey, an opportunity to study the attitudes of Indians to heavy manual work presented itself. Construction work on a large new textile factory at Tongaat commenced in mid-1965. The factory is scheduled for completion by 31 March, 1966, and will eventually employ over 900 Indians. Certain problems arose from the employment of Indian labour by the construction company engaged in the erection of the mill.

BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

Arrangements for the building of the factory were handled by Tongaat Sugar Company, Limited, who, together with Ropes and Mattings, Limited, of Durban and David Whitehead and Sons (Holdings), Limited, of Lancashire, are equal shareholders in the new company. The contractors were requested to utilise local (i.e. Indian) labour wherever possible, as Tongaat Sugar Company were anxious to avoid the sociological problems which often arise when building contractors arrive on site. African labourers are invariably housed in tin shacks,

and prostitution, illicit liquor traffic and crime are introduced into the locality. The construction company acceded to this request, although it had previously employed only African labour.

Out of 970 Indians who applied for jobs at the textile mill, 40 were selected for employment on construction work. Preference was given to those who were aged 21 - 30 years, married, unemployed, of Standard V - VI educational level and physically fit. Recruits were told that the work would be of a strenuous nature, and that if they proved themselves during the construction phase, they would receive preferential treatment when final selections for the textile mill were made. On the other hand, should their work prove unsatisfactory, their names would be placed at the bottom of the list of applicants. They were also informed that their wages as construction workers would be approximately twice that which they could initially expect at the mill.

THE PROBLEM

The 40 Indian recruits commenced work early in July, and it was not long before it became apparent that certain White artisans were dissatisfied with their output of work. Although the Indians were found to be very intelligent in certain tasks, they could not match the productivity of the African, and it is productivity which is the vital factor in the building trade.

Stated briefly, the chief complaints about Indians were:

- (i) Their inability to work all day without let-up.
- (ii) Their lack of teamwork in performing heavy tasks, e.g. picking up loads.

On the first count, it was felt that whereas the African had become used to heavy work and put in a full day's toil, the Indian tended to relax once he was not under observation or supervision. On the second count, it was stated that the contrast between Indian and African productivity was most marked in the sphere of heavy work. Here teamwork was even more important than physical strength, and the chanting African work gangs had developed teamwork and a good spirit.

The affects on productivity of these deficiencies are well illustrated by the following examples. It required 22 Indians to carry a steel length which 12 Africans normally handled. An artisan quoted an instance of 13 Indians lifting a steel column which 8 Africans could lift with ease. Both Indians and Africans were required to lift the same loads, which were not unduly heavy, averaging approximately 50 lbs. per man.

This, then, was the problem we were confronted with - why were the Indian workers apparently not knuckling down to the job?

THE SURVEY - METHODOLOGY

We decided to approach the problem by conducting a survey amongst the men on the job in the first week of August, 1965. Section foremen extended their full co-operation, a questionnaire was prepared (see Annexure 'D'), the men were briefed as a group, and finally each individual was interviewed separately. The writer was accompanied by his colleague, Mr. P. N. Pillay, good rapport was established with the men and frank answers were obtained to our questions.

THE SURVEY - FINDINGS

Of the 40 Indians originally engaged, 32 remained on the payroll, 5 having been dismissed and 3 having resigned. The reasons for the dismissals were given as "lazy" and "dodging the foreman." We were able to interview all 32 Indians remaining on the job - 20 were employed in the steel yard, 11 in various carpentry sections and one in the machine servicing section - and the questionnaires, when processed, yielded some interesting information.

Age, Marital Status and Education

The subjects ranged from 17 - 35 years of age, and may be classified as follows:

Table 46Age Structure

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>No. of Men</u>
15 - 19 years	4
20 - 24 "	14
25 - 29 "	11
30 - 34 "	2
35 - 39 "	1
	<hr/> 32 <hr/>

Single men outnumbered married by 21 to 11, and the majority (18) of the men were in possession of at least a Standard VI Certificate.

Table 47Highest Standard Passed

<u>Standard</u>	<u>No. of Men</u>
III	1
IV	2
V	11
VI	13
VII	3
VIII	2
	<hr/> 32 <hr/>

Previous Employment

The questionnaires revealed a high degree of job mobility and turnover.

Table 48Number of Previous Jobs Held

<u>No. of Jobs</u>	<u>No. of Men</u>
1	4
2	12
3	5
4	4
5	4
6	1
	<hr/> 30 <hr/>

Two men had held numerous casual jobs, but could not recall the exact number.

Subjects advanced the following reasons for leaving their last job : low wages (14), short time/seasonal work (9), travelling expense (5), work too heavy (1), bad treatment by Indian employee (1) and offer of a better job (1). One man had given up his business as a motor mechanic as he had found the rent for his premises too high.

While low wages was the major source of dissatisfaction with previous jobs, the foregoing evidence merely serves to strengthen the impression we gained during our survey on Indian school leavers, viz., that many jobs are of precarious tenure and that youngsters, in particular, are constantly on the lookout for better positions. Bearing in mind the comparative youthfulness of the subjects, the mind boggles with imagination at the number of jobs many Indians in the higher age groups must have held during their lifetime. It may be that with the opening of the textile mill, Indians in Tongaat will find that security of employment which has been lacking as population growth has outstripped the growth of employment opportunities in the area.

A detailed breakdown of the types of jobs previously held by the men reveals the following:

Clerical workers (6) - clerks (6)

Sales workers (5) - shop assistants (5)

Farm workers (5) - field workers (3), family farm (1),
gardener (1).

Transport workers (2) - driver (1), deliveryman (1).

Artisans (61) - machinist (1), mechanic (1), mechanic's handyman (3); carpenter's assistant (1); builder's handyman (10), plumber's assistant (1), painter (3); textile and clothing worker (5), tailor (1), kenaf plant (8); sugar mill (9), rice mill (2), molasses factory (1); service station driveway attendant (1), switchboard operator (1); packer (8); labourer (4); chemical mixer (1).

Service Workers (11) - waiters and stewards (7), laundry workers (2), cleaners (2).

Unemployment

At the time of obtaining their present job, 21 men were unemployed for periods ranging from a few weeks to more than a year (Table 49).

Table 49 Period of Unemployment

<u>Period</u>	<u>No. of Men</u>
Under 1 month	2
1 month	3
2 months	1
3 "	6
4 "	1
5 "	2
6 "	2
Over 6 months	4
	<hr/> 21 <hr/>

However, these periods must be taken as mere approximations, as it was abundantly clear that the subjects had a very poor conception of time, and few could recall the exact date, or even the month, of termination of their last job.

Job Contentment

Of the 32 workers, 19 declared themselves unhappy, and 13 happy, in their work. However, several of the latter group qualified their degree of contentment by saying: "I am happy now", "I am quite happy" or "I am fairly happy."

Only 8 men, i.e. 25%, found their work satisfactory in all respects and had no complaints. Aspects of the job which the subjects disliked were mentioned with the following frequency :

- (i) Low wages (7)
- (ii) Nature of work (25) - heavy, manual work beyond physical strength (12), work suited to less educated people (4), monotonous, uninteresting work (2), long hours (5), weather hazards (2).

- (iii) Attitude of White foremen and artisans (34) - prejudiced against Indians (9), impatient (9), insulting, uses bad language (11), expects too much work (5).
- (iv) Other (6) - attitude of Africans (5), expectations not fulfilled (1).

Almost all the respondents were spontaneous in answering this question, and we did not resort to prompting unless absolutely necessary. Let us now examine these grievances more closely.

Low Wages - The feeling of the complainants here was that wages (19 cents per hour) were too low in relation to the long hours (a 9 hour day was worked) and the strenuous nature of the work. Many of the men were in fact receiving higher wages than they had in their previous jobs. All 7 men had been unemployed, and one might have expected them to have been only too pleased to obtain a steady job and an income.

Nature of work - Fifteen men complained on this score, mentioning 25 grievances.

The majority in this category found the work to be beyond their physical strength. Judging from the list of their previous occupations, few, if any, of the subjects were experienced in work of this nature, and were therefore bound to find the physical exertion required, unaccustomed and tiring.

Of the 4 men who thought the work was suited to less educated people, 2 had passed Standard VIII, one Standard VI, and one, Standard V. They aspired to become a clerk, a typist, a male nurse and a wine steward respectively. We have seen that the aspirations of school leavers revealed a marked preference amongst Standard VIII's for clerical work, with a downgrading of jobs as educational standards fell.

Two men found the work monotonous and uninteresting. We were surprised that this factor was not mentioned more frequently - whilst observing the men on the job, we detected an air of lack of interest and apathy as they went about their work.

Five complained of the long hours, particularly the 6 - day week worked by the steel yard. They stated that they needed the entire week-end to recover from the heavy work of the week.

To them, leisure was more important than overtime payments which raised their weekly wages from R8.40 to R10.80. This group also criticised the short lunch break ($\frac{1}{2}$ hour) and the absence of tea breaks.

Two workers disliked having to work in the open in all types of weather - wind, dust, rain and mud - and said they preferred working indoors.

Attitude of White foremen and artisans - This aspect of the work gave rise to the greatest number of complaints, viz., 34 from 11 men.

Nine subjects complained that the Whites were prejudiced against Indians. However, several others voiced similar opinions, but seemed to accept this phenomenon philosophically, and did not complain on this score.

The impatience of Whites was mentioned by 9 men, and this may be bracketed together with the use of insulting and bad language, of which 11 workers complained. It may well be that Indians are particularly sensitive to the use of bad language - it is usually only the better educated who countenance such language with the same facility as Whites, and youthful Indians of poorer educations and comparatively little experience of contact with Whites, are apt to take offence. However, in the building industry with the great stress on time and output, foremen and artisans curse out of sheer force of habit, and not necessarily in anger. We heard a great deal of swearing which was certainly not directed at the subjects.

Five men stated that too much work was expected of them, several complaining that they were treated "like slaves", and that they were not even allowed to drink water without being abused.

Other Complaints - Five subjects were critical of the attitude of Africans, whom they considered to be resentful and rough. A machine servicer stated that Africans resented him at first, but that relations had since improved.

One individual felt that he had been let down - he had applied for a job at the textile mill, but when he arrived on site, he found he was to be a construction worker. This, however, was a clear case of a misunderstanding.

Job Suitability

No fewer than 26 of the 32 subjects answered that they would be better at some other type of work, for the following reasons: lack of interest in present job (9), would prefer a softer, cleaner job (5), experienced at other work (3), wages too low (2), want time to study further (2), unhappy and fearful of losing present job (2), bad treatment in present job (1), and no prospects in present job (1). One man advanced no specific reason. We have already alluded to the attitude of indifference towards the work, and it is interesting to note that although only 2 subjects complained about uninteresting work, 9 felt they would do better in a more interesting work situation.

The men were asked to state the job at which they thought they would be better. Replies were: clerical worker (7), painter (5), mechanic (2), machinist (2), factory/mill worker (2), shop salesman (1), male nurse (1), laboratory assistant (1), barman (1), bricklayer (1), and any lighter job (4). One individual mentioned two alternatives - painter or salesman.

Aspirations

The 32 men aspired towards the following occupations:

Professional workers (4) - laboratory workers (2), doctor (1), male nurse (1).

Clerical workers (7) - clerks (6), typist (1).

Artisans (17) - painters (5), bricklayers (2), carpenters (2), mechanics (4), machinists (2), factory worker (1), textile worker (1).

Service workers (3) - policeman (1), barman (1), wine steward (1).

One worker was uncertain as to his aspirations. These aspirations follow much the same pattern revealed in previous studies of Indians of similar educational standard, with a marked leaning towards skilled artisan positions.

Future Plans

All but 2 of the men stated that they would work in the textile mill when the construction job was completed. However, there appeared to be a feeling of uncertainty about the future, and many believed that they might be dismissed from their job and hence be rejected by the mill. Three men intimated that they hoped to find alternative employment before the mill was completed, and three hinted

at their preference for clerical posts at the textile factory. The subjects did not know what wages or type of work to expect at the mill.

Two men had no intention of working at the textile factory - one intended becoming a bricklayer, while the other hoped to obtain employment as a shipping clerk.

MEAN FEATURES OF SURVEY

Several significant features arise from this study.

Background of Workers

Of the 32 recruits, only 8 had some prior experience of building and construction. These few men had worked for small individual builders as handymen, and had never been associated with such a large undertaking. The recruits were not briefed when they arrived on site, they had no conception of the magnitude of the job, and were unfamiliar with the ways of the building industry.

The majority of recruits had held less rigorous positions, and were unaccustomed to heavy work which made demands on their physical strength and stamina. The poor physique relative to that of Africans was a distinct disadvantage, but would improve on the job. The men were gradually getting fitter, and the first wage increases had just been granted to 3 steel benders. Only 5 workers had been dismissed at the time of the study, but with a less patient foreman, this figure would probably have been higher.

The youthfulness of the recruits, coupled with their educational standards, meant that their aspirations were directed towards skilled artisan and clerical posts, and away from heavy manual work requiring physical exertion.

Attitude to Present Job

Few men displayed any genuine interest or enthusiasm towards their work. They were merely sticking to the job in the expectation of ultimate employment in the textile factory, and in the fear that resignation or dismissal would jeopardize their chances of being absorbed by the mill. A disinterested 19 year old youth said he was "passing the time to help financially at home".

Emotional Patterns

Clear-cut emotional patterns were discerned in interaction with Whites and Africans, whose attitudes were the cause of most grievances. Complaints against the attitudes of White foremen and artisans emanated almost entirely from the steel yard, and those against Africans from carpentry form workers.

Interaction with Whites - It was in the steel yard that almost all the complaints against Whites were levelled - 8 on counts of prejudice, 8 for inexperience, 10 for bad language and 4 for being too exacting in their demands. The work of the steel yard involved bending steel into the correct shape, assembling it into beams or columns, carrying these beams or columns to the site and erecting them.

Resentment was directed at 2 artisans in particular. The one, an Afrikaner who was in charge of fixing steel columns in the basement, was dissatisfied with Indian labour, and, after issuing an ultimatum to the foreman, had been given a purely African gang. The other, a Dutchman with lengthy experience in Indonesia and Papua, was in charge of steel beams, and declared that he had never worked with worse labour. Feelings, then, were mutually bad.

The third artisan in the steel yard who was concerned with the lighter work of steel bending and wiring, was universally liked, and appeared to be satisfied with the men. The section foreman, an extremely fair-minded and patient man, was liked by most workers, and was himself prepared to give the men every possible chance of proving themselves.

It is significant that it was in the heavier work, i.e. those spheres in which Indians measured up particularly unfavourably in comparison with Africans, that mutual dislike between artisan and worker was found. Relationships were more cordial in the sphere of lighter work.

It must be mentioned that only 10 of the 20 Indians in the steel yard complained about the treatment received from Whites. Outside the steel yard, only one complaint on these grounds was lodged - by a carpenter's assistant in the building department. He disliked an artisan, but the 3 other Indians in this section interacted with different artisans with whom they were on good terms.

The remaining 8 men had no complaints about the Whites. One was a machine servicer and 7 were carpenter's assistants - 4 in the section doing form work for pre-cast beams, and 3 in the section engaged in similar work for cellar and overhead lintels. In the former section, the men interacted mainly with Portuguese carpenters, who spoke no English. Communication was by sign language, and relationships were amicable.

Interaction with Africans - It was these 4 men, however, who complained bitterly of the attitude of an African induna in charge of the concreting gangs. They were required to do some work for him, and resented the way he treated them. He was described as being "rough", "hard" and "not nice". These men felt that Africans disliked working with Indians. The section foreman informed us that the induna had a heavy responsibility, and could not get the same productivity out of Indians as he was used to extracting from Africans, e.g. Africans were much quicker at loading, wheeling and tipping barrows of concrete.

This is another illustration of the fact that it was in the field of heavier work that interpersonal relationships between Indians and supervisors were poorest.

Of the remaining 24 men, only one steel yard worker mentioned the attitude of Africans in an unfavourable light. In the steel yard, Indians and Africans worked together in the same gangs, although the section foreman hoped to place them in separate gangs for certain tasks to instil a spirit of competition.

Prejudice - It is true that, because labour in heavy industry in Natal has for long been almost the exclusive preserve of the African, neither the White foremen and artisans, nor the African indunas and labourers, had any significant experience of working with Indians. Whilst the possibility of some initial prejudice against the employment of Indians cannot be discounted, it must be doubted whether the feelings expressed by some of the subjects on this issue, were fully justified. We gained the impression that the artisans were indifferent as to who did a job provided that the job was performed well and quickly, and our study shows clearly that it was those who were responsible for the performance of heavier tasks, who were most outspoken against Indians.

Cultural Sensitivity - The subjects appeared, because of their cultural background, to have misconstrued the frequent use of bad

language'. This is a further illustration of their ignorance and unfamiliarity of life in the building trade, something about which they were not briefed. An ex-clerk complained that "they swore at us on the first day" - an illustration of a cultural and employment background totally alien to the work situation in which he found himself.

Attitudes towards manual labour

The men did not favour the hard, manual work, and some conveyed the impression that it was beneath them. "We are doing Africans' work"; "They treat us like Africans"; "They treat us like slaves and uncivilized people - they think we are like Africans", were some of the comments that were made to us. One man regretted having left his previous job as a railway office cleaner, stating that it had been a "much softer job". On the other hand, a White said of the Indians: "They don't want to dirty their hands". This attitude towards manual work is one that has been held by Whites in South Africa for 300 years, and has since been transmitted to Coloureds and Indians alike.

It is, however, a disturbing attitude when one considers that the majority of the subjects were unemployed prior to being engaged on the construction project. Faced on the one hand with the spectre of unemployment, and, on the other hand, with the prospect of physically tiring work at comparatively high wages, the latter choice would seem to be infinitely more attractive. But the attitude that often prevails is one of distinct choosiness. This is particularly apparent where the joint family still exists, and a recent study in Durban¹ has shown that many men prefer unemployment to unfavourable work, secure in the knowledge that they will be assisted by members of the joint family until they can obtain work of their choice. We did, however, find one man who was saving to establish a home of his own, and to rid his family of dependence on his in-laws. There is ample evidence of the breakdown of the joint family system, with the long-term result that such disguised unemployment will no longer be possible.

¹The writer is indebted to his colleague, Mr. P.N. Pillay, for this information.

SUGGESTIONS

A report containing a number of suggestions was issued.

1. Doubts were expressed about the selection of recruits. The recruits were young, the majority had at least a Standard VI education, and their aspirations showed a disinclination for manual work. It was suggested that, should it be decided to recruit more Indian labour, attention should be focussed on men from higher age groups, i.e. over 30 years. Personnel should be geared to the work situation, and the following advantages appeared to lie in the employment of older men :

- (a) They would in all probability be of lower educational accomplishment, with correspondingly lower aspirations. They should accordingly be more satisfied with work of this nature than younger, better educated men with modest middle class aspirations.
- (b) Their previous occupations were likely to include some experience of manual work, and their stamina would probably be greater.
- (c) They would probably have had previous contact with Whites in the artisan class, and would therefore not suffer from the same cultural sensitivity.
- (d) As family men with responsibilities, they could be expected to be more dependable than younger, single men who tended to be flighty.

2. It was apparent that the men were inadequately briefed when they arrived on the job. We therefore suggested that this should be rectified, and that the following points in particular, should be emphasized:

- (a) The economic importance to the contractors to meet the contract date, the stresses that were consequently placed on each section to maintain a tight work schedule, and the fact that this could only be done if all workers and all sections worked as a team. The men, by the very nature of their previous work, tended to be individualists.
- (b) The fact that, because of the stress on productivity imposed by the time factor, artisans did not mince their language, and that cursing should not be taken as a personal affront.

3. We finally recommended that failure on construction work should not be held against the men when filling posts at the textile mill. The men would almost certainly be more productive and far happier in the textile industry.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

In November, 1965, i.e. 3 months after the job study was made, a brief follow-up visit was paid to the site. It was stated

that the Indians had made satisfactory progress, and that the study had unconsciously produced a two-fold effect. Firstly, the attitude of officials and foremen of the construction company had become more sympathetic towards the men. Secondly, the men themselves had, during the course of the personal interview, been inducted into the job situation. Furthermore, the day after the study had been conducted, the section foreman of the steel yard, with whom we had discussed our impressions, had addressed the men on the customs of the building industry.

In the steel yard, the 2 artisans who were unpopular with the men had left, and interpersonal relationships had improved. Cultural sensitivity had diminished, although one worker still complained of bad language. Two Indians had been dismissed, and 3 had resigned - 2 to become painters and one a waiter. In November, the labour force in the steel yard consisted of 21 Indians and 19 Africans.

The experiment of pitting Indian and African work teams against each other had been tried and abandoned. The Indians had proved superior in the lighter work, and the Africans in the heavier tasks. Productivity therefore demanded that, whenever possible, Indians work on the lighter jobs, e.g. on the steel bending tables, and Africans on the heavier jobs. The two races generally worked well together, although 5 Indians had sustained injuries when assisting Africans to carry primary beams. Such beams weighed 1,200 lbs. and were carried by teams of 22 men. The Africans, who felt that the Indians did not carry their load, sometimes dropped the beams prematurely as a reprisal.

During the peak period of the construction phase when heavy steel work was being done, more Africans had been employed in the steel yard because of their ability to get down to the job. But in the sphere of lighter repetitive work, it had been found that Indians saved $\frac{1}{2}$ hour per day in steel bending compared with Africans, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours per day in wiring secondary beams; the foreman hoped to train Indian fixers with a view to their remaining in the employ of the company.

The carpenters had also found the Indians more intelligent, but agreed that their weakness was in tasks which required team work.

C H A P T E R VIII

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Some idea will already have been gained, from the previous chapters, of the occupational pattern in the region. We shall now take a closer look at the occupational structure of the Indian community as revealed by the 940 households in the educational survey sample.

INDUSTRY DIVISIONS

The Indian community in the Tongaat Verulam region was more urbanised (44%) than that in the Inanda - Lower Tugela region (34%) in 1960. Assuming that the occupational structure of the urban and rural populations was the same in both regions, we have proceeded to calculate the industry divisions of the Indian population in the Tongaat - Verulam region (Table 50).

Agriculture was the chief pursuit in the region, employing 25.2% of the economically active population. A further 24.6% were engaged in manufacturing (predominantly in the sugar mill at Maidstone). Services and commerce ranked next in order of importance, while 5.3% of the total population was classified as unemployed in 1960. Unemployment was more prevalent in the urban (6.0%) than in the rural areas (4.7%).

The ratio of economically active to inactive did not show much variation between the urban and rural sectors. A striking feature of the activity breakdown was that whereas 46% of the male population was economically active, only 4% of females were so classified, the figure for the total population being 25%.

The small proportion of females in the economically active category reflects the persistence of traditional attitudes towards the employment of women. These attitudes are gradually breaking down as an increasing number of girls attend school and absorb new ideas, and the percentage of females in the labour market may be expected to increase. The proportion of economically active urban females was somewhat higher than the corresponding figure for rural females. This may be a result of greater employment opportunities in the urban areas, together with less rigid traditional attitudes regarding the customary position of Indian women in society.

Table 50¹

Industry Divisions - Indian Population,
Tongaat-Verulam Region, 1960

Industry * Divisions	Males		Females		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	1,330	11.5	136	1.2	1,466	6.4
Mining	6	.1	-	-	6	-
Manufacturing	1,373	11.9	57	.5	1,430	6.2
Construction	146	1.2	-	-	146	.6
Electricity	8	.1	-	-	8	-
Commerce	565	4.9	17	.2	582	2.5
Transport	107	.9	-	-	107	.5
Services	696	6.0	164	1.4	860	3.7
Unemployed **	1,114	9.6	104	.9	1,218	5.3
Total Economioally Active	5,345	46.2	478	4.2	5,823	25.2
Housewife, Scholar etc.	6,229	53.8	11,047	95.8	17,276	74.8
Total	11,574	100.0	11,525	100.0	23,099	100.0

- * Division 0 - Agriculture, forestry, hunting, fishing, agricultural services.
- " 1 - Mining and Quarrying.
- " 2/3 - Manufacturing, garages with workshops.
- " 4 - Construction, building, repairing, civil and structural engineering.
- " 5 - Electricity, gas, water and sanitary services.
- " 6 - Commerce, wholesale and retail trade, banks, insurance, real estate.
- " 7 - Transport, storage, communication, public and private transport.
- " 8 - Government, business, recreational and other services, provincial and local authorities; educational institutions; medical and health services; religious, welfare and business organisations; legal and accounting services; domestic, refreshment and accommodation services; laundry and toilet services.
- " 9 - Housewives, pensioners, scholars, etc.

** Not all people in this category were registered as unemployed with the Department of Labour.

¹Adapted from : Population Census, 1960, Sample Tabulation No. 2, Table 1.3, p. 47.

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

In classifying workers into occupational groups, we have adopted the same procedure as was followed in the 1960 population census, which in turn was based upon the "International Standard Classification of Occupations" compiled by the International Labour Organisation. Occupations are classified according to the nature of the work performed.

The following is a brief description of the major occupational groups :

- (1) Professional, technical and related workers - engineers, laboratory assistants, teachers, lawyers, doctors, nurses, journalists, priests, etc.
- (2) Administrative, executive and managerial workers - public administrative officers, directors and managers (excluding working proprietors in the wholesale and retail trade, and farmers).
- (3) Clerical, office and related workers - book-keepers, clerks, typists, cashiers, receptionists, etc.
- (4) Salesmen and related workers - working proprietors in the wholesale and retail trade, shop assistants, commercial travellers, insurance and real estate agents.
- (5) Farmers, fishermen, etc. - farmers, farm managers, farm labourers and domestic servants, farm transport workers, groundsmen, fishermen, forestry workers, etc.
- (6) Miners
- (7) Workers in transport - chauffeurs, drivers (excluding farm transport), conductors, etc.
- (8) Artisans, etc. - skilled, semi-skilled and **unskilled** production workers, apprentices, etc.
- (9) Service and related workers - policemen, caretakers, cleaners, domestic servants (excluding farm), chefs, barmen, waiters, hairdressers, laundry workers, etc.
- (10) Other workers - workers in unspecified occupations and unemployed who stated no occupation.
- (11) Not gainfully employed - housewives, scholars, pensioners, children.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

An accurate classification of the occupations falling under each occupational group was not always possible, as the information disclosed on the questionnaires was in many cases inadequate. A similar obstacle was encountered in the compilation of the 1960 census sample tabulations.² The classification of occupations was, therefore, subject to a margin of error, as we were not always able to check the answers which might sometimes have tended to inflate the

²Population Census, 1960, Sample Tabulation No. 4, p. vi.

status of the worker, e.g. a "laboratory technician" might have been an unqualified laboratory assistant, a "businessman" might have been a small-scale hawker or pedlar, etc.

The occupational structure of the survey sample is shown in Table 51. 41.3% of the males and 3.8% of the females were economically active, the figure for the total sample being 23.7%. In the 1960 census, these figures were found to be 46%, 4% and 25% respectively. The economically active group, therefore, constituted a lower proportion in the survey sample.

The economically inactive group included 161 people whose occupational and employment position was unspecified.

Table 51 Occupational Structure of Households

Occupational Group	Males	Females	Total
Professional	117	25	142
Administrative	52	3	55
Clerical	132	4	136
Sales	170	9	179
Farm	300	17	317
Mine	-	-	-
Transport	113	1	114
Artisan	477	15	492
Service	130	27	157
Other	203	35	238
Total Economically active	1,694	136	1,830
Total Economically Inactive and Unspecified	2,409	3,473	5,882
	4,103	3,609	7,712

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS - MALES

Table 52 discloses the major occupational groups for Indian males in Natal, the Inanda - Lower Tugela economic region and the Tongaat - Verulam sample.

Table 52³ Occupational Groups - Indian Males

Occupational Group	Natal		Inanda-Lower Tugela		Tonga-at-Verulam (Sample)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional	3,260	4.1	730	5.4	117	7.8
Administrative	1,641	2.1	251	1.8	52	3.5
Clerical	6,020	7.6	710	5.2	132	8.9
Sales	10,342	13.1	1,220	9.0	170	11.4
Farm	9,118	11.6	4,364	32.1	300	20.1
Mine	49	.1	-	-	-	-
Transport	6,750	8.6	1,030	7.6	113	7.6
Artisan	31,927	40.5	4,346	32.0	477	32.0
Service	9,657	12.3	931	6.9	130	8.7
Total Occupations	78,764	100.0	13,582	100.0	1,491	100.0

For Natal as a whole it will be seen that farming was relatively unimportant, and the sales, artisan and service categories relatively more important, compared with the North Coast districts.

Comparing the survey sample with the table for Inanda - Lower Tugela, we find that agriculture was of lesser importance (by 12%) in Tongaat - Verulam, while several other categories showed increases, notably clerical (3.7%), professional (2.4%), sales (2.4%), services (1.8%) and administration (1.7%). The proportions of the transport and artisan categories remained the same for both regions. The differences in occupational patterns are a reflection of the greater degree of urbanisation in the sub-region of Tongaat-Verulam.

The farming sector requires special mention. Although 251 out of 852 fathers (29.4%) were placed in this category, the household occupations analysis disclosed a figure of only 20% in agriculture. The former figure of 29% included some deceased fathers (since the present or past occupations of fathers were requested), but the discrepancy between the two percentages may also be explained by the fact that Indian farmers' sons are very often engaged in other occupations, e.g. teaching, commerce, etc., since the holdings are usually small and are not capable of supporting many adults.

The occupational structure for the Inanda - Lower Tugela region is derived from population census data which covered a wider field than the survey sample. The latter consisted of the households

³ibid., Tables 3.2, p. 69, and 3.7, p. 76 (adapted).

of pupils in the higher standards, and perhaps had an inherent bias in favour of the "white collar" groups vis-a-vis farming. It is suggested that, generally speaking, the white collar group find it easier to maintain their children at school for long periods than do those in the farming category, many of whom are field workers earning meagre wages. Then too, this last group represents some of the most conservative members of the community, who regard primary school education as sufficient, especially in the case of girls. Practical difficulties, e.g. distance and accommodation, also militate to some extent against the education of farm children.

Inter-racial comparison - White and Indian males

It is interesting to compare the occupational structure of the White and Indian communities. Table 53 sets out the position in the Inanda - Lower Tugela region in 1960, and we may justifiably accept this as true of the Tongaat - Verulam region (which is in fact a sub-region of Inanda-Lower Tugela) as well.

Table 53⁴ Occupational Structure - White and Indian Males
Inanda - Lower Tugela Region, 1960

Occupational Group	Whites %	Indians %
Professional	10.1	5.4
Administrative	8.5	1.8
Clerical	10.7	5.2
Sales	6.8	9.0
Farm	13.8	32.1
Mine	-	-
Transport	10.5	7.6
Artisan	35.5	32.0
Service	4.1	6.9
	100.0	100.0

As in the case of Indians, approximately one-third of the Whites were to be found in the artisan group. But whereas another one-third of the Indians were engaged in agriculture, only 13.8% of the Whites were so occupied.

⁴ibid., Tables 1.7, p. 32, and 3.7, p. 76 (adapted).

The proportion of Whites in the professional, clerical and administrative classes was appreciably higher than that of Indians, because of the greater scope for employment enjoyed by Whites in these fields, e.g. in the professions, scientists and laboratory workers in the sugar industry, engineers, and religious workers (there are several religious institutions in the area) would give an advantage to the Whites. In the administrative and clerical spheres, the large number of managerial and clerical positions in industry and government (central, provincial and local) would be filled by Whites.

Agriculture, sales and services absorbed fewer Whites, percentage-wise, than Indians. This difference, as we have already mentioned, was most marked in agriculture, where considerable numbers of Indians were employed as sirdars, field workers, tractor drivers, etc. Since the retail trade in the region was largely in the hands of Indians, it is no surprise to find a smaller proportion of Whites in sales, while the services again included several occupations, e.g. catering, laundry and domestic service, which have traditionally attracted Indians.

MAJOR OCCUPATIONS - MALES

We shall now examine the composition of each of the occupational groups:

Professional

Of the 117 professional men, no fewer than 100 were school teachers (including 8 school principals). This reflects the extent to which teaching dominates the Indian professional class. A further 4 men were vernacular teachers. Also represented in this group were 3 laboratory technicians, 3 male nurses, 2 priests, a University lecturer, a doctor, a journalist, a photographer and a health assistant.

Administrative

The 52 males in this category were drawn from a wide field, including company directors, manufacturing, construction, wholesale and retail trade, transportation, business undertakings (e.g. jeweller, tea room, garage), business services (e.g. hairdresser, launderer), and real estate. There were 7 butchers, 7 construction owners, 6 taxi owners, 6 managers in the wholesale and retail trade, 4 jewellers, 3 manufacturers, 3 tea room owners and 3 real estate dealers.

Clerical Workers

Clerks (108) and book-keepers (16) accounted for almost all the 132 workers in this category, which also included 3 postmen, 2 bus conductors, a cashier and a doctor's receptionist.

Sales Workers

This was a large sector of 170 workers. No fewer than 151 were salesmen in the wholesale and retail trade, including 34 working proprietors. Commercial travellers (9), insurance agents and canvassers (6), and hawkers and pedlars (4) completed this group.

Farmers

Farming was the second largest occupational group in the survey sample with 300 members. These may conveniently be divided into two sub-groups, viz., independent farmers and farm workers.

Just over one half (154) of the 300 males were independent farmers. As may be expected, cane growing was the dominant type of farming with 118 planters. A further 16 followed both cane growing and market gardening, while 4 combined cane growing and fruit farming. In addition there were 15 specialist market gardeners and a fruit farmer.

The second sub-division of other farm workers was dominated by agricultural labourers, of whom there were 69 (41 were specifically stated to be field workers, but it is probable that this figure should be much higher). Sirdars numbered 37, whilst 26 males were engaged in agricultural transport as tractor and cane truck drivers, etc. Nine were gardeners.

Transport Workers

The 113 transport workers consisted of drivers and deliverymen (this category refers to operating transport workers only). In 41 cases the type of vehicle driven was not specified. The largest specified group was that of lorry, van and truck drivers (54), followed by bus drivers (6), chauffeurs (5) and taxi drivers (4). The lorry, van and truck drivers were operating vehicles for, inter alia, sugar companies, local government, fresh produce dealers, bakeries, dairies, soft drink manufacturers, cartage contractors, furniture firms, and hardboard and rice factories.

Artisans

In Table 52 we saw that the artisan group and farming were equally important in the occupational structure of Indian males in the Inanda - Lower Tugela region. However, in the Tongaat - Verulam sample the former far outstripped farming as the largest single group, with 477 members as against 300 engaged in the farming sector.

The artisans ranged over a wide field of occupations, the most important divisions of which are listed below:

Metal Workers (40) - motor mechanics (29), blacksmiths (3), others (8).

Wood and Cane Workers (51) - carpenters (23), timber factory workers (17), furniture makers (6), others (5):

Building and Other Construction (102) - builders (62), bricklayers (24), painters (10), others (6).

Textile and Leather Workers (69) - clothing factory workers (38 - including 12 machinists and 5 cutters), tailors (16), others (15):

Food, Drink and Tobacco Workers (88) - sugar mill workers (70), butchers (8), bakers and confectioners (5), others (5):

Makers of Other Products (46) - unspecified factory workers (36), printers (4), jewellers (3), others (3).

Other Industrial Workers (24) - handymen (8), laboratory workers (6), garage workers (4), foremen (3), others (3).

Machine Operators (18) - crane drivers (9), petrol pump attendants (3), greasers (3), others (3).

Transport Workers (17) - storemen (5), porters (4), dispatch workers (4), others (4):

Other Manual Workers (22) - labourers (19), others (3).

It will be seen, therefore, that building, food and textiles were the three largest of the artisan groups. However, the extent to which the sugar industry dominates the employment pattern in the region is not clearly brought out above, and it must be remembered that the basis of occupational classification is the nature of the work performed.

It is not only food workers who are employed by the sugar industry. Mechanics, blacksmiths, welders, carpenters, bricklayers, painters, handymen, laboratory workers, crane drivers, machinery cleaners and oilers and storemen are amongst the many who look to the sugar mills for their livelihood. The influence exerted by the Maidstone mill through indirect employment is enormous, pervading almost every occupational category in the Tongaat area, while a number of Verulam Indians are employed in the mill at Mt. Edgecombe.

Service Workers

The 130 service workers were distributed amongst protective services (13), private households (10), barbers, etc. (10), and catering, laundering, etc. The protective service workers were all policemen. Service workers in private households comprised domestic servants, gardeners, cooks, etc. There were 8 barbers and 2 undertakers, whilst the remaining service workers were drawn mainly from the hotel and catering trade which has always relied heavily on Indian labour. Engaged in this field were 37 waiters and stewards, 17 cooks and chefs, 10 barmen, 3 unspecified hotel workers and 2 pages.

Outside the hotel and catering trade were 15 laundry workers, 5 caretakers, 3 hospital attendants, 2 cobblers and a lift operator.

Other Workers

This category comprised 129 unemployed persons for whom no occupation was stated, and 74 persons whose occupations were unspecified.

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AND MAJOR OCCUPATIONS - FEMALES

As we have noted (Table 51), only 136 females in the survey sample were economically active. Of these, 35 fell into the category of other workers as their occupations were unspecified. The most important occupational groups for Indian females were service workers (27), professional (25), farming (17) and artisan (15).

Female service workers were mainly domestic servants in private households (16) and laundry workers (6). As was the case with males, teaching (17) was the dominant occupation amongst the professional class, although nursing (8) was well represented.

Eleven of the 17 females engaged in agriculture were field workers, and 2 widows were independent farmers. In the artisan

group were 8 unspecified factory workers and 5 workers in the food industry (at the food factory in Verulam):

Included in the sales, clerical and administrative groups were 9 shop assistants, 3 clerks and an owner of a retail store.

A number of females were assisting in family businesses, e.g. one woman in the agricultural sector was managing her husband's poultry farm while he himself was a railway employee.

TRADING LICENCES

A good indication of the extent to which Indian business enterprises dominated (in numbers, if not in volume) commerce in the region, may be obtained by glancing at the government and municipal trading licences issued in Tongaat and Verulam for 1965: (Table 54):

Table 54⁵ Distribution of Trading Licences by Racial Groups -
Tongaats and Verulam, 1965

	Tongaats		Verulam		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Indians	349	90.6	198	90.8	547	90.7
Whites	32	8.4	19	8.7	51	8.5
Africans	4	1.0	1	.5	5	.8
Total	385	100.0	218	100.0	603	100.0

The pattern therefore was much the same in both towns, with over 90% of the trading licences in the hands of Indians. The different types of licences granted to Indians are shown in Table 55:

The majority of licences were held by small businesses, e.g. shops, cafes, and market stalls, and most individuals or concerns held more than one licence. It was common for an individual to possess 3 or 4 different licences, e.g. a small shopkeeper might have a restricted general dealer's licence, a fresh produce dealer's licence, an aerated mineral water licence, and a patent and proprietary medicine licence.

⁵This table does not include liquor licences and road transportation licences, e.g. taxis, cartage contractors:

Table 55 Trading Licences - Indians - Tongaat and
Verulam, 1965

<u>Description of Licence</u>	<u>No. of Licences</u>
General dealer	135
Fresh produce dealer	89
Patent and proprietary medicine	39
Pedlar and general pedlar	49
Hawker and general hawker	29
Pawnbroker"	4
Refreshment room keeper	16
Eatinghouse keeper	11
Restaurant or tea room	5
Purveyor of milk	9
Aerated mineral water	39
Butcher	10
Hairdresser	15
Laundry and/or dry cleaner, and receiving depot	9
Tailor/clothes repairer	14
Cobbler	8
Manufacturing jeweller and/or watch repairer	6
Photographer	5
Driving school	5
Motor garage	8
Storage of mineral oils	15
Building contractor	4
Miller	4
Manufacturer of furniture, boxes, joinery, etc.	5
Other	14
	<hr/> 547 <hr/>

While the bulk of Indian-held licences were connected with the retail trade, those held by Whites were accounted for largely by hotels (which possessed 10 licences), dairies (9), and two ancillaries of the Tongaat Sugar Company, viz., the Sporting Club and the Employees Trading Company with 6 licences each. The balance consisted mainly of millers (3 licences), butchers (3), a bakery (2), a chemist and druggist (2), a garage (2) and a firm of electrical contractors (2).

Africans held 3 pedlars, one hawkers and one general dealer's licence.

C H A P T E R I X

INCOME STRUCTURE

Closely linked with the occupational structure of the Indian community is its income structure and economic position.

DEFINITION OF INCOME

In our discussion on income, we shall once again follow the procedure adopted during the 1960 census. Income was defined as follows :

for salary and wage earners, the gross annual income;

for farmers, businessmen and professional men, the net annual income.

In addition to earned income, pensions, dividends, interest, the value of free quarters and rations and the value of self-produced agricultural and pastoral products consumed, were included in the definition of income.

The questionnaires distributed to pupils asked for the weekly or monthly wage income and supplementary income, e.g. unemployment benefits, government grants (pensions, disability and maintenance grants, etc.) and rental income, received by each member of the household. We did not request any information relating to the value of free housing or rations, and here is one possible source of variation between our figures and those obtained from the census. Weekly incomes (where given) were multiplied by $4\frac{1}{3}$ to derive monthly incomes, from which annual incomes were calculated.

MALE INCOMES

Table 56(a) shows the annual incomes by occupational groups for the Tongaat-Verulam sample and Inanda-Lower Tugela, expressed as percentages. From this table, it will be seen that within each occupational group there were substantial divergences between the two sets of figures. Unspecified incomes represented a particularly large percentage in some groups (in total 6.9% in the sample as against 3.8% in the census) as unfortunately a large number of pupils did not respond to the questions relating to household income.

Table 56¹

Percentage Distribution of Indian Males by Income and Occupational Groups
Tongaat-Verulam and Inanda-Lower Tugela Regions

(a) Annual Income R	OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS															
	Prof.		Admin.		Clerical		Sales		Farmer		Transport		Artisan		Service	
	TV	IIT	TV	IIT	TV	IIT	TV	IIT	TV	IIT	TV	IIT	TV	IIT	TV	IIT
Nil	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	.8	7.7	3.9	.9	7.8	4.0	1.9	3.9	2.1
Under 200	-	1.4	-	8.0	7.6	16.9	11.8	24.7	24.7	50.7	7.1	16.5	10.3	30.4	16.9	27.0
200 - 399	2.5	4.1	3.9	23.9	26.5	31.0	31.8	38.6	28.6	25.3	39.8	49.5	35.6	35.2	38.5	46.2
400 - 599	9.4	23.3	7.7	23.9	25.8	25.4	10.6	11.5	8.7	5.8	16.0	11.6	26.8	16.8	16.9	11.8
600 - 799	18.0	9.6	9.6	4.0	23.5	12.7	14.1	4.8	5.0	3.3	11.5	7.8	10.9	5.6	10.0	4.3
800 - 999	10.2	13.9	11.5	4.0	4.5	7.0	3.5	.8	1.3	1.6	7.1	1.0	3.8	3.2	2.3	3.2
1,000-1,199	6.0	9.6	3.9	8.0	3.8	4.2	5.9	4.9	3.0	.7	3.5	-	3.8	2.1	1.5	-
1,200-1,599	24.0	16.3	9.6	4.0	1.5	1.4	4.7	6.6	4.0	.2	3.5	-	2.5	1.2	.8	1.1
1,600-1,999	16.2	12.3	5.8	-	-	-	.6	.8	1.7	.2	-	1.9	.4	.2	-	-
2,000-2,999	9.4	4.1	11.5	15.9	-	1.4	4.1	1.6	2.0	.9	-	-	.4	.2	2.3	-
3,000-3,999	-	2.7	7.7	4.3	-	-	1.1	-	.3	.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
4,000-4,999	-	-	1.9	-	-	-	-	.8	1.0	.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
5000 +	-	-	9.6	4.0	-	-	-	.8	.7	.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unspecified	4.3	2.7	17.3	-	6.8	-	10.6	3.3	11.3	5.5	10.6	3.9	1.5	3.2	6.9	4.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(b)																
Under 600	11.9	28.8	11.6	55.8	59.9	73.3	55.4	75.6	69.7	85.7	63.8	85.4	76.7	84.3	76.2	87.1
600-1,199	34.2	33.1	25.0	16.0	31.8	23.9	23.5	10.5	9.3	5.6	22.1	8.8	18.5	10.9	13.8	7.5
1,200+	49.6	35.4	46.1	28.2	1.5	2.8	10.5	10.6	9.7	3.2	3.5	1.9	3.3	1.6	3.1	1.1
Total specified	95.7	97.3	82.7	100.0	93.2	100.0	89.4	96.7	88.7	94.5	89.4	96.1	98.5	96.8	93.1	95.7

¹

Percentages for Inanda-Lower Tugela adapted from: Population Census, 1960, Sample Tabulation No. 4, Table 3.7, p. 76.

Some care should, therefore, be exercised in arriving at conclusions from this table. The Bureau of Statistics, in discussing the limitation and interpretation of census data, states: "Such a full scale enquiry can never be completely accurate. Apart from possible omissions of persons not enumerated, the census schedule is not always filled in completely and accurately. For various reasons some questions are completed more accurately than others. The question on 'income' constitutes one of the more difficult questions in a population census, because, apart from failing to reply thereto for whatever reason, the information furnished does not always conform to the definition."² But the Bureau goes on to say: "The data obtained, however, give a reasonable indication of the distribution of income..."³ These comments apply with equal validity to the income schedules derived from our questionnaires.

A glance at the total column of Table 56(b) reveals that, on balance, the sample showed a higher income structure than that of the 1960 census. This may be due to two factors:

- (i) An increase in wages and profits in the boom period following the recovery of the national economy after the political crises of 1960-61.
- (ii) The possible bias in the sample in favour of the more affluent section of the community.

Whatever the reasons for this divergence, the fact still remains that somewhere between two-thirds and four-fifths of the Indian males in the area were in receipt of annual incomes of under R600, i.e. R50 per month.

Those shown as having no income were mainly unemployed who stated an occupation. The highest percentage in the "nil" income group was recorded by farming. Here were included all those (mainly sons and brothers) sharing a joint income with the head of the household who was in each instance credited with the total joint income.

At the other end of the income scale, the only occupational groups in the survey sample with incomes exceeding R4,000 per annum were administration and farming, although in the Inanda-Lower Tugela region sales was also represented in this category.

² *ibid.*, p.v.

³ *ibid.*, p.v.

Table 56(b) gives a simplified picture of the income structure within each occupational group. The professional and administrative groups showed the highest overall incomes, followed by sales. The administrative sector had the lowest percentage in the under R600 per annum income category, while the professional men reflected the highest percentages in the R600-R1,200 and over R1,200 per annum income ranges. The largest proportion of unspecified incomes was provided by the administrative group. Few clerical workers received over R1,200 per annum, although almost one-third fell into the intermediate range of R600 - R1,200 per annum. The small number of workers in this latter range characterised the agricultural sector. Over three-quarters of the artisan and service workers received annual incomes of less than R600, service workers overall appearing to be the most economically depressed group.

We shall now examine the income structure of each occupational group more closely.

Professional

We have already noted the comparative affluence of this group which was almost entirely composed of teachers. The majority of teachers (55 out of 104) received over R1,200 per annum, while a further 34 were classed in the R600 - R1,200 per annum group. The professional men earning under R400 per annum were all vernacular teachers who did not fall under the Natal Education Department.

The difference between the salary scales of White and Indian teachers has already been alluded to. The standard of living of Indian teachers is consequently lower than that of their White counterparts, and their true position is well illustrated by a survey undertaken by the Natal Indian Teachers' Society in 1961.⁴ The Society found that of its members, 586 received annual incomes of under R600, and 1,199 received between R600 - 1,199, while 695 teachers were placed in the R1,200 + category. No member had reached the maximum notch of R2,400 per annum. Salary scales have, however, been revised since 1961.

The proportion of a teachers' salary spent on food varied from 40 - 49%, and that spent on rent or mortgage bond instalments from 17 - 36%, depending upon his age group. Many teachers had incurred debts or had negotiated loans against their insurance policies.

⁴ The Teachers' Journal, December, 1961, pp. 22 - 23.

Debts usually resulted from arrears on food, clothing, medicine, furniture hire purchase instalments, rent and wedding and family expenses, while most loans were raised for study purposes or to pay deposits for homes. No teacher owned all of the following items - radio, refrigerator, piano, motor car, washing machine, and vacuum cleaner. There were several nil returns, but the majority possessed radios, followed by refrigerators and vacuum cleaners in decreasing order of frequency. Less than 5% of teachers could afford to take their family on an annual holiday.

Administrative

Company directors, a landlord and a real estate agent accounted for the top earnings in this group. Other large earners were a service station proprietor, a butcher and a transport operator. Managers of smaller businesses, e.g. laundry, tea room, cartage contractor, hair-dressing saloon and watch repair shop, were in receipt of lower incomes.

Clerical workers

Only 1.5% of the clerical workers received incomes exceeding R1,200 per annum, and there appeared to be no significant difference between the earnings of clerks and book-keepers.

Sales workers

The majority of sales workers were shop assistants falling into the lower income group, i.e. under R600 per annum. The largest incomes amongst sales workers accrued to a few retail storekeepers, commercial travellers and insurance representatives.

Farmers

As may be expected, the independent cane growers were the most affluent section in the farming community, and accounted for almost all the incomes in excess of R1,200 per annum. But the majority of Indian planters were located on small plots of under 20 acres, with resultant low incomes. The rest of the farming sector, i.e. market gardeners, sirdars, field workers and farm transport workers, were placed with few exceptions in the group with annual incomes of less than R400. It must be borne in mind, however, that many agricultural labourers were provided with housing and rations, the value of which was not taken into account in assessing incomes.

The Tongaat Sugar Company calculated the wages of the average permanent Indian field worker (married) at R44.80 per month, comprised as follows :

	<u>R</u>
Average cash remuneration	23.39
Housing	7.50
Light, water, fuel	4.00
Superannuation - 5% (Company share 5%)	.97
Ex gratia pension - 5%	.97
Medical benefits	1.00
Rations	6.97
	<hr/>
	44.80
	<hr/>

The average daily wage was thus R1.72 (based on 26 working days per month). The average cash remuneration amounted to R280.68 per annum, a far cry from the figure of R537.60 per annum when the fringe benefits were considered.

Transport workers

Transport workers were concentrated towards the bottom of the income ladder, only 4 (all drivers) out of 113 receiving incomes just exceeding R1,200 per annum.

Artisans

Not only was building and construction numerically the largest of the artisan trades, but it also accounted for the best paid artisan workers, e.g. of the 16 artisans with incomes above R1,200 per annum, 11 were builders.

21.8% of all artisans earned over R600 per annum, the figures for the leading occupations in this income category being: building 43.1%, transport workers 29.4%, machine operators 22.2%, and wood workers 21.6%. The food industry was the second largest employer of artisan labour, but ranked last in earning capacity, only 8% of the food workers in the sample receiving more than R600 per annum (sugar mill workers were however, provided with accommodation, the value of which was not considered). The textile industry, third in numerical importance, was placed fifth on the income list with 18.9% of its workers in the +R600 per annum group. Artisans had the smallest proportion (only 1.5%) of unspecified incomes.

5
Table 57

Percentage Distribution of Indian and White Males by Incomes and Occupational Groups

Inanda-Lower Tugela Region

1960

Annual Income R	OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS																	
	Prof.		Admin.		Clerical		Sales		Farm		Transport		Artisan		Service		Total	
	I	W	I	W	I	W	I	W	I	W	I	W	I	W	I	W	I	W
Nil	-	-	-	-	-	-	.8	-	3.9	-	7.8	-	1.9	-	2.1	-	2.3	-
Under 200	1.4	-	8.0	-	16.9	-	24.7	-	50.7	2.7	16.5	-	30.4	1.1	27.0	-	32.5	.8
200 - 399	4.1	-	23.9	-	31.0	3.2	38.6	-	25.3	2.7	49.5	3.6	35.2	1.1	46.2	-	32.1	1.5
400 - 599	23.3	3.7	23.9	-	25.4	-	11.5	5.6	5.8	-	11.6	-	16.8	3.2	11.8	-	13.0	1.9
600 - 799	9.6	7.5	4.0	-	12.7	3.5	4.8	-	3.3	-	7.8	14.4	5.6	4.2	4.3	16.8	5.4	4.8
800 - 999	13.9	-	4.0	8.9	7.0	3.5	.8	5.6	1.6	-	1.0	3.6	3.2	3.2	3.2	-	3.1	3.0
1,000-1,199	9.6	-	8.0	-	4.2	10.6	4.9	-	.7	5.3	-	7.2	2.1	5.8	-	18.5	2.2	5.4
1,200-1,599	16.3	7.5	4.0	4.4	1.4	20.5	6.6	22.2	.2	10.2	-	25.3	1.2	11.5	1.1	9.2	2.1	13.1
1,600-1,999	12.3	7.5	-	4.4	-	10.6	.8	5.5	.2	10.5	1.9	13.9	.2	25.9	-	18.5	1.0	15.5
2,000-2,999	4.1	29.9	15.9	16.9	1.4	31.1	1.6	38.9	.9	13.0	-	25.3	.2	35.6	-	37.0	1.1	29.0
3,000-3,999	2.7	22.1	4.3	17.3	-	17.0	-	11.1	.5	5.3	-	3.1	-	3.2	-	-	.4	8.5
4,000-4,999	-	7.5	-	21.9	-	-	.8	5.6	.9	13.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	.4	4.8
5,000 +	-	14.3	4.0	26.2	-	-	.8	5.5	.5	31.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	.3	8.4
Unspecified	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	3.3	-	5.5	5.5	3.9	3.6	3.2	5.2	4.3	-	3.3	3.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

146.

The monthly wage of the average married sugar mill worker at Maidstone was calculated thus:

	<u>R</u>
Average cash remuneration	59.11
Housing	7.50
Light, water, fuel	4.00
Superannuation - 5%	2.45
Ex gratia pension - 5%	2.45
Medical benefits	1.00
	<hr/> 76.51 <hr/>

Mill workers did not receive rations. The average daily wage amounted to R2.94, the average annual cash remuneration to R709.32, and the average annual total wage to R918.12.

Service workers

We have seen that service workers possessed the lowest income structure of all occupational groups, only 22 (16.9%) falling into the + R600 per annum category. Of these 22 workers, one half were from the catering trade. In this trade, barmen appeared to be the best paid, with 6 of the 10 barmen in the sample earning over R600 per annum. Only 3 out of 37 waiters and 2 out of 17 chefs were represented in this income division.

The highest incomes amongst service workers were recorded by 3 workers in a family laundry concern who each earned over R2,000 per annum. Workers in private households were the poorest paid members of this occupational group.

White and Indian Incomes - a comparison

The income structure of White and Indian males in the Inanda-Lower Tugela region affords an interesting and illuminating comparison. Table 57 discloses that in every occupational group, the majority of White workers fell into the higher income brackets, while Indians were placed on the lower rungs of the income ladder. The extent of this phenomenon can be more clearly gauged from Table 58.

Table 58 Incomes of White and Indian Males - Inanda-Lower Tugela Region, 1960

Annual Income	Whites %	Indians %
Under R600	4.2	80.2
R600-R1,200	13.2	10.7
Over R1,200	79.6	5.3
	<hr/> 97.0 <hr/>	<hr/> 96.2 <hr/>

FIG. III

INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALES.

INANDA - LOWER TUGELA REGION - 1960.

WHITES

INDIANS

ANNUAL INCOME

R

5,000 +

4,000 - 4,999

3,000 - 3,999

2,000 - 2,999

1,600 - 1,999

1,200 - 1,599

1,000 - 1,199

800 - 999

600 - 799

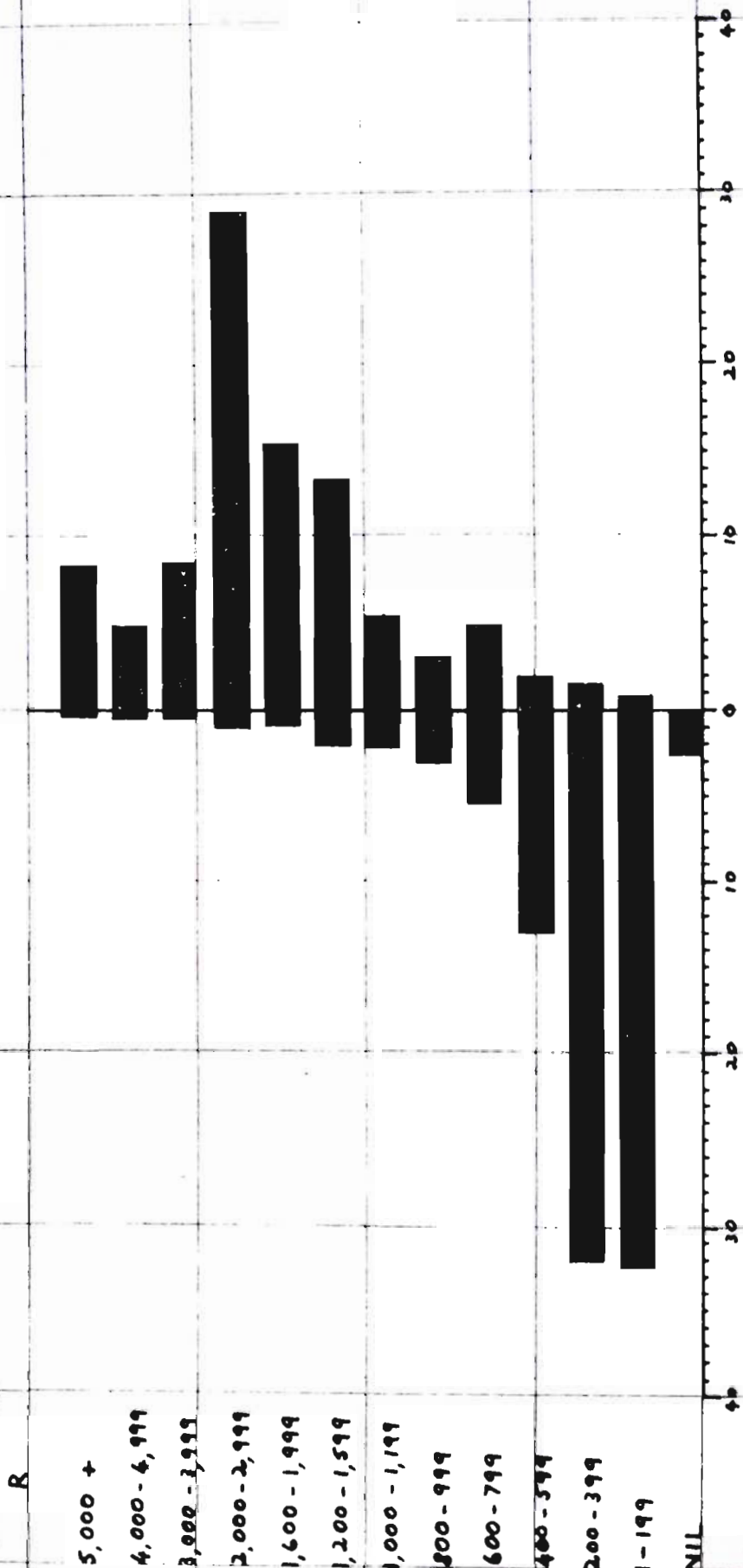
400 - 599

200 - 399

1 - 199

NIL

PERCENTAGE



The incomes of the two races were in direct contrast. Whereas four-fifths of the Indians received annual incomes of under R600 (i.e. R50 per month), four-fifths of the Whites received over R1,200 per annum (i.e. R100 per month), and whereas approximately 5% of Indians exhibited incomes in excess of R1,200 per annum, approximately the same proportion of Whites appeared at the opposite end of the scale with annual incomes of less than R600. This contrast is illustrated in Figure III.

FEMALE INCOMES

There were 136 females in the economically active group. In 11 instances incomes were unspecified. The income structure of Indian females was, not surprisingly, much lower than that of males, only 10 of the 125 specified incomes exceeding R600 per annum. No fewer than 8 of these were members of the professional class, which was the most affluent occupational division for females.

But even within the professional class, male incomes were considerably higher than those of females. The professional class in both sexes consisted largely of teachers, and a glance at the salary scales of the teaching profession reveals the disparity between the sexes, e.g. in 1964 in the M + 4 grade (i.e. 4 years post-matriculation study), an Indian male graduate's commencing salary was R1,020 per annum, while that of a female graduate was only R760 per annum.⁶ However, in the whole of Natal on 1 January 1964, there were only 31 Indian female graduates in the teaching profession,⁷ and the majority of female teachers, therefore, would have been on lower salary notches. This is borne out by our sample, 12 of the 17 teachers earning under R600 per annum and the remaining 5 all appearing in the R600 - 800 per annum income division.

Nursing appeared to be a more lucrative field of endeavour than teaching, 3 of the 7 nurses whose incomes were specified receiving over R600 per annum. The highest salary received by a professional worker was R80 per month earned by a nurse, compared with the highest teaching salary of R60 per month.

Females in clerical and sales positions fell into the lower income strata, as did field workers whose monthly incomes varied between R6 - R9. The highest annual income received by any female in our sample was R2,000 which accrued to a widowed cane grower. This

⁶ The Teachers' Journal, July, 1964, p. 37.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 37.

Table 59

Distribution of Indian Females by Income and Occupation

Annual Income R	OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS									Total Females
	Prof.	Admin.	Clerical	Sales	Farmer	Transport	Artisan	Service	Other	
Nil	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	13	15
Under 200	-	-	1	4	14	1	4	23	15	62
200 - 399	5	-	2	1	1	-	7	3	3	22
400 - 599	11	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	16
600 - 799	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
800 - 999	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1,000 - 1,199	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1,200 - 1,599	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1,600 - 1,999	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2,000 - 2,999	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
3,000 - 3,999	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4,000 - 4,999	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5000 +	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unspecified	1	1	1	1	1	-	2	1	3	11
Total	25	3	4	9	17	1	15	27	35	136

was also the only instance of a female with an income exceeding R1,000 per annum.

The majority of female artisans were unspecified factory workers. However, it seemed justifiable to assume that several of these were workers in the textile industry, exhibiting higher wages than those employed in the food industry. The latter were all employed at an Indian - owned food canning concern in Verulam. Wages here varied between R13 - R18.52 per month, e.g. a spice packer earned R13.08 per month and a worker in the canning section R17.33 per month.

All 27 female service workers declared incomes of under R400 per annum, the majority (23) in fact receiving annual incomes of under R200. Most service workers were domestic servants in private households, and with one exception were all in this low income bracket. Wages for domestic servants ranged from R3 - R17 per month. A number were employed as laundry workers (mainly at Oakford Priory), monthly wages here being in the region of R10. It is customary that employees in this field receive rations to supplement their wages, with the result that their incomes might have been understated.

Of the 35 females classified under the general heading "other workers", 13 were unemployed and in 3 cases incomes were unspecified. Only 4 of the remaining 19 had incomes exceeding R200 per annum, the highest annual income accruing to any single employee being R495.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME

We have already glanced briefly at the household income figures obtained from a sub-sample of 801 households (Chapter IV). In Table 60 the monthly household income is related to the size of the household.

The mean size of the households in the sub-sample was identical to that in the sample. From Table 60 we can see that the average monthly income per person for the median sized family of eight was R9.03, compared with the average for the sub-sample of R10.34. The average monthly income of the median sized household was R72.75 compared with the average for the sub-sample of R85.29 - figures which were indeed very low.

Table 60

Monthly Income of Households by Size of Household

Households			Persons		Monthly Income			
Size (No. of persons)	No.	%	No.	%	Total Income (All Households)	%	Average Income per Household	Average Income per Person
					R		R	R
2	1	.1	2	-	8.02	-	8.02	4.01
3	34	4.3	102	1.5	1,619.90	2.4	47.64	15.88
4	30	3.8	120	1.8	1,377.21	2.0	45.91	11.47
5	81	10.1	405	6.1	5,994.46	8.8	74.01	14.80
6	75	9.4	450	6.8	5,402.24	8.	72.03	12.00
7	117	14.6	819	12.4	8,860.68	13.0	75.73	10.81
8	125	15.6	1,000	15.1	9,030.85	13.2	72.25	9.03
9	101	12.6	909	13.8	7,819.51	11.4	77.42	8.60
10	75	9.4	750	11.4	7,870.74	11.5	104.94	10.49
11	59	7.4	649	9.8	5,707.73	8.4	96.71	8.79
12	40	5.0	480	7.3	4,353.40	6.4	108.83	9.06
13	27	3.4	351	5.3	4,102.73	6.0	151.95	11.68
14	17	2.1	238	3.6	2,186.17	3.2	128.60	9.18
15	9	1.1	135	2.0	1,486.78	2.2	165.20	11.01
16	2	.2	32	.5	259.42	.4	129.71)	8.10)
18	2	.2	36	.6	912.42	1.3	456.21)	25.34)
19	2	.2	38	.6	239.08	.3	119.54)	6.29)
22	1	.1	22	.3	695.33	1.0	695.33)	31.60)
23	2	.2	46	.7	307.08	.5	153.54)	6.67)
24	1	.1	24	.4	82.00	.1	82.00)	3.41)
Total	601	100.0	6,608	100.0	68,315.75	100.0	85.29	10.34

Mean household size = 8.25 persons.

It must be stressed again that these household income figures did not take into account the value of any accommodation or rations that might have been provided, e.g. as in the case of sugar company mill and field workers.

In some cases the high income of one household raised the average household income of that group as a whole. This was particularly evident in the 18-person group. Both households in this group were extended families of 5 units each. But whereas the one displayed a monthly income of R621 (or R34.50 per caput) earned by 4 teachers and a cane grower, the other with 7 wage-earners received only R291.42 (R16.19 per caput).

Similarly there was a great disparity of income between the 16-member households. The one, an extended family of 2 units, earned R177.67 (R11.10 per caput) per month from 3 workers, while the other, consisting of 3 family units, totalled R81.75 (R5.11 per caput) per month via 2 employees and an old-age pensioner. There were 7 scholars in the latter family.

A number of other cases may be singled out for special mention at this point. The 2-person household consisted of a Standard VI boy and his widowed mother living off a company pension in barracks. Almost the entire income of the 22-member household was accounted for by a butchery. The largest household, viz., one of 24 persons, comprised 5 family units with 4 wage-earners and 8 pupils.

ECONOMIC POSITION

Indians in South Africa operate within a restricted occupational field. Openings in the civil service are few, there are customary and legislative barriers in the professional, sales, transport and artisan spheres, and economic and legislative limitations to any significant ownership of agricultural land. Scope for employment is further limited by the restrictions on inter-provincial movement. The Indian community has therefore "...become commercial to a noticeable degree".⁸ Contrary to fairly widespread beliefs, conventional rather than statutory barriers are the greatest impediment to Indian employment.⁹ These conventional barriers take the form of the colour bar which is imposed by White public opinion and White employers and employees. The position of Indians in the civil service has, however,

⁸ C.A. Woods, The Indian Community of Natal, p. 39.

⁹ A.L. Müller, Some Non-economic Determinants of the Economic Status of Asians in Africa, S.A.J.E., March, 1965, p. 78.

improved since the creation of the Department of Indian Affairs, and this trend can be expected to continue.

While the income level might have improved over recent years, our study has shown that something like two-thirds of male employees earn less than R50 per month, and surveys of Indian income and expenditure generally reveal a gloomy picture. For example, in a study of income and expenditure patterns in Durban in 1963, it was found that 63.7% of the Indian population were living below the poverty datum line (i.e. the lowest possible amount on which the average family could live under humanly decent conditions), a further 28.3% were barely above the poverty datum line, 6.6% were living moderately comfortably, and only 1.4% could be termed comfortably off.¹⁰ In many households new clothing was seldom able to be purchased, while the diets were monotonous with mutton and chicken being regarded as luxuries.

Within the Indian community itself, the Hindus (with the exception of the Gujarati group) are generally of a lower economic status than the Muslims. As has been mentioned (Chapter I) this is because of origin - the great majority of Hindus are descended from indentured immigrants, while a large proportion of Muslims are the descendants of passenger Indians - and is not due to religion or caste. In the Tongaat-Verulam region almost all the prosperous merchants and entrepreneurs were Muslims (Gujarati and Memon) or Gujarati Hindus. The latter group are popularly known as "banyars" (traders). But many concerns are one-man undertakings or partnerships (often family enterprises), and Indian traders usually operate on a smaller scale than their White counterparts, with smaller turnovers and lower profits.

The earning capacity of the Indian household is further curtailed by the fact that relatively few females are in employment. Woods in 1953 wrote: "Not only is it considered a reflection on the menfolk of a family if women leave the home for employment, but the tradition is for young women between puberty and marriage to stay in the home".¹¹ These attitudes have broken down to a certain extent over the last decade, in the face of economic pressures and increased education, and to-day an increasing number of Indian females are engaged in teaching, nursing, factory and office work, e.g. between 1951 - 1960, the proportion of working women in the Asian labour force in South Africa increased from 7.3% to 10.5%.¹² Evidence suggests

¹⁰ Unpublished survey by Department of Economics, University of Natal.

¹¹ C.A. Woods, op.cit., p. 45.

¹² A.L. Müller, The Economic Position of the Asians in Africa, S.A.J.E., June, 1965, p. 129 (footnote).

that, given more openings, appreciably more females would enter the labour market.

At a time when South Africa's continuing economic expansion is being threatened by a shortage of skilled manpower, unemployment and underemployment amongst the Indian community represents a problem. There can be little doubt that numerous Indians in commerce and industry are engaged in jobs beneath their capabilities. The lifting of legal and customary barriers at present impeding the economic advancement of the Indian, would open up vast resources of intelligent and potentially skilled manpower to help sustain economic growth, and at the same time assist materially in releasing the Indian community from its lowly economic status.

C H A P T E R X
- - - - -AGRICULTURE

The Tongaat - Verulam region is situated in the heart of the Natal sugar belt, which stretches along the coast from the Umzimkulu River in the south to St. Lucia Bay in the north. It is only to be expected, then, that Indian farmers in the region are engaged primarily in the production of sugarcane. Fruit and vegetable growing have lost much of their former importance, while the cultivation of betel leaf is confined to a small band of growers. Any discussion of agriculture in the region must, therefore, necessarily revolve around sugar.

PART I - SUGARCANEINDIAN GROWERS IN THE INDUSTRY

Sugar in South Africa in 1964 was produced by 1,374 White, 1,654 Indian, 3,447 African and 33 Mangete (or Coloured) growers on private farms, and by 20 large estates (mostly owned by "miller-cum-planter" companies, one of which is Indian).¹ The White growers (60%) and estates (32%) together accounted for just over 90% of total sugar production in South Africa.² Indian growers produced 6.4% of the total sugar output in 1963-64, although they held 9.5% of the total registered quota land.³

The total extent of land held by Indian planters was 90,128 acres, most of it on the North Coast. Of this area, registered quota land at the end of the 1963-64 season totalled 60,355 acres.⁴ However, the introduction of a controlled expansion programme in the industry following the suspension of the quota provisions of the International Sugar Agreement at the end of 1961, resulted in new quotas and extensions being granted to Indian growers in respect of

¹ S. A. Sugar Year Book, 1964, p.58.

² Ibid., p. 58.

³ Natal Indian Cane Growers' Association Report, 1964-65.

⁴ Ibid.

10,237 acres and 9,213 acres respectively.⁵ Existing growers were required to have their land prepared for planting by 30 April, 1965, while the deadline for the 179 new growers is 30 April, 1966. Thus, by the latter date, Indian farmers will hold a maximum quota land area of 79,805 acres. In practice, this figure is likely to be reduced, as many farmers will not have the capital and equipment to prepare the additional land, and the Natal Indian Cane Growers' Association (NICGA) anticipates that only about 10,000 acres will be gained. The severe drought conditions which have characterized the 1964-65 season will also militate against the deadline being met.

Few Indian growers operate on a scale comparable with that of their White counterparts. The majority farm small tracts of land with a resultant small output, e.g. in 1961 91% of Indian growers produced fewer than 1,000 tons of cane per annum.⁶ In 1963-64 the average annual cane production per White grower was 5,600 tons.⁷

SIZE OF FARMS

Indian cane growers in Natal are divided into 13 Mill Groups. Three such groups, viz. Maidstone, Frosterly and Canelands, covered the Tongaat - Verulam region, and consisted of 605 growers farming an area of 25,482 acres (or 28.3% of the total area of land owned by Indian planters in Natal). Registered quota land at the conclusion of the 1963-64 season was 17,830 acres (or 29.4% of the total registered quota land held by Indians in Natal). The Maidstone Mill Group was the largest in area, with 17,620 acres⁸ of registered and unregistered land at the end of the 1963-64 season. These figures illustrate the importance of the Tongaat - Verulam region in Indian farming in Natal.

Table 61 reveals a concentration of planters at the base of the land pyramid. More explicitly, 75.3% of the growers had farms of under 30 acres, and 88% held fewer than 50 acres each. The smallest individual quota of registered land was 1 acre, the largest 454 acres.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ NICGA Report, 1960-61.

⁷ The Sugar Industry, Supplement to the Financial Mail, 19 February, 1965, p.9.

⁸ This area includes the Frosterly Mill Group, which is a new body.

SUCROSE QUOTA

The earning capacity of a sugarcane farm may be gauged not so much from size as from the sucrose quota, as it is this quota which determines the income of the grower. Table 62 shows that two-thirds of the Indian growers in the region had basic sucrose quotas of under 50 tons.

Table 61 Distribution of Growers by Registered Quota Land-
Maidstone, Frosterly and Canelands Mill Groups ,
1 May, 1964:9

Registered Quota Land (acres)	No. of Growers	%
1-10	132	21.8
11-20	225	37.3
21-30	97	16.2
31-40	47	7.7
41-50	30	5.0
51-60	16	2.6
61-70	14	2.3
71-80	6	1.0
81-90	6	1.0
91-100	4	.7
101-125	8	1.3
126-150	4	.7
151-175	5	.8
176-200	3	.5
201-300	3	.5
301-400	2	.4
401-500	1	.2
	<hr/> 603 *	<hr/> 100.0

* Two growers had failed to register their land.

9 Sugar Industry Central Board: Schedule of Growers, Deliveries and Quotas, 1963-64 (adapted):

Table 62 Distribution of Growers by Basic Suorose Quota -
Maidstone, Frosterly and Canelands Mill Groups ,
1964-65¹⁰

Basic Suorose Quota (tons)	No. of Growers	%
1-10	39	6.5
11-20	128	21.2
21-30	105	17.4
31-40	70	11.6
41-50	62	10.2
51-60	38	6.3
61-70	25	4.1
71-80	26	4.3
81-90	23	3.8
91-100	22	3.6
101-125	18	3.0
126-150	7	1.2
151-175	10	1.7
176-200	6	1.0
201-300	12	1.8
301-400	8	1.3
401-500	3	.5
501+	3	.5
	<hr/> 605 <hr/>	<hr/> 100.0 <hr/>

During the 1963-64 season, growers received an average price of R45.36 per ton of suorose.¹¹ Most growers made a profit of between R11 and R14.50 per ton of suorose (i.e. R1.50-R2 per ton of cane). An Indian grower with a suorose quota of 15 tons could, therefore, be expected to have made a profit of not more than about R220 per annum.

¹⁰ Ibid. (adapted).

¹¹ The Sugar Industry, op. cit. p. 15.

INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY VENTURES

The majority of registered growers were individuals, as is shown in Table 63.

Table 63 Registered Cane Growers - Maidstone,
Frosterly and Canelands Mill Groups, 1 May, 1964

Registered Grower	No. of Growers	%
Individual	481	79.5
Father and sons	13	2.1
Brothers	42	7.0
Partnership	40	6.6
Deceased estate	23	3.8
Company	6	1.0
	<hr/> 605 <hr/>	<hr/> 100.0 <hr/>

Registered growers did not necessarily own the land, and many were, in fact, lessees. However, it was not possible to ascertain the proportions of lessees without doing a detailed survey, as such records are not kept by the Sugar Association.

Furthermore, it must not be inferred from the above table that 80% of the farms were necessarily run by single individuals. There were many instances of family farms in which management (and, of course, title to the land) was vested in more than one member of the family, but with registration being in the name of an individual. The ownership pattern was extremely complicated.

A SURVEY OF THIRTY FARMSThe Sample

We have already noted that the three Mill Groups in the region consisted of 605 growers. Apart from holding discussions with officials of the NICGA, Mill Group Boards and the Sugar Experiment Station, visits were undertaken to Indian farms. Farms were selected on a random sample of 5%, the sample thus consisting of 30 farms. Several substitute farms were also selected on an

acreage and sucrose quota basis, but in only one instance was a selected farmer away, the alternative grower being questioned. Furthermore, during the field work, assistance was often obtained from neighbouring growers in establishing the route to a sample farm, and the opportunity was taken, wherever possible, of discussing farming topics with informants. Field work was undertaken during April, 1965, i.e. just before the start of the crushing season and at the height of a severe drought.

The geographical distribution of the 30 farms in the sample was as follows: Frasers (3), Doornkloof - Isnembe - Kruisfontein (7), Emona (3), Frosterly - Buffelsdraai (5), Cottonlands - New Glasgow (4), Oakford - Redcliffe (4), and Inanda (4).

Table 64 Distribution of Sample of 30 Farms by Registered Quota Land, Sucrose Quota 1964-65, and Delivery of Cane and Sucrose 1963-64

Acres/Tons	No. of Farms			
	Registered Quota Land	Sucrose Quota 1964-65	Deliveries 1963-64	
			Sucrose	Cane
1-10	6	4	6	
11-20	8	2	6	1
21-30	9	4	4	
31-40	3	3	3	1
41-50		5	2	1
51-60		4	2	
61-70		1	2	2
71-80		3		2
81-90	1			1
91-100				
101-150	1		1	4
151-200		1		4
251-300	1		1	2
301-400	1	1		4
401-500			2	2
501-1,000				
1,001-2,000				1
2,001-3,000				1
3,001-4,000		2		2
	30	30	29 *	29 *

* One grower made no deliveries during the 1963-64 season.

Table 64 shows that almost one-half (14) of the 30 farms were under 21 acres in extent (i.e. of registered quota land). This is a lower proportion than for the region as a whole, 59.1% of the farms in the three Mill Groups being under 21 acres. Most growers interviewed felt that holdings of at least 30 acres were necessary to make cane growing an economic proposition.

A comparison of the sucrose quota for 1964-65 with the deliveries of sucrose for the 1963-64 season illustrates the benefits derived from the expansion of the sugar industry. Ironically, however, fate intervened in the form of the severest drought in the recorded history of the industry, and some planters were dubious of fulfilling half their quotas for the 1964-65 season, while millers have variously estimated a decrease in production of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ -40% compared with the previous season.

Security of Tenure

Of the 30 farms in the sample, 22 were owned by the registered grower, 5 were leased and 3 were part-owned and part-leased. Ownership of the 22 farms was vested in: an individual (14), brothers (5), deceased estate (2) and uncle and nephew (1). Two lessees were leasing their land from family estates. The acreage of the remaining three farms was made up as follows:

	<u>Owned (acres)</u>	<u>Leased (acres)</u>
Farm 1	18	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Farm 2	5	20
Farm 3	5	4

The latter two farmers stated that they had been obliged to lease adjoining land because it was not possible to derive a living from 5-acre plots.

Most lessees had entered into short-term leases, i.e. leases of under 10 years' duration. Leases were commonly negotiated for periods of 9 years 11 months, but not all contained options of renewal. Of the 8 leases encountered in the sample, 3 were of 9 years 11 months duration (one with an option to renew for 5 years), while the remaining 5 were merely verbal agreements (2 leases having expired and 3 relating to properties leased from members of the lessor's family).

The two tenant-farmers whose leases had expired were existing precariously with no security of tenure. One grower did, however, own 5 acres of land. The other, who had leased 26 acres for the last 20 years (2 periods of 10 years each) had, upon the expiration of the lease, seen $17\frac{1}{2}$ acres transferred to another grower, and was uncertain as to how much longer he would be permitted to occupy the remaining $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

Rent

Rents paid by growers for leased land usually varied from R3-R6 per acre per annum, while in some instances a flat annual payment was made. In the sample, the lowest annual rental was R3 per acre and the highest R9 per acre. One grower was leasing 21 acres from his five brothers at a rental of R500 per annum, and was forced to supplement his income by working in a shop.

Income from Non-Farming Activities

No fewer than 16 of the 30 growers in the sample were in receipt of income from non-farming activities. For some, farming was merely a sideline, e.g. the heirs of a 7-acre plot were business and professional men in Durban. For others, revenue derived from the sample farm, although important, was nevertheless subsidiary to that accruing from other sources. This may be illustrated by the following examples:

1. A teacher owned a smallholding of 10 acres.
2. A well-to-do shopkeeper leased 32 acres from his family estate.
3. Five heirs of a 24-acre farm were all working - one was a shopkeeper, while four were employed as builders and artisans.
4. The owner of a 5-acre farm was in partnership with his four brothers in a 300-acre holding.
5. A bazaar-owner ran a 12-acre farm and had a one-third share in 85 acres of land leased to growers.
6. A grower with 33 acres also owned another farm and a shop.

In some cases, again, income from other sources merely supplemented that derived from farming, e.g. a 371-acre farm, large by Indian standards, was owned by three brothers in partnership, two of whom were teachers.

From the sample, therefore, it would appear that a significant proportion of registered Indian cane growers rely on earnings from non-farming activities, either as a major or supplementary source of income. 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 town. In other instances, an individual may be in permanent employment during the week and spend week-ends working on his plot.

Farming Methods

Irrigation:-

The sample included one of the only 2 Indian-owned farms in the region with cane under irrigation. This was a 382-acre farm on the banks of the Umhloti River. The installation of an electric motor had enabled 125 acres to be put under spray irrigation, with encouraging results, the yield from such land having almost doubled.

Spray irrigation is a relatively new innovation in sugar farming in Natal, and its scope is limited by the cost factor, geographical location (distance from rivers) and the hilly topography. Most farmers (and almost all Indian growers) therefore rely entirely on rainfall. For Indian farmers, rainfall is also an important source of domestic water supplies, but many farmers transport water in drums from the numerous streams in the region. Very few farmers are able to afford the provision of a permanent domestic or agricultural water supply.

Fertilizer:-

All growers interviewed used fertilizer, applications varying in intensity. Thirteen used 400-600 lbs. per acre when preparing ground for planting, five used 600-900 lbs. per acre, while the remaining twelve, who were either larger landholders or those with substantial non-farming interests, applied upwards of 1,000 lbs. per acre. The latter group applied fertilizer at a similar rate to sugar company estates in the region, e.g. Tongaat Sugar Company applied 1,000 lbs. per acre for plant cane which yielded 40 tons per acre.¹²

¹² S. A. Sugar Year Book, op. cit., p. 226.

The smaller growers usually applied less than the recommended amounts of fertilizer. They could not afford to apply the recommended rates, and feared that they would lose their money if the price of sugar fell. Furthermore, they often applied fertilizer without having their soils tested, with the result that the wrong fertilizer was used. The bigger planters had samples of their soil taken, but the problem was to persuade the smaller men to do the same.

Mechanization:-

The standard of mechanization on Indian-owned farms is generally poor, the costly equipment being beyond the reach of most growers. In any event, the steep terrain would render mechanization difficult on many farms. Of the 30 farmers in the sample, only 5 possessed tractors, while 12 owned trucks or lorries. A few farmers had their own ploughs and draught animals (donkeys or mules), but the majority relied on outside contractors to do their ploughing. This was an expensive operation, a single ploughing costing approximately R13 per acre and a double ploughing (which is naturally better for planting) approximately R20 per acre.

Similarly, most farmers called in contractors to cut their cane and transport it to the mill or nearest siding. Charges for this operation varied from 90c - R1.25 per ton of cane, depending upon the distance the cane had to be transported. This reliance upon contractors was not without its problems, as sometimes the contractors were unable to transport a grower's cane to comply with the delivery time-table arranged by the mill.

Changes in Methods:-

Farming methods have generally shown little change down the years, with the exception of two important trends which have become noticeable in recent times, viz. the use of fertilizer and the fairly widespread cessation of the practice of planting cash crops between rows of newly-planted cane.

Many farmers have been using fertilizer for periods of up to a decade, and much encouragement has been received from the mills and fertilizer companies in this regard. The NICGA reported

that the average yield of cane per acre increased from 19.85 tons in 1960-61 to 23.52 tons in 1963-64.¹³ This increased yield must be attributed largely to the more intensive use of fertilizer, but is still far below the average yield for the industry as a whole of 36.64 tons per acre in 1963-64.¹⁴ Indian-owned farms are located mainly in hilly country abutting the African Reserve, rather than in the undulating coastal plain, and the rough topography, together with poorer, sandy soils which occur in some parts, are other factors which militate against higher yields.

The last few years have seen a considerable number of growers concentrate purely on cane, to the exclusion of vegetables. Mill Group Boards have actively campaigned against the intercropping of vegetables with plant cane, pointing out that this is detrimental to both the soil and the young cane (this need not necessarily be the case, as in some countries, e.g. Taiwan, which has the highest yield of cane per acre in the world, intercropping has no adverse affect on the cane; but it is probably a valid contention in Natal where farming methods are generally less efficient than overseas). Their efforts have met with much success, but the practice has not been entirely eliminated and there are still too many planters who have not heeded this advice.

An Indian field liaison officer stated that approximately 60% of the planters still intercropped, and quoted the case of a farmer who had to replant a large portion of his land because the cash crop (peas) overgrew the plant cane. He also reported that on one farm there was a difference of 2 feet in height at 9 months between plant cane which had been intercropped with vegetables and that which had not (the soil types were identical in both cases). Many Indian growers did not keep their fields free from weeds, and this, together with the practice of sometimes planting cash crops in the same rows as the plant cane to benefit from the fertilizer, had a deleterious affect on the young cane. These harmful effects could be minimised by planting the cane further apart, or by adopting the usual method of planting the cash crop between the rows of plant cane.

¹³ NICGA Report, 1964-65, p. 2.

¹⁴ S. A. Sugar Year Book, 1964, p. 201.

All the growers in the sample had ceased intercropping, and the majority agreed that their cane had improved as a result. In some cases vegetables - tomatoes, beans, bringals, cucumbers, etc. - had netted substantial returns, e.g. a 300-acre farm yielded an income of R2,000-R2,400 per annum, while one grower said he had made "big profits" from his 39-acre farm.

Some small growers were dubious as to whether the resultant improvement in their cane was sufficient to offset the loss in income previously derived from cash crops. One small farmer had recently decided to concentrate entirely on cane. Vegetables had yielded cash and had helped to meet overhead expenses, e.g. seed cane, fertilizer and ploughing. While he had noted a slight improvement in his cane, he felt he would have done better financially by intercropping. Some small growers have continued to intercrop, e.g. a farmer on a 3-acre plot which fell outside the sample, stated that cash crops were vital to supplement the income derived from sugar in order to make ends meet.

The growth of scientific farming is, however, impeded by the absence of agricultural education, the shortage of capital and the fact that many farmers are elderly, steeped in time-honoured methods and loth to innovate. Indian growers were not considered to be efficient farmers, and the NICGA has admitted that "...most growers were not familiar with the proper methods to be employed for the cultivation of cane..."¹⁵.

Labour:-

The majority of sample farmers employed only casual (togt) labour for weeding, labour during cutting and ploughing operations being supplied by contractors. Weeding was done mainly by African females, but one farmer reported that he employed Indian pupils during the school holidays to work in his fields. On smaller farms, members of the family (of both sexes) assisted in the fields.

The larger farmers with over 300 acres employed a permanent labour force of 35-70 Africans, housed in single units, and an additional quota during the cutting season. Such labour was either quartered in barracks or else commuted daily from the Reserve.

¹⁵ NICGA Report, 1963-64, p. 6.

The value of wages and rations was reckoned at approximately R1 per day, while some growers had instituted a bonus incentive scheme for cutters of 1c per 100 lbs. of cane cut in excess of the target of 2 tons per day. On large farms Indians were employed as sirdars, drivers, etc.

Some of the bigger growers stated that it had become increasingly difficult of late to obtain labour during the cutting season. Previously, labour recruiting bureaux in Durban had supplied migrant labour from Basutoland, Pondoland and Mozambique, but this facility was now offered to White farmers only. Zulu males from the Reserves looked to the urban areas for employment, while females preferred weeding to the more strenuous task of cane-cutting. Females comprised about 25% of the cane-cutting force.

Shortage of labour was further aggravated by the fact that at precisely the time when they were most required, Africans were themselves engaged in reaping their own crops in the Reserves.

SOME PROBLEMS

Indian cane growers in Natal face certain peculiar problems - a lack of capital to develop their farms and tide them over difficult periods, e.g. drought; an insufficiency of land which has led to fragmented and uneconomic small holdings; and no facilities for agricultural education.

Capital

Foremost among these problems is that of capital. It is accepted that shortage of capital is an almost universal complaint among farmers, but in the case of Indians it has been aggravated by the fact that until recently no government relief or loans from the Land and Agricultural Bank have been forthcoming to this section of the farming community.

The wealthier farmers usually have little difficulty in raising loans from commercial banks and other financial institutions. The smaller man, however, is obliged to borrow money from private individuals at high rates of interest, usually 10-12%. In addition, the agent (usually an attorney) charges a raising fee, and there are registration and cancellation fees in respect of mortgage bonds.

Where small amounts are borrowed and no security is advanced, interest is often charged at the rate of 5 cents in the Rand (i.e. 1/-d. in the £.) per month. Some small farmers obtain extensive credit from Indian storekeepers, purchasing all their requirements and only settling their accounts upon receipt of their sugar cheques.

Because his land is too small to generate sufficient capital to repay the loans in the prescribed period, the smaller farmer is often compelled to borrow from another source in order to liquidate the original loan. Some farmers "do the rounds" - they are constantly in debt. One farmer was obliged to sell a portion of his farm to repay his loan, and was left with 26 acres.

During the last two years, millers have rendered valuable assistance to growers to enable them to benefit from the expansion taking place in the sugar industry. Millers have prepared growers' land for planting, and have granted credit facilities (which were initially interest-free) in respect of seed cane and fertilizer, the costs of which have been deducted from the proceeds of the growers' crops.

Welcome as this assistance has been to the Indian grower, it is no substitute for state relief, and the recent decision of the Land and Agricultural Bank (announced in August, 1965) to make available loans for specific projects to Indian farmers in the same way and on the same conditions as it assists Whites, has been warmly welcomed. Land Bank loans are made available on a long-term basis only. Loans are granted against mortgage bonds, the farming units must be of an economic nature, and the Bank reserves the right to exercise a measure of control over borrowers and to ensure that loans are put to the use for which they are granted. The smaller farmers will not, however, qualify for such assistance, and it is this group which is especially hard hit by the lack of working capital.

Land - Saturation and Fragmentation

The percentage of Indian landholding and production in the sugar industry has fallen over the years, as no state land is made available to this section of the South African population. Furthermore, in terms of the Group Areas Act, land transactions may not be entered into between members of different racial groups.

Indian cane growers are confined to the coastal belt between the Umzimkulu and Tugela Rivers, and are unable to acquire land in the new sugar areas being developed in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal. Indian landholding, therefore, has reached saturation point.

Since the community is not permitted to acquire additional agricultural land, fragmentation of existing landholdings has occurred on a wide scale. Originally, Indian customs and economic factors gave rise to fragmented holdings, but the system has been perpetuated and even accelerated by legislative barriers to the acquisition of land. Some farmers own scattered holdings of land several miles apart.

In our sample, 11 of the 30 farms were known to have been fragmented, some examples of which are:

- (1) A 546-acre farm was cut into four lots, viz. 371 acres (farmed by three brothers), $62\frac{1}{2}$ acres (two lots) and 50 acres.
- (2) Six brothers received portions of their father's farm, which was divided into one lot of 39 acres, two lots of 25 acres each, and three lots of 21 acres each.

Some examples of farms divided equally amongst heirs are: 48 acres (shared by four brothers), 20 acres (five brothers), 66 acres (three brothers), 45 acres (two brothers) and 80 acres (two brothers).

The practice of fragmentation has often led to farms becoming so small as to be uneconomic, providing their owners with a bare subsistence living. "The division of quotas and lands into small units has become a very serious problem..."¹⁶ "...the average quota land held per grower is being gradually diminished due to fragmentation of cane lands".¹⁷ The sugar industry is alive to the problem, and in 1956 the Central Board announced that it would no longer allow quota land to be sub-divided into holdings of under 15 acres. Fearing displacement from farming, some brothers have entered into partnerships in order to circumvent this rule.

¹⁶ NICGA Report, 1963-64.

¹⁷ NICGA Report, 1964-65.

Agricultural Education

Scientific farming by Indians is inhibited by the complete absence of any government - provided education in agriculture. Agriculture is not taught as a subject in Indian schools, and no agricultural college for Indians exists. Farmers in the sample, and other prominent Indians interviewed, expressed their regret at the lack of formal training in agriculture, and a number intimated that they were keen for their sons to receive such training and would support any institution providing the necessary facilities. The cost factor would doubtless put any post-school agricultural education beyond the reach of many farmers, but it does appear that the establishment of a college or polytechnic would receive worthwhile support from Indian cane-growers.

There have been suggestions of a hybrid type of agricultural course being offered in the Faculty of Science at the new campus of the University College for Indians, but this will not solve the problem as only a select few would be able to afford the cost. The Department of Indian Affairs should seriously consider introducing agriculture as a school subject in certain schools when it takes over responsibility for Indian education in 1966. The feasibility of establishing a system of polytechnics (along the lines suggested some years ago by Mr. H. Nattrass¹⁸) should also be investigated. Alternatively, a course in agriculture should be offered at one of the branches of the M.L. Sultan Technical College, e.g. at Stanger.

Indian farmers have, therefore, had to rely on such technical assistance (in the form of demonstrations and lectures) as has been made available from time to time by the Sugar Experiment Station and by some millers and fertilizer companies. Agronomists have carried out soil tests and have offered advice on land preparation, weeding and the types of seed cane and fertilizer to be used. In 1965 the Experiment Station appointed an extension officer to deal exclusively with non-White planters, and this step has already proved beneficial to Indian growers.

The lack of educational facilities for Indian farmers having been pointed out, it must also be said that farmers themselves seldom attempt to improve their knowledge of farming methods through reading. A readership survey revealed that few growers read agri-

cultural magazines, e.g. of the 30 growers in the sample, only 2 received the monthly South African Sugar Journal regularly, while 4 read the magazine occasionally. The Farmer's Weekly had a somewhat higher circulation with 4 subscribers and 6 occasional readers. One grower, who owned less than 10 acres, said his farm was too small to warrant scientific farming. But it is not only the small or poorly educated farmer who does not read - one of the largest and wealthiest farmers in the region received neither of the magazines mentioned. A few growers stated that they listened to farming programmes on the radio.

INDIAN REPRESENTATION IN THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

No discussion of Indian cane growing in Natal would be complete without reference to the representation of this body of farmers in the sugar industry. Non-White planters do not enjoy direct representation in the industry, but instead the Sugar Agreement made provision for the establishment of an Advisory Board for Non-European Growers to act as a link between them and the South African Sugar Association. As its name implies, the Board is purely an advisory body and has no plenary powers.

The record of the Advisory Board is not an impressive one, and it has not always functioned smoothly, e.g. between 1959 and 1963 no meetings were held. In 1963 a request by the NICGA for direct representation in the industry was turned down by the Secretary for Commerce and Industries. Arising out of this request, efforts were made to convert the Advisory Board into a more vigorous body. In 1965 the Board was enlarged from 5 members to 11 (including the Chairman). Of these 11 members, 2 are representatives of the NICGA and 2 of the Natal and Zululand Bantu Cane Growers' Association.

The NICGA has again appealed for direct representation, but it would appear that the best the Indian growers can hope for is an efficiently functioning Advisory Board. It is to be hoped that the Board will become more active, as it was described by a prominent miller as a "farce", and by an official of the NICGA as a "living corpse."

PART II - FRUIT AND MIXED FARMING

Fruit farming has declined in importance in the region in recent years, especially since increased sugar quotas were made available. Most farmers either uprooted their trees and utilized every available inch for cane, or retained their trees, not as a serious commercial proposition, but mainly to supply household needs. Even those generally regarded as the foremost fruit farmers in the region, had substantial proportions of their land under cane. A similar decline was noted in the sphere of market gardening. Few specialist market gardeners remained, and most of the vegetables produced in the region were intercropped with sugarcane.

TYPES OF FRUIT GROWN

Citrus (especially mandarins and naartjies), litchies, bananas and mangoes were the most common fruits grown commercially in the region, while some farmers also grew pawpaws.

THE TREND TOWARDS SUGAR

In the sample of 30 cane growers, eight grew fruit for marketing on a commercial scale, while a further two had previously done so.

There was abundant evidence that more and more farmers who had previously concentrated mainly on fruit, were now directing their attention towards sugar. One farmer who, until a few years ago, was ostensibly a banana producer, had swung over completely to sugar, keeping only a few banana trees for household purposes. The fall in the price of bananas, together with the boom in sugar, were the factors influencing this decision. In the Isnembe area - previously noted for its citrus and bananas - it was reported that fruit farming had declined in importance. A farmer who had regarded citrus as an important source of income, was uprooting his last 5 acres of naartjie trees as the trees were old and production was falling.

Several farmers stated that their citrus trees were old and did not bear every winter. In all except two farms in the sample, fruit was regarded merely as a sideline, and did not yield much income. Often labour was diverted to tend the orchards and

banana plantations (cultivating, weeding, pruning, grafting, etc.) only when it could be spared from the canefields. Fertilizer was seldom applied to fruit trees. Trees were often haphazardly planted and unevenly spaced.

ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF FRUIT

The farmers in the sample who did well financially out of fruit were both wealthy land-owners. In the one case, the farmer admitted to receiving an income of R2,100 in 1964 from naartjies and litchies. The second case was one of two brothers in partnership, supplying their large fruit and vegetable shop at Clairwood with mandarins, mangoes, bananas and pawpaws. In both cases sugar was the more important crop. Another important sugar planter (who did not fall into the sample) had 38 of his 584 acres under litchies, and found them a lucrative proposition, even though he concentrated almost entirely on sugar.

A discussion with the largest fruit farmer in the region revealed that, there too, sugar was a significant crop. This farmer had 75 acres under litchies and mangoes and the remaining 20 acres under cane. In addition, on some sections of his farm cane was planted between the rows of trees - a practice that was followed by several others. Fertilizer was used only for cane. The labour force consisted of 10-15 casual workers (African males and females). Fruit realised R1,600 in 1964, and in addition 300 tons of cane were produced. However, there were 14 dependents on the farm, and consequently the standard of living was not as high as might have been expected. No farming journals were read, and knowledge of scientific methods of fruit growing was generally regarded as poor.

MARKETING

It was common practice for a farmer to sell his crop to a speculator for a lump sum, which naturally varied from year to year. The buyer would be responsible for the picking, transporting and marketing of the crop. There were, however, some exceptions to this arrangement. The brothers with a shop at Clairwood were both producers and marketers. In another instance, a farmer employed a contractor to transport his fruit to the Verulam market, where he himself operated a stall.

PART III - BETEL LEAF

The Verulam District is the only area in South Africa in which betel leaves are grown. The entire crop is accounted for by about 20 growers, 15 of whom were concentrated in the main area of production around Cottonlands, and the remaining five of whom were located in the vicinity of Redcliffe.

Betel leaf is an unusual crop in several respects. The market, both internal and external, is limited, and no association of growers exists to control production and marketing of the crop. Furthermore, it would appear to be a crop without a future.

USE

Betel leaves are mixed with betel nuts (imported from Zanzibar) and limes, and are used for chewing. Their use is said to account for the excellent teeth and gums characteristic of most Indians.

THE MARKET AND THE FUTURE

The internal market is restricted entirely to the Indian population, especially the older generations. Producers admitted that the modern Indian youth seldom touches betel leaf, preferring chewing-gum and toothpaste. "A few bearded octogenarians still chew betel-nut and continue habits of expectoration which revolt even the least fastidious, but younger folk have given up the practice and have taken to the less obnoxious American gum".¹⁹ Betel leaves are still, however, in demand for use at religious and festive occasions, e.g. weddings. While conceding that the crop will decline in importance over the years, producers did not seem unduly concerned, and in any event, in the absence of an organised body, are unable to embark upon any local advertising or sales promotion campaigns to popularise their product among the youth.

There is almost no scope for building up an export market for betel leaves, although some small orders were still received from Indian customers in Rhodesia and Malawi. Most producers sold their crop on the Indian Market in Durban, while small demands emanated from Cape Town and Johannesburg.

¹⁹ G. H. Calpin, Indians in South Africa, p. 110.

Betel leaves are sold by the pound, the price varying from 55c per lb. for first grade leaves to 25c per lb. for fourth grade leaves. Approximately one-third of the crop is first grade, one-third second grade and one-third third and fourth grade. Some years ago a company was formed to control production and marketing of the crop. Each grower was allocated a quota, but although prices rose sharply, the organisation was disbanded and today no such body exists.

CULTIVATION

Planting takes place in September, and the crop is ready for picking in February. A vine lasts from 5-10 years, the average life being 6-7 years. Betel vines are planted in enclosures, surrounded by 15 ft. high reed fences, and when uprooted after 6-7 years, the ground is left to lie idle for a few years.

The crop makes heavy demands on water and labour. Most betel leaf growers possessed their own diesel equipment to pump water from the Umhloti River. Vines are irrigated every two days during summer, and once or twice a week in winter. Kraal manure purchased from Africans is used as fertilizer. This was regarded as being of sufficiently high quality and growers seldom purchased their requirements from fertilizer companies.

Weeding is a vital factor in cultivation, and growers employed a permanent African labour force, e.g. the lessor of a 25-acre farm (10 acres of which were under betel leaf and 15 acres fallow) employed 35 males who lived in barracks on the property. Wages varied from R2-R3 per week.

There has been much fragmentation of betel leaf land, and a grower is said to require 15 acres constantly under vines to earn a good living. Where farms are leased, the leases usually run for 10 years at a rental of approximately R5.50 per month.

There was no animal husbandry in the region. Goats were kept mainly by Muslims for sacrificing during the festival of "Bakreed" ("slaughtering of animals"). Some farmers had a cow (or cows) to supply their households with milk. Poultry husbandry on a commercial scale was carried on by only one Indian, who has some 2,000 laying hens.

CONCLUSION

Indian agriculture has been a much-neglected field, and no comprehensive study of the subject exists. In any discussion of agriculture in Natal, Indian farming is generally ignored. A vicious circle exists - the small size of farms, low incomes, absence of agricultural education, poor standard of mechanization and farming methods, low yields, lack of capital to effect improvements, and legislative barriers to the acquisition of additional land. For the majority, farming is an incessant struggle, and many of the younger generation, particularly those from small plots, look to the towns and cities for employment. Should this trend continue, it is to be hoped that fragmented land will, in time, be consolidated into economic units, but, in the meantime, the provision of agricultural education and selective financial assistance would go a long way towards alleviating the lot of the average Indian farmer.

The majority of holdings are extremely small, and a large proportion are uneconomic units. It has been said that large parts of the region are in danger of deteriorating into a "rural slum".²⁰ Sugar farming yields marked economies to scale, and it is a strong possibility that the economic rent of land would be higher under more intensive types of farming than sugar on the smaller holdings. The problem of the small Indian farmer in the region merits a special study in itself. Income derived from cane on a farm of less than 15-20 acres is small, as we have seen, and this prompts one to inquire whether smaller farmers should not diversify their farming activities. The trend, however, has been strongly towards monoculture.

Market gardening is inhibited by the lack of flat, irrigable land, and, in any event, is best undertaken on small family plots. It also requires labour intensive farming, e.g. weeding, etc. Diversification into fruit farming is another possibility, but for any real progress to be made in this sphere, the provision of agricultural education is vital. Referring to the poor methods employed by Indian fruit farmers, Allan states that "...these factors point to a lack of knowledge by Indian farmers about modern methods of fruit production, and consequently the need for an extended advisory service to help them improve their methods of culture".²¹

²⁰ L. P. McCrystal, The Umgeni - Umbilo - Umlazi Catchment Areas: Land and Agriculture, p.80.

²¹ Dr. P. Allan, Indian Farmers in Natal, p. 9.

C H A P T E R X I
- - - - -HOUSING

In assessing the housing needs of a family the following factors should ideally be considered :

- (1) the size of the family
- (2) the age and sex structure of the family, and
- (3) the number of family units comprising the household.

In order to determine the adequacy or inadequacy of existing or projected housing, these factors have to be evaluated vis-a-vis the physical size of the dwelling.

A discussion of Indian housing involves "... a number of special features. These include the custom of early marriage and of the bride living in the groom's parental home, the sheltered life of Indian women, few of whom are wage-earners, and the generally large size of families and households ".¹

Strong family ties have been a distinguishing feature of Indian (especially Hindu) society, and it has been a common custom for married couples to reside in the husband's parental home, at least for the first few years after marriage. In certain cases, however, it is permissible for the husband to take the wife's domicile.

But it has been evident for many years that this joint family system is breaking down in Natal. The system had its roots in an agricultural caste society in India. Each member of the family contributed labour, and occupational mobility was limited. In the early days of Indian settlement in Natal, these same factors operated to keep the joint family together. Later the rise of industries and the development of education brought in their wake the urbanization and accelerated westernization of the Indian population. The result has been that the young Indian of today has largely rejected the traditional joint family system, and aspires towards a Western standard of living. This can best be achieved via the single family unit, not by pooling incomes, and provides greater opportunities for the education of children.

A contributing factor towards the breakdown of the joint family system has been the provision by employees (municipalities and

¹ Department of Economics, et al, University of Natal, The Durban Housing Survey, p. 245.

Table 65 Distribution of Households by Size and Number
of Family Units

Size of House- hold(Persons)	No. of Households	No. of Family Units in Household					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
3	36	36	-	-	-	-	-
4	38	33	5	-	-	-	-
5	90	72	17	1	-	-	-
6	90	72	16	2	-	-	-
7	121	99	22	-	-	-	-
8	140	107	28	5	-	-	-
9	108	75	27	5	1	-	-
10	89	61	22	5	1	-	-
11	67	38	23	4	2	-	-
12	45	19	9	14	3	-	-
13	33	7	12	12	2	-	-
14	19	4	4	10	1	-	-
15	10	-	2	5	1	2	-
16	2	-	-	2	-	-	-
17	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
18	2	-	-	-	-	1	1
19	2	-	1	-	1	-	-
22	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
23	2	-	-	-	1	1	-
24	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
898		624	188	67	13	5	1
Mean size (persons)		7.5	8.9	12.0	13.4	19.0	18.0
Median size (persons)		7	8	12	12	18	18

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

From the survey sample we were able to ascertain the number of people in each household (Table 65). The mean family size for the sample as a whole was 8.25 persons, the median size 8 persons.

In addition to the survey sample, we analysed 205 application forms submitted to the Tongaat Town Board in respect of its 1963 Plane Street housing scheme, and the register of the Verulam Health Clinic for the months of September, November and December, 1964 (the month of October was omitted as it marked a transition from a detailed to a simplified set of records). The Tongaat Town Board forms showed the applicant and number of dependents only, while the Clinic register defined a family unit as one which cooked separately (even though using a communal kitchen and sharing a house).

The family sizes obtained from these sources were consequently smaller than those revealed by the survey sample. The Town Board study showed a mean size of 6.8 and a median of 6 persons per family, while in the case of the Clinic the figures were 6.3 and 7 persons respectively.

FAMILY UNIT STRUCTURE

Single Families

We have noted that single families accounted for two-thirds of all households in the survey sample. Of the 624 single family households, 55 were single parent units (51 fathers and 4 mothers were deceased) while in two instances both parents were deceased. The average single family in the sample may, therefore, be taken as consisting of father, mother and 5.5 unmarried children.

Joint Families

The family unit composition of the 277 joint families in the sample was as follows:

2 - unit	188
3 - unit	67
4 - unit	13
5 - unit	5
6 - unit	1
Unspecified	3
	<hr/>
	277

We shall now analyse the structure of the joint families from the viewpoint of the pupil respondent, considering the pupil's parents and unmarried brothers and sisters as the basic unit.

2-unit Joint Families. The second unit comprised the following:

Grandparent(s)	33
Grandparent(s) and unmarried uncle(s) and/or aunt(s)	10
Unmarried uncle(s) and/or aunt(s)	27
Married uncle and/or aunt (and family)	22
Cousin(s)	23
Brother and/or sister-in-law (and family)	51
Sister and/or brother-in-law (and family)	2
Nephew(s) and/or niece(s)	20

It is noteworthy that in 51 cases a sister-in-law comprised the second unit, whereas in only 2 instances had a brother-in-law adopted his wife's domicile. In 20 out of 51 cases, the brother and sister-in-law had no children, indicating that they were newly married. Where cousins, nephews or nieces alone formed part of the joint household, they were mostly pupils or young workers boarding with relatives. The number of grandmothers (25) exceeded that of grandfathers (5) in the composition of the additional unit.

3-unit Joint Families. The 67 households in this category consisted of a great variety of combinations, the most common of which were:

Grandparent(s) + uncle, aunt (and family)	10
Grandparent(s) and unmarried family + uncle, aunt (and family)	11
Grandparent(s) + cousin(s)	3
Unmarried uncle and/or aunt + uncle, aunt (and family)	5
2 Brothers and sisters-in-law (and families)	13
Brother, sister-in-law (and family) + uncle, aunt (and family)	6
2 Uncles and aunts (and families)	7

4-unit Joint Families. This type of multiple-unit household was constructed mainly as follows:

Grandparent + uncle and aunt + cousins	3
Grandmother + 2 uncles, aunts (and families)	2
2 Uncles, aunts (and families) + unmarried uncle	2
2 Brothers, sisters-in-law (and families)	4

5-unit Joint Families. There were only 5 examples of a 5-unit household in our sample. One such household included the only great-grandparent in the 940 households covered by the survey.

Family structure showed the following variations:

Great-grandmother + grandparents and unmarried uncle + 2 uncles, aunts (and families)	1
Grandmother and unmarried family + 3 uncles, aunts (and families)	2
Grandmother + 3 brothers, sisters-in-law (and families)	1
Unmarried uncle + 3 uncles and aunts	1

6-unit Joint Families. The additional units in the only 6-unit joint family we encountered consisted of a grandmother; an uncle, aunt and their children; and 3 brothers and sisters-in-law and their offspring.

The composition of joint families, therefore, became more diversified as the number of units increased.

ACCOMMODATION REQUIREMENTS

A common measure of overcrowding which has been used, with modifications, in several housing surveys in South Africa and Britain, is based on not more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ adults per room, a child under 10 years of age being classified as half an adult. An additional requirement is sex segregation for unmarried adults. The minimum number of rooms required by a family, using this standard, does not always correspond with that judged by statutory requirements, but nevertheless serves as a useful guide.

Table 66 Distribution of Household by Number of Family
Units and Age

Age Group	Number of Family Units in Household									
	1		2		3		4		5	
	Persons		Persons		Persons		Persons		Persons	
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
0 - 4	286	.5	113	.6	69	1.0	14	1.1	14	2.8
5 - 9	559	.9	177	.9	71	1.0	8	.6	16	3.2
10 -14	1,014	1.6	277	1.5	134	2.0	20	1.5	11	2.2
15 -19	1,037	1.6	331	1.8	130	2.0	26	2.0	6	1.2
20 -24	397	.6	167	.9	91	1.4	17	1.3	11	2.2
25 -29	121	.2	92	.5	65	1.0	15	1.2	7	1.4
30 -34	112	.2	56	.3	44	.7	17	1.3	11	2.2
35 -39	263	.4	86	.5	55	.8	9	.7	7	1.4
40 -44	294	.5	81	.4	31	.4	7	.5	4	.8
45 -49	234	.4	72	.4	35	.5	6	.5	1	.2
50 -54	169	.3	74	.4	19	.3	1	.1	1	.2
55 -59	59	.1	41	.2	12	.2	2	.2	3	.6
60 -64	36	.1	27	.1	13	.2	3	.2	1	.2
65+	14	-	39	.2	33	.5	5	.4	2	.4
Unspec- ified	66	.1	31	.2	4	-	24	1.8	-	-
	4,661	7.5	1,664	8.9	806	12.0	174	13.4	95	19.0

A comparison on the age structure of the mean-sized single and multiple unit family in the survey sample (Table 66) with that of the Indian population in the Tongaat-Verulam region (Table 3) reveals that the sample, as may be expected, was heavily biased towards the 10-19 and 30-49 age groups, i.e. towards pupils and their parents. As regards size of household, an income and expenditure survey³ conducted in the region in July, 1964 revealed a mean of 7.8 and a median of 7 persons per household, which was slightly smaller than the figures obtained from our survey.

Information extracted from these two surveys, together with that gleaned from the records of the Verulam Health Clinic (which, because of the nature of its work, was biased towards smaller families) and the Tongaat Town Board, points to the average-sized Indian family in the region being one of 7 - 8 persons. Assuming a majority of single families, and working on the basis of $2\frac{1}{2}$ adults per room and sex parity, we may conclude that a 3-bedroomed house would adequately meet the needs of the average Indian family.

It is clear that, so far as joint families are concerned, the number of rooms should increase not only as the number of units increases, but also as the complexity of unit structure increases. Working simply on the standard of $2\frac{1}{2}$ adults per room, the average number of rooms would increase from 3 for a single family to 4 for a 2-unit, 5 for a 3-unit and 7 for a 5-unit joint household. In practice, however, these figures would fall short of the desired standards demanded by the more complex joint family structures.

We have seen that the disintegration of the joint family is often delayed by a shortage of alternative accommodation. It is quite probable, therefore, that many family units presently forming part of a joint household would prefer their own home, thereby adding strength to the impression that any housing scheme embarked upon in the region should be based largely on 3-bedroomed structures. There will naturally always be exceptions to this generalisation, and some of the larger families will require more than 3 bedrooms if the standards regarding sufficient room space per person and adequate sex segregation are to be met.

³ Unpublished Survey, Department of Economics, University of Natal.

NATURE AND SIZE OF DWELLING

Indian housing in the smaller towns is generally characterized by the predominance of wood and iron structures. Information extracted from the records of the Tongaat Town Board and Verulam Health Clinic showed the structure of 201 dwellings to be as follows :

Wood and iron	108
Brick and tile	37
Brick and iron	32
Brick and asbestos	19
Flats	5

These dwellings were inhabited by applicants for houses in a new Town Board housing scheme, and by patients of the Verulam Health Clinic. As is shown below, the majority of dwellings (58.7%) were 1 - or 2-roomed:

1-roomed	39
2 "	76
3 "	43
4 "	27
5 "	7
6 "	1
7 "	1
11 "	2
	<hr/>
	196
	<hr/>

Of these 196 dwellings, 177 were in Tongaat, where 23 houses (13%) had no kitchen. Fourteen of these were 1-roomed and six 2-roomed structures. Almost all the 2 - and 3-roomed dwellings had kitchen facilities.

Table 67 shows the frequency with which each size of family occupied a particular dwelling in respect of 176 dwellings in Tongaat. The size of family here referred to the applicant and his dependents, not to the total number of people in the household, while size of dwelling did not necessarily refer to the number of rooms occupied by the applicant and dependents, e.g. the 11-roomed house appeared to be shared by several families, 2 of whom (one of 6 and one of 8 persons) were applying for separate houses of their own. Again, the 2-person families living in 4-roomed dwellings were in all probability sharing those dwellings with others.

Some specific instances of more than one family sharing a house were:

- (1) A family of 5 living in the cellar of a house.
- (2) A family of 6 sharing a 2-roomed house.
- (3) A family of 3 sharing a 2-roomed house with 2 other families.
- (4) A family of 6 persons sharing a 4-roomed house with 3 other families, each family having one room. The kitchen, bathroom and toilet were shared.
- (5) The applicant and his dependents sharing his brother's sugar company house. Three families of 12 people were sharing 2 bedrooms and a living room.

Table 67 Distribution of Dwellings by Size of Family - Town
Board Housing Applicants, Tongaat, 1963

Size of Family (persons)	Size of Dwelling (frequency)											
	1R-K*	1R1K	2R-K	2R1K	3R-K	3R1K	4R1K	5R1K	5R2K	6R1K	7R1K	11R1K
2	3	2		3			3					
3	3	2		3	1	3						
4	1	3	1	5		5						
5	4	2	1	7	1	5	5					
6	2	3		8	1	6	2			1		1
7		2	1	14		2	2	1				
8	1	3	1	4		4	1	1				1
9			1	6		5	3	1				
10		2		5		6	4	1				
11				5			1					
12			1				2	1			1	
13				1				1				
14				1								
15						2						
17									1			
	14	19	6	62	3	38	23	6	1	1	1	2

(* R = room, K = kitchen).

Table 67 reflects the greatest degree of overcrowding in the 1 - and 2-roomed structures but, as has been pointed out, overcrowding in the larger dwellings was disguised by our terminology.

Table 68 Nature of Dwelling by Size - Town Board
Housing Applicants, Tongaat, 1963

No. of Rooms	Type of Structure				
	Wood and Iron	Brick and Iron	Brick and Tile	Brick and Asbestos	Flat
1	14	8	1	5	2
2	36	11	6	10	3
3	13	3	19	5	-
4	16	3	5	-	-
5	5	-	2	-	-
6	-	-	1	-	-
7	-	-	-	1	-
11	-	-	2	-	-
	84	25	36	21	5

Table 68 shows the size of the various types of structures in respect of 171 houses in Tongaat. The majority of all types of houses, except those constructed of brick and tile, had 1 or 2 rooms. Of the brick and tile structures, 81% had 3 or more rooms.

MONTHLY RENTALS

Monthly rentals paid for their existing accommodation by applicants for Tongaat Town Board housing, are shown in Table 69 : 29.3% of the tenants were occupying rent-free dwellings, a further 54.7% paid R10 or less per month, while only 15.1% paid more than R10 per month. In two instances rates only were paid.

The highest monthly rental paid was R26 in respect of a 5-roomed house at Gandhi's Hill. The rental structure, therefore, was low, although in many cases the accommodation was inferior. The payment of site rent only is a widespread practice among Indians in Natal. Under this system an annual rental (normally about R5) is paid for the privilege of building and maintaining a structure on a piece of ground, usually a backyard or an undeveloped plot. These structures are often shacks that beggar description, and it is not unusual to find several such tenants on a plot.

Table 69 Monthly Rentals - Tongaat

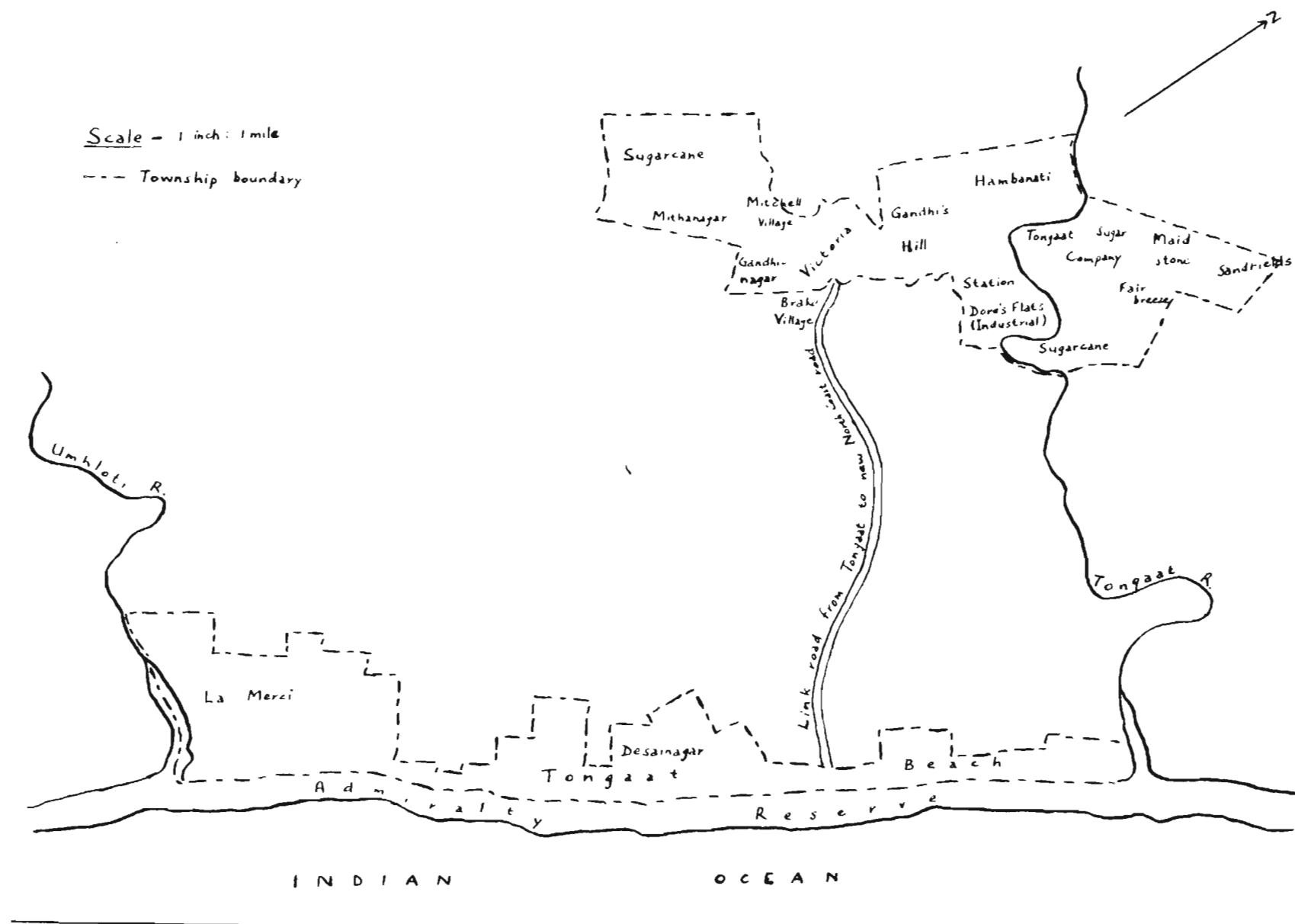
<u>Amount R</u>	<u>Families</u>
Nil	60
1	4
2	6
3	9
4	16
5	13
6	18
7	7
8	16
9	8
10	15
11-15	22
16-20	7
Over 20	2
	<hr/>
	203
	<hr/>

HOUSING SCHEMES

In Tongaat both the sugar company and Town Board have been active in the provision of housing for Indians. The position is very different in Verulam, however, where the Town Board has never embarked upon any housing scheme apart from 5 rent-free houses built in 1959 for its employees, and the Indian community has been left to its own devices in solving the housing problem.

The Tongaat Sugar Company is widely regarded as the pace-setter in the field of industrial housing, and its achievements are favourably commented on by members of the Indian community. Commencing in the late 1930's, the company has evolved different types of houses to meet the needs of its workers. Houses have a Cape Dutch gabled effect, which is pleasing to the eye and which distinguishes Tongaat from the dull and unimaginative architecture characteristic of so many townships in South Africa. Houses are rent-free and are maintained by the company.

It has been company policy to house all workers wherever possible, but a considerable number are housed elsewhere, e.g. although the company employed 1,452 Indians in June, 1965, the number of houses provided for Indian employees totalled 479. In many cases,



MAP III - TOWNSHIP OF TONGAAT

however, several members of the same family work for the company, and the disproportion between the numbers employed and the numbers housed is not as great as these figures would seem to indicate. The company maintains a constant building programme, and in 1965 some 45 houses were constructed at Gandhi's Hill, 22 on Potgieter's Hill and 4 next to the High School on the old main road. Unfortunately, the tendency has been to build houses wherever a small piece of land has become available, and this haphazard process has in some instances vitiated against the concepts of town planning. But the company is fully aware of this, and efforts are being made to update its housing records and formulate a long-term housing programme. Giving evidence to the Group Areas Committee, the Managing Director of the company stated that housing was one of the biggest problems in Tongaat and had not yet been solved.

The older houses provided by the company between 1920 - 1945 consist of 2 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom and verandah. In 1950 a livingroom was added to the design of new houses, and since 1952 3 - bedroomed structures have been provided. Some are more elaborate than others, e.g. the "Kwa Mashu" type (a plain building devoid of trimmings) costs R970, and the "Classic" type (a gabled structure) R1,508, while a more elaborate gabled design has recently been introduced at a cost of R2,014.

Although 3-bedroomed structures should meet the needs of the average single family, some occupants complained of overcrowding. The company regards housing as a privilege, not a right, and it is here that company policy comes into conflict with the joint family system. The company provides accommodation for its employees and their dependents, and has no objection to aged parents, or unmarried workers not in its employ, residing with its employees. But company officials felt, with great justification, that if employees' children who were working elsewhere, continued to reside in the company houses after marriage, or if employees allowed relations to move into their newly allocated houses, this was the fault of the employees, who should bear the sole responsibility for overcrowding.

Officials complained that as soon as employees were allocated houses, they allowed relations to reside with them, and that as a result, there were often more people in a house than had been provided for; It would appear that this phenomenon of deliberately creating joint family units at a time when the joint family system is being superseded by single family units, stems directly from the shortage of adequate accommodation in Tongaat, and will only be eliminated by the provision of a large-scale sub-economic housing scheme on the part of the local authority.

The Tongaat Town Board has undertaken several housing schemes, but is hampered by the fact that it owns little land. Soon after World War II, 42 houses were built in Mitchell Village, and later small schemes of 18 and 12 houses were opened in Catherine Street and Plane Street, respectively. Originally leased, the houses in Mitchell Village were made available for purchase by Indians in 1954. These houses have subsequently all been purchased and are being paid off over a period of 30 years. These houses are on $\frac{1}{4}$ acre sites, and in many cases the owners have effected extensions and improvements. In the smaller schemes, sites are one-sixth acre in extent, and the houses consist of 2 bedrooms, living room, kitchen, bathroom and toilet. Rent is R9.85 per month, and leases are of short-term duration, being renewed every 9 years 364 days.

The Town Board has also provided barracks for the accommodation of pensioners, and has several projected schemes in mind which are dependent upon either the findings of the Group Areas Board or the acquisition of land. The old Tongaat railway station has recently been acquired by the Board, and 30 houses are to be erected on this site. Negotiations have also been made for the purchase of the as yet undeveloped Krishna Puri private township adjoining Sandfields. Approximately 50% of the area of the township is agricultural land owned by the Tongaat Sugar Company and individual Indians, and it is clear that some of this land must be lost to agriculture if company and local authority housing schemes are to be implemented on a planned basis.

Apart from the 5 Town Board houses already referred to, the only housing scheme for Indians in the Verulam area has been provided by a woodboard company which employed 146 Indians in its factory at Canelands. All in all, 48 houses have been provided by the company for Indian employees. Of these houses, 30 were taken over from the Tongaat Sugar Company (which previously operated a mill on the site) and 18 were new. The old houses consist of 2 bedrooms, living room and kitchen, while the new dwellings have a third bedroom. All are built of brick. The company is not contemplating the provision of further housing, since Indian employees will in due course be required to reside across the Umhloti River in Verulam.

The failure on the part of the Verulam Town Board to provide any economic or sub-economic housing was one of the chief grievances of local Indians, who were envious of the facilities enjoyed by their

neighbours in Tongaat. Town Board policy was influenced by uncertainty as to Group Areas declarations, the shortage of funds and the belief that a municipal scheme would not receive the support of the Indians. Of these three factors, the first was the most valid. The second factor could easily have been overcome by obtaining a loan from the National Housing Board, while the third was disproved by the response received by the Verulam Indian Ratepayers' Association which issued a questionnaire to heads of households. Approximately 400 respondents expressed their desire to be accommodated in a municipal scheme. Even this failed to convince the Town Board of the need for sub-economic housing in Verulam. A Town Board official stated that rates had been kept as low as possible in order to assist the Indians, but one is led to the inescapable conclusion that the Board displayed a marked lack of interest with regard to the Indian housing problem in the township.

PRIVATE TOWNSHIPS

The launching of private townships has been far more successful in Tongaat, where development in this field has been brisk, than in Verulam.

Tongaats itself has two private townships. In Gandhinagar all 69 plots have been sold, and to date some 40 attractive, modern houses with neat gardens have been built. Building loans were obtained through the Town Board, while during the last few years the decision of several building societies to make available housing loans to Indians has further stimulated home building. Gandhinagar caters for the higher income group, viz. the professional and business elite. The adjoining new township of Mithanagar is expected to progress rapidly. In both townships plots vary in size from $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{3}$ acre.

The private townships along the coast - Desainagar (Tongaats Beach) and La Merci - do not serve the needs of the local community, although they fall within the Tongaats Town Board area, but rather cater for wealthy businessmen from Durban and the Transvaal. Desainagar has 105 saleable plots, La Merci 150. Not all these plots have been sold, and few houses have been erected to date.

In Verulam there has been little development in the Everest Heights township. Because of its close proximity to Durban, it was hoped that city business and professional men would be attracted to

Everest Heights. However, only 40 of the 488 plots were sold in 4 years, and after the original White developers had failed financially, the township was purchased by a wealthy Muslim for R20,000. Development may be stimulated by the Group Areas declaration and the incorporation of the area into the township of Verulam, but the more favourable situation of Desainagar and La Mercei in relation to the sea is likely to give the coastal townships an advantage over Everest Heights in so far as Durban businessmen are concerned.

PRIVATE URBAN HOUSING

The difference between Tongaat and Verulam has an immediate impact on the visitor. Tongaat has its gabled company houses, neat municipal schemes and flourishing private townships. Attractive gardens testify to a pride of occupation. Verulam, by comparison, is, in the words of a prominent local Indian, a "shanty town". This may be overstating the case somewhat, but apart from the homes of the professional and well-to-do merchant class, housing in Verulam leaves much to be desired.

While Tongaat has done more than most other towns to eradicate slum conditions, it must not be thought that there are no shack-dwellers in the township. On the contrary, behind the facade of main street shops and in the backyards of substantial houses are often to be found tin shanties, haphazardly constructed and poorly ventilated. Many tenants live in hovels, and evidence suggests that there is a great need for a further sub-economic housing scheme in Tongaat. In 1963 the Town Board received 205 applications for the 12 houses it had built in Plane Street.

Fifty-three of these applicants advanced reasons for their dissatisfaction with their existing accommodation. The majority were dissatisfied on more than one count. Table 70 gives a good idea of the conditions under which many Indians live. Most of the grievances related to overcrowding, the difficulties involved in sharing a house, and the poor condition of the structures. The economic factor (high rental) was mentioned by only 8 applicants.

Similar complaints were commonly voiced in Verulam and Ottawa. Poor housing amenities and overcrowding are invariably referred to in the Annual Reports of the Verulam Clinic Board. In overcrowded households, it is not uncommon to find the males sleeping in

one room and the females in another; often some members of the household are obliged to sleep in the passage or on the floor due to inadequate bedroom space. Within the township boundaries there is a water supply and even those living in dire poverty and niggardly shanties manage to maintain a state of cleanliness, e.g. 42 out of 52 houses visited were stated by the District Nurse to be clean, and only 2 dirty. But those living in certain areas on the periphery of the township, e.g. Temple Valley (which was incorporated into the township in October 1965) have to carry water some distance from the river, and it is here that filthy conditions are prevalent. There were several instances of unscrupulous people exploiting the poor by selling water to them at 1 cent per bucket.

Among the lower income groups hovering around the poverty datum line (more often than not actually below it), the chance of obtaining any type of shelter is eagerly seized at, and this group of tenants usually live in wood-and-iron shacks or huts, sometimes in the backyards of wealthier Indians.

In Temple Valley, for example, the land is owned by a few. There are often several tenants on one plot, paying a site rent of R5 per annum and erecting their own structures, usually shacks. A school principal in the area estimated that 40% of his pupils lived in overcrowded shacks with no lights, smoke-filled kitchens with no chimneys and makeshift furniture. He considered that only 5% of the pupils lived in comfortable dwellings.

The need for a large-scale sub-economic housing scheme in Verulam is particularly urgent, and indeed this should be one of the top priorities to be attended to once the new Indian local authority is established.

Table 70 Dissatisfaction with Existing Accommodation -
Town Board Housing Applicants, Tongaat, 1963

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Too small, overcrowded, congested, hemmed in	25
Dilapidated, walls cracked, in need of repair	10
Roof leaks	10
Share a house, other occupants disturb us	5
No privacy for grown-up children	3
No room to receive visitors	1
Lack of cooking/toilet/bathroom facilities	3
Unhealthy, damp, mosquitoes, always sick	8
Condemned	7
Poor ventilation	2
Sanitary disorders	1
Given notice to quit, facing ejectment	8
Rent too high	8
Relationship with brother strained	1
Living in Verulam because no house in Tongaat	1

RURAL HOUSING

Indian workers on sugar company estates are often housed in well-built cottages. Where the accommodation provided takes the form of barracks, conditions are invariably appalling and overcrowding is common. Quarters are small, the buildings are clustered together, toilets are communal and the atmosphere is depressing and defeatist. However, it seems that the old barrack-type buildings for agricultural workers are soon to be a thing of the past, and their gradual replacement by single cottages in the Verulam area was favourably commented upon by welfare workers. These cottages usually consist of 2 bedrooms, living room, kitchen and a toilet cum washroom (an Eastern style squattoilet and a tap for washing), while some had 3 bedrooms.

Accommodation for employees on private White farms varies. In most cases houses appeared neat and clean, although we encountered several structures which could only be described as hovels - tin shacks with strips of cardboard serving as window panes.

So far as the independent Indian farmer is concerned, the few large-scale farmers boasted good homes (many of them ultra-modern, others older but solidly built, and all well furnished), while the many small landowners, eking out an existence from their plots, lived in inferior structures, often with dung-smearred earth floors. Poor housing conditions are aggravated where several brothers are farming on an inherited plot of, for example, 10 acres. They barely scrape a living, and houses may be of the crudest construction, rivalling anything to be found in the urban slum areas.

Instances of site rent were also to be found in the rural areas. Shacks were constructed of second-hand sheets of corrugated iron, the occupants invariably slept on the floor because there were insufficient beds, furniture was sparse, the rooms were dark and kitchen and toilet facilities were primitive (field squatting was common in such cases).

GENERAL IMPRESSIONS

The majority of company houses and the houses of Indian farmers appeared to be fairly comfortably furnished, although we often gained the impression that furniture in the living rooms was

procured at the expense of that in the bedrooms. The appearance of a building often belies what is to be found inside, and even the wood and iron structures were invariably clean and tidy, with surprisingly good furniture. Radiograms (bought on hire purchase) were found in several such homes.

In municipal and company housing schemes where a small garden is attached to each house, the neatness of the plots bears eloquent testimony to the pride of occupation. But where houses are poorly constructed and packed closely together, an atmosphere of squalor prevails. Much has been done to eradicate this atmosphere in Tongaat, but much still remains to be done, in both Tongaat and Verulam and on the sugar estates.

C H A P T E R X I I

- - - - -

HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

PART I - HEALTH

In the earlier years of Indian settlement in Natal, the poor housing conditions and rations on the estates, coupled with poverty, fear and ignorance, meant low standards of health in the community. During the last few decades, however, the extension of medical services and education has resulted in a considerable improvement in general standards of health, despite the continued existence of poverty.

HOSPITALS AND HEALTH INSTITUTIONS

Four institutions cater for the health needs of the Indian community in the Tongaat - Verulam region, viz. the Tongaat Health Centre, the Central Hospital at Tongaat, the Verulam Health Clinic and the Oakford Clinic.

The Tongaat Health Centre consists of a clinic and district nursing service run by the Department of Health, and was one of the earliest institutions of its kind established in Natal after the war. The centre is staffed by a resident medical officer and Indian and African assistants. A sub-clinic is located at Waterfall in the Upper Tongaat area, while each Tuesday a clinic is held at Fairbreeze for immunisation, and mother-and-baby and ante-natal care, to save mothers the long walk of 3 miles to the Health Centre. Work at the centre is mostly curative rather than preventive.

The Central Hospital at Tongaat is a private institution run by the Tongaat Sugar Company exclusively for the benefit of its employees (although the public are treated in cases of emergency), and is under the direction of the company doctor. In February, 1965 there were 62 licensed beds in the hospital, which has 7 wards (4 non-White, 1 White and 1 isolation). In 1964 the hospital handled 13,470 non-White outpatients (Africans were in the slight majority) and 2,700 White consultations.

In addition to the hospital, the company also operates a dispensary at its Maidstone Mill. Outpatient attendances there average about 40 per day.

The Verulam Clinic Board controls a clinic and district nursing service, and has been functioning since 1958. The Board consists almost entirely of Indians, with a few African members, and approximately two-thirds of the patients (40,032 out of 62,341 from 1961-65) are Indians. Because of the shortage of trained staff the work of the clinic is confined mainly to pre-natal, child health (children up to 2 years of age only), midwifery and immunisation services.

Table 71 Distribution of Indian Patients by Nature of Service - Verulam Health Clinic, 1961-65

Nature of Service	No. of Patients for years ended 31 July					Total
	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	
Minor ailments	1,362	781	859	875	827	4,704
Ante-natal	682	534	717	747	795	3,475
Infant welfare	875	755	1,070	1,209	1,358	5,267
Sick home nursing	157	173	32	62	81	505
Diphtheria/Whooping Cough/Tetanus	1,401	5,834	1,070	815	1,631	10,751
Smallpox	655	999	230	298	3,515	5,697
Ante-natal visits	165	106	79	66	106	522
Post-natal visits	507	550	742	686	487	2,972
Health visits	306	468	335	150	277	1,536
Confinements	60	61	69	64	82	336
Polio	-	-	-	1,277	2,990	4,267
	6,170	10,261	5,203	6,249	12,149	40,032

Visits to the homes of patients are made whenever time permits. It is hoped to start a family planning clinic in due course, but as there is no resident doctor in charge of the Verulam Clinic, women have to travel to Durban to receive instruction in family planning methods.

The Oakford Clinic, some 5 miles from Verulam, serves the Indian and African communities in the areas abutting the Ndwedwe Reserve. A Dominican sister, who is a qualified doctor, is in

charge of the clinic.

The Dominican Association have recently built a T.B. hospital at Osindisweni, close to Oakford, which caters purely for Africans, and plan to open a maternity section there in 1966, and a general hospital within a few years, to treat both Africans and Indians. The hospital at Mount Edgecombe, on the southern periphery of the region, serves employees of Natal Estates Ltd., which owns extensive tracts of canefields in the Verulam - Ottawa complex.

THE COST OF MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Tongaat Health Centre is financed entirely by the Government, and charges for treatment vary from 10-25 cents depending upon the economic position of the patient. Sugar company employees do not contribute towards a medical aid scheme, and receive free attention at the Central Hospital. The value of medical benefits is assessed at R1 per month in arriving at the employee's salary. The Oakford Clinic is a private institution and small fees are levied for medical attention.

The Verulam Health Clinic is a voluntary organisation, and depends for its funds upon membership fees, donations and its own fund-raising efforts, in addition to clinic takings and ambulance fees. The Department of Health subsidizes nurses' salaries (to the extent of $\frac{7}{8}$) and travelling expenses (10 cents per mile). While donations are received mainly from business organisations and the local Town Board, the balance of the funds accrues largely from the Indian community. The clinic is, to all intents and purposes, an Indian organisation serving the partial health needs of the non-white communities in Verulam and environs. Charges at the clinic are flexible, the very poor receiving free attention and fees generally being low, e.g. the maximum fee for midwifery is R4.

Sugar company employees, therefore, receive free medical attention at Tongaat and Mount Edgecombe, while those outside the sugar industry are charged nominal rates which vary according to the means of the patient. The limited scope of the Verulam Health Clinic, however, means that the juvenile (over 2 years of age) and adult population of Verulam are obliged to visit medical practitioners and do not receive the benefit of cheap attention.

STANDARDS OF HEALTH

Doctors with long experience in the area were unanimous that the general health of the Indian people had improved considerably over the last two decades, especially since the combating of malaria which was a scourge in the area as recently as the 1930's. The provision of health services, medical advances, education and, in Tongaat itself, the substantial elimination of slum conditions during this period by the provision of better housing, have been added factors in raising health standards. Health education in schools has resulted in the modern generation adopting better-balanced diets than the old indentured class, although curry and rice still forms the staple diet.

However, there are still evidences of tuberculosis and malnutrition, both of which are the result of a low level of subsistence. In 1964 the Tongaat Care Committee of the Friends of the Sick Association (F.C.S.A.) handled 35 cases, and the Verulam Care Committee 37 cases, of tuberculosis. Malnutrition was emphasized more often in Verulam than in Tongaat, and it was felt by those interviewed to be most common amongst agricultural labour on the sugar estates in the area. One social worker quoted the example of a 3-month old child who had been fed on diluted mealie meal and whose head was little bigger than the size of a clenched fist.

Low wages and meagre rations on the estates were advanced as the main causes of malnutrition. Despite the fact that wages and rations had been increased¹, we encountered households in which the rations did not last a full week. Such householders often had large families to clothe and educate, while meat and other foodstuffs, and fish, absorbed a large part of the wages. Meat was generally regarded as a luxury - mutton (usually in the form of a sheep's head) was bought every week-end by most sugar estate families, and chicken at lengthy intervals, although many families tried to have chicken once a month.

¹ Tongaat Sugar Company supplies the following free weekly rations to permanent Indian field labour:

	<u>Family</u> (lbs.)	<u>Single</u> (lbs.)
Rice	6	4
Mealie Meal	13½	9
Flour	6	4
Mealie Rice	9	6
Salt	1½	1
Sugar	3	2
Dholl	3	2
Cooking Oil	$\frac{3}{4}$ bottle	$\frac{1}{2}$ bottle
Value per month	R6.71o	R4.47c

Allied factors include the existence of large families, poor eating habits and, on some estates, the incidence of drink. In addition, superstition still exists amongst the more backward members of society. Malnutrition is found too among those elderly people who live on gratuities. However, malnutrition poses a far more serious problem amongst the African community for, as several doctors and health assistants pointed out, although many Indian infants are undernourished, kwashiorkor is seldom evident. The Nutrition Corporation of South African (Kupugani) has depots at the Tongaat Health Centre and Verulam Health Clinic, and is doing a sterling job in combating malnutrition and introducing balanced diets.

As all rivers and streams in the region are bilharzia-infested, it is not surprising to find that this disease is endemic. Despite educational campaigns, many pupils contract bilharzia, both in the urban and rural areas. It is difficult, however, to keep children out of the water on hot summer days, and although the Indians in Tongaat now have their own swimming bath, no such amenity exists in Verulam to act as a counter-attraction.

Venereal disease is more prevalent amongst Africans, where it constitutes a real problem. It is rare amongst Indian women, but a number of males receive treatment. These are men who contract the disease largely from African prostitutes. An important factor accounting for the low incidence of venereal disease amongst Indians is the settled family life enjoyed by this community. Africans, on the other hand, have more inducement to form loose associations with women because the migratory labour system separates them from their families.

Inoculations have almost entirely eliminated polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus and smallpox.

HEALTH PROBLEMS

In any community, health problems are usually centred around the poor and uneducated. In the Tongaat-Verulam region, ignorance is perhaps the greatest obstacle to be overcome in any health education programme, while other factors are apathy, fear, large families, drink, unemployment and the lack of skilled training. All these factors are closely linked with poverty - in fact it is a vicious circle.

The educated and intelligent avail themselves of clinical facilities, but the problem is how to get to the backward members of the community, many of whom are sceptical of Western medical practices. This attitude has its roots in superstition, e.g. measles is considered as a visitation from "Matha," a mother goddess, and children are taken to the clinics only when complications have set in. Then, too, few expectant mothers in this section of the community make preparations to receive their babies, largely as a result of the influence of grandmothers who claim that doctors, nurses, clinics, etc. did not exist in their day. When a miscarriage or loss of a baby at birth occurs, the blame is placed on the adverse influence of the stars, or on some ritual not having been performed, or on "Kheta Kathu" (the evil spirit).

Health education is taught in the schools, and although the younger generation has a better appreciation of hygienic standards, such education may be nullified in homes where parents are apathetic or ignorant. The Tongaat Health Centre finds that it does more curative than preventive work, for, as the resident doctor put it: "People listen to one when they are suffering, but when they are well talking to them is futile". Another doctor stated that diabetes amongst Indians is difficult to cure, as patients do not adhere to the prescribed diet. Health education is a complex problem, "... for those who particularly need this education are generally of the lowest possible health strata, physically, intellectually and economically."²

It is a truism that the poorer sections of any community produce the largest families. The regulation of the size of the family is a necessary step in enabling parents to raise their standard-of-living and provide their children with better education. Family planning therefore assumes a role of major importance. In Verulam the local clinic has attempted to stimulate an interest in family planning, with encouraging results. However, in the absence of a full-time doctor in charge of the clinic, the women are obliged to attend a Planned Parenthood Clinic in Durban, transport being provided by the Verulam Health Clinic. The shyness of Indian women, many of whom do not discuss what they have been taught with their husbands, has tended to impede progress in this field. Amongst the well-educated class, the use of birth control devices is common, and family planning poses

² District Nurse's Annual Report, Verulam Clinic Board, 1963.

no problems.

THE FUTURE

There is little doubt that as in the case of housing, Tongaat is better endowed with health and medical facilities than Verulam. The sugar company hospital and government Health Centre bring free or cheap medical attention within the reach of all Indian families in the Tongaat complex. But the masses in the Verulam area have to visit medical practitioners, as the limited scope of the Health Clinic means that many prospective patients are excluded from receiving cheap attention. Although the Clinic has grown steadily since its inception in 1958, and now has its own ambulance and car, its operations are still hampered by the shortage of trained staff.

It is clear that this unsatisfactory state of affairs will continue to exist in Verulam until such time as the local clinic is taken over by the Province. The Verulam Clinic Board has been pleading for such a move for some years, as witness the following excerpts from the annual Presidential Address: "...the health of so large a community cannot be left to the uncertain fortunes of a voluntary organisation...There is a limit to which the poor can help themselves, no matter how public-spirited they may be" (1961): "Much as the Verulam Clinic Board supplies a real need, it can never supplant a Province-sponsored health service" (1962). "...the health service we provide is the responsibility of the Province" (1965):

There would appear to be no excuse for the Province not taking over (as a minimum measure) the administration of the Verulam Health Clinic along the same lines as the Tongaat Health Centre. With a full-time doctor in charge, the scope of the Clinic could be extended to all age groups, and the problem of family planning could be seriously tackled. The future Indian local authority in Verulam should make strong representations to the Province on this score. Better still would be the establishment of a small interceptor hospital or polyclinic in the region, from which the more serious cases could be transferred to large, centralised hospitals, e.g. King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban. Verulam is ideally situated for such a hospital, as there is no provincial hospital between Durban and Stanger.

Fortunately, there are hopeful signs in this direction. The Provincial Administration has adopted a system of "miniature hospitals" as adjuncts to hospitals in the larger centres. The first such clinic has been established in Mooi River at a cost of R66,000, and the Verulam Clinic Board has appealed to the Province to locate a similar clinic in the township.

The Minister of Economic Affairs recently announced that border industries facilities would be extended to certain "retarded areas" where unemployment was high. Tongaat and Verulam have both been approved as areas for such selective aid. As industry is attracted to the region, so too may there be an influx of workers from outside the region. Medical services will have to expand as industry expands, and it is submitted that fully-fledged government or provincial health services would be the minimum required to serve the needs of a growing industrial community. The industrial concerns themselves would have a vital interest in the provision of such facilities, for healthy workers mean increased productivity.

PART II - SOCIAL WELFARE

While close kinship ties and religious emphasis on mutual aid fulfil important welfare functions, many voluntary and private welfare organisations have been established to serve the Indian community. In addition to such organisations, the provisions of the Old Age Pensions Act and the Blind Persons Act were extended to include Indians in 1944, while Indians were also included in the Disability Grants Act of 1946.

WELFARE ORGANISATIONS

The Indian Child Welfare Society has branches in both towns, and a welfare committee in Ottawa. Verulam is particularly fortunate in having a full-time secretary-cum-social worker. All applications for pensions or government grants are channelled through the society. The main task of the society is to supervise families receiving government maintenance grants, but much time is also devoted to dealing with poor relief and cases of illegitimacy and domestic discord. Assistance is given in such matters as registration of births, applications for birth certificates and identity cards, unemployment benefits, etc., and food, clothing and school books are supplied to needy families.

The Tongaat Community Centre runs a nursery school and play centre attended by 43 children, and distributes, at its own cost, milk from 4 different points to pre-school children. It also gives temporary relief to the sick by way of money grants. The organisation has, in the past, distributed books to indigent pupils at both primary and secondary schools. The Community Centre functions on donations from business houses and the public. Arrangements have been made for a merger between the Community Centre and the Tongaat and District Indian Child Welfare Society in view of the similar aims and duplication of efforts of the organisations.

Two further organisations, the Tonga High School ex-Students Club and the Gay Girls Guild, have been dormant for the past year or two, but both were previously active both in charitable work and as pace-setters in local society. The Women's Friendly Club is a social club which does welfare work and supervises the Kupugani depot in Tongaat.

The Verulam Women's Association formerly undertook a wide programme of welfare activities, but has also become dormant. Amongst other things, this organisation formed a netball team, and held sewing, knitting, literacy and first-aid classes. The Verulam Deepavali Union and the Hindu Society both donate bursaries to schools. The former donates 250 hampers to the poor, both Hindu and Muslim, and small hampers to African schools as a goodwill gesture, at the time of the Deepavali Festival.

Mention has already been made of the work of the Friends of the Sick Association (FOSA) and the Nutrition Corporation of South Africa (Kupugani). FOSA operates through Area Care Committees consisting of voluntary workers who distribute propaganda, provide health instruction, raise funds and distribute relief grants. The Tonga Care Committee dates back to 1943, and was the first such committee to be formed in Natal outside the Durban area. The Verulam Care Committee was formed in 1950.

STATE ASSISTANCE

There are 7 types of social pensions for Indians in South Africa, viz: old age, blind persons' and war veterans' pensions; disability, maintenance and foster care grants; and poor relief.

The most common types handled by the Child Welfare Society branches in the region are old age pensions and disability and maintenance grants. No person may receive more than one type of social pension simultaneously. Payments are made monthly through the Post Office, and control of Indian pensions passed from the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions to the Department of Indian Affairs in April, 1963. Indians and Africans do not receive family allowances, which are payable to Whites and Coloureds only.

Old Age Pensions

Males over the age of 65 years and females over 60 years may qualify for an old age pension subject to a means test. The maximum monthly old age pension rate for Indians at the time of the survey (February, 1965) was R11.25 compared with R13.50 for Coloureds and R27 for Whites. These rates were maximum rates, and were subject to a means test. In practice few pensioners received the maximum rates, e.g. in the Tongaat-Verulam region the highest rate received by a pensioner was R11.00 per month.

Table 72 Old Age Pensions - Tongaat and Verulam, February, 1965

	No. of Pensioners	Total Amount R	Av. per Pensioner R
Tongaat	182	1,598.45	8.78
Verulam	139	1,274.25	9.17
	321	2,872.70	8.95

No fewer than 279 of the 321 pensioners received R8.75 per month. The average monthly pension for the region of R8.95 was slightly lower than the latest available figure for Indians in South Africa, viz. R9.14 per recipient in 1963.³

³ Mary Draper, Social Pensions in South Africa, p. 19 (Table C).

Unlike Whites, Indian pensioners do not receive a rebate in respect of dependent children. Indian rates were, however, brought into line with those for Coloureds from 1 April, 1965, while the Minister of Finance, in his 1965 Budget speech, announced that, with effect from 1 October 1965, an increase of R1 per month would be granted to all White social pensioners. Concessions would be extended in the usual ratio (i.e. 50%) to Coloureds and Indians, i.e. the maximum monthly pension for Indians would be increased to R14 per month. Furthermore, a relaxation of the means test would enable more people to qualify for pensions.

By November, 1965, there had therefore been a considerable improvement in the position, and in that month 154 Indians drew old age pensions in Verulam. No fewer than 147 received R11.50 per month, while only 3 received the maximum amount of R14 per month.

Disability Grants

Rates and the means test in respect of disability grants are the same as for old age pensions, but the qualifying age in the case of disability grants is 16 years.

Table 73 Disability grants - Tongaat and Verulam, February, 1965

	No. of Recipients	Total Amount R	Av. per Recipient R
Tongaat	82	708.75	8.64
Verulam	98	860.35	8.78
	180	1,569.10	8.72

Again, the greater majority of grants were R8.75 per month, and the highest grant paid in the region was R11.00 per month. The average national disability grant rate for Indians in 1963 was R9.11 per recipient.⁴

As with old age pensions, disability grants had likewise increased during 1965. In Verulam, 116 Indians (of whom 105 received R11.00) drew such grants in April, 1965. By November the number had increased to 132, of whom 123 received R11.50. Only 2 received the maximum amount of R14.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 31 (Table E).

Blind Persons' and War Veterans' Pensions

The rates for Indians receiving these pensions are the same as in the case of the old age pensions. Neither centre reported any war veterans pensioners, and few Indians in the region received blind persons' pensions, e.g. in Tongaat there were 8 such pensioners receiving an average amount of R8.96 per month in February, 1965, while the figures for Verulam were not available.

Maintenance Grants

Maintenance grant rates were increased from 1 December, 1964 and the first increased grants, together with arrear payments, were distributed in February, 1965. In that month, 199 Indians in the region (83 in Tongaat and 116 in Verulam) received maintenance grants. These grants are paid to mothers, young children and school pupils under the age of 16 in homes where the breadwinner is himself a pensioner, or is deceased, incapacitated or confined to a state institution, or has deserted. Maximum maintenance grant rates for Indians in non-City areas are calculated as follows: R4 in respect of the mother, R2.25 in respect of each of the first two children, and R1.25 in respect of each of the third and every further child. Comparative rates for City areas are R5, R2.50 and R1.50, respectively. Tongaat and Verulam are regarded as non-City areas, but with the cost-of-living in the region very little, if any, lower than in Durban, there appears to be little justification for the application of lower rates to the region.

Despite the fact that maintenance grants have been increased, they are "...still insufficient to enable recipients to maintain a reasonable standard of living."⁵ Furthermore, the age limit of 16 years means that many pupils from families dependent upon maintenance grants are unable to complete their high school education. In some cases, the Department has granted extensions of one year to pupils who have reached the age of 16 to enable them to complete their Junior Certificate examinations, but the Department would do well to consider raising the age limit to 18 years or, better still, to include all schoolchildren in the provision of these grants.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 57

Foster Care Grants

The Child Welfare Society branches in both towns attend to several cases of foster children, who receive grants of R8 per month, e.g. in Verulam such grants were paid to 7 foster parents in April, 1965, and to 10 in November.

Poor Relief

A person must be destitute in order to qualify for poor relief, which is intended to be a temporary measure. Poor relief is given in kind and is granted by magistrates, from whom rations may be obtained for 4 weeks. These rations are limited and hence are often inadequate, particularly in the case of large families. The Child Welfare Society supplements rations in such cases, and provides assistance in cases where an application for poor relief is turned down.

There is an urgent need in South Africa for a substantial increase in pensions for all races, especially the non-Whites. A large proportion of Indian pensioners rely almost entirely on their pensions, e.g. the proportions of Indian pensioners with other incomes of under R25 per annum in 1963 were: old age (74%), disability (75%), blind (53.7%) and war veterans (40%).⁶

THE AGED

The joint family system, with married sons continuing to live in their parental home, meant that so long as that system endured, there would be no problems concerning the care of the aged. However, Indian society in Natal has evolved towards a single family system over the past few decades, and this trend has brought with it some of the problems associated with old age.

These problems are not of the same magnitude as is the case in White society. Not only do relatively few Indians reach old age, e.g. only 1.6% of the population in the region in 1960 were over 65 years of age, but there is a widespread feeling that it is the moral obligation of a child to care for his aged or infirm parents. Furthermore, the community is apt to censure those who neglect aged relatives or do not take them into their homes.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 46.

Nevertheless, there are elderly folk with no family to care for them, and the provision of housing along the lines of the pensioners' barracks in Tongaat would do much to ameliorate their lot.

NEED FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

The poverty of the Indian community and the stresses common to any society in transition, have created urgent needs for the training of social workers. Too often in such communities, unqualified voluntary welfare workers dabble in work which would normally be the purview of a trained social worker, and sometimes advice is given which, however well intended, merely serves to aggravate the position. Teaching, with its regular hours and holidays, offers a more attractive prospect to the Indian student. Most voluntary welfare organisations cannot afford to employ a full-time social worker. A very real need exists for trained social workers in the Tongaat-Verulam region, and it is suggested that in Verulam, at any rate, the local authority should investigate the possibility of employing social workers, if necessary creating bursaries to enable them to qualify.

THE CHANGING SOCIETY

Indian society in Natal is in a state of flux. It has not adapted itself completely to Western ways of life, and yet its languages and many of its customs are falling into disuse, particularly among the youth. These changes have manifested themselves in different ways in the behaviour patterns of the community.

Family Life

The replacement of the joint family system by single family units has already been discussed. The joint family system has always contained within it the seeds of domestic discord, but such feelings were usually suppressed. This is no longer so, and divorce has become an accepted feature of Indian life, although it is not as common as in White society (in 1961 the Indian divorce rate in South Africa was .2% compared with 1.4% for Whites).⁷ A social worker in

⁷ Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, December, 1964.

Tongaat stated that separation was becoming more common, the husband giving the wife a monthly allowance.

A prominent businessman in the region, who is often called upon to mediate in family disputes, felt that the joint family system was at the root of such disputes which were most common in extended families. The joint family system encouraged young men and women to look to the family for assistance, while they were also expected to contribute to the household finances. He always advised fathers to encourage their adult children to fend for themselves.

However, the earnings of sons and daughters played a vital economic role in the poorer households, and more especially in cases where the household head was in poor health, in receipt of a very small income or unemployed. The most positive aspect of the joint family system was the obligation imposed upon children to take care of their aged parents.

One social worker believed that the system of free choice of marriage partners was the source of broken marriages, and expressed regret that the custom of arranged marriages was breaking down. These views were strongly refuted by other Indians interviewed. The great majority of marriages to-day are by choice, especially in the urban areas and amongst the better educated and more sophisticated groups. In the rural areas and amongst the more backward urban groups, arranged marriages are still common. Arranged marriages may be of two types, viz., the true type in which the marriage is arranged solely by the parents and in which the young couple have no say, or the adapted version in which the parents take the initiative in bringing the young couple together and in which the man (but not the girl) has the right to reject his parents choice. The latter type is more common than the true arranged marriage.

But arranged marriages have not entirely disappeared amongst the educated groups, e.g. a school principal had arranged the marriages of both his daughters. He believed that this was the best system, as sometimes the children did not make good choices whereas the parents were able to select marriage partners for their children from families of the same social, educational and economic class. Caste still plays a small role in the choice of marriage partners (as may be seen from a feature column in a Durban Indian newspaper), but

this influence, together with the system of arranged marriages, is bound to be of decreasing importance. Marriage by choice will increase with the growth of education, and with members of all Indian linguistic groups attending school together, may be expected to be accompanied by an increase in the number of linguistically exogamous marriages.

Opinions varied in different parts of the region as to the moral standards of the community. An elderly woman living on one of the Tongaat Sugar Company estates (or "sections") stated that the standard of morality in that particular section was high. She could not recall any instance of divorce or illegitimacy in 20 years, and the incidence of drink too was low. On the other hand, social workers and doctors agreed that illegitimacy and drink are on the increase.

Illegitimacy confers some degree of stigma on the Indian family. The girl's parents usually insist that the couple marry, but the man's parents often oppose the marriage when they consider the girl's family to be of inferior standing. Sometimes the birth of the child is hushed up, the grandmother registering the birth and hiding the stigma. Once a girl has had an illegitimate child, she has little chance of making a good marriage, and the only demand for her as a marriage partner comes from a widower (in which case the age difference may be great) or from a man who is himself of low moral standing. Idleness was considered to be one of the main causes of illegitimacy. Many girls leave school at the age of puberty, and stay at home for some years before marrying. Where there is insufficient work in the home to keep them busy, they may fall prey to temptation. The same holds good for youths who are unable or unwilling to find employment, and who loiter their time away.

Although many Indians are abstainers, a virtue which is stressed by both the Hindu and Islamic religions, the increasing evidence of drink is a cause for concern. This is especially so in those poorer families where money is squandered on drink instead of on the necessities of life—food, clothing and education. Drinking was reported to be particularly heavy on some of the estates in the Ottawa area, where Indian field workers obtain home-brewed concoctions, e.g. "gavine", at low prices from Africans. On some

estates, Indians are quartered in barracks, and are clustered together with little or no privacy. In such conditions, individuality and self-respect are often lost, and drinking and loose living become more common. Co-incidentally, it was from one such area that malnutrition was reported to be rife. In the towns, public bars are well patronised by mill workers and others, but hoteliers and bottle store managers did not consider Indians to be heavier drinkers than any other racial group.

The Youth

The Indian youth of to-day, especially those who are fortunate enough to attend high school, are almost completely Westernized in outlook. They display relatively little interest in Indian music and cultural and religious festivals, and events of such a nature are poorly patronized. The cinema, Western popular music and sport all have their adherents. In many of the homes we visited in the towns, colour photographs of film stars, current "pop" singing idols and soccer teams occupied prominent positions on the walls of the livingroom. In the farming areas, the old Indian prints and statuettes of temples and deities were more common, traditional attitudes being more valued, although modern influences were also apparent.

New values are also reflected in clothing. The male teenager is quick to adopt the latest fashion in clothing. Girls in the region tend to be more conservative in their dress than their counterparts in Durban, e.g. few wear jeans and shorts, and on formal occasions young women are expected to wear saris. Married women are invariably clad in saris. Conservatism with regard to dress is especially marked amongst Muslim women. Young Muslim women usually wear pantaloons, and this has long been the distinguishing mark of the Muslim school-girl, although conventional dresses are rapidly replacing pantaloons as a part of school dress (except at the Verulam Madressa where pantaloons are part of the official school uniform). At school athletic sports meetings, few Muslim girls appear in shorts, as parents complain that this is not in keeping with the tenets of Islam.

Women

Western laissez faire attitudes towards the social

and educational position of women have gained considerable ground amongst Indians in the last decades, although amongst the Muslim community this process has been somewhat slower. However, Muslim women now appear in public more frequently, and some participate in community affairs, e.g. an Indian newspaper felt constrained to remark at the large number of Muslim women who attended an election meeting organised by the Verulam Indian Ratepayers' Association recently.

The majority of nurses and women teachers have always been drawn from the Hindu and Christian sections, but school principals in the region detect a change in the conservative attitude of Muslims towards higher education for girls. Of 32 girls in the ballet class at the M.L. Sultan Technical College branch in Tongaat, 9 were Muslims. But proof that conservative attitudes still persist is illustrated by the refusal of Muslim parents to allow their daughters to participate in concerts at the Verulam Madressa.

RECREATION

Indian sport in Tongaat is under the jurisdiction of the Tongaat Non-European Recreation Union which is subsidised by the sugar company, and sports facilities are superior to those found in Verulam.

Soccer is the most popular sport and a large number of clubs exist in both towns. Some clubs have both African and Indian members. Cricket is less popular, largely because of the expensive equipment required. Nevertheless there are 5 clubs in each town, and cricketers in Tongaat are fortunate in having a turf wicket which is maintained by the local Town Board. Two all-weather tennis courts have been provided in Tongaat, and the tennis club has approximately 40 members (including 10 women). In Verulam efforts are being made to raise funds for the building of tennis courts. The Tongaat Table Tennis Union consists of 4 clubs, all the players being men. Few Indian women participate in sport after leaving school, and no net-ball clubs exist. It is significant that hockey, the game in which both India and Pakistan excel, is not played by Indians in the region, or, for that matter, in Natal. The reason for this must be

sought in the expense of equipment. Indians in Tongaat have also been provided with a swimming bath, and plans are afoot to establish a life-saving club.

The Tongaat Non-European Recreation Union also stages an annual Indian Eisteddford, with competitions in dancing, singing and the vernacular languages. Social activities in Tongaat have been stultified by the lack of a suitable hall. The demolition of the building housing the Club Harmony (a club for the professional and business elite) was said to have accounted for the inactivity of several social organisations. The Muslim community does, however, have its own social club - the Minaar Club - and the Tongaat Sugar Company is establishing a social and sports club for its employees.

There were few social activities in Verulam, and a prominent welfare worker stated that the community was apathetic.

CHAPTER XIII

LOCAL GOVERNMENT, GROUP AREAS AND RACE RELATIONS

The Tongaat-Verulam region has, over the past few years, received the attention of the Group Areas Board. Verulam was declared an Indian area in December, 1964, while the future settlement pattern in Tongaat is expected to be made known shortly. Arising from the declarations of group areas, changes will be brought about in local government and in the racial composition of the population in the region over the next few years. Before discussing the question of local government, it is necessary to glance at the position of the Indian in the political structure of South Africa.

POLITICAL POSITION

In Chapter I we referred briefly to the early years of Indian settlement in Natal, and to the upsurge of anti-Indian feeling amongst the Whites.

Steps were taken against the Indian community by the Natal Government in 1896. An annual licence of R6 was imposed upon all Indians entering the colony after 1895, and Indians were deprived of the parliamentary franchise. Later the entry of "passenger" immigrants was restricted, and the government subsidy in respect of indentured labour was withdrawn. Eventually, in 1911, the Government of India vetoed the further indenture of labour.

Since the establishment of Union in 1910, Indians have been a political football in Natal for any party wishing to exploit race prejudice. Indians lost the municipal franchise in 1924, the Dominion Party exploited anti-Indian feeling for political gain in the early 1940's, and as recently as 1961, general election campaigns have been marked by anti-Indian outbursts.

The Cape Town Agreement negotiated between the South African and Indian Governments in 1927 offered some redress, but the advance of the Indians has been affected by discriminatory legislation. In particular, the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946 and the Group Areas Act of 1950 have caused great hardship to this section of the population.

Despite the failure of the repatriation scheme which was launched in the 1920's, successive South African Governments obstinately refused to recognise Indians as a permanent part of the country's population. This position was rectified in 1961 - 101 years after the arrival of the first Indian immigrants - when the Minister of the Interior made the following statement in Parliament: "Gradually people came to realise it and it became clearer - and today we say so unequivocally - that the Indians in this country are our permanent responsibility. They are here, and the vast majority of them are going to remain here. Although the repatriation scheme is used on a very small scale, we must realise that the vast majority of them are South African citizens and as such are also entitled to the necessary attention and the necessary assistance".¹

Welcome as this belated statement might have been, it made no mention of the rights and privileges which are normally enjoyed by citizens in democratic countries. Arising out of this decision, the Government established a Ministry of Indian Affairs, and in December, 1963, the National Indian Council (now known as the South African Indian Council or SAIC) was formed.

The Council is appointed by the Minister, and consists of 25² members drawn from all three provinces in which Indians are permitted to reside.³ It is planned to ultimately convert the SAIC into an elected or partially elected council, and although it is at present only a consultative and advisory body, the Minister has stated that eventually the Council will acquire legislative and administrative functions in the spheres of education, social welfare, local government, etc.

For all that, the SAIC is not popular amongst the Indian community, who do not regard the councillors as representative of public opinion or as their leaders. They are looked upon in many

¹ Assembly, Hansard, vol. 108, col. 6505.

² There were only 20 members in November, 1965.

³ The linguistic and religious representation on the Council indicates a disproportionately large number of Gujarati speaking and Muslim members of the wealthy merchant class. By linguistic origin, 7 councillors were Tamil, 7 Gujarati, 3 Hindi, 2 Memon and 1 Urdu. The Telugu group (the poorest section) was not represented. By religion, 10 councillors were Hindus, 9 Muslims and 1 a Christian.

quarters as "government stooges", and the Council itself is considered ineffectual and a shabby substitute for democratic rights. "They may get a bone here and a crumb there", stated a prominent Tongaat man. Two councillors are from the region - a University lecturer from Tongaat and a general agent from Verulam - and both are highly regarded by the community, despite their association with the SAIC.

The Government appears to have deviated somewhat from its original four-stream policy in which all four racial groups would eventually be "separate but equal". In April, 1965 the Prime Minister stated in Parliament that "the Government is prepared to grant the two minority groups their own bodies, Parliamentary in character, which they themselves can develop. They will be self-governing bodies, with control over all matters affecting the groups which they represent, but which will be subject to the control of the majority group in respect of such things as foreign affairs and taxation".⁴ This offers the Coloureds and Asians permanent second-class political rights. If apartheid is to succeed, and if it is to be morally justified, then at the very least, some way must be devised in which each racial group can enjoy full political rights and not be condemned to permanent political subjection.

With very few exceptions, Indians reject apartheid outright. No policy short of one based on individual merit will find support from this section of the population. Unfortunately Indians do not possess an effective political organisation of their own - the Natal Indian Congress has been banned and the Natal Indian Organisation is not a properly organised body and has not held a meeting for several years. Few Indians participate in the legal multi-racial (or non-racial) parties, and a spirit of fatalism prevails in the community. It would also be true to say that the Indians have produced very few political leaders who have retained the respect of the community.

So much, then, for the political background against which the rest of this chapter must be sketched.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The townships of Tongaat and Verulam provide interesting contrasts in the field of local government. Tongaat has had a multi-racial Town Board since 1946, while in Verulam communication at this level between the different racial groups has been extremely limited.

⁴ The Daily News, 8 April, 1965. By "minority groups" was meant the Coloureds and Asians, by "majority group" the Whites.

Tonga

Evolution. Local government first came to Tongaat in 1930 in the form of a Health Committee. This was a rudimentary form of local government, the first of its kind in Natal, and its limited powers were chiefly concerned with matters affecting health (especially malaria). Later the scope of the local authority was broadened to include the provision of housing and other facilities.

In July, 1945 the Tongaat Health Committee was reconstituted as the Tongaat Town Board (TTB) consisting of 5 members appointed by the Administrator.

Composition. The local authority in Tongaat has always appreciated the value of consultation between the various racial groups. Soon after its establishment, the Health Committee set up an Indian sub-committee, and in 1944 an amendment to Provincial Ordinance No. 21 of 1942 was passed, providing for an appointed Town Board. This amendment was designed specifically to meet the requirements of Tongaat, the Tongaat Sugar Company having presented a strong case before the Natal Indian Judiciary Commission (the Broome Commission) regarding the need for an appointed multi-racial board.

Thus, when the composition of the TTB was enlarged from 5 to 7 members in December, 1946, 2 Indians were appointed. After the Durban riots of 1949, attention was paid to the representation of the African community, and 2 Africans were co-opted to serve on the Board. Later, with the incorporation of the Tongaat Beach and La Mercei areas into the township of Tongaat in 1964, a retiring White member was replaced by an Indian, so that the present composition of the TTB is 4 Whites and 3 Indians with voting powers, and 2 co-opted African members with no voting powers.

Power. The real power in Tongaat, both economically and politically, has always been the Tongaat Sugar Company (TSC). To all intents and purposes, the TSC is the TTB. Ever since 1930, when the Provincial Executive requested the TSC to sponsor the formation of the Health Committee and allow its senior executives to serve on that body, the local authority has been dominated by the Company - until recently all the Whites on the TTB were company men.

Indian Opinion. The TTB was formed during a period of great political turmoil so far as the Indian community was concerned. This was the time when the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (Act No. 28 of 1946) was being mooted - a piece of legislation which aroused the wrath of Indians (and which, we have noted, led to a partial boycott of the 1946 population census).

The 2 Indian appointees to the TTB were the Chairman and Treasurer of the local branch of the Natal Indian Congress, a party which vigorously opposed Smuts' Indian policy. Both men came in for severe criticism in agreeing to serve on an appointed board, and were expelled from Congress.

The Indian community of Tongaat has never regarded the Indian members of the TTB as being representative of local opinion. Indians are aware that even elected representatives could achieve nothing without the backing of the TSC, but regard the appointed members as "yes men".

Nor have the appointments to the TTB, some of which have been unfortunate choices, improved the image of the Board in Indian eyes. When the Muslim representative (an elderly Arabic scholar but not very lucid in English) retired in 1960, he was replaced by a doctor who had recently completed his studies abroad and who practised in Verulam. His appointment was very unpopular, and Indians regard this man as a stranger.

In 1964, when the number of Indians on the TTB was increased from 2 to 3, the additional nominee was a member of a prominent Durban family who were the estate agents handling the development of part of the La Merci beach township project. The Tongaat Ratepayers' Association (TRA) - an Indian body - bitterly opposed this nomination of a total stranger to the township.

The practice of having both Hindu and Muslim representatives on the TTB has also met with criticism. Indians maintain that they have been moulded into a single community by virtue of their position in South African society, and that it is unnecessary to nominate members on the basis of religious affiliation.

Local Affairs Committee. In 1964 further progress was made in the system of multi-racial local government when a Local Affairs Committee (LAC), the first of its kind in Natal, was established. The Committee consists of 7 Indians representing the TRA, and 2 Whites nominated by the TTB, and acts as an advisory body to the TTB on matters affecting the Indian community. Two Indian members attend meetings of the TTB as observers.

Before discussing the next step in local government in Tongaat, a word must be said about the TRA.

Tongaate Ratepayers' Association. The TRA is a federal body which was reconstituted in 1962. Prior to this, the old TRA, which dated back to 1944, had been dormant for some years - no election of office bearers was held after 1948, while its last 2 meetings were held in 1951 and 1959. Under the new system, the 7 zonal ratepayers' associations each have 3 representatives on the Federal Council. Elections of office bearers at both a zonal and federal level are held every 2 years.

The TRA is well equipped to be the mouthpiece of Indian ratepayers. It was surprising, therefore, to find that in some quarters the Association was regarded as a clique, and as non-representative and weak. Any such body can only be as strong as its members make it, and the critics have never taken any action to eradicate its weaknesses, e.g. the lack of public meetings and the bi-annual elective system. The impression gained is that in local politics, the Indian community of Tongaat is a house of cards, divided against itself.

The first election. In February, 1965 a member of the TTB died whilst on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The Board requested the 2 remaining Indian members, in consultation with the TRA, to submit the name of a replacement, which name would then be recommended to the Administrator for official appointment to fill the vacancy.

We have, frankly, been unable to unravel the machinations which led initially to 2 names being submitted to the TTB, and later to the Board ignoring these names and holding an election, as many conflicting stories were dogmatically related by different camps. The following facts do, however, emerge :

- (i) At an extremely controversial meeting of the TRA, the Chairman of this body won a three-cornered nomination contest although he did not receive an absolute majority of the votes (the official tally was 6-4-3). The fact that the TRA did not unanimously select its Chairman (who was also the Chairman of the LAC) as its nominee, was in itself indicative of pressure groups within the Federal Council.
- (ii) The 2 Indian members of the TTB submitted the name of the local high school principal, despite the fact that he had no interest in serving on the Board, and was unavailable to do so. This left only one nominee, viz., the Chairman of the TRA.

(iii) A deputation consisting of non-members of the TRA requested the Chairman of the TTB to reject the TRA nominee.

(iv) A few days before the meeting of the TTB at which the vacancy was to be filled, the Chairman of the Board informed the 2 LAC representatives that a mass meeting was to be held to elect the third Indian member. This was ratified at the next TTB meeting, although it was subsequently decided to allow an election by secret ballot.

The rejection of the TRA nomination was resented by this body, and an official complained bitterly that "they (the TTB) worked in with us when they wanted our help at the Group Areas hearing, but now they have rejected us".

Five candidates (2 insurance agents, a merchant, a taxi owner and a farmer) offered themselves for election. The Chairman of the TRA received the Association's official backing, but was opposed by 3 members of the Association - a schism which played a major part in the victory of the fifth candidate who was not a member of the TRA. The TRA Chairman was placed third in the poll, which, at approximately 70%, was somewhat lower than had been anticipated.

Repercussions. An anonymous leaflet which launched a bitter personal attack on one of the candidates, was issued during the electioneering campaign, and had the effect of swinging much support away from the man who was generally regarded as the most lucid of the candidates, to the ultimate victor. The origin of this leaflet was later the subject of a police investigation.

The name of the victorious candidate was forwarded to the Administrator for official nomination to the TTB. However, the TRA forwarded a memorandum to the Administrator, alleging irregularities in the compilation of the votes roll (a fact which was mentioned by other candidates too) and malpractices in the polling booth. To date, the vacancy on the Board has not been officially filled.

Impressions. The TTB election could have been a clean contest, devoid of controversy and a credit to the township. But it appeared doomed from the outset. The forces which gave rise to the election, the unseeing haste in which the election was organised (during some of which period the Town Clerk was absent on leave), the bitter rivalry which developed between two opposing camps, and the unpleasant aftermath with its allegations and counter-allegations, were all factors which, one

feels, could have been avoided had diplomacy and tact prevailed in all quarters during the initial discussions. That these qualities did not prevail, resulted in an election fraught with unpleasantness and controversy.

The election did, however, illustrate one point very clearly - although the Indians have been deprived of the franchise in South Africa, they are shrewder observers of electioneering procedure than is generally imagined. The victorious candidate, assisted by an efficient election committee of 24 members, mounted a high-pressure campaign comparable to anything seen in White municipal elections. The remaining candidates indulged in comparatively little publicity.

Future elections? Now that a precedent has been established, will future nominations be made on the basis of an unofficial elective system? Members serve two-year terms on the TTB, and the victorious candidate, in an interview, stated that he would insist on going to the ratepayers when his term expires. He also stated that he would hold report-back meetings - something no member has done before.

Opinion was elicited as to the chances of the two present Indian members retaining their seats on the TTB in the event of an election. Many different views were voiced, but the consensus of opinion was that the one member, because of his experience, would stand a better than average chance, while the other, who has little contact with the town, would be hard put to win an election.

Verulam

Verulam Town Board. The VTB consists of 7 White members elected by the White ratepayers of the township. This is the fundamental difference between the towns of Tongaat and Verulam - in Tongaat a conscious attempt was made to bring the non-Whites into the machinery of local government, whereas in Verulam the local authority has always been the exclusive preserve of the Whites. In this way Verulam is no different from almost all towns in South Africa (apart from Tongaat, the only other towns with non-White councillors are Cape Town and Stanger).

The Verulam Indian Ratepayers' Association (VIRA) has constantly pressed for elections by all ratepayers irrespective of race, but the then Town Clerk, giving evidence before the Provincial Commission of Enquiry into the incorporation of peri-urban areas in 1959, stated that in his 22 years of service, the question of non-White representation had never been discussed by the VTB.⁵

⁵ The Natal Daily News, 24 August, 1959.

However, an attempt was made, at the instigation of the VIRA, to form a Consultative Committee at which representatives of various Indian bodies could meet the VTB. This Committee held only 2 meetings and then lapsed, and since its demise no official consultative machinery has existed.

Group Areas Declaration. The position in December, 1964, when Verulam was declared an Indian area, was that no Indian in the township had received any experience in local government. Because of their inexperience, Indians expressed fears that the status of the township would be lowered to that of a Health Committee area, whereas they themselves were anxious that borough status should be attained within the shortest possible time.

The effect of the Group Areas declaration was immediately felt on the property market in Verulam, and many Whites sold their houses at prices far above the market values. Amongst those who sold up and left the area were 3 members of the VTB.

One might have expected that the VTB at this stage would endeavour to make the transfer of power to the Indian community as smooth as possible by requesting that Provincial Ordinance No. 18 of 1944, which allowed for nominated Town Boards, be applied to Verulam to enable these vacancies to be filled by Indians. But unfortunately the Board was issued with an ultimatum by the Town Clerk and other White employees who threatened to resign if Indians were appointed to these vacancies.

The employees believed that the Indians aimed to take over the VTB and replace them with members of their own group. Nothing could have been further from the truth - not one Indian interviewed displayed any enthusiasm for an immediate take-over, and indeed, one was forcibly struck by the full realisation amongst the community that personnel had to be thoroughly trained before they could become town clerks, etc. The VIRA wished to retain the services of the White employees, and, in welcoming the idea of a multi-racial board, felt that they could learn much by working in with the experienced White members.

Provincial Standing Committee. It was at about this time that the Province set up a standing committee under the chairmanship of Mr. E.P. Fowle, M.E.C., to deal with the establishment of non-White local authorities in Natal. This committee held several separate

meetings with the VTB and the VIRA to decide upon the interim measures to be taken before an all-Indian local authority took control of Verulam. The committee was concerned with safeguarding the interests of the White officials and technical officers in Verulam, and with the problem of training Indians to fill various positions.

In April, 1965 the chairman of the standing committee announced that the Indian take-over of Verulam would have to wait until an Indian staff had been trained to take over the administration of the VTB. "It is impossible for an Indian town board to take over without qualified personnel in the categories of town clerk, town treasurer, town engineer and health inspector. None of these are presently available".⁶ It is extremely difficult to see why an Indian town board could not function with White administrative and technical personnel until such time as Indians are trained.

The committee, therefore, recommended to the Province that the 3 vacancies on the VTB be filled by Whites. The VIRA protested against this decision, drawing attention to the South African Indian Council and the multi-racial TTB, both of which functioned with specialised White personnel, and also referred to the obvious fact that White town board members were not required to undergo any specialised training and that there were many equally capable Indians who could serve on the VTB.

Local Affairs Committee. In May, 1965 Mr. Fowle announced that it had been decided to form a Local Affairs Committee (LAC) to function in an advisory and consultative capacity to the VTB. The 5 members would be appointed by the Administrator (2 on the advice of the VTB) and the body was to represent a ~~transitional~~ transitional stage towards an all-Indian town board. Such a board would be constituted when the time was considered ripe, but in the meantime the VTB had been requested to engage Indians who could be trained in administrative and clerical work.

The VTB submitted 3 names to the Administrator as its recommendations for nomination to the LAC. The 3 men were an industrialist, a doctor (who was also a member of the TTB) and a merchant. None were residents of the township, living in Tongaat, Tongaat Beach and Durban respectively, and although all were undoubtedly competent men, none were active in local affairs and they could not, therefore, be considered representative of the people.

⁶ The Daily News, 27 April, 1965.

VIRA Reaction. The VIRA, which had accepted the LAC under duress, reacted to these nominations by calling a mass meeting at which all Indian residents of the township over the age of 21 years could elect 5 men whose names would then be forwarded to the Administrator for recommendation as members of the LAC.

About 600 people (including 75 women) attended the meeting. A prominent White attorney, assisted by 3 other White residents, acted as returning officer, and spoke highly of the way in which the voting was conducted (only one spoilt paper was recorded). Eighteen candidates offered themselves for election, and voting went much as expected. Of the 5 successful candidates, 4 were office bearers of the VIRA - the President, Vice-President and the joint Secretaries. The voters, therefore, showed their confidence in the Association. Amongst the defeated candidates were 2 Vice-Presidents and the Treasurer of the VIRA, and the doctor nominated by the VTB.

VTB counter-action. Shortly thereafter, the VTB submitted a new list of 6 names to the Administrator. Two of the original 3 nominees (the industrialist and the merchant) were retained. The 4 new nominees were the President of the VIRA (who had topped the poll at the mass meeting), and a doctor and 2 businessmen (all of whom had been defeated at that meeting).

In mid-October (4 months after the VTB and VIRA had recommended their nominees and 5 months after the announcement of the formation of the LAC) the Administrator appointed 5 of the 6 VTB nominees to the LAC. These appointments, with one exception, viz., that of the VIRA President, were bitterly resented by the Indian community.

Criticisms. The question of the new Indian local authority in Verulam has been a chapter of errors from the outset. This is due to the ultra-conservatism of the Provincial Administration, the standing committee and the VTB, all of which bodies labour under the wholly erroneous impression that there are insufficient Indians capable of serving on the VTB, and who regard as anathema the idea that key administrative and technical posts can be filled by Whites even if the VTB is comprised of Indian members.

It is extremely difficult to see how an appointed LAC can meet the demands of the situation, particularly if it is comprised of members unrepresentative of public opinion and who are likely to be

defeated at the very first election. The VTB, as a body which undoubtedly exerted tremendous influence on the standing committee, must be severely criticised in its whole approach to the matter. The Board must have been aware, especially after the mass election meeting, that the VIRA enjoyed the confidence of the Indian community. But its choice of some totally unrepresentative men, apart from being impractical (since these men are unlikely to be elected to the ultimately all-Indian town board and much of this training will then have been wasted effort), also served to alienate the VIRA.

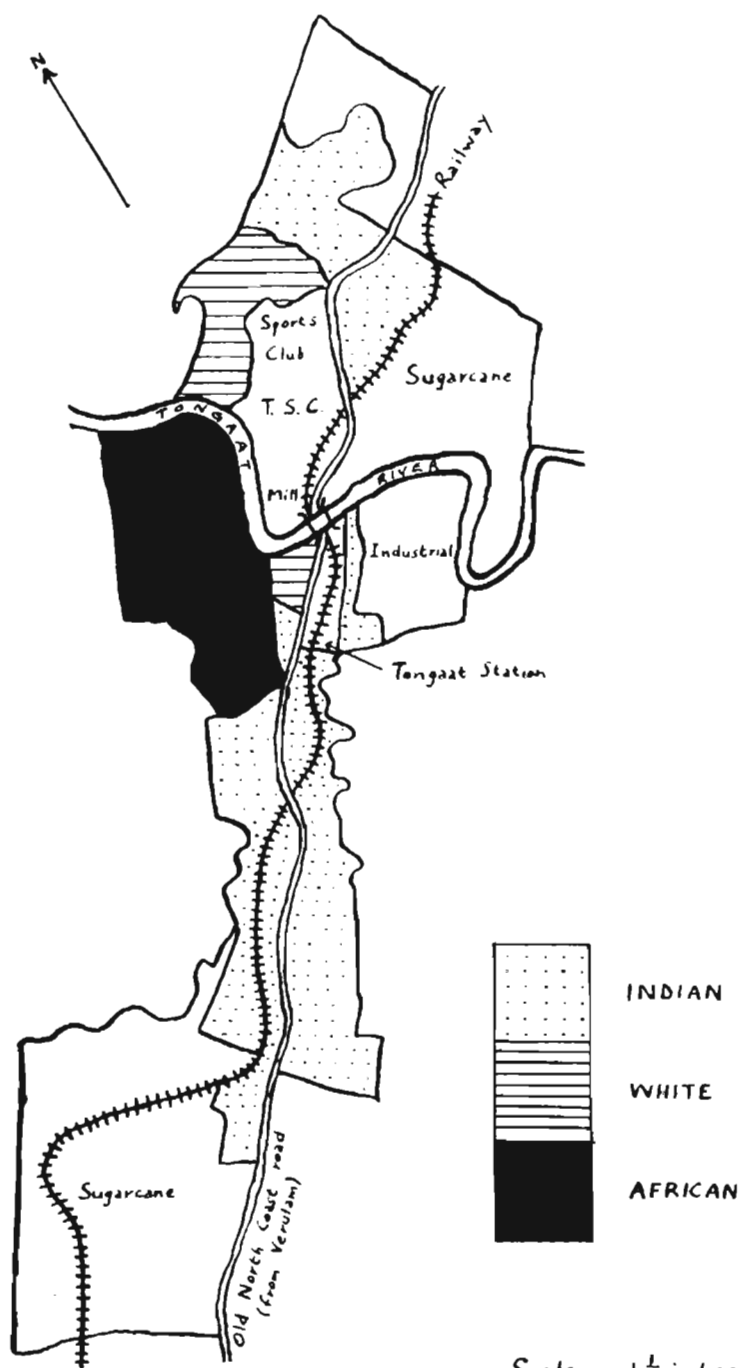
It would have been far more beneficial to create a multi-racial Town Board, with the 3 vacancies being filled by representative Indians, in addition to the LAC. If this policy had been adopted, 8 Indians would have gained valuable experience in local government.

Evaluation

The systems of local government in the two towns are, therefore, very different. This is largely a reflection of White attitudes. In Tongaat, this attitude has been one of innovation, coupled, it must be added, with some measure of benevolent paternalism, although it would appear that this factor has been less operative of late. The very existence of a multi-racial local government body represents a considerable achievement in the light of the prevailing political climate in South Africa. In Verulam, by way of contrast, the local authority has been conservative.

In the final analysis, there can be no adequate substitute for the free functioning of the electoral process. In 1944, the Tongaat Sugar Company did not believe that the Indian population, in its existing state of advancement, was "...capable of handling or understanding representation along democratic lines".⁷ Be that as it may, the rapid progress of the past two decades has, it is submitted, rendered the Indian community perfectly capable of participating in such a process. But if the nominative system is to endure, it is surely better to thoroughly canvass opinion and nominate men who are representative of public opinion, rather than select non-representative men and thereby render the whole process farcical.

⁷ R. G. T. Watson, Tongaati, p. 177.



MAP IV - RACIAL OCCUPATION OF LAND, TONGAAT.

GROUP AREAS

In terms of the Group Areas Act (No. 41/1950, as amended by Act No. 77/1957) certain areas may be declared group areas for the occupation and ownership of a particular racial group only. This legislation forms one of the cornerstones of the Government's policy of racial segregation (apartheid), and group areas have been declared in many towns throughout the country.

Tongaat

The Group Areas Board held its hearing in Tongaat in February, 1965. The TSC, TTB and TRA collaborated in the preparation of evidence presented to the Board. Briefly, these parties recommended that group areas be declared in such a way as to preserve the status quo, and referred to the harmonious relationships which existed between the various races and which made the declaration of group areas unnecessary. Tongaat prided itself as a model village, and had been planned on the basis of "voluntary" residential segregation.

There was only one exception to this request. This concerned the Tongaat Beach area, where it was requested that the area to the north of the link road to Tongaat be declared a White area. This area contained both White and Indian-owned properties, but was required as a housing estate for 50 families from Lancashire who were to be employed at the new textile mill which was to open in 1966. Experience in Nigeria and Rhodesia had shown that specialist technicians could only be recruited if they could be offered living conditions which would outweigh the loss of amusements such as television. It was therefore necessary to house these workers close to the sea. The TSC had arranged to make available adequate land to the south of the link road to compensate the Indian landowners who would be compelled to move. The Tongaat Beach proposal was opposed by 6 Indian landowners, who argued that they were part of a settled community and would not be adequately compensated by the provision of other land.

Residential segregation in Tongaat is almost an accomplished fact. The majority of Whites are TSC employees living in Maidstone. Railway workers reside close to the Tongaat station, while the only Whites residing in the old village of Victoria are members of the police force, a hotelier and a baker.

To date, the Group Areas Board has not yet arrived at a decision concerning the future of Tongaat. The Board faces a problem

PROC. N^o. 326 d d 4 DEC. 1964



INDIAN

Scale - 1 18000



ROODE
KRANS

828

COTTON LANDS
BLOCK A

Grangerstown

VERULAM
TOWNSHIP

CANE-
LANDS

Main Road from Durban

OTTAWA

Ottawa Station

River

Umhlanga

RIET RIVIER
842

Umhloti

River

in relation to the houses provided by the TSC for its Indian employees. The Group Areas Act makes no provision for White-owned land in an Indian group area - a concession which was requested by the TSC who pointed out that the possibility of sub-division of land had not been taken into account in the planning of these housing schemes. Unless some such concession is granted, the declaration of group areas in Tongaat will herald the end of one of the most progressive industrial housing projects in South Africa.

Verulam

The Group Areas Board first showed an interest in Verulam in 1958, but the hearing was only held in 1963.

In a memorandum submitted to the Group Areas Board in 1958, the VIRA emphasized its "continued opposition to the Group Areas Act in toto, believing it to be antagonistic to the best interests of the country as a whole and contrary to the accepted tenets of democratic government".⁸ At the hearing in 1963, the VIRA urged that the township be left unzoned. As alternative proposals, the Association urged that either the township be partitioned into Indian and White zones, or that it be declared an Indian group area. In the latter event, the VIRA expressed the hope that the permit provisions of the Act would be invoked so as to ensure that no Whites were displaced.

The VTB recommended the partition of the township. Unfortunately the lack of communication between the VTB and the VIRA meant that, unlike in Tongaat, no agreement could be reached on the proposals to be submitted to the Group Areas Board.

In terms of Proclamation No. 326/1964, which appeared in the Government Gazette of 4 December, 1964, the entire township of Verulam was declared an Indian group area. The White community was stunned by this decision; the Indian community showed no signs of jubilation and indeed the VIRA issued a statement in which it expressed its regret that the other races would be compelled to move.

RACE RELATIONS

To attempt an objective analysis of race relations in a South African community is not an easy task. The whole matter is bedevilled by emotions, prejudice and the traditional attitudes of a colour conscious society. In addition, the political views of the

⁸ VIRA, Memorandum to the Group Areas Board, 9 May, 1958.

observer may distort his views of the situation. We have constantly endeavoured to submerge our own political views and examine the situation dispassionately, and have never attempted to influence the views of informants. Information given has, therefore, been spontaneous and often unsolicited, and we shall attempt to analyse objectively the picture as we see it.

Race relations is surely the most important single factor in South Africa today. The maintenance and fostering of racial goodwill and harmony would make the solution of the country's complex problems so much easier, but the draining of the fund of goodwill would bode ill for the future.

Intra-group Relationships

Before discussing the relations between the Indians and the other racial groups in the region, it is pertinent to examine the relationships within the Indian community itself - a community which is comprised of five important language groups and two major religions.

We have pointed out in earlier chapters that English is the lingua franca of the community, especially amongst the younger generations. The vernacular languages have assumed diminishing importance - a trend which is particularly evident amongst the Hindus - but are still the chief medium of communication amongst the elderly and poorly educated groups.

Some distinction is still drawn between linguistic groups in the speech of Indians, e.g. in some rural areas we were directed to the house of "the Hindustani family" or "the Tamil family". Pressure is still brought to bear against linguistically exogamous marriages, but this is also of diminishing importance especially amongst the Tamil and Telugu sections. The "banyars" (Gujerati Hindus) are a tightly knit social group - a relic of the distinction between passenger and indentured immigrants.

Within the Muslim community social distinctions along linguistic lines are more clearly drawn. Both the Gujarati and Memon groups keep much to themselves, and do not generally associate closely with the Urdu.

Social intercourse between the different linguistic groups is closely related to economic position, and linguistic differences have long ago receded into the background as a factor affecting

harmonious relationships within the community. The same is true, too, of caste, the effect of which is probably most pronounced in marriage arrangements amongst certain sections of the community.

Religion has a far greater effect on intra-group relationships than has language. Now it is often stated by reckless politicians, and this belief is held by many Whites, that left to themselves, there would be a conflict between Hindus and Muslims. This is patently incorrect. Religious prejudice exists, it is true, as it does in any society, and religion does play a part in social relationships. But members from all religious groups serve and work together in a variety of educational, welfare, business and social organisations, and religion plays an insignificant role in the election of office-bearers of such organisations.

Muslims and Hindus associate amicably at school and in sporting and community bodies, and invite each other to weddings and other festive occasions. But home visiting between the two groups is less frequent, and takes place mainly amongst the educated elite.

Relationships between the Hindu and Muslim groups were, however, impaired by an unfortunate incident in Verulam in 1962, which concerned the building of the Madressa School. All schools in the Verulam area had been built by the community and admitted pupils of all religions. But the Muslim community desired to build a school which would cater specifically for the teaching of the Islamic faith and Arabic and vernacular (i.e. Urdu) languages, and consequently the Madressa was built. Muslim parents were urged to remove their children from the existing primary schools and send them to the Madressa. This step immediately aroused the ire of the Hindu community, who boycotted Muslim shops for several months before matters were resolved. Its effects were also felt in the Verulam Clinic Board, the President (a Muslim) being deposed. A prominent African stated that a Muslim doctor had attended only one Clinic Board meeting since then.

Eventually the Muslims backed down, and today normal English classes are held at the Madressa in the morning, and are followed by religious and vernacular classes outside school hours. Hindus account for about 40% of the enrolment at the school, and Muslim pupils still attend the other primary schools. Relationships between the two groups have returned to normal, although it will obviously be some time before the incident is forgotten.

Such unpleasantness has been avoided in Tongaat, where the Muslims were dissuaded from building their own school.

The recent flare-up between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir issue had no effect on relationships between the two groups, who generally displayed no more than passing interest in the dispute.

Voting in the respective elections in Tongaat and Verulam was generally regarded as having been on a basis of merit rather than on religious lines, although religion probably did influence the voting of some individuals. In Tongaat, the 5 candidates consisted of 2 Hindus, 2 Muslims and a Christian. The Hindus finished first and last in the ballot, the Muslims second and fourth and the Christian third. Election committees took no heed of religion. The victorious candidate was backed by a large team which included several prominent Muslims, while the official candidate of the TRA was a Roman Catholic.

Of the 18 candidates in the unofficial Verulam election, one was a Christian, 5 were Muslims and the remainder Hindus. The 5 successful candidates consisted of 3 Hindus and 2 Muslims, the latter finishing first and third in the poll.

Inter-group Relationships

The South African pattern of life is characterised by social separation between White and non-White. The present Government has endeavoured to extend this pattern into other fields, e.g. the Group Areas Act is the instrument of the policy of residential segregation. Race relations in the Tongaat-Verulam region are a microcosm of those which prevail in South Africa, the region embodying the same hopes, fears, prejudices and attitudes of the larger whole of which it forms a part.

Tongaat has been the subject of two extremely absorbing studies. The one,⁹ written by an executive of the TSC, discusses the "Tongaats experiment", the declared goal of which is the establishment of "a perfect sugar undertaking in an ideal multi-racial community". The other,¹⁰ the work of an American sociologist, analyses the social structure of the town. The authors' viewpoints are vastly different, and there is no doubt that the true position lies somewhere between the two. The one paints too idyllic a picture of the position, the other is unduly harsh in his criticism. Very

⁹R.G.T. Watson, op.cit.

¹⁰Pierre L. van den Berghe, Caneville.

few Indians interviewed felt that either author portrayed the position accurately, and both came in for a good deal of criticism.

Race relations in Tongaat are probably more cordial than in most other towns in South Africa. The township has been almost completely rebuilt over the past 30 years, the Town Board is multi-racial, and housing schemes for Indians and Africans are amongst the best in the country. The TSC has always taken a keen interest in the life of the Indian and African communities, and contributes to many sporting and charitable bodies. Sports facilities for non-Whites are reckoned to be amongst the best in Natal, and the TSC is ever willing to assist in development projects, e.g. in the levelling of sportsfields at schools. Such actions have won it a great deal of esteem over the years.

However, the goal of the "Tongaats experiment" has not yet been attained. We have already alluded to the imperfections in the system of local government. But certain policy matters also give rise to criticism of the TSC and the TTB, and many Indians believe that the Company (and hence the TTB) is concerned primarily with its own prestige rather than with the interests of the community, e.g. while the donation of land for the building of the High School was praised, the site itself met with much criticism. The school is situated in a triangle, bounded by the railway line, the main road (which has now been rebuilt some 50 yards further away) and a busy Company road. It is alleged that the school was sited along the main road so that passing motorists could see what was being done for the Indians. Whatever the reason, it must be admitted that the school is unfortunately situated. It is impossible to make oneself heard when trains pass, as they do several times a day, and teachers stop their lessons for a minute or two, while during the cane cutting season the heavy vehicles using the Company road aggravate the position.

The recent construction by the TSC of 4 houses for Indian employees on the old main road between the High School and the river was strongly resented by many Indians. It was stated that when the school had wanted to build a hall on the river bank, it had been told that the area was subject to flooding. Now, while acknowledging the shortage of land for housing in the township, it does seem a great pity, from the town planning aspect, that the approach from the school to the sportsfields across the picturesque bridge has been spoilt by the erection of houses which look out of place in what is essentially an educational and recreational area.

But despite complaints such as these, Indians realise how much the progress of Tongaat is due to the initiative and enterprise of the TSC, and are aware that their problems will always receive a sympathetic hearing. Social mixing between Whites and Indians in Tongaat is limited to formal occasions, and the only White who frequently visited Indian homes was an executive of the TSC who has since retired.

In Verulam, there has been more contact between the races at the personal level, as there has not been the same degree of residential segregation as in Tongaat, and in some areas Whites and Indians have lived in juxtaposition. Relationships at this level were cordial, e.g. an Afrikaner informed us that he was on excellent terms with his next-door neighbour, a Muslim. However, at an official level a great deal of suspicion existed and relationships were poor.

The VTB was extremely unpopular amongst the Indian community; so too were some of its employees. Indians resented the actions of the VTB with regard to local government, and have always quoted the case of neighbouring Tongaat to illustrate their point. They have also criticised the VTB for its failure to provide a sub-economic housing scheme and land for schools (the Verulam Madressa, built in 1962, was, until the recent incorporation of the peri-urban areas of Grange town and Temple Valley, the only Indian school within the township of Verulam).

Several statements made to us by White officials of the VTB showed precisely why this state of affairs existed - "Indians are basically dishonest"; "they are less intelligent than Whites"; "the VIRA is arrogant" (in connection with the LAC question). In Tongaat, the attitude of VTB members and employees towards Indians was marked by sympathy and a desire for progress; in Verulam the attitude was one of disinterest, almost as though the town was being governed from day to day without any thought for the future.

Most Whites interviewed considered the Indians to be competent and shrewd businessmen capable of being efficient administrators of civic affairs. But several queried their honesty, and felt that merchants often gave short weight particularly when dealing with illiterate African customers. This belief has been widely held in most countries of Africa where Indian traders operate. But, as Müller has pointed out, "... (while) there have been instances of such practices, there is no statistical evidence to prove that the incidence of these malpractices is greater in the case of Asians than in that of the other groups".¹¹

¹¹ Dr. A.L. Müller, The Economic Position of the Asians in Africa, S.A.J.E., June, 1965, p. 120.

Social contact between Indians and Africans occurs mainly on a sporting and social welfare level. Many soccer teams consist of players from both groups, and professional men serve together on the Verulam Clinic Board and in the affairs of the Tongaat Health Centre. But home visiting is infrequent, and is confined to the educated elite. Indo-African marriages were rare, and we encountered only two such cases. In Tongaat, an African woman married a Muslim and converted to Islam, the couple living in the Indian area of the town, while on a sugar estate a Muslim woman married an African. Both instances, therefore, involved Muslims, and perhaps reflected the unimportance of colour and race in the Islamic faith - a factor which has won for Islam many converts in other parts of Africa. There were, however, also some instances of illegitimate Indo-African children, who attended either Indian or African schools, depending upon the race of the mother.

C H A P T E R X I V

- - - - -

POSSIBLE FUTURE TRENDS

In Chapter I we traced the historical development of the Tongaat - Verulam region. In the chapters that followed, several important features were noted - the factors favouring a rapid rate of population increase; the remarkable growth of education; the process of westernisation which is proceeding apace, and the disappearance of many traditional customs and attitudes; the aspirations of the youth; the increasing importance of manufacturing in the occupational structure of the community; the widespread poverty; housing achievements and shortcomings; health problems and participation in local government.

What can the Indian community in the region expect in the future? It is a bold man who would, on the continent of Africa and in the 1960's, make any confident prognostications about the future. The Government's policy towards the Indian group underwent an apparent change in 1965, and politically, the future of this group is unpredictable. Economically and socially, it seems justifiable to say that the Indian community in the region will become increasingly industrialised and urbanised.

INDUSTRIALISATION

Existing Industries

Of the five existing industrial concerns of any importance in the region, two are large public companies and three are smaller Indian-owned enterprises.

The Tongaat Sugar Company is the industrial giant of the region, its mill being one of the four largest in the world. The TSC is the largest employer of Indian labour in the region - approximately 1,500 of its 5,000 strong labour force are Indians. The Timberit Woodboard Limited factory at Canelands, immediately north of Verulam, will, when the current R3 million extension is completed, be the largest hardboard factory in the Southern Hemisphere. However, this concern is a relatively small employer of Indian labour, absorbing only 150 employees from this section of the population.

The three Indian-owned enterprises are situated in Tongaat, Verulam and Ottawa respectively. A modern rice processing plant, owned by Tongaat Rice Mills, was started as a backyard business in 1948 by a wealthy Gujarati Hindu merchant family at a cost of R500. Today the modern mill is worth R500,000 (extensions costing R200,000 were completed in 1964) and handles 15,000 tons of imported raw rice per annum. The mill provides employment for 40 Indians and 60 Africans.

The Pakco food factory in Verulam is the only enterprise to have located in the industrial sites set aside by the VTB in Temple Valley. The factory specialises in the production of Indian foods in cans (the increasing consumption of beef by the Hindu community prompted Pakco to undertake a R30,000 expansion programme in 1964 in order to add beef curry to its list of curry dishes). Pakco offers regular employment to 150 workers, almost all of whom are Indians and 75% of whom are females (including several Muslim women). During the peak fruit and vegetable picking season, as many as 250 workers are employed.

The Flash Clothing factory, which manufactures jeans for men, provides employment for 111 males and 45 females, all of whom are Indians. This concern has grown rapidly since its establishment 15 years ago with 4 machines, and like the rice mill and food factory, is an example of Indian entrepreneurship in the region.

Border Industries

In February, 1965 it was announced that the Government had decided to extend its "border industries" plan to provide work for Indians and Coloureds in addition to Africans.¹ Concessions would be made available to firms using Indian labour in predominantly Indian areas on the same basis as those setting up factories near the "Bantu homelands". Tongaat and Verulam were two of the four Natal towns which were selected as border areas for Indian employment (the others were Pietermaritzburg and Stanger). The Minister of Indian Affairs later announced that the stimulation of the employment of Indians would be achieved by an Indian Investment Corporation, the details of which were being worked out by his Department.² The Corporation would deal with each application for assistance purely on the economic merits of the case.

¹ The Daily News, 18 February, 1965:

² The Graphic, 20 August, 1965.

Border areas are economically underdeveloped areas with surplus supplies of unskilled labour. Concessions to industrialists are intended to cancel out any disadvantages that might be incurred in becoming established in such areas, and are granted on a selective basis depending upon the circumstances prevailing in the area. Concessions offered to industrialists locating in border areas include loans for plant, machinery and working capital at low rates of interest; income tax concessions on buildings and machinery, and power, water and transport costs; the provision of lower cost power, water and transport services; lower wage rates for unskilled labour; and assistance with the housing and training of workers.

Industrial Development Plans

One of the first industrial enterprises to make use of Indian border area concessions is the R8.5 million textile mill due to open shortly in Tongaat, and to which reference has already been made in Chapter VII. This concern was established on the initiative of the TSC, not only as part of its own diversification programme, but also to alleviate the unemployment and attendant problems amongst the local Indian community. Income tax and loan concessions were obtained in the erection of the mill.

Since the declaration of Verulam as an Indian group and border area, about 12 White and Indian industrialists have evinced an interest in the industrial opportunities offered in the township. Nothing has as yet been finalised, and precise details of the applications were difficult to obtain, but it is believed that 2 Indian textile manufacturers from Durban are almost certain to establish factories (costing R200,000 and R150,000 respectively) at Verulam. These concerns are expected to employ about 500 Indians each, while additional employment will also be offered by Pakco which is to extend its factory premises.

Mention must be made, too, of the Tongaat Investment Corporation. Perturbed by the growing shortage of employment opportunities in Tongaat, a group of 45 Indian professional and commercial men founded this organisation about 4 years ago. Each member agreed to contribute R10 per month towards the Corporation, and it was hoped to raise a sum of R30,000 over a 5 year period. However, the number of regular contributors has since fallen to 30, and it will take several more years to reach the target. The Corporation is a non-profit making concern, and hopes to establish an industrial enterprise in Tongaat to provide employment for the youth.

Border industries inducements will do much to make the Tongaat - Verulam region more attractive for industries. The region itself can offer an adequate supply of intelligent and potentially highly productive labour, good road and rail links with the port of Durban (the railway line from Durban to Mandini in Zululand is to be electrified within a few years), and close proximity to a growing market - the Durban-Pinetown complex.

The potential water supply of the region is adequate for industrial needs - according to Kokot, after the present needs of the region have been taken into account, the Tongaat and Umhloti Rivers would have a surplus of 12 million and 14 million gallons per day respectively available to outside users, e.g. Durban.¹ The TSC has recently built a 175-acre dam on the Wewe River (a tributary of the Tongaat) to ensure water supplies for industrial use. But the water potential of both the main rivers in the region, particularly the Umhloti, has still to be developed. Verulam obtains its water supplies from the woodboard factory which draws 3 million cusecs per day from the river. However, storage dam sites on the Umhloti are being investigated - one site is stated to be within the African Reserve and the other close to the township - for the purpose of providing water for agricultural and industrial use.

The local authority in Verulam has made available land for industrial purposes. The position regarding land is somewhat more complicated in Tongaat, where the only land available for industry is Dores Flats owned by the TSC. The new textile mill is situated on 30 acres of this land. The TSC can be expected to have an interest in any new enterprise attracted to Dores Flats, in pursuance of its diversification policy and also to keep a check on labour resources. There appears to be little scope for any small-scale Indian-owned industry in Tongaat unless alternative land can be found (a White entrepreneur stated that if the Victoria Village section of Tongaat is declared Indian, there will be no land available for him to re-locate his business in Tongaat) and if such enterprises are attracted to the region, they will probably site themselves in Verulam.

¹ D. F. Kokot, The Umgeni - Umbilo - Umlazi Catchment Areas: Water Resources, p. 72.

URBANISATION

We have alluded to the predominantly rural (56%) character of the Indian population in the region in 1960. The process of urbanisation is, however, a continuing one, for many young sons of struggling, small-scale farmers and field workers are not attracted to agriculture and are able to earn higher wages in industry. Furthermore, industrial growth in the region may very well be accompanied by an influx of Indians from other parts.

CONCLUSION

The industrial development of the region may trigger off a chain reaction of material betterment for the Indian community, alleviating the unemployment problem and providing better wages, improved housing (a factor which will need to be closely watched by the local authorities), improved health and nutrition and a higher standard of living. Educationally, there are high hopes that matters will improve from 1966.

But material well-being is not all that matters. Indians are citizens of South Africa (and have been recognised by the Government as such). If the Government cannot see its way clear to providing a separate independent "Indostan", and it appears that it cannot, then the Indians must be accorded the full democratic rights and privileges which are their due. They cannot be treated indefinitely as second-class citizens; to do so would be to render Government policy devoid of moral justification at the very time when proponents of separate development are seeking to justify their policy on moral grounds.

The position of the Indians in South Africa today, and their neglect in the past - their struggle to educate themselves, their restricted avenues of employment, in fact their entire socio-economic position - is a reflection of their position in the polity and an illustration of Walter Bagehot's dictum: "Let any section of the people be unrepresented in Parliament, and the interests of that section will be sure to be neglected".

ANNEXURE 'A'STRICTLY CONFIDENTIALUNIVERSITY OF NATALDEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICSRESEARCH PROJECTEDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN YOUTH
TONGAAT - VERULAM REGIONSCHEDULE I

Date

Pre-Employment Information

Directions: Take this form home. First read it carefully. Some questions will require discussion with your parents or guardian. Then complete the questionnaire and bring it back to school the next day.

1. Name: (Surname) (First name)
2. Sex: Male/Female
3. Date of birth: Day Month Year
4. Age: Years Months
5. Standard
6. Name of school:
7. (i) Home address:
- (ii) Postal address:
- (iii) Telephone No. (if any):
8. Name of parent/guardian:
9. Religion (Indicate by X):

(i) Hindu	(iv) Parsee
(ii) Muslim	(v) Buddhist
(iii) Christian	(vi) Other (specify)

10. To which of the following Indian language-groups do your father and mother belong? Indicate thus: "M" for mother, "F" for father. If both belong to the same group, put "M" and "F" on the same line.

(i) Tamil	(vi) Urdu
(ii) Telugu	(vii) Malayalam
(iii) Hindi	(viii) Other (specify)
(iv) Gujarati
(v) Memon	

11. What language is most commonly spoken in your home?

12. Which language do you:

(a) (i) READ best	(a) (ii) READ second best
(b) (i) WRITE best	(b) (ii) WRITE second best
(c) (i) SPEAK best	(c) (ii) SPEAK second best
	(if any)

13. (a) Did your father attend school? YES/NO
- (b) If so, to what standard?
- (c) Age of father: Years Months

14. (a) Did your mother attend school? YES/NO
- (b) If so, to what standard?
- (c) Age of mother: Years..... Months

15. Present employment position of father (indicate by X):

(i) actively working (permanent):

(ii) out of work temporarily, unemployed:

(iii) casually employed:

(iv) pensioned, disabled, too old to work:

(v) of independent means, not necessary to be
gainfully employed:

(vi) deceased:

16. If your father is unemployed:

(i) how long has he been out of work? Yrs..... Months

(ii) has he registered as unemployed with the
Department of Labour? YES/NO

17. Father's occupation:

Note: Only ONE section to be answered - either
Section A or Section B.

Section A : Own business or independent profession

Describe exactly the kind of business or profession
your father is conducting today or used to conduct,
e.g. retail store; estate agent; attorney; farmer -
cane grower, market gardener, etc.

.....
.....

Section B : Employee of firm, municipality, government, etc.

Describe exactly what kind of work your father does
today, or used to do, for his employer.

e.g. sugar company - mill worker, field worker, sirdar,
clerk, truck driver, etc.; grocery shop - salesman,
bookkeeper, van driver, etc.; municipality - clerk,
labourer (cleansing section); teacher.

.....
.....

18. Mother's occupation:

Mother is (or used to be) occupied as follows (indicate by X):

- (i) household duties only:
- (ii) paid employment outside home (permanent):
- (iii) paid employment outside home (casual):
- (iv) conducting own business:
- (v) helping in family business, e.g. shop,
stall, market garden:

19. What is the income of:

- (i) Your father per week/month R.....
- (ii) Your mother per week/month R.....

20. Other members of your household, i.e. all people actually living in your household but excluding yourself, your father and mother (or guardian).

1	2	3.	4	5	6	7	8				9
Relation- ship to you	Sex (M or F)	Age Yrs.Mths.	High- est stan- dard <u>passed</u>	Present status: (a)worker - permanent (b)worker - temporary (c)worker - casual (d)unemployed (e)scholar (f)at home	If worker, what kind of work is normally done? e.g. Railways - por- ter, clerk. Hotel - waiter, barman.	Wage in- come per week/ per month (p.w. or p.m.)	Supplementary income (p.w. or p.m.)				Total House- hold income per month (FOR OFFICE USE ONLY)
							(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	
							Unem- ploy- ment bene- fits	Govern- ment Grants, e.g. Old-age pension, disability, mainten- ance grant.	Rental income	Other (spec- ify)	
1.											
2.											
3.											
4.											
5.											
6.											
7.											
8.											
9.											
10.											
11.											
12.											

ALL ANSWERS WILL BE TREATED AS CONFIDENTIAL

S C H E D U L E I I

Inquiry into Educational and Vocational Plans
for Next Year

Directions: Before completing, read through questionnaire carefully. Answer Section A first. Next answer only ONE of Sections B, C or D, depending on your answer to question 2. If your answer to question 2 is "(iv) Uncertain", then do not fill in Sections B, C or D.

N.B. For answers put X mark in brackets.

SECTION A

1. Should you pass your examinations, what would you most like to do next year?

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|--------|
| (i) | Continue full-time studies | () |
| (ii) | Get a job | () |
| (iii) | Stay at home | () |
| (iv) | Uncertain | () |

2. After discussing your future with your parents or guardian, state what you actually intend doing next year.

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|--------|
| (i) | Continue full-time studies | () |
| (ii) | Get a job | () |
| (iii) | Stay at home | () |
| (iv) | Uncertain | () |

SECTION B

Answer this section only if you are going to be a full-time student next year. Otherwise leave this section blank.

3. do you expect to be studying full time next year?
- (i) At a high school ()
- (ii) At the M.L. Sultan Technical College ()
- (iii) At a University/University College ()
- (iv) At a teacher training college ()
- (v) At a hospital training as a nurse ()
- (vi) At some other institution (specify) ()

4. What course do you expect to enrol for? (answer this question only if you have marked (ii), (iii), or (vi) in question 3 above.

e.g. Commercial and Secretarial J.C., Domestic Science and Homecraft J.C. Catering Services Certificate, Technical J.C. in Motor Mechanics, Teaching, Medicine, Social Work, Commerce, etc.

.....

SECTION C

Answer this section only if you are going to leave school and seek a job next year.

5. If you are going to leave school after Standard VI or Standard VIII, what are the reasons for your leaving school?
- (i) Preferred to work and earn rather than studying.... ()
- or (ii) Forced by family circumstances to begin work ()
6. (i) Given a free choice, what is the kind of job you would most like to do?
-
- (ii) Taking everything into account, is there a reasonable hope of your getting such a job in Natal?
- Yes.....() No.....()
- (iii) If your answer is "No", what are the difficulties in the way?
-

7. In the circumstances, what kind of job do you hope to obtain next year?

.....

8. (i) What kind of job would your parents most like you to do?

.....

- (ii) Do your parents approve of your choice of a job for next year?

Yes.....() No.....()

9. How confident are you of getting a job next year?

(i) I have been promised a definite job ()

(ii) I know of a job I am certain to get ()

(iii) I am sure I can get some sort of job ()

(iv) I am uncertain whether I can get a job
at all..... ()

SECTION D

Answer this section only if you expect to stay at home next year

10. Why are you going to stay at home next year, instead of continuing your studies or seeking a job?

.....

.....

.....

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIALANNEXURE 'B'UNIVERSITY OF NATALDEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICSRESEARCH PROJECTEMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN YOUTH, TONGAAT -
VERULAM REGIONQuestionnaire to 1963 School - leaversEmployees

Directions: Please read the questions carefully before completing this form.

For your answers please put X mark in brackets where brackets are provided.

1. Name (Surname) (First name)
2. Sex: Male () Female ()
3. Age: Years Months
4. Last school attended:
5. Last standard reached:
6. Results of last examination:
 - (i) Full Pass.....() (ii) Failed.....()
 - (iii) School Leaving Certificate()
7. Religion
 - (i) Hindu.....() (iv) Parsee()
 - (ii) Muslim.....() (v) Buddhist.....()
 - (iii) Christian.....() (vi) Other
(specify).....
8. What language is most commonly spoken in your home?.....
9. If you left school after Standard VI or VIII, why did you leave school?
 - (i) Preferred to work and earn rather than
studying.....()
 - or (ii) Forced by family circumstances to begin
work.....()

10. Given a free choice, what would you most have liked to do this year?

(i) Continue full-time studies()
 (ii) Get a job()
 (iii) Stay at home()

11. Given a free choice, what is the kind of job you would most like to do? (Please state exactly what kind of job)

.....

12. (i) What kind of job have you presently?

(Please state name or type of firm, e.g. sugar co. - mill, field, kenaf plant, laboratory; butcher; grocery store; hotel; Town Board - electricity department; garage, domestic

and type of job, e.g. timekeeper, sirdar, weighbridge clerk, blockman, van driver, waiter, mechanic, chauffeur)

Name or type of firm

Type of job

- (ii) Do your parents approve of your present job?

YES () NO ()

13. If you are not doing the job you would most have liked to do, why not?

.....

14. Race of employer

White.....() Coloured.....()
 Indian.....() African.....()

15. Is your present job permanent or temporary?

Permanent.....() Temporary.....()

16. (i) After leaving school how long did you wait before obtaining your first job?monthsweeks

- (ii) How long have you been in your present job?

.....monthsweeks

17. If this is not your first job

- (i) why did you leave your previous job?
- (ii) how many jobs have you had since leaving school?

18. After leaving school, did you experience any difficulties in getting a job?

YES....() NO....()

19. From the list of difficulties and obstacles below, mark all those which you actually experienced when applying for jobs which you knew were vacant (Indicate by X)

- (a) AGE : Too young Too old
- (b) EDUCATION : Too low Too high
- (c) TECHNICAL TRAINING : Lack of special training and skill required for job.....
- (d) EXPERIENCE : Lack of experience
- (e) LANGUAGE : Inadequate knowledge of :
 - (i) English
 - (ii) Afrikaans
 - (iii) Zulu
 - (iv) Indian language
- (f) GROUP PREFERENCE : Employers preferred to give jobs to members of their own :
 - (i) Colour and race
 - (ii) Language
 - (iii) Religion
 - (iv) Family
- (g) WAGES : Starting wages too low
- (h) PROMOTION : Dead-end jobs, no prospects of advancement
- (i) NATURE OF WORK : Most vacant jobs involved :
 - (i) heavy, manual work beyond my physical strength
 - (ii) work suited to less educated people
 - (iii) monotonous, uninteresting work
 - (iv) long hours; lots of night/week-end work.....
- (j) DISTANCE FROM WORK : far from home, lot of travelling, expense involved

- (k) COMPETITION FOR JOBS : not enough jobs going for
everybody, competition is severe
- (l) INFLUENCE : no influential person backing me
- (m) OTHER PROBLEMS: (Specify)

20. What is your present wage?

R..... per week

R..... per month

21. Are there any prospects of promotion to more responsible and
better paid jobs in your present firm?

YES....()

NO....()

22. Are you happy in your present job? YES....()

NO.....()

23. If you are not happy in your present job, please say why

.....

.....

24. (i) Are you trying to improve your educational standard by
part-time study?

YES....()

NO....()

(ii) If you are, please specify course

25. (i) Are you trying to supplement your income by doing
a part-time job?

YES....()

NO....()

(ii) If your answer to (i) is yes :

(a) what type of part-time work are you doing?

.....

(b) what income do you derive from part-time work?

R.....per week

R.....per month

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIALUNIVERSITY OF NATALDEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICSRESEARCH PROJECTEMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN YOUTH, TONGAAT -
VERULAM REGIONQuestionnaire to 1963 School - leaversWork - seekers

Directions: Please read the questions carefully before completing this form.

For your answers please put X mark in brackets where brackets are provided.

1. Name (Surname) (First name)
2. Sex: Male () Female ()
3. Age: Years..... Months
4. Last school attended
5. Last standard reached
6. Results of last examination:
 - (i) Full pass....() (ii) Failed....()
 - (iii) School Leaving Certificate()
7. Religion
 - (i) Hindu.....() (iv) Parsee.....()
 - (ii) Muslim.....() (v) Buddhist....()
 - (iii) Christian.....() (vi) Other
(specify).....
8. What language is most commonly spoken in your home?.....
9. If you left school after Standard VI or VIII, why did you leave school?
 - (i) Preferred to work and earn rather than
studying()
 - or (ii) Forced by family circumstances to begin
work()

10. Given a free choice, what would you most have liked to do this year?
- (i) Continue full-time studies.....()
- (ii) Get a job()
- (iii) Stay at home()
11. Given a free choice, what is the kind of job you would most like to do? (Please state exactly what kind of job)
-
-
12. (i) Have you ever been employed since leaving school?
- YES....() NO....()
- (ii) If your answer to (i) is "YES", why did you leave your previous job/jobs?
-
13. How long have you been without a job?
-monthsweeks
14. (i) Have you tried all ways of getting a job?
- YES....() NO....()
- (ii) Have you registered as a work-seeker with the Department of Labour?
- YES....() NO....()
15. (i) Since leaving school have you refused an offer of a job?
- YES....() NO....()
- (ii) If your answer to (i) is "Yes", please state exact type of job and give your reasons for refusing
-
16. (i) Since leaving school, have you heard of some vacancies which you have not applied for?
- YES....() NO....()
- (ii) If your answer to (i) is "Yes", please state exact type of job and give your reasons for not applying
-
17. Are you desperately in need of a job?
- YES....() NO....()

18. Would you be prepared to work away from this area and live away from home?

YES....()

NO....()

19. (i) Have you heard of any jobs outside this area?

YES....()

NO....()

- (ii) If you have heard, did you apply for any?

YES....()

NO....()

20. From the list of difficulties and obstacles below, mark all those which you actually experienced when applying for jobs which you knew were vacant (Indicate by X)

(a) AGE : Too young..... Too old

(b) EDUCATION : Too low..... Too high

(c) TECHNICAL TRAINING : Lack of special training and skill required for job

(d) EXPERIENCE : Lack of experience

(e) LANGUAGE : Inadequate knowledge of :

(i) English

(ii) Afrikaans

(iii) Zulu

(iv) Indian language

(f) GROUP PREFERENCE : Employers preferred to give jobs to members of their own :

(i) Colour and race

(ii) Language

(iii) Religion

(iv) Family

(g) WAGES : Starting wages too low

(h) PROMOTION : Dead-end jobs, no prospects of advancement

(i) NATURE OF WORK : Most vacant jobs involved :

(i) heavy, manual work beyond my physical strength

(ii) work suited to less educated people

(iii) monotonous, uninteresting work

(iv) long hours, lots of night/week-end work.....

(j) DISTANCE FROM WORK : far from home, lot of travelling, expense involved

- (k) COMPETITION FOR JOBS : not enough jobs going for
everybody, competition is severe.....
- (l) INFLUENCE : no influential person backing me
- (m) OTHER PROBLEMS : (Specify)

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIALANNEXURE 'D'

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

RESEARCH PROJECT - EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS, TONGAAT -
JOB STUDY

1. Name:
2. Age: Years
3. Marital status:
4. Last standard passed: Std.
5. (i) What were your previous jobs?
.....
(ii) Why did you leave your last job?
.....
6. (i) Were you unemployed at the time of obtaining your
present job? Yes/No
(ii) If "yes", for how long were you unemployed?Monthsweeks
7. What is your present job?
8. Are you happy in your present job? Yes/no
9. Are there any aspects of your present job you do not like?
(Indicate by X).
(i) WAGES: Too low
(ii) NATURE OF WORK: Heavy manual work beyond my
physical strength
Work suited to less educated people
Monotonous, uninteresting work
Long hours
(iii) ATTITUDE OF FOREMAN:
Prejudiced
Impatient
Insulting, uses bad language
Expects too much work
(iv) OTHER: (Specify)
.....
10. (i) Do you think you would be better at some other type
of work? Yes / No
(ii) If "yes" (a) for what reason(s)?
.....
and (b) at what type of work?
.....
11. Given a free choice, what is the kind of job you would
most like to do?
.....
12. When this job is finished, what do you intend doing?
.....

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

(A) BOOKS AND ARTICLES

- ALLAN, DR. P. Indian Farmers in Natal, Leaflet Series No. 3, 1962, Department of Agricultural Technioal Services, Pretoria.
- Anonymous. The Indian as a South African, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1956.
- _____. South African Sugar Year Book, Durban, South African Sugar Association (yearly)
- BEATER, B.E. Soils of the Sugar Belt - Part I - Natal North Coast (Natal Regional Survey, Report No. 3), Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1957.
- BHUGWAN, D. "The Contribution of the Indian People to the Culture of South Africa", Understanding One Another, South African Institute of Race Relations, No. 102/1963.
- BULPIN, T.V. To the Shores of Natal, Cape Town, Howard B. Timmins, 1952.
- BURROWS, H.R. ed. Agriculture in Natal - Recent Developments (Natal Regional Survey, Vol. XIII), Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1957.
- _____. Archaeology and Natural Resources of Natal (Natal Regional Survey, Vol. I), Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1951.
- BURROWS, JOHN R. The Population and Labour Resources of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1960.
- BURROWS, RAYMOND ed. Indian Life and Labour in Natal, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1952.
- CALPIN, G.H. Indians in South Africa, Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1949.
- COOPPAN, S. and MAIDOO, B.A. "Indian Adjustments to Urbanisation", Race Relations Journal, No. 2, 1955.
- Department of Economics, University of Natal. Studies of Indian Employment in Natal (Natal Regional Survey, Vol. XI), Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1961.
- _____. et al. The Durban Housing Survey (Natal Regional Survey, Additional Report No. 2), University of Natal Press, 1952.
- Department of Information. Indian South Africans, Pretoria, Government Printer, 1965.

- Department of Information. A Representative Indian Council, Pretoria, Government Printer, 1965.
- DRAPER, MARY Social Pensions in South Africa, South African Institute of Race Relations No. 15, 1964.
- FAIR, T.J.D. The Distribution of Population in Natal (Natal Regional Survey, Vol. III), Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1955.
- HATTERSLEY, ALAN F. More Annals of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1936.
- _____

Portrait of a Colony, Cambridge University Press, 1940.
- _____

The British Settlement of Natal, Cambridge University Press, 1950.
- HELLMAN, ELLEN, ed. Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa, London, Oxford University Press, 1949.
- HORRELL, MURIEL. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, Johannesburg, South Africa Institute of Race Relations (yearly)
- HURWITZ, N. Agriculture in Natal (Natal Regional Survey, Vol. XII), Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1950
- KUPER, HILDA Indian People in Natal, University of Natal Press, 1960.
- KOKOT, D.F. The Umgeni - Umbilo - Umlazi Catchment Areas : Water Resources (The Durban - Pietermaritzburg Region, Preliminary Report No. 4), Department of Economics, University of Natal, 1963.
- LAZARUS, A.D. "The Aspirations of the Indian People in South Africa", Optima, March, 1962.
- McCRYSTAL L.P. The Umgeni - Umbilo - Umlazi Catchment Areas : Land and Agriculture (The Durban - Pietermaritzburg Region Preliminary Report No. 1), Department of Economics, University of Natal, 1963.
- MÜLLER, DR. A.L. "Some Non-Economic Determinants of the Economic Status of Asians in Africa", South African Journal of Economics, March, 1965.
- _____

"The Economic Position of the Asians in Africa", South African Journal of Economics, June, 1965.
- PALMER, MABEL The History of the Indians in Natal (Natal Regional Survey, Vol. X), Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1957.
- PARK, MARGARET "The History of Early Verulam, 1850-1860", Archives Year Book for South African History, 1953, vol. II.

- RAMPHAL, C. A Study of Three Current Problems of Indian Education, Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, 1961
- ROBERTSON, DR. H.M. "The 1849 Settlers in Natal", South African Journal of Economics, September and December, 1949.
- STRAUSS, C.B. "Population Growth and Economic Development", South African Journal of Economics, June, 1963.
- VAN DEN BERGHE, PIERRE L. Caneville, Middletown, Wesleyan University Press, 1964
- VAN DEN BERGHE, PIERRE L. and MILLER, EDNA "Some Factors Affecting Social Relations in a Natal North Coast Community", Race Relations Journal, No. 2, 1961
- WATSON, R.G.T. Tongaati, London, Hutchinson, 1960.
- WOODS, C.A. The Indian Community in Natal (Natal Regional Survey, Vol. IX), Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1954.

(B) OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Assembly, Hansard, Nos. 12-13/1965.

Bureau of Census and Statistics, Population Census Reports, U.G. No's. 40/1924, 28/1938, 60/1950, 42/1958 and R.P. 62/1963.

Bureau of Statistics, Population Census, 1960, Sample Tabulations NO's. 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7.

Province of Natal, Department of Education, Tables of Educational Statistics (Triennial), Year 1963.

Statistical Supplement to the Monthly Notice to Schools, 1934 - 1964.

(C) ANNUAL REPORTS, MAGAZINES, NEWSPAPERS

Natal Indian Cane Growers' Association, Annual Report, 1961 - 1965.

Natal Indian Teachers Society, The Teachers' Journal (various, 1951 -1965).

Verulam Clinic Board, Annual Report, 1961 - 1965.

Verulam and District Indian Child Welfare Society, Annual Report, 1964.

Tongaati Sugar Company Limited, The Condenser (yearly).

Staff Handbook, 1965.

St. Xaviers School Newsletter, 1963.

Tongaati High School Magazine, 1964.

Verulam High School Magazine, 1950 - 1964.

Victoria Primary School Newsletter, 1964.

The Daily News (various).

The Graphic (various).

The Leader (various).

The Natal Mercury (various)

The Sugar Industry, Supplement to the Financial Mail, 19 February, 1965.

(D) UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS AND OCCASIONAL PAPERS

Cooppan, S. The Level of Education and the Employment of Indian
 Youth in Durban.

Perumal, M. and
Rambiritch, B. Social Development of the Indian Community of
 Tonga, 1955.

_____ Tongaat High School Unemployment Survey, 1956.

Verulam and District
Indian Child Welfare
Society North Coast Regional Survey - Education, 1964.

Records of :

Natal Indian Cane Growers' Association, Tongaat.

Tonga, Indian Schools Trust Board

Tonga, Ratepayers' Association

Tonga, Town Board

Verulam Indian Ratepayers' Association

Verulam Town Board.