

**a study of a south african interracial
neighbourhood**

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The views expressed in this report are my own.

A STUDY OF A SOUTH AFRICAN
INTERRACIAL NEIGHBOURHOOD

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
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I N T R O D U C T I O N

THE PROBLEM

Within recent years the government of the United States of America has committed itself to a national policy for the immediate assimilation and integration of coloured minority groups within the country.

Stimulated by a desire to speed this process of integration and challenged by new practical problems which have arisen in the course of implementing this policy, research in the social sciences has been increasingly directed toward techniques and strategies for the assimilation of divergent ethnic groups into a united population group. One technique which has been the focus of much discussion and research is that of bringing together individuals of different groups in such a way that the contact between them will create favourable attitudes towards each other. The specific problem has been to isolate and assess the effect of various conditions under which contact takes place; the effect, for example of the relative status of the participants; the degree of intimacy of the particular situation; whether the situation has arisen spontaneously or is contrived.

Although no precise formulations have been made concerning the various effects of these different conditions of contact, tentative formulations have been made and have received support from an increasing volume of empirical research evidence. One idea which has received much attention is that when people of equal status are brought together this contact will tend to result in favourable attitude development. This idea has been tested in a variety of situations; amongst

American soldiers serving in racially mixed units, amongst people working together, in ex-post facto studies of reported friendships, and amongst residents from racially mixed neighbourhoods.

It is in this latter field of housing that studies have been particularly productive. The interracial neighbourhood provides a situation of sustained contact between people, and is therefore a natural source of data on the effects of such contact. Moreover, in the United States of America the provision of public housing and the determination of the racial policy within such housing is the responsibility of the same government now committed to a policy of integration, and therefore concerned, at a purely practical level, both with the conditions under which interracial projects have been found satisfactory, and with solutions to problems which might arise in the administration of such housing projects.

Two types of racially mixed neighbourhoods have been studied, first the so-called "invaded" area, a freehold White neighbourhood into which Negro families have moved; and second the State- or Federal-controlled housing project providing public housing for both Whites and Negroes. In spite of minor discrepancies, findings have pointed conclusively to the fact that, given certain favourable environmental factors, contact at a residential level will lead to an improvement in race relations as measured, primarily, by individual race attitudes.

While in the United States of America evidence thus accumulates that contact of this sort leads to amicable race relations, the South African government is swiftly

and/.....

and steadily consolidating its plans for total territorial segregation between the races. The governments of both the United States and South Africa base their policies on the stated belief that they are in the interests of racial harmony. We are here faced with what appears at least superficially to be a radical divergence of opinion. On the one hand there is the American belief that racial harmony is to be achieved through contact, through bringing people together in such a way that they will adopt favourable attitudes towards one another; and on the other hand there is the South African belief that racial harmony can be achieved only through the separation of people of different racial groups. In each instance housing and place of residence is a key part of the plan. In America there is the deliberate effort to create neighbourhoods with an ethnically diverse population; in South Africa the Group Areas Act of 1950¹ provides the framework for the total permanent separation of different ethnic and racial groups into distinct and separated residential areas.

Faced with this divergence of policy, and in the knowledge of the various successful attempts in the United States to create harmonious race relations through residential integration, we may pertinently ask what the nature of this divergence of policy is, and whether the South African government is proceeding on a false assumption when it plans to achieve racial harmony through separation.

"Research into the race relations aspect of Group Areas is even more urgent" write Kuper et al.²

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1. Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 as re-enacted No. 77 of 1957.
 2. L. Kuper, H. Watts, R. Davis, Durban: A study in racial ecology, (London, Cape, 1958), p. 216.

"The basic problem is the effect of contact on race relations and the American studies of interracial housing projects might well serve as a model. In particular the conclusion that proximity promotes contact and more favourable beliefs and attitudes should be tested in the very different environment of South African life. This would give some insight into the significance of the conditions which govern the contact, the significance for example of attitude towards interracial contact, approving as in some American housing projects, or disapproving as in South Africa. In addition such a study would provide data for the critical analysis of the basic assumption of the Group Areas Act, that contact gives rise to conflict."

This is the report of a study of a racially mixed neighbourhood in Durban, South Africa, which sets out to investigate "in the very different environment of South African life..... the conclusion that proximity promotes contact and more favourable beliefs and attitudes".

The area in which the study was made, lies close to the centre of the City of Durban, on the lower slopes of the fashionable White residential area of the Berea ridge. The neighbourhood is immediately adjacent to the municipal botanical gardens, from which it derives its unofficial name, "Botanic Gardens". The population at the commencement of the study in 1956 was roughly half White, one third Indian, and the remainder of mixed racial ancestry, known in South Africa as Coloured. The neighbourhood has contained this relatively large proportion of non-White residents since approximately 1943 at which date the racial composition of the area was "frozen" by legislation. Since 1943 all property has been allowed to pass only to a person of the same race group as the previous owner.

All property within the area is held by freehold tenure, although much is leased, privately, by the owners to tenants. Occupation and residence in the area are

entirely/.....

entirely voluntary.

The main objective of the study is to assess the ^{aim} effect of proximity on behaviour and attitudes of residents, with particular attention to the possible effect of those conditions which are present in the South African context but absent from the American context, such as the official attitudes of disapproval towards interracial contact in South Africa.

I shall also evaluate the Group Areas Act as part of a plan to eliminate conflict between races through reducing contact between them to a minimum.

The report subsequently falls into the following sections.

- Part I is an introduction to the topic and a statement of the various theoretical issues raised and involved in the study.
- Part II describes the neighbourhood and its residents.
- Part III gives a picture of social relations within the neighbourhood.
- Part IV is a consideration of the theoretical issues raised in Part I, in the light of the findings described in Parts II and III.
- There follow a brief conclusion and various appendices.

PART I

CHAPTER I

THE THEORETICAL ISSUES

A great deal of work with direct or indirect bearing on the question of the effect of proximity on behaviour and attitudes has already been done, primarily in the United States of America. This work was briefly but comprehensively reviewed in 1956.¹ However, I had access to reports on seven studies and I should like to give special consideration to their relevance for my own research problem in Botanic Gardens.

Five of these studies were made within so-called "invaded areas" in different American neighbourhoods. An "invaded area" is a White residential area into which Negroes have begun to move, or have already moved. By this terminology Botanic Gardens is also an "invaded area", an all-White neighbourhood into which Indians moved in 1938. But Botanic Gardens differs from these American invaded areas in one important aspect, namely, the duration of the area as an interracial neighbourhood. In none of the five American studies had Negroes been present in the area for longer than four years. By contrast, in 1955 at the time fieldwork was started, the Durban neighbourhood had existed as an interracial neigh-

1. D.M. Wilner, R.P. Walkley and S.W. Cook, Human relations in inter-racial housing: a study of the contact hypothesis (University of Minnesota Press, 1955) Appendix A.

bourhood for seventeen years.¹

Two of these studies of invaded areas, one by Kramer² and a second by Winder³ compared attitudes of residents at differing proximity to Negroes and found that competition and threat were the most important determinants of attitudes towards Negroes as neighbours. Thus, for example, in both studies Whites already living in very close proximity to Negroes showed less prejudice than those living some distance from Negroes, yet threatened by the prospect of living with them. It was thus found that whereas very

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1. In many parts of the United States of America, individuals and governmental authorities are extremely anxious to create and maintain interracial neighbourhoods, and much thought and research has been devoted to the question of how to preserve the racial balance at a desirable black/white equilibrium in "invaded" areas. However the panic emigration of Whites from these areas has been found very difficult to prevent or control. So common is the phenomenon that it has come to be known as "the invasion - succession sequence" (see E.P. Wolf, "The invasion-succession sequence as a self-fulfilling prophecy", Journal of Social Issues, Vol. XIII, 4, 1957, p. 7.) Weaver draws attention to the fact that this sequence, although very common, is not universal, and that there are isolated examples of spontaneously integrated residential areas in America - (see R.C. Weaver, "Integration in public and private housing", The Annals, March 1956.) By strange irony, the South African government, in an attempt to prevent racial integration, has created an enduring and stable interracial neighbourhood.
 2. Kramer: Residential contact as a determinant of attitudes towards the Negro, (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1950). Although Kramer phrased the title of his study in terms of contact, he in fact studied proximity, on the assumption that proximity will lead to contact.
 3. A.E. Winder, "White attitudes towards Negro-White interaction in an area of changing racial composition", (Abstracted in American Psychological Journal, Vol. 7; 1952).

close proximity led to a decrease in prejudice, nevertheless in all other cases prejudice towards Negroes decreased as distance from Negroes increased. Winder found in addition that economic competition affected attitudes, that low-income White families (who faced Negro competition more directly than the others) had the greatest hostility to Negroes. Kramer made the additional interesting finding that house-owners were more hostile to Negroes than renters. This too is an aspect of threat, for it is the house-owner who stands to lose financially should the area deteriorate as a result of the migration of Negroes into the area.¹

This differential between renters and owners was confirmed in a study made by Rose, Atelsek and McDonald,² who studied eight different neighbourhoods in each of which there lived not more than two Negro families. (The neighbourhoods tended to contain a middle class/professional population, and the further migration of Negroes to these neighbourhoods was checked primarily by economic factors). The authors found that people of higher educational standards accepted the idea of integration with Negroes more readily than those of poorer educational standards, although

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1. The question of deterioration of property values following Negro occupation, is a controversial one. The validity of the question need not concern us here however. The fact that it is a widely held belief is sufficient to constitute a valid threat to the property owner.
2. A.M. Rose, F.J. Atelsek, and L.R. McDonald, "Neighbourhood reactions to isolated Negro residents" American Sociological Review, Vol. 18, 1953.

it was the latter group which practised integration more readily. Further, families with children not yet at school, were less favourable to integration than those with children of school age. Jones¹ studied the progress of a neighbourhood over three years during which Negroes moved into the area, until they constituted one third of the population. He found four reactions to Negroes. People (a) moved away, (b) were covertly hostile, (c) were indifferent (50%), and (d) were openly friendly. He reported that friendliness was increasing and that hostility was never demonstrated openly. In addition he observed that the Negro population was at conscious pains to impress the White group favourably and to minimize any friction in the neighbourhood.

The fifth study is somewhat different from the preceding studies, but it is of particular interest and relevance. Lohman and Reitzes² studied the attitudes of 151 White persons, all of whom lived in one neighbourhood and worked in one place of work. They were all simultaneously members of a trade union which advocated Negro integration at work, and of a residential "club" whose function was to prevent Negro movement into the home neighbourhood. He found that there was no correlation whatsoever between the attitudes of individuals to these two issues. In each case, the attitude was correlated with the degree of participation in the particular

1. C.R. Jones, "Invasion and racial attitudes: A study of housing in a border city," Social Forces, Vol. 27, 1948/9, pp. 285-290.

2. J.D. Lohman and D.C. Reitzes, "Deliberately organized groups and racial behaviour" American Sociological Review, Vol. 9, 1954, pp. 342-344.

organizational group, whether trade union or residential club. He stresses that attitudes are formulated in relation to specific issues and specific groups, and concludes:-

"In neither case does the individual act out any abstract generalized attitudes towards Negroes, which could become important only when deliberate definition is absent."¹

The last two studies differ from the above studies both in their scope and size, and also in the kind of neighbourhood in which the investigation was made. Both of these are comprehensive major studies, made within state-sponsored public housing projects, one in 1950 by Deutsch and Collins² and a second in 1954, based upon the first study, by Wilner, Walkley and Cook.³

Both studies aimed to facilitate the integration of Negroes and Whites in public housing projects in the United States of America. Thus Deutsch and Collins write:

"Research should, where possible, be formulated so that it is strategically useful in facilitating democratic change".⁴

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1. J.D. Lohman and D.C. Reitzes, "Deliberately organized groups and racial behaviour" American Sociological Review, Vol. 9, 1954, p. 343.
 2. M. Deutsch and M.E. Collins, Interracial Housing: a psychological evaluation of a social experiment (University of Minnesota 1951).
 3. Wilner, Walkley and Cook, op. cit.
 4. Deutsch and Collins, op. cit. p. xii. (See authors' preface pp. ix - xiii)

Both studies found evidence to support the theory that close residential proximity and contact will, given the support of favourable environment, lead to a favourable attitude change on the part of a previously hostile ethnic group.¹ Wilner, Walkley and Cook formulated, tested and confirmed the hypothesis that:

"Equal status contact between members of initially antagonistic ethnic groups under circumstances not marked by competition for limited goods or by strong social disapproval of intergroup friendliness tends to result in favourable attitude change."²

Because this is the most recent and comprehensive of the available studies, and one which took full cognisance and advantage of preceding studies, we might profitably consider this hypothesis in some detail, with particular reference to its applicability in the South African situation. The five aspects of the hypothesis to which we shall give separate attention are:

- (1) equal status,
- (2) initially antagonistic ethnic groups,
- (3) competition for limited goods,
- (4) strong social disapproval of intergroup friendliness, and
- (5) favourable attitude change.

1. In each instance it was primarily the White group which was studied for its reaction to Negro neighbours.

2. Wilner, Walkley and Cook, op cit., p. 4.

(1) Equal status contact.

In the American study,¹ the writers assumed that "such contact as occurs between Negroes and Whites in public housing projects is equal-status in character".² This assumption is briefly substantiated by an indication of the socio-economic similarity of all residents, their cultural identity, and the equal and non-discriminating treatment which they receive from the management.

In South Africa the question of equal status becomes more obscure and complex. An accurate statement of the relative status of the different race groups in the Botanic Gardens neighbourhood must follow analysis of empirical research data. But in addition there are broad theoretical issues involved, and these will be considered here.

When Wilner, Walkley and Cook make the generalisation that the contact which occurs between Negroes and Whites in the project is equal status in character they are using the term "status" to mean what Davis has called "station",³ namely, a composite average of many different statuses occupied by a particular individual in the course of his mobile and complex life. It is necessary, however, if we use the concept "status" in the sense of "station" to stress that there are a number of components of this status. I shall refer to these components as "dimensions" of status. Thus the status of the average individual in a contemporary

1. In the following pages "the American study" refers to the study made by Wilner, Walkley and Cook.

2. Ibid., p. 27.

3. K. Davis, Human Society, (MacMillan, 1948) pp. 83-119.

urban society has many dimensions, but not all are salient to his behaviour and treatment in every situation.¹ The problem becomes one of weighting these various dimensions in every situation. In such an evaluation we are concerned not with the objectively determined status of residents, but with the subjective perception of status by residents. In other words we are concerned not with whether the neighbours are equal, but with whether they feel themselves to be equal and perceive others as their equals. The question becomes - What dimensions of status are most readily perceived by residents as criteria for ascribing prestige?

If we hold the race factor constant (in this instance by momentarily disregarding racial differences) then the salience of a particular dimension of status in any particular situation will depend on:-

- (i) the values held by the participants in that situation, and
- (ii) the extent to which any dimension is conspicuous and therefore perceived. For example, an individual holding an important position in his work situation, say trade union official, may be afforded much esteem and respect by his colleagues, yet he may enjoy no recognition in his neighbourhood where this position is unknown or meaningless or both.

In an analysis of the relative status of Whites, Indians and Coloureds in Botanic Gardens we would

1. Homans writes: "To speak of a man's status as if it were an indivisible unit is a convenient kind of shorthand but to think of status in this way may prevent our seeing the relations between its components. It may prevent us, for instance, from seeing that as a man's position in a chain of communications changes, so the way he is evaluated by his fellows will change."
G.C. Homans, The Human Group (Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1951), p.12.

expect two dimensions to influence the determination of relative status between them. They are

- (i) the socio-economic dimension, as measured by income, occupation, possessions, home ownership, and visible standard of living as reflected in such things as dress, diet, and personal cleanliness, and
- (ii) skin-colour and race,¹ and associated with this factor the legal and political rights and treatment of groups.

In an environment in which privilege is constantly a function of race, the inequality of colour becomes the one constant inequality amongst residents. The race factor pervades almost every situation. Thus, for example, socio-economic factors have an obvious importance in South Africa in determining the ascription of prestige, but what is the relative importance of a high economic status when viewed against the total social structure of colour discrimination in which the participation of individuals is limited and directed primarily in terms of colour and only secondarily in terms of wealth.² Limiting the problem specifically to that of contact between neighbours, we may ask whether there are any conditions under which it is valid to assume that such contact as

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1. There is an implicit acknowledgment by Wilner, Walkley and Cook of the salience of skin colour in affecting the subjective perception of status in the American study, when they write that "there is little objective support for any feeling among White women that they in some way have the better of it." (op. cit., p. 28).
 2. The fact of colour-based discrimination in South Africa is too well known and documented to require substantiation, being a deliberate and overt part of State policy.

occurs between White and non-White can be said to occur between equals.

The one shared equality between residents is that defined by their roles as residents within this particular locality. But because Botanic Gardens is not a strictly defined unit, but simply an arbitrarily defined part of a large residential area, it is a matter of dispute whether even in this limited context, people living in one section of the neighbourhood share an equal status with people living in another section.¹

A final factor to be considered is the duration of the contact between neighbours. A casual short-term contact would tend to be dominated by one or two specific dimensions of status, dependent upon the particular situation. But in a prolonged contact between two people living close to one another there would be a tendency for all dimensions of status to become relevant, with a particular dimension becoming temporarily dominant in a particular situation of interaction.

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1. Wilner, Walkley and Cook, in their brief statement substantiating their assumption of the equal status of Negroes and Whites in the integrated housing projects in America, cite also the cultural identity of Whites and Negroes as a factor making for equality between them. White and Negro housewives share a common daily routine, their children are brought up in the same way, they share common values and aspirations. The "equality" of Negroes and Whites arising from shared culture should properly be described as "similarity" or "identity"; the term "equality" implies that there are two poles, superior and inferior, in terms of which "way of life" can be ranked according to some objective standard. This becomes patently impossible when we attempt to rank the different ways of life of Whites, Indians and Coloureds in Botanic Gardens, which spring from their different cultural heritages.

In Chapter VI some of the factors which may differentiate between the different neighbourhood groups, in terms of status, are analysed. Satisfactory generalisation must await this analysis. Prestige in South Africa is closely linked to race and skin colour. We would therefore expect that the closest approximation to equal status between White and non-White neighbours would occur in a specific situation where some dimension of status, over and above race, is dominant, provided that prestige is attached by both participants to this dimension, and that the non-White participant has the superior position, thereby compensating racial inferiorities.

(2) Initially antagonistic ethnic groups.

As in the United States, the racially mixed neighbourhood in Durban is the meeting place for antagonistic ethnic groups. The Durban neighbourhood differs from the American neighbourhoods in having three (not two) such groups, the animosity between which varies. The presence of these three groups means that the situation is different at quite a radical structural level from the American situation. With three groups there are possibilities of alignments, and a marked unpredictability as to how the alliances will form. Although two of the groups are non-White and one White, there are factors in the situation which make it unlikely that the alliance will be a simple one of non-White against White. The Coloureds for example are strongly identified, culturally, with Whites. They might be, in effect, a bridge between

non-White Indians, with whom they can identify in terms of colour, and Whites, with whom they can identify culturally. On the other hand, it might be precisely this possibility which would restrain Whites from any intimacy with Coloureds, even though, in other respects, they could associate happily.

The mere absence of two distinct groups might prevent an easy division into two hostile camps. And the greater diversity of population through the presence of three groups might itself improve attitudes. Rose, Atelsek and McDonald¹ found that the greater the diversity of population, the greater was the possibility that a friendly and relaxed social atmosphere would prevail.

(3) Competition for limited goods.

It was a condition for the development of favourable attitudes in the American study that there should be no "competition" between Whites and Negroes for "limited goods". The particular "goods" in short supply, which had been demonstrated to lead to tensions and antagonisms, were houses. Previous studies had indicated that when Negroes and Whites were competing for the ownership or occupation of houses, considerable antagonism tended to build up between them. In the state controlled housing project in which the American study was made there was no possibility of real competition on this basis; the quota of houses for Whites and Negroes was predetermined and controlled.

1. Rose, Atelsek and McDonald, op. cit., p. 507.

The state of competition for houses amongst the three race groups in Botanic Gardens, Durban, is anomalous. The area has a history of intense rivalry between groups for occupation and ownership of houses, before the introduction of restrictive legislation.¹ Prior to 1943 this rivalry was at an individual level, with individual Whites and Indians competing aggressively for houses in the area. Increasingly since 1943 however, this individual interracial competition for property has been eliminated by strong governmental intervention. Laws passed in 1943 and 1947 fixed racial quotas for the area, thereby invalidating any attempts by individuals to increase the holdings of their race group in the area beyond the statutory limits. In 1950, the Group Areas Act repealed previous legislation and in effect declared that the neighbourhood would, in the future, be allocated for the exclusive use of one racial group.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 stimulated a revival of competition for the area, but this time at a power-group level, rather than an individual level. Representatives of the Indian community sought audience with the governing representatives of the White community, demanding a repeal of the Act, or failing that, a measure of justice in the selection of areas for their group. Individual residents in Botanic Gardens, as in other areas in Durban, waited passively for the proclamation of their area.

When in 1957 the area was proclaimed for Whites only, non-White residents took no action as a group or as individuals to protest against the proclamation. At an

1. For a fuller account of the history of this rivalry, see Chapter II, pp. 38-48.

individual level therefore, competition for property has been gradually eliminated. Indeed since the proclamation of the locality as a White area, there has been at least one instance of an Indian attempting to lease or sell a house adjoining his property to White neighbours. This transaction necessitated considerable intimacy, with no racial hostility against the Whites involved, although there was an underlying bitterness towards the system which dictated this uneconomic step.¹

(4) Social disapproval of intergroup friendliness.

The fourth condition stipulated by Wilner, Walkley and Cook is that there should be no strong social disapproval of intergroup friendliness. This is defined by the projected attitudes of their informants in response to questions asking them what the reactions of their neighbours would be to various acts of friendliness towards Negroes in the neighbourhood. It refers also to the attitudes of officials representing the housing project authorities, who in turn both represent governmental attitudes, and affect tenants' attitudes. In the integrated housing projects in which the American survey was made, official attitudes were highly favourable to intergroup friendliness. Tenants likewise had generally favourable and permissive attitudes.

1. Suffering as they do an acute housing shortage, Indian buyers would have paid considerably more for property than Whites. For further discussion of this point see Kuper, Watts and Davies, op cit., p. 170.

In Durban, as in every South African town, there is the strongest official disapproval of any friendliness between different racial groups. I therefore expected that at Botanic Gardens, there would be amongst Whites (who are the electorate to this government), a similar strong disapproval, particularly at any superficial verbal level. The attitudes of Indians and Coloureds were difficult to predict. They might be very favourable towards friendly contact with Whites insofar as this represented a breakdown of the hated colour-bar, and a recognition of themselves as equals; or they might reciprocate the hostile unfriendliness of Whites with a similar hostility; or again there might be extraneous cultural factors operating against friendliness with an out-group. Moslem Indians, for example, might advocate a minimum of friendliness with Christian Coloureds and Whites, in order to protect a tradition of endogamy. In following the methodology of the American study, the establishment of this fourth condition is a matter for empirical research, rather than theoretical speculation.

(5) Changed favourable attitudes.

There remains one further aspect of the hypothesis to consider, namely, that the assessment is in terms of "changed favourable attitudes". Wilner, Walkley and Cook measured attitudes by the verbal response of White residents towards Negroes in the project, towards Negroes in general, and towards the idea of racially mixed residential projects.

Much has been written and spoken about the defects

of the existing methods of attitude measurement. Test studies have been made to demonstrate the inconsistency of attitudes within different contexts,¹ and the inconsistencies between verbal attitudes and behaviour.²

Under the impetus of a spate of criticism of the current techniques of attitude measurement, I decided not to include any simple measure of attitude (such as a Guttman-type scale).³ Verbal racial aggressions in South Africa have been demonstrated to be particularly violent and hostile⁴ due almost certainly to the official sanctions such views receive. Any statement of racial hostility in South Africa, which is based on verbal responses, thus stands a high chance of being an overstatement. At a theoretical level there is the possibility of a contrary reaction; because the total social situation is so thoroughly controlled and the privileges of Whites so securely established, people might make considerable verbal concessions in their reported attitudes to non-Whites, in the knowledge that they will never be called upon to implement their statements.

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1. Lohman and Reitzes, op. cit.
 2. La Piere, Attitude versus Action, Social Forces, Vol. 13 1934, pp.230-237.
 3. I regretted this omission later. The response to a Guttman-type scale would have provided at least a basis for direct comparison with other studies.
 4. T.F. Pettigrew, Social distance attitudes of South African Students, Social Forces, Vol. 38, No. 3 (May 1960), p. 248.

Some measure of attitudes of the residents of Botanic Gardens was necessary however. This was assessed through diffuse attitudinal comment (occurring either spontaneously in the course of interviews or in response to direct leading questions), and in terms of behaviour.

Wilner, Walkley and Cook confirmed their hypothesis that when their four cardinal conditions were present, a favourable change in attitudes could be predicted. Having established the differences pertaining in New York and Durban in respect to these conditions, what may we reasonably expect to be the pattern of racial attitudes among Whites in Botanic Gardens?

There are three possible alternatives. The first is that race attitudes and race relations will deteriorate. This possibility suggests itself particularly in a study of those conditions prevailing in the segregated but bi-racial housing projects which served as the control groups in the American studies.¹ These bi-racial segregated projects share many characteristics with Botanic Gardens in South Africa. They have in common the attitudes of the officials, that there should be segregation between White and non-White. In both instances the residents were grouped, racially, within the neighbourhood.²

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1. Such segregated housing projects were selected as control groups by both Deutsch and Collins, and Wilner, Walkley and Cook.
 2. This racial grouping within the neighbourhood was clearly defined policy within the American projects; in Botanic Gardens, White and non-White tended to segregate themselves, the non-Whites clustering in the South East portion of the area. For further discussion see Chapter III.

There was further no sharing of common facilities, the commonest meeting point for White and non-White being the shops. The Americans found that attitudes within these segregated bi-racial projects were less favourable and less given to change than those in the integrated projects. Deutsch and Collins write:

"Day to day experience with barriers erected by authority accentuates differences and fosters rivalry."

and again:

"Differences sharply focussed by proximity increase feelings of superiority and inferiority."

However, they also write of the possibility of favourable attitude change even within the segregated projects:

"For many communities of course even the segregated bi-racial project stands out in contrast to the general picture of residential segregation such a policy does suggest approval for some equal status relationships between Negroes and Whites if only in their relatively impersonal roles as tenants."¹

And this is the second alternative for Botanic Gardens, namely that race attitudes will change favourably, and that race relations will improve. Were this to be found true it would indicate that not all the conditions postulated in the American hypothesis are necessary to favourable attitude change, and that there are other formulae for conditions for improved race attitudes.

The third alternative is that attitudes will neither improve nor deteriorate, but will remain at a neutral accommodative level. Given the factors of official

1. Deutsch and Collins, op. cit., p. 35.

disapproval of all friendly inter-race contact, plus the reality of the close residential juxtaposition of different races as neighbours, we could expect a neighbourhood norm to develop which would control relationships from becoming either too aggressive or too intimate.

Whichever of these alternatives might be expected, a starting point is the hypothesis developed in a strictly homogeneous community by Festinger, Schachter and Back¹ who chose, for study, a neighbourhood which was not only all-White, but one in which all residents were of similar age, and in similar occupations. They established that the functional proximity between neighbours, arising from their close residential juxtaposition, led to a contact between them, which in turn led to the creation of friendly relations between neighbours. The development was cyclical: functional proximity = contact = friendly relations.

Wilner, Walkley and Cook tested this cycle within the heterogeneous community of the bi-racial housing project. They found it to be valid and added two further developments, that in a multi-racial neighbourhood the friendly relations led to a diminishing of prejudice and the development of friendly race relations.

If we apply the cycle to Durban the problems which arise are whether, given the conditions of South African society, residential proximity will lead to contact between White, Coloured and Indian neighbours, or whether there will

1. L. Festinger, S. Schachter and K. Bach, Informal Processes in Social Groups (New York, Harper, 1950).

be a deliberate avoidance of contact. Further, assuming there is contact between residents, whether this contact will lead to the creation of friendly relations, or whether factors will be operating to inhibit this development; and finally, if friendly relations do develop, will they, as in the American study, lead to a breakdown of racial prejudices and the growth of favourable attitudes?

A number of minor hypotheses have been postulated, implicitly or explicitly, in the course of previous research into race contact situations. The Durban study may provide data for a further evaluation of many of these hypotheses. Some limitation is necessary and the following five factors have been selected for their relevance and interest.

1. House Ownership. Studies by both Kramer¹ and Rose, Atelsek and McDonald² showed house owners to be more hostile to Negroes than tenants.
2. Numbers: Rose, Atelsek and McDonald³ attributed the success of integration in the area they studied, to the fact that Negro residents were few in number and that the possibility of a substantial increase in this number was remote. Jones⁴ on the other hand found that after three years of a steadily increasing Negro community, attitudes were nevertheless improving. Wilner, Walkley and Cook⁵ and Deutsch and Collins⁶

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1. Kramer, op cit.
 2. Rose, Atelsek and McDonald, op cit. p. 497.
 3. ibid. p. 498.
 4. C.R. Jones, "Invasion and racial attitudes" Social Forces, Vol. 27, (1948/49), p. 285.
 5. Wilner, Walkley and Cook, op. cit., p. 14.
 6. Deutsch and Collins, op. cit.

selected their areas with a careful regard for the proportions of Whites and Negroes. They felt that there was a maximum beyond which additional Negro families would harm inter-race relations in the housing projects.

3. Proximity: Kramer¹ and Winder² both found that in invaded areas actual cheek-by-jowl proximity was less tense, and more creative of favourable attitudes than the threat of any such proximity. In other words, the threat of proximity and the idea of proximity were unattractive; the actual experience of proximity was frequently pleasant. Winder also found that very low income White families, in close proximity to Negroes, were very much more hostile than families of a higher economic level.
4. Demographic factors: Rose, Atelsek and McDonald³ found age and education to be correlated with racial attitudes. Families with children of school age integrated more readily than families whose children had not yet reached school-going age. Better educated people accepted the idea of inter-race mixing more readily than less educated people; however, in practice it is those of poor education who integrate, rather than the others.
5. Negro attitudes: Jones⁴ attributed much of the successful integration in the areas he studied to the conscious and conscientious efforts of Negroes to impress Whites favourably and to minimise friction between Whites and Negroes.

Because the Botanic Gardens study is made within a neighbourhood, it provides an interesting opportunity for the consideration of the theory of neighbouring advanced by Kuper,⁵ who has described behaviour between neighbours as consisting of two main threads, on the one hand the dependence of neighbours on each other (common needs) and

1. Kramer, op. cit.

2. Winder, op. cit.

3. Rose, Atelsek and McDonald, op cit., p. 504-505

4. Jones, op cit., p.290

5. L. Kuper (ed.), Living in Towns, (London, Cresset press 1953). Part 1, "Blueprint for Living Together."

on the other perception of neighbouring as hazardous (dangers). These two elements constantly act to inhibit each other. "The free expression of common needs is checked by the many hazards of neighbouring, real or imagined, which keep residents apart."¹ To what extent does the presence of domestic servants in every home obviate the dependence of housewives upon each other? In a neighbourhood segmented into racial categories, with each category socially self-sufficient and separated from the others, what becomes of the chief hazard of English neighbouring, namely gossip?

In Part III we shall reconsider the issues raised in this chapter, in the light of the findings described in Part II.

1. Ibid., p. 45.

PART II

C H A P T E R I I

Botanic Gardens

Racially mixed residential areas in Durban are rare, in spite of the balanced race composition of the population which is roughly one third Indian, one third White and one third African.

There are various factors accounting for this. Africans are generally prevented from owning property outside the Native Reserves, and from occupying property in the urban areas outside of the specified Native Locations. Domestic servants may, however, reside on the premises of their employers. In consequence, most White residential areas contain an African population of perhaps one quarter its size,¹ which is housed in a variety of rooms and shacks in White backyards. In a certain sense it would be true to say that contrary to being rare, racially mixed residential areas are the rule in Durban. This would be putting a very broad interpretation on the phrase "racially mixed residential areas", however, and the term is here used in a more precise and limited sense to refer to residential areas in which people of different races are living side by side, in the same streets, in similar houses, under similar circumstances.

1. Based on an examination of 40 Census Enumerators Sub-Districts on the higher slopes of the Berea, in which, in 1951, there were 10,500 Africans living, concurrent with a resident White population of almost 41,000. Full figures on racial distribution within Durban may be found in Kuper, Watts and Davies, op. cit., Appendix B.

Until the passing of restrictive legislation in 1943¹ Indians had been free to acquire or occupy property anywhere in most areas of Durban. However, economic and social pressures had served effectually to isolate the vast majority of them from White residential areas.² An index of segregation between Whites and Indians in Durban calculated by Kuper on the basis of 1951 Census data showed the degree of segregation to be very high, an index of .91 where 1.0 represented perfect segregation.³ This figure, although calculated on the basis of 1951 figures, represents a picture of racial distribution which has been virtually unchanged since 1943.

The selection of the area was then largely a problem of locating an area that was suitable for study as a neighbourhood and which also had a racially heterogeneous population.⁴ The area eventually selected lies on the

-
1. The Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act of 1943, known as the "Pegging Act", froze racial occupancy for three years at the status quo. Permanent restrictive legislation was passed in 1946, but has since been superceded by the Group Areas Act of 1950.
 2. Certain properties had been insulated against Indian occupation and ownership by various devices. Thus the Durban City Council in 1922 was empowered to reserve for a particular group any land of which it was disposing. This power was used to reserve land for Whites. Building Societies also exercised some control through their loan policies. For fuller discussion see Kuper, Watts and Davies, op. cit., p. 158.
 3. Ibid., pp. 152-157.
 4. A full description of the method of selecting the area is given in Appendix A.

lower slopes of the Berea ridge, just above the junction of the sloping hill with the flat once marshy ground that stretches from the foot of the Berea to the sea. It consists of five adjacent blocks and is known by local residents as "Botanic Gardens",¹ being immediately adjacent to the southern side of the Municipal Botanical Gardens.

Although Botanic Gardens has no official status as a separate neighbourhood, and although residents do not feel themselves to be in any sense separate from the surrounding residential areas of which they are a part, the neighbourhood does have boundaries by ~~which~~ it may be clearly defined. On the Northern side it is bounded by the Botanical Gardens; on the lower Eastern seaward side by the playing fields of a Government school for White boys; and on the upper Western side by the Botanic Gardens Road which is a fairly heavy trafficked bus route serving the lower Berea. The least definitive of the four boundaries is the Southern one, Mansfield Road which is a broad relatively quiet residential road leading from the upper portion of the Berea down to the non-White bus terminal and the markets.

These four boundaries constitute a slightly irregular rectangle, which is internally divided by three short straight streets, Youngs, Waynes and Botanic Avenues, into four adjacent blocks. Each of these is bounded by

1. Because there is no official demarcation of Botanic Gardens as a neighbourhood, residents within a wide radius of the Botanic Gardens use the term to describe the area in which they live. Throughout this report, however, I shall use the name to refer only to the limited area selected for this study.

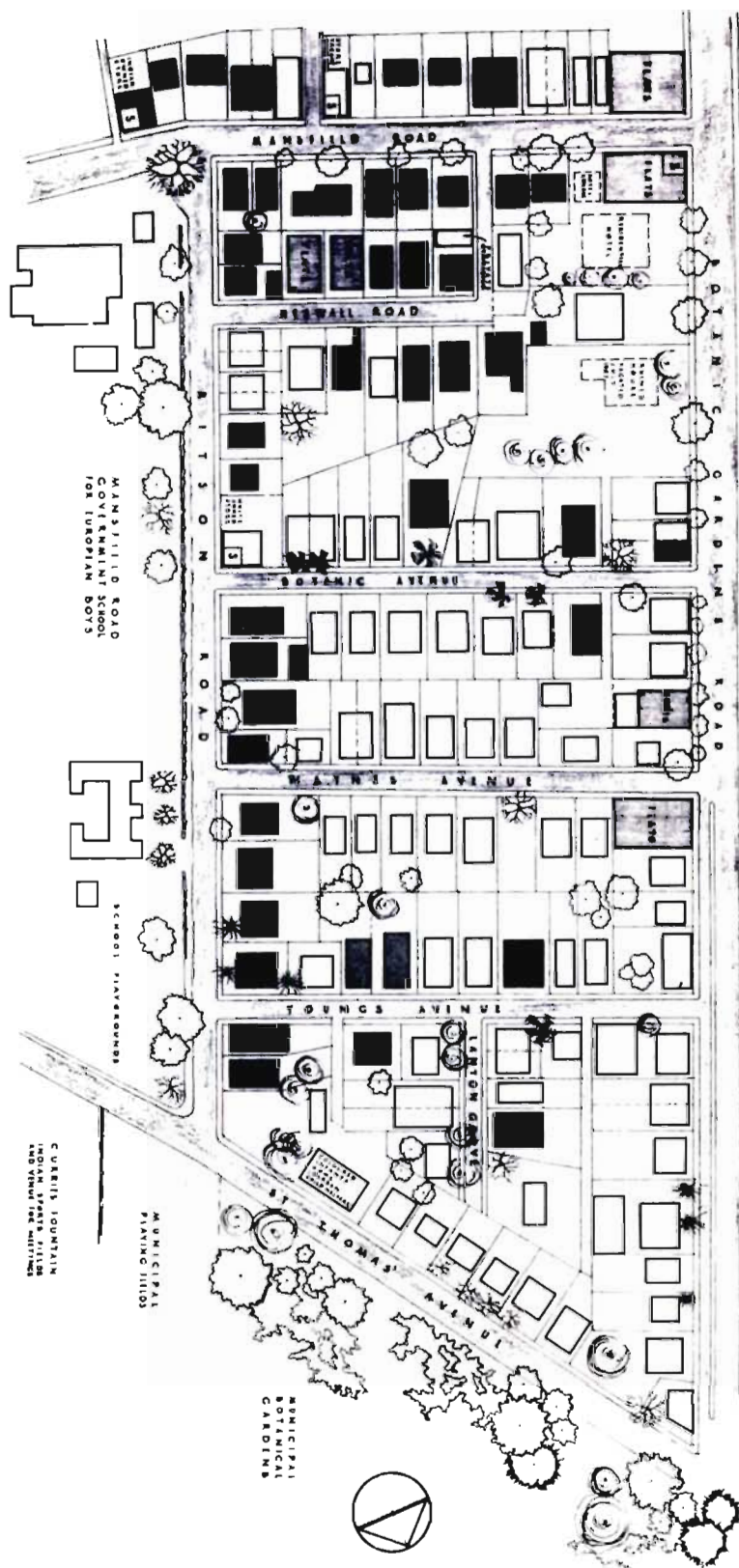
Botanic Gardens Road at the upper end and by Ritson Road and the government school along its lower end. Heswall Road, a crescent linking Ritson Road to Mansfield Road, creates a fifth small block in the South Eastern corner. In addition there is a small cul-de-sac, Lanyon Grove, adjoining Youngs Avenue. The topography of the area is illustrated in Diagram A.

Botanic Gardens Road is the main traffic route serving the lower Berea. The municipal buses operate a ten minutes service along the road. There is an endless movement of traffic, both vehicular and pedestrian, reaching a peak in the early mornings and late afternoons, as people leave for work and return home.

Many of the older houses in Botanic Gardens Road are big, situated in large and spacious grounds, reminder of the days when the street was a fashionable residential area for people of means. With the growth of the city, however, the commercial areas expanded, pushing their way along the main highway leading inland over the Berea ridge. Land adjacent to this commercial development lost its desirability as a residential area, particularly to Whites averse to living close to shops owned by Indians who were primarily responsible for the commercial expansion in this vicinity. Wealthier Whites moved up and along the Berea selling their old homes to Indians or sub-dividing and renting them to poorer Whites. Many of the houses in Botanic Gardens Road have been converted into maisonettes, boarding or lodging houses. Others have fallen into disuse or disrepair, or have been pulled down to make way for flats. The most distinctive feature of Botanic Gardens

BOTANIC GARDENS NEIGHBOURHOOD - DIAGRAM - A CENSUS IMMIGRATION - SUB-DISTRICT 50 - CITY OF DURBAN

WHITE and
 COLOURED
 RESIDENTS
 INDIAN
 RESIDENTS



Road as compared with other streets in the area is in the greater size of buildings (whether they are modern flats, older flats, old houses or hotels), and the amount of land which has fallen into disuse towards the Southern end, where the road links with the busy artery which leads down the Berea into the heart of Durban.

Mansfield Road and St. Thomas' Roads are the only other two streets in the area which form any sort of thoroughfare, both leading down the Berea to the markets and non-White bus terminals. But they are primarily for pedestrian traffic, being a short cut to and from work on the Berea for hundreds of non-White workers who come into Durban from outlying districts, as well as the route to work in the industrial areas for the many hundreds more who live illegally in White backyards on the Berea.

Ritson Road is a quiet street bounding the Government boys' school, with a wide grassy verge instead of a pavement on one side. Here there may constantly be found groups of domestic servants, unemployed casual labourers, groups of young Indian children, White babies in the charge of African nursemaids and delivery men resting with their bicycles. Halfway down Ritson Road at the corner of Botanic Avenue is one of the three neighbourhood stores. Like the other two stores, it is a "general supply store and tea room", which means that it sells groceries as well as perishable foods, which include buns, cold drinks and ice creams. A steady trade is daily plied with the hundreds of White schoolboys across the road.

The three "avenues" which run down the hill between Botanic Gardens Road and Ritson Road are all very similar:

narrow streets in which cars pass with difficulty, narrow pavements, bordered by the interesting pattern of fences, hedges, railings and walls that assert and maintain the privacy and individuality of the twenty odd houses in each street which they screen.

By South African standards the neighbourhood is mature and settled. Not only are the houses old, but they frequently stand amidst tall trees in well planted gardens. There are four distinct types of houses in the area, each corresponding to a particular period in the history of the expansion of the neighbourhood. The oldest group of houses are of wood and iron, built at the turn of the century. For all their apparently frail structure most of these bungalows have withstood more than half a century of corrosive Durban humidity, and are in remarkably good repair. A few have weathered badly and are dilapidated. Many have been "modernised", by the construction of brick verandahs, bathrooms and W.C.'s. But they remain old, difficult to keep clean, subject to attacks of woodborer and white ants, and they are above all, hot for Durban's sub-tropical climate.

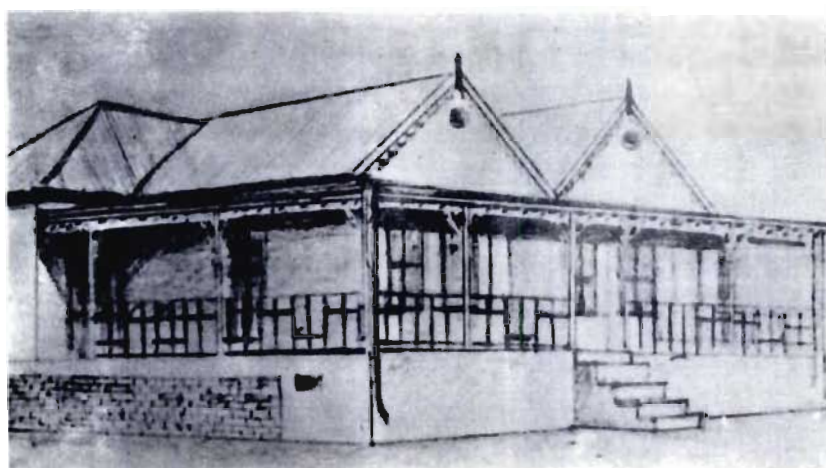
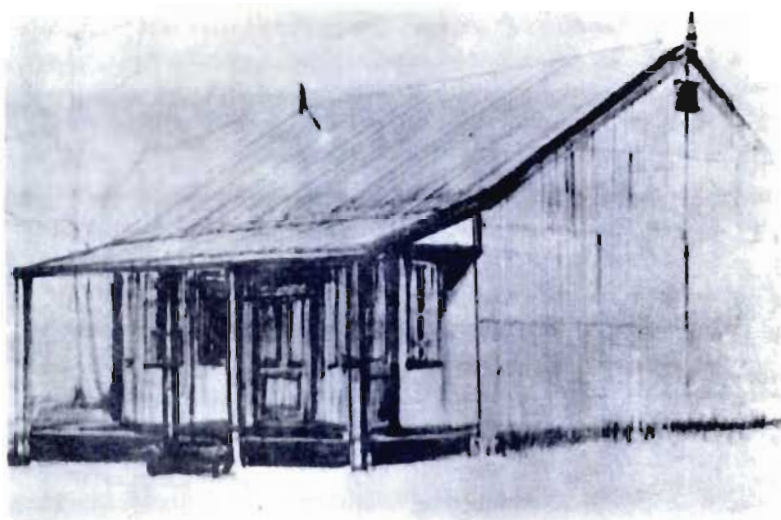
The second type of house is of brick with a tin roof and invariably cast iron railings edging an encircling verandah. Most houses of this sort were built between 1900 and 1915. They are usually substantial and spacious, and reflect a certain solid respectability of their early occupants.

Similar in age and structure to houses in class II are those of the third type, which are double-storeyed. There are only 15 of these houses in the area, but they

TYPE 1 1898 - 1900

**WOOD AND IRON
BUNGALOWS**

**FIFTEEN PER CENT
OF DWELLINGS IN
BOTANIC GARDENS
ARE OF THIS TYPE**



TYPE 2 1880 - 1914

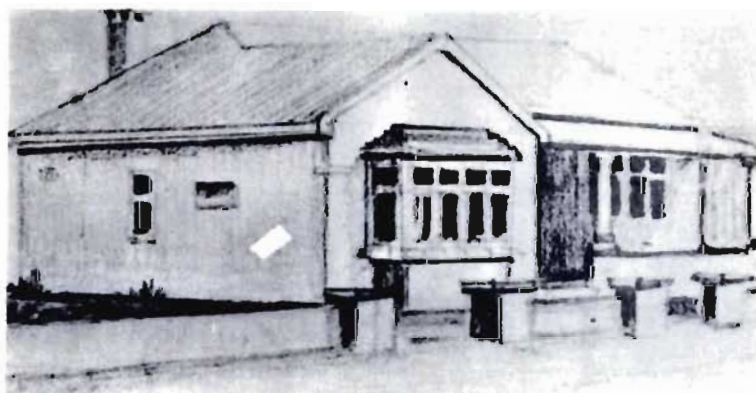
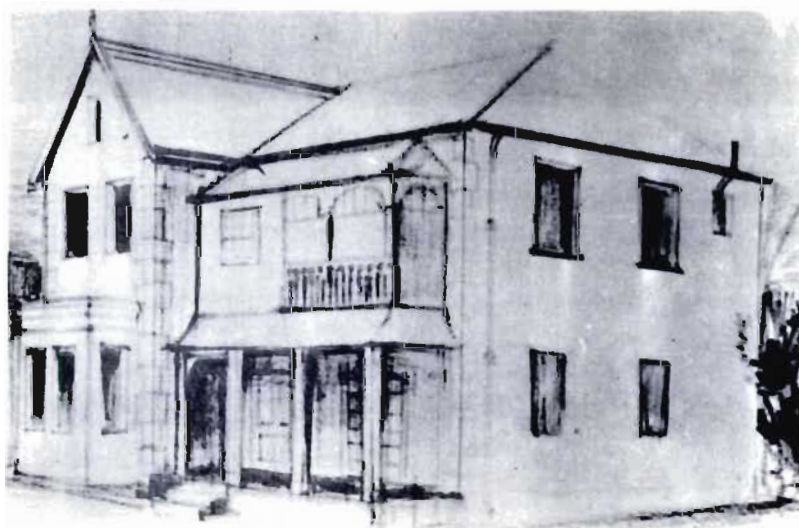
**SPACIOUS SINGLE
STOREY HOUSES WITH
IRON ROOFS AND
LARGE VERANDAS**

**TWENTY-THREE PER CENT
OF DWELLINGS IN THE
AREA ARE OF THIS TYPE**

TYPE 3 1900 - 1914

**LARGE DOUBLE-STOREY
BRICK HOUSES WITH
IRON ROOFS**

**SIXTEEN PER CENT
OF DWELLINGS IN
BOTANIC GARDENS
ARE OF THIS TYPE**



TYPE 4 1915 - 1930

**MODERN COMPACT SINGLE
STOREY HOUSES WITH
TILE OR IRON ROOFS.**

**THIRTY-NINE PERCENT
OF DWELLINGS IN THE
NEIGHBOURHOOD ARE
OF THIS TYPE**

house 50 families, having been subdivided and converted into flats and lodging houses.

The remaining houses constitute the fourth type which is distinguished by its more recent construction (1915 - 1930). Although many of the houses in this class have tiled rather than tin roofs, they lack the solidity of the earlier houses, tend to be smaller, and less distinguished than the older houses.

These different types of houses are randomly distributed in the neighbourhood, and no one type seems the special property of any one race group,¹

The 1951 Census gave the total population figure for the area as 1,136 consisting of 49.46% Whites (562), 23.25% Indians (264), 8.19% Coloureds (93) and 19.1% Africans (217). These figures represent all the people in the area at the time of the Census. This population is therefore much bigger than the one eventually isolated for study, which excluded all domestic servants and all

1. The distribution of races among these various house-types is discussed in Chapter IV, p.77, (Table XV).

other persons living in backyards.¹ This meant the exclusion of the entire African population and a small proportion of the Indian and Coloured groups. Flat dwellers were initially excluded because their special location in large compact single-race blocks seemed to

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1. Because the study was concerned with the effect of the proximity of neighbours of different race groups but equal status, its scope was limited only to those people occupying adjacent houses in the same streets. All backyard dwellers were excluded from the study. Inevitably, however, in the course of fieldwork in the area, contact was made with backyard dwellers and some comment seems fitting.

The number of persons living in backyards in Botanic Gardens is very considerable. I estimate them to be approximately 300 in number, of whom approximately 200 are Africans, both domestic servants and other lodgers, (calculated on the basis of the 1951 Census data) and 80-90 are Coloured or Indian (calculated from a random sample of 20 households). The remainder are White, usually single persons, who share the status of other White residents in the area, sharing toilet and cooking facilities in the main house.

Coloured and Indian backyard dwellers are found only in the backyards of Coloured or Indian houses. They may be close relatives of the family who are forced into the yard through shortage of alternative accommodation, and who share in the life of the main house, or they may be strangers who have no part in the neighbourhood.

African backyard dwellers rarely have anything to do with the residents in houses. Many of them did not know the name of the person in whose yard they lived, nor had they any relationships with people in the neighbourhood other than Africans in similar positions to their own. In the words of one such man "We live here behind the houses and nobody just remembers that we are here." Amongst these African backyard dwellers I met professional people, students, clerks and labourers. In relation to other residents of other races, however, they all alike seemed to share the status of servants.

isolate them, both physically and in terms of social relations, from the rest of the neighbourhood. Interviews with people living adjacent to flats showed this to be true for the larger blocks of flats, but not for the smaller four-flat units, which were later included in the study.

In addition residents from the far side of Mansfield Road were included in the study, partly because this side of the road appeared to be an integral part of the neighbourhood, partly because it constituted an interesting addition to the study as a mixed residential area, consisting of a length of alternating White, Coloured and Indian houses and maisonettes. The population eventually isolated as falling within the scope of the study consisted of 799 people, of which 48.9% were White (391), 31.54% Indian (252), and 19.52% Coloured (156).¹

The neighbourhood is part of one of the oldest residential areas in Durban, the Central Berea, which was first settled in 1848 by Anglican missionaries. The site of their early church, St. Thomas', is within a mile of Botanic Gardens. It is possible that the residential history of the area is even older than that however. George Russell has suggested that John Cane, who deserted from the British Navy in 1825, following a shipwreck, settled with his Zulu wives "in the vicinity of the Botanical Gardens".² (This would certainly establish the practice of racially mixed residence as an early tradition of the area).

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1. In spite of the exclusion of the backyard dwellers, the Coloured population has increased by almost 60% since 1951, (see page 34 preceding).
 2. G. Russell, The History of old Durban, and reminiscences of an emigrant of 1850 (Durban, P. Davis & Sons, 1899), p. 255.

The area owed its early development to its prominent position wedged between the oldest main road up the Berea and the gardens of the Natal Agricultural and Horticultural Society. The Gardens were a popular venue for the local community gatherings. We read that in 1856 it was decided to celebrate the peace between Britain and Russia on the Bay foreshore, it being "thought that the Gardens would be inconveniently remote considering the shortness of the days".¹ But in 1860 the visit of the Prince of Wales was celebrated at the Gardens with "foot and wheelbarrow races and other diversions in which the natives were allowed to participate".¹ It was because of the Gardens that the area was first served by roads. Botanic Gardens Road had unpretentious beginnings when the Council voted "for making a footpath to the South West corner of the Agricultural Gardens £25", seconded by Councillor Goodricke who believed such a path desirable, "not only for reaching the Gardens but also as rendering more feasible a road or promenade on top of the hill, a thing much desired."²

When land was first made available for public lease in 1857 it was offered in two classes: Class one, more than twice as expensive as Class two, covered all plots with frontage to the main road to Pietermaritzburg. Class two consisted of "all plots in all other situations not presenting any special and peculiar advantages,

for 21 years 5/- per acre p.a.

for 50 years 7/- per acre p.a."³

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1. G. Russell, The History of Old Durban, and reminiscences of an emigrant of 1850 (Durban, P. Davis & Sons, 1899), p. 459.
 2. Ibid., p. 327.
 3. Ibid., p. 331.

Each plot was 660 ft. deep, with a provision for roads at either end. When, 4 years later, a second sale of the lands realised 40/- per acre per annum for 50 years, an increase of 500%, a Natal Mercury reporter predicted that "the Berea will rapidly become the seat of a numerous suburban population". That time was not yet, however, and the Town surveyor laying out the area described his work in "dense semi-tropical forest choked with undergrowth stringy and thorny."¹

It was 40 years before the area suddenly mushroomed into the fairly compact residential area which it is today. Between 1900 and 1916 the number of houses in the area increased from 27 to 93. The first recorded sale of property to a non-White was made in 1928, when Indians bought, but did not occupy, a property in Youngs Avenue.² The year 1928 is interesting because it was the first year of what might be described as a truce between Whites and Indians, which had been declared in Cape Town in January 1927.³ Until this year White attitudes towards Indians, particularly attitudes towards the Indian ownership and occupation of property, had been steadily deteriorating. In 1920 popular White agitation against any extension of land or trading rights to Indians had led to an enquiry

1. Ibid., p. 330.

2. During the course of evidence before a Government Commission appointed in May 1940 to enquire into the extent to which Indians had "penetrated" White residential areas in Natal, it was stated that in 1922 a property in Ritson Road was sold by a Mr. Goldberg to a Mr. Nayanah, but the sale is not listed in the City Estates records.

3. "The Cape Town Agreement", 1927, was an attempt by the Governments of India and South Africa to reach a settlement concerning the treatment of Indians in South Africa. For a fuller discussion see G. Calpin, Indians in South Africa, (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1949). Also Appendix A of the Report of the Indian Penetration Commission U.G.39/1941, p. 10-11.

by the Asiatic Commission (Lange Commission) in 1921. However the Commission did not recommend any restrictions on Indian land or trading rights.

Ordinance 14/1922 of the Natal Provincial Council provided that the Durban Town Council "in selling or leasing any immovable property belonging to the said Borough, may, with the consent of the Administrator, make provision in the conditions of sale or lease ... for prohibiting the ownership or occupation thereof or both by persons of European descent, Asiatics or Natives or persons of any one or more of such classes and may insert in the title deeds or leases of any such property the conditions necessary to give full force and effect to such provisions and/or restrictions." Six sites in Botanic Avenue sold by the Council in 1926 had clauses in their title deeds restricting ownership and occupation to Europeans, as had a further 16 in Mansfield Road in 1928.¹

Meanwhile in 1924 a Bill, introduced initially as The Class Areas Bill and reintroduced later in 1926 as the Areas Reservation Bill had attempted to create legislation prohibiting Indian ownership and occupation of certain areas. This Bill was dropped pending conciliatory talks between the governments of South Africa and India, in 1926.

It was two years before a second Indian sale was made in the area, close to the first, in Lanyon Grove. Thereafter Indian ownership increased slowly and steadily until

1. From report of the hearings of the First Indian Penetration Commission, Durban, March-April 1941. Detailed minutes of the daily evidence given before the Commission were made available to interested parties in mimeographed form. A limited number of these minutes are available.

10 years later in 1938 Indians owned another 16 properties. Almost half of these were in Ritson Road and the rest were in Mansfield Road or Heswall Road. In 1938, the first Indian family moved in to a home at the corner of Heswall and Mansfield Roads, followed in that same year by another four families in Ritson, Heswall and Mansfield Roads. Two years later at the end of 1940, when there were 10 Indian families living in the area and a further 25 properties in Indian ownership, some of the White residents of the area joined with others in Natal and the Transvaal in agitations against this Indian "penetration" into White areas, and requested an official enquiry.

The Government Commission appointed to inquire into alleged "penetration" by Indians sat in Durban from December 1940 to April 1941 receiving evidence from all who wished to offer it.¹ An examination of this evidence provides an interesting though limited insight into the area at a time when Indians had been living there for nearly three years. Eighteen White residents from the area gave evidence before the Commission, five verbally and the rest in writing, with one representative spokesman who was both an office-bearer of the Durban Burgesses' Association and a property-owner in Ritson Road. The names and addresses of persons giving evidence before this Commission are recorded in the minutes of the proceedings.

1. The findings of this Commission of Inquiry were published as Government Publication U.G. No. 39/1941. The following quotations are drawn from the detailed minutes of the daily proceedings of the Commission. See footnote (1), p. 39.

An analysis of this material shows that these eighteen were not geographically representative of the area, but were drawn from those sections of the neighbourhood which at that time had the least number of Indian residents or property owners. Thus if we rank streets according to the number of Indian properties and compare these figures with the corresponding number of protestors from that street, the negative correlation between the number of Indian properties and the number of White protestors, is very pronounced, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1.

Comparing the number of Indian-owned or Indian-occupied properties in each street in 1941 with the number of persons from that street who made protest against Indians before the First Indian Penetration Commission of Inquiry, 1940-1941.

Name of Street	Number of Indian-owned or occupied properties	Number of Protestors
Ritson Road	15	-
Mansfield Road	8	1
Heswall Road	6	-
Waynes Avenue	3	-
Botanic Avenue	1	2
Lanyon Grove.	1	4
Botanic Gardens Road	1	4
Youngs Avenue	-	5
St. Thomas' Road	-	-

This result, in which those least affected are most active in their opposition to further Indian movement into

the area confirms a similar finding by Kramer¹ in Chicago. He pointed out that those living closest to Negroes are the least active in attempts to discourage Negro movement into the area, while those further from Negroes are more active.

There seemed, moreover, to be a tendency for the evidence of those people who came from streets with the heavier concentration of Indians to be more favourable. For example, the only man from Mansfield Road to give evidence said: "We cannot blame the Indians, it is the European who is the cause of it"; and when questioned concerning his Indian neighbour's care of his property said: "They certainly improved the property ... and it is an asset to the district". Amongst all 18 witnesses he was one of the two to make favourable comments concerning Indians, during the course of his evidence. The bulk of the evidence was concerned with depicting Indians as aggressive, scheming and land hungry people, who forced Whites away from attractive residential areas, causing a depreciation of property values and subsequent losses to all.

Thus the acquisition of property by Indians was regarded as a plot. During the course of the evidence witnesses stated:

"They get in buying one and then they get the other cheap. I can take you and show you some very funny cases."

"I have had numerous members of the Indian community approaching me for my house, molesting me. That is what they do, they accost people over the fences in their own homes."

"The shrewd method of the Indian is easy to follow - they will pay anything to obtain a property sandwiched between European-owned or tenanted houses, knowing full well he can obtain the adjoining houses at his own price."

1. Kramer, op cit.

"They are gradually creeping up. They will be like a wave just now."

"Indians reap a harvest by people becoming panicky and give away their properties in despair."

Witnesses argued that Indian acquisition and ownership of property creates devaluation and physical deterioration of property, and a lowering of community morale, with the development of slum conditions.

"The introduction of Indians to a European vicinity tends to depreciate not only the value of the property but to undermine the morale of the neighbourhood."

"It is only the beginning of the end; because a property goes into Indian occupation or ownership, others get panicky and get out too."

"No. 42 ... is now being occupied by large Indian families, completely degrading and devaluating this fine home..."

"Nos. 109 and 111 are now packed with families of Coloured people ..."

"Since the Indians have come to reside in the area the neighbourhood has become undesirable. The houses do not seem to be built right --- they build flats and just let them fall to pieces; they do not keep their houses in proper repair."

The frequency with which these various themes occurred in the arguments of Whites appearing before the commission is demonstrated in Table II.

TABLE II

Illustrating the frequency with which the various themes were used in arguments of White protestors giving evidence before the First Indian Penetration Commission of 1941.

Themes	Frequency of Occurrence
1. Indians are scheming and aggressive.	8
2. Indian way of life is repulsive and a nuisance.	8
3. Property is devalued.	7
4. Loss and suffering to Whites.	7
5. Indians force Whites to sell.	6
6. Neighbourhood morale deteriorates.	4
7. Neighbourhood becomes filled by Natives and Coloureds.	4

Prior to the Commission there had been attempts by local White residents to prevent Indian movement into the area. Two techniques had been used. The first was an agreement between a group of property owners in a particular street that they would not sell property to Indians. There is evidence of two such pacts. One was a petition in Mansfield Road in the early 1930's when residents signed an agreement against selling to Indians. This was not altogether effective and the temptation to accept a good offer proved too great for many petitioners. Giving evidence before the Commission, a resident from Mansfield Road commented bitterly on the petition pact: "The man who carried round the petition was the first man to break it. And he was a bible thumper." A second

attempt established a "Vigilance Committee" concerning the membership of which there is no information other than that the Chairman lived at 14 Lanyon Grove and that members were "morally bound not to sell or lease to Indians until forced to do so."

The second technique was for residents within a particular street to try and buy up neighbouring property themselves, in order to ensure that they would not have Indian neighbours. There are two references to this activity, one in Haswall Road and one in Botanic Gardens Road. Describing the latter a participant said:

"My case was four years ago. The house next door was for sale. I was sort of stampeded into buying the house. My wife heard the place was for sale. She watched the prospective buyers go there, the majority of whom were Indians ... She was in an awful state about it, so we put our heads together and thought the best way out of it was to buy it ourselves. I was not really in a position to buy it because the house I was living in was not really paid for then."

From the point of view of the White protestors, this first Indian Penetration Commission was a failure. The Commission reported that the number of properties which had been acquired by Indians since 1927 was very slight, in view of the tremendous expansion of the Indian population since that date. The Commission made no recommendations to restrict the acquisition of further property by Indians. Within the next two years Indians had bought a further fifteen properties in Botanic Gardens, bringing the total

of Indian-owned properties in the area to 50 in 1942.

Unfortunately no Municipal records of the race of occupants has been kept since 1940. We can assume, however, that all Indian-owned properties which are at present occupied by Indians were in Indian occupation in March 1943 on which date the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act (the "Pegging Act") became effective. Under the Pegging Act, all occupancy was "frozen" in respect of race. In addition all sales between Indians and Europeans were subject to permission from the Minister of the Interior, as were any new leases for periods of over ten years. The Act was applied to Durban only, and was due to lapse in March, 1946.

The permanent legislation which the Pegging Act foreshadowed, was enacted in January 1946 in the form of The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, No. 26 of 1946. The act set aside "controlled" areas designed to be exclusively White areas in which no Indian could commence occupation unless already in occupation prior to January, 1946; neither could there be any sale of property between Europeans and Asiatics within these areas without permission from the Minister of the Interior. Under the 1946 Act a small block in the south eastern corner of the neighbourhood, bounded by Heswall, Ritson and Mansfield Roads remained "uncontrolled". It contained only one non-Indian property which in 1947 was sold to Indians. It was the last property to be acquired by Indians in the neighbourhood.

The movement of Indians into the area, and perhaps more specifically their consequent prohibition, appear to have been responsible for the later movement of Coloureds into the area. There is only one family (dark in colour but with "European" passports) who were resident in the area prior to any Indian ownership or occupation. Three light Coloured families moved into the area between 1938 and the 1943 pegging legislation; and the rest of the Coloured population followed fast after the restrictive legislation in 1946.¹ The majority of them moved into houses which closely adjoined Indian occupied houses, houses into which, had they not been restricted, Indians would very likely have moved. This movement of Coloureds into the area following the Indians is a possible indication of unwillingness by Whites to live close to Indians; as the White market for houses near Indian homes contracts, the chances are increased that the property will pass into Coloured hands.

In 1950 the Union Government passed the Group Areas Act with provisions for the permanent separation of different race groups throughout South Africa into distinct and separated residential areas. The change of currently multiracial neighbourhoods into homogeneous areas was to be through official proclamation, following investigation of every case by Government representatives.

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1. The Coloured population doubled between 1945 and 1946. This increase in the Coloured population appeared to be still continuing in 1957. Between 1951 and 1956 the Coloured population increased by over fifty per cent, in spite of the fact that since the passing of the Group Areas Act the racial composition of the area had been officially frozen, except where special permission of the Group Areas Board for a change in race of owner or occupant is sought.

Debate amongst residents within Botanic Gardens as to which group would be allowed to remain in the area, was keen. While Whites were in the clear majority most of these were tenants, rather than resident owners. The proportion of resident White owners was very slight compared to the proportion of resident Indian and Coloured owners. And this fact of ownership carried considerable weight with local White tenants who felt that the claims of resident owners to an area were very much stronger than those of persons who used the area simply for speculation. In addition the Government had, in 1946, allocated the small block in the South East corner for unrestricted sale to Indians, thereby acknowledging the right of Indians to at least a part of the area.

As the proclamation of Group Areas for Durban was delayed year after year however, and the very radical changes envisaged by the local City Council under the Act moved into common circulation,¹ opinion was slowly consolidated that the area would be declared for Whites. The idea received considerable momentum from the frequent assurances which were apparently given to various White residents by Municipal officials, that the area would be proclaimed White. This prediction was fulfilled only in May, 1958, when the field work for the study had already been completed.

This investigation was therefore made prior to any proclamations, at a time when the indecision as to the eventual future of the area had been severely protracted.

1. For a full discussion of the various plans for segregation mooted by the Durban City Council see Kuper, Watts and Davies, op cit.

CHAPTER III

Racial Ecology

Botanic Gardens contains a population of approximately 800 people of which roughly half is White, half non-White. The precise figures are: Whites 48.94%, Indians 31.54%, Coloureds 19.52%. Yet these figures tell us very little about the real proximity of Whites and non-Whites in the neighbourhood. Because the proportions of Whites and non-Whites are roughly equal, we might expect a random distribution of Whites and non-Whites, in which most Whites would be living in some proximity with non-Whites.

In fact we find no such distribution. This is due to a number of factors. The first is that although non-Whites constitute slightly more than half the population, they are housed in slightly more than a third of the dwellings,¹ and are consequently limited to less than their proportionate space in the area. While each White-occupied dwelling has an average of 4.2 occupants, each Indian dwelling has an average of 6.6 occupants, and each Coloured dwelling an average of 7.8 occupants.

1. By "dwelling" is here meant any house or maisonette with a frontage on the street. Individual maisonettes are regarded as separate dwellings. Shared houses and lodging houses are regarded as single dwellings. There are only 3 lodging houses in the study area, all of which are White owned and occupied. If we exclude these lodging houses the density for Whites per dwelling is even lower, 4.1 persons per dwelling, as compared with 4.2 (See Table III).

TABLE III

Distribution of Different Races in Dwellings

	Population	Dwellings	Number per Dwelling
White	391	93	4.2
Indian	252	38	6.6
Coloured	156	20	7.8
TOTAL	799	151	5.3

The reasons for this greater concentration of non-White persons per dwelling are partly economic, partly legislative and partly cultural. Indians and Coloureds tend to have a higher birthrate than Whites¹ and they consequently have larger families of young children. Indian families are not only more prolific than White families, they are different in structure, being of a patrilineal extended type, and frequently very large through the inclusion of many kinsmen.² In addition there are both economic factors and legislative measures restricting the occupation of property by Indians. Coloureds are overcrowded probably for exclusively economic reasons, although since 1950 they have been subject to invidious practices under the permit system established under the Group Areas Act.

1. Kuper, Watts, and Davies, op cit., p. 73, Fig. 5.
2. Dr. H. Kuper describes a South African Indian patrilineal extended family as including, "a male head, his wife, unmarried children, unmarried brothers and sisters, younger married brothers, married sons, and brothers' married sons with their wives and children." H. Kuper, Indian People in Natal (University of Natal Press 1960), p. 97.

Not only are non-Whites concentrated into a third of the dwellings of the area, but in addition, these non-White dwellings are concentrated in certain parts of the neighbourhood, the main non-White concentration being along the Southern and Eastern borders of the area.

If we were to draw two bisecting lines, North to South and East to West, to divide the area into quarters which we called North-West, South-West, North-East, and South-East, and if we then compared the racial distribution within these four sections, we would find that almost threequarters of all non-White dwellings (74.14%) are in the two Eastern quarters.

Similarly by ranking streets in descending order of the number of non-White dwellings in them, we find that three streets, Mansfield, Heswall and Ritson Roads, all intersecting in the South Eastern quarter, contain between them 72.4% of all non-White dwellings in the area (and 70.77% of the non-White population).

The concentration of non-Whites into this particular South Eastern end of the area is what we would expect in terms of the racial character of the surrounding district. The areas adjoining the neighbourhood on the South East were considered by the 1940/41 Penetration Commission to have been predominantly Indian since as early as 1927.¹ A survey of Durban housing made in 1951/2² also classified all the area east of Ritson Road (excepting the Government

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1. Report of the first Indian "Penetration" Commission U.G. 39/1941, p. 67.
 2. The Durban Housing Survey (University of Natal Press, 1952), p. 277.

School for White boys) as predominantly Indian. On the North and West, however, the area is flanked by the steeply rising White residential area of the Berea. Ninety per cent of the residents living in the North Western portion of the neighbourhood are White.

This difference in the distribution of races in the neighbourhood is directly related to the height of land above sea level. It is the highest portion of the neighbourhood, the North Western portion, the only part of the area commanding any sort of view, which has the smallest non-White population, while the lower flat area, bordering what were once swamplands, contains the majority of non-White residents. This factor of height of land as one of the crucial determinants of the racial ecology of Durban has been fully discussed in a recent ecological study of Durban.¹

The concentration of non-Whites into the South East does not mean, however, that there is a rigid separation between White and non-White groups. The same two Eastern sections discussed above contain not only 74.14% of all non-White dwellings of the area but also 45.16% of all the White dwellings.

One method of expressing the degree of segregation between the groups is the Segregation Index, developed by Duncan and Davis working in Chicago.² Although the index

1. Kuper, Watts and Davies, op cit., pp. 100-119.

2. O.D. Duncan and E. Davis, The Chicago Urban Analysis Project (University of Chicago December 1953).

is useful chiefly as a measure for comparison of any two situations, it has a more limited use as a concise expression of segregation within any one situation, and has been used very effectively in this way in the above-mentioned ecological study of Durban, where, on the basis of 36 consolidated census areas, the index of residential segregation between Indians and Whites in Durban was calculated as .91, where 1 represented complete segregation.¹

An index of segregation between Indians and Whites within Botanic Gardens has been calculated on the basis of race composition of streets.

In Table 3 we see that 70.8% of non-Whites are found in the same three streets that contain 24.1% of Whites, and that 94.9% of all non-Whites are found in the same 6 streets as 51.9% of all Whites. Using the method developed by Duncan and Davis, the segregation index for the neighbourhood is .64 (1 representing absolute segregation,

1. Kuper, Watts and Davies, op cit., pp. 152-7.

0 absolute integration).¹

TABLE IV

Ordering streets in descending ratio non-Whites/Whites
for purposes of estimating segregation index.

(1) Rank	(2) Street	(3) Cumulative % Indians (X _i)	(4) Cumulative % Whites (Y _i)	(5) (X _i -1)Y _i	(6) X(Y _i - 1)
1	Ritson Road	33.0	2.7	0.00	0.00
2	Heswall Grove	49.5	11.2	271.5	132.1
3	Mansfield Rd.	70.8	24.1	1190.7	794.8
4	Lanyon Grove	76.1	27.5	1949.0	1832.2
5	Youngs Ave.	89.5	39.3	2992.7	2464.3
6	Botanic Ave.	94.9	51.9	4641.3	3728.0
7	Botanic Gardens Road.	99.0	72.5	6873.6	5133.1
8	Waynes Ave.	100.0	91.7	9675.6	7245.3
9	St. Thomas Rd	100.0	100.0	9999.0	9170.1

It would be interesting to compare this index .64 in Botanic Gardens with the index of .91 calculated for Durban as a whole. Strictly speaking however, these two indices are not comparable, based as they are on different units, in the case of Durban, a large unit, the census tract, in Botanic Gardens, a smaller unit, the street. Because the Durban calculation is based on a larger unit, the figure .91 underestimates the extent of segregation, and were the

1. The segregation index is based on the formula
 $(X_i-1)Y_i - X_i(Y_i-1)$.

10,000

Segregation can also be represented graphically with the cumulative percentage of Whites represented on the Y axis, the cumulative percentage of Indians along the X axis. (See diagram B).

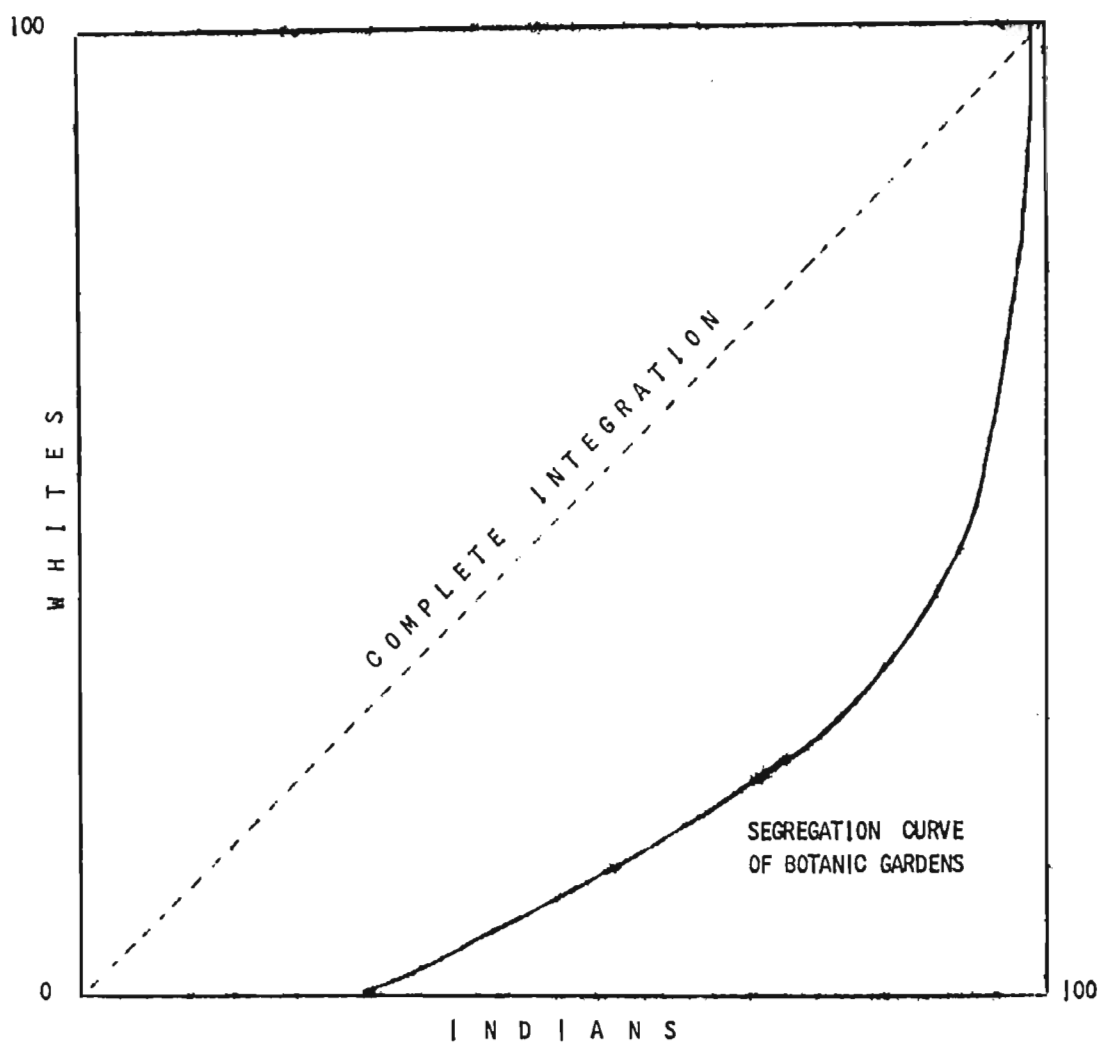


DIAGRAM B : SEGREGATION CURVE

Durban calculations to have been based on streets, the extent of segregation would undoubtedly have been much higher.

The segregation index is but a crude measure of segregation for an area as small as Botanic Gardens, within which the most refined units for the measurement of segregation are the relatively large streets or blocks. A street containing equal numbers of Whites and non-Whites need not necessarily be "integrated"; it may be internally segregated, with Whites living in one end of the street, non-Whites in the other. This possibility was illustrated in Youngs Avenue, in which the White and non-White populations were almost equal, but in which only three White families were in fact living adjacent to non-Whites.

In order therefore to make a more refined measurement of the extent of proximity between racial groups within the area, the whole neighbourhood was scored, dwelling by dwelling, for proximity to non-Whites.¹ Scores were assigned on the following basis:

A score of 1 where a property had a back fence contiguous to non-White property.

A score of 1 where a property faced a non-White property across the street,

A score of 2 where a property was immediately adjacent to a non-White property.

The minimum score for any White house was then 0 where a dwelling was completely surrounded by White property.

1. The scoring was made arbitrarily on the basis of proximity to non-White property. It might equally have been made on the basis of proximity to White property. All properties, whether occupied by White or non-White residents, were scored for their proximity to property occupied by non-Whites.

The maximum score was 6 for a dwelling completely surrounded by non-White occupied property.

This scoring had a dual use. In the first place it was used to compare the relative proximity of White, Indian and Coloured residents, as groups, to non-White property: the average proximity scores of any one race group indicated the extent to which that race group was segregated within the area.¹ Secondly, it provided a score for each White property in the area, in terms of which a later analysis of behaviour and attitudes could be made.

When all properties had been scored they were grouped into three classes on the basis of their scores; first were those with no score at all, which were not in any direct contact with non-White properties; second were those with a score of 1, which were in some way close to non-White property, yet not immediately adjacent; third were all those with scores of two or more, which were sited close to non-White properties. The distribution of all properties in the neighbourhood within these three classes is illustrated in Table V.

1. The different race groups are of different sizes. This index takes no account of these differences nor of the relative segregation we would consequently expect amongst the large population groups. But it does express accurately the actual amount of proximity of Whites to non-Whites, which is the particular concern of this study.

TABLE V

Showing proximity of all dwellings to non-White-occupied dwellings according to race of occupant.

Proximity Score	FREQUENCY						TOTAL	
	WHITE		INDIAN		COLOURED			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0	47	50.6	2	5.3	3	15.0	52	34.4
1	19	20.4	1	2.6	2	10.0	22	14.6
2+	27	29.0	35	92.1	15	75.0	77	51.0
TOTAL	93	100.0	58	100.0	20	100.0	151	100.0

Reading from Table V we can thus see that half of all White-occupied dwellings (50.6%) are in no direct way close to non-White properties; or again that only 2 Indian properties (5.3%) are completely surrounded by White property.

Table VI presents the same material in a slightly different way. Instead of looking at the distribution of houses within a particular race group, we look at the distribution of races within a particular house group.

TABLE VI

Showing Proximity to non-White dwellings of dwellings within each Race Group - by percentages

Proximity Score	White %	Indian %	Coloured %	Total %
0	90.4	3.8	5.8	100
1	86.4	4.6	9.0	100
2	35.1	45.4	19.5	100
TOTAL	61.6	25.2	13.2	100

Thus of the 77 houses which are very close to non-White houses more than a third (35.1%) are occupied by Whites. Just half (49.46%) of all White dwellings in the neighbourhood are in some way directly adjacent to non-White property, but in more than a third of these cases (20.43%) the contact is no closer than that of being back to back or face to face across the street.

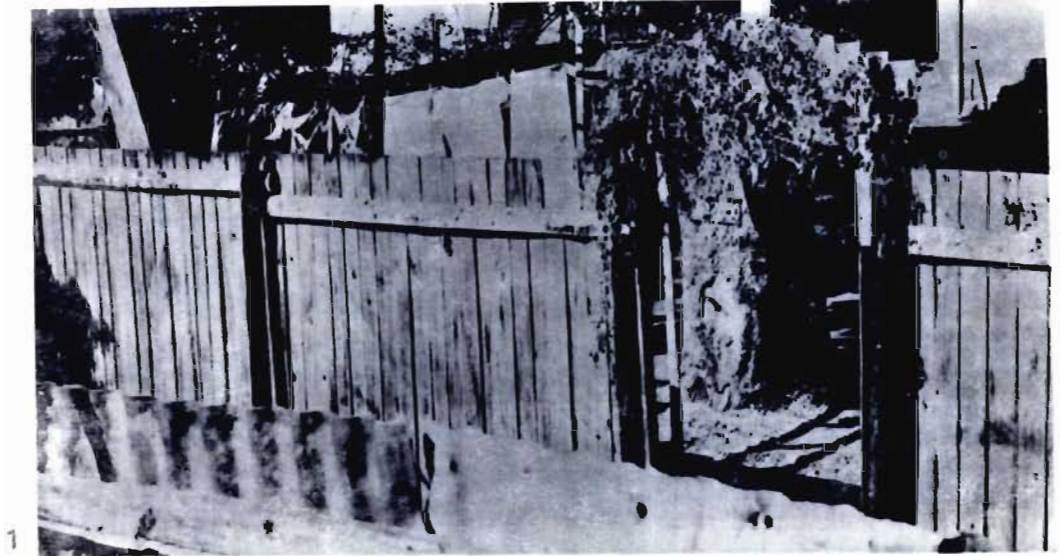
The potential intimacy implied in being back to back or opposite a non-White neighbour differed from property to property. Contrary to expectations, contact over back fences tended to be very slight and was frequently obstructed by outhouses, whether fowlhouses, toolsheds, garages, or dwellings for servants and lodgers. This was probably less a deliberate attempt to isolate oneself from a back fence neighbour than conformity to a very common local pattern for backyard usage. In three instances however, possible contact with back fence neighbours had been deliberately prevented through the erection of prohibitive fences and walls. (See photographs).¹

There was a notable distinction between the fencing of White and non-White property. Indians rarely walled their yards, but where walls have been built they frequently have doorways in them providing direct access to neighbouring properties. It was much more common to

1. All three instances occurred in fencing between White and non-White property. In two cases the prohibitively high walls, topped with gagged flints, had been built by previous occupants, so their exact age and purpose was difficult to discover. In the third case a double fence had been built to prevent the children of Coloured neighbours from stealing fruit.

ATTITUDES EXPRESSED IN FENCES

DIFFERENCES IN BOUNDARIES BETWEEN HOUSES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD



ABOVE, A DOUBLE FENCE ERRECTED ON WHITE PROPERTY ACTS AS AN INSULATION FROM COLOURED NEIGHBOURS. BELOW, 1, ADJACENT BACKYARDS OF COLOURED NEIGHBOURS, EACH WITH OUTSIDE LATRINE, HAVE NO DIVIDING FENCE; SIMILARLY, THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN INDIAN NEIGHBOURS IS INDICATED ONLY BY A STRAGGLING BORDER OF PLANTS AND FLOWERS.



find no fences around non-White properties, or vestiges of fences that had never been repaired. There were frequently interleading passageways between three adjacent Coloured or Indian properties - a pattern that had no equivalent amongst Whites. This difference between Indians and Whites in fencing of property is an interesting reflection of a marked difference of attitude between the two groups to the question of privacy. The Indian disregard for fences was a source of annoyance to many White residents who resented being able to "see into their yards" and who felt that this lack of concern for privacy was indicative of some defect in character.

The potential intimacy of neighbours living opposite one another varied from street to street. The width of the street, the volume of non-resident traffic, both vehicular and pedestrian, and the design and siting of houses will all affect functional proximity. In Mansfield Road, which is a broad thoroughfare with a constant flow of pedestrian traffic, it is possible for neighbours across the street to be virtually unaware of each others presence, and talking across the street would be impossible with any degree of comfort. Heswall Road, on the other hand, extremely narrow, with double-storeyed flats overlooking the houses on the other side of the road, encourages contact across the street. People living in this street were frequently observed leaning out of windows, watching, or talking with, one another at all hours.

One index of the segregation between races in the area is the ratio expressing the difference within any one group between the total proportion of the dwellings occupied by that group, and the proportion of dwellings which are close

to non-White dwellings occupied by that group. For example, Whites occupy 93 of the 151 dwellings in the neighbourhood, which is 61.52% of the total. Of the 77 properties which are close to non-White properties (in terms of proximity score just made) only 27 are occupied by White, which is 35.1% of the total.

Comparing these two percentages we may arrive at a ratio which expresses the degree to which the Whites of the area deviate from the expected distribution.

As the ratio deviates from 1 so it indicates the extent to which the distribution of property deviates from a random distribution. These ratios are expressed in Table VII.

TABLE VII

Indicating the extent to which the races are segregated in Botanic Gardens, by means of the ratio: $\frac{\text{percentage of dwellings close to non-White}}{\text{percentage of all dwellings occupied}}$

Group	Ratio
Whites.	0.57
Coloureds.	1.53
Indians.	1.81

The figure of .57 indicates that Whites occupy a disproportionately high percentage of those houses which are far from non-Whites. This might be regarded as an

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1. Where 1+ indicates preference for occupation of dwellings close to non-Whites and 1- indicates avoidance of such dwellings.

avoidance by Whites of living close to non-Whites, in the same way that Indians and Coloureds with ratios of 1.81 and 1.53 respectively, might be said to show a preference for living close to non-Whites. However, the terms 'preference' and 'avoidance' imply free choice, and to a certain extent they are misleading, although there certainly was an element of choice when Whites chose to vacate certain premises and Indians or Coloureds chose to occupy them. Since 1943 avoidance by Whites of houses adjacent to Indian-occupied dwellings has resulted in the occupation of these houses by Coloureds. If we isolate those Coloureds who came to the area after 1943, (that is after the prohibition by the Pegging Act of further Indian occupation (in all save the South Eastern Block)), we find that a comparison of the proportion of property occupied by Coloureds which is close to non-White property and the total proportion of property occupied by this group yields a ratio of 2. In other words those Coloureds coming to the area since 1943, have, more than any group moved into houses which are very close to non-Whites. This is to be explained less in terms of preference by these Coloureds for non-White neighbours, than the extreme housing shortage for Coloureds coupled with the sudden opening up of the property market to Coloureds following the exclusion of Indians through restrictive legislation; and possibly some avoidance of these properties, immediately adjacent to non-Whites, by potential White buyers.

On the whole, the pattern of distribution of Coloureds in the area is very similar to that of Indians. There is

one area of Coloured concentration within the neighbourhood that is the North Eastern section of the area, comprising the Northern end of Ritson Road and the lower end of Youngs Avenue and Lanyon Grove, in which section 8 of the 20 Coloured dwellings are located. But if we rank streets according to the ratio of all non-Whites to Whites, we get exactly the same rank order as when we rank streets according to the ratio of Indians to Whites. (See Table VIII)

TABLE VIII

Comparing the ranking of streets according to ratios of White and Indians, and Whites and non-Whites.

Rank Order	Street	RATIO	
		<u>Percent Indian</u> Percent White	<u>Percent non-White</u> Percent White
1	Ritson Road	15.94	12.39
2	Heswall Road	2.37	1.92
3	Mansfield Road	2.0	1.66
4	Lanyon Grove	0.95	1.55
5	Youngs Avenue	0.46	1.13
6	Botanic Avenue	0.23	0.43
7	Botanic Gardens Road	-	0.20
8	Waynes Avenue	-	0.05
9	St. Thomas Road	-	-

In other words, the Coloured distribution conforms so closely to the Indian distribution as not to affect the ranking of streets ordered according to the ratio of non-Whites to Whites.

CHAPTER IV

Characteristics of the Residents

The broad general hypothesis with which this study is concerned is the effect of equal status contact on racial attitudes. It is therefore useful to approach this description of the people of Botanic Gardens from the point of view of their relative status within the neighbourhood, in order to be able to say with clarity whether any contact which might occur between them would occur as between equals.

Although the idea of equal status has been crucial to many recent studies of race contact the concept appears not to have received any precise definition. In a recent publication reporting a study of contact in inter-racial housing projects in four American cities, the authors "assume" that any contact occurring between races is "equal status in character".¹ They justify their assumption by drawing attention to the socio-economic similarity of residents, the lack of racial discrimination with which the projects are administered, and the cultural similarity of Negro and White tenants, which they describe as "the great similarity of family composition and of everyday activities of the Negro and White housewives."²

This cultural similarity is important in a consideration of status. It means that not only are people "equal" as sharers in a common culture, but that there is only one cultural frame of reference in terms of which prestige is accorded, which in turn greatly simplifies any comparison of the status of Whites and Negroes.

1. Wilner, Walkley and Cook, op.cit., pp. 27-28.

2. Ibid., p. 28.

In South Africa the people of the neighbourhood have origins in two¹ distinct cultures, Indian and Western European. This means firstly that there is lacking in the Botanic Gardens neighbourhood that 'equality' which exists in U.S.A. simply because Whites and Negroes share a common culture. It means further that there are different value systems within the neighbourhood in terms of which prestige is accorded.

As a preliminary to the consideration of "equal status" I shall then consider cultural differences and similarities between people in the area.² Following this I shall consider various dimensions of status, comparing Whites, Indians and Coloureds in terms of these dimensions. Finally I shall discuss the concept of "equal status" as applying to possible contacts between the different groups in the area.

A detailed comparison of the cultures of Indians, Coloureds and Whites in the neighbourhood is beyond the scope of this study. There are, however, certain basic and important elements of culture, such as language, religion, family organisation, dress, which are easily accessible to observation and enquiry. Because these are the aspects of culture which are most observable they are important in terms of the perception of similarities or differences between people of the neighbourhood. It is

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1. I have assumed Coloureds and Whites to share a common culture.
 2. Although the people of the neighbourhood are part of a common society they are members of different races, deriving from different societies, and within the common society of South Africa they maintain differences in behaviour which I shall call cultural differences.

in terms of these elements that this comparison is made.

Language is the most important of these, because it is all pervasive, particularly affecting communication between people. With the exception of a very small number of older Indian women and an even smaller number of immigrant Italian women, everybody in the neighbourhood can speak English. There is therefore (with these exceptions) the possibility of communication between everybody. While English is the lingua franca of the neighbourhood, it is by no means the common home language; nearly 40% of the total population speak some language other than English as home language.

The primary distinction is between Whites and Coloureds on the one hand, and Indians on the other. While more than three quarters of the Whites and Coloureds have English as a home language, slightly less than a third of the Indians do; and of these less than half use English as the sole home language (see Table IX).

TABLE IX

Percentages of families ^x speaking English as a home language, by race group.	
White	73.3%
Indian	32.6%
Coloured	90.8%

^x Family is defined as basic unit of father, mother and unmarried children and/or minor relatives residing with family.

The two most common Indian languages are Gujarati and Tamil, each spoken by approximately one third of the families.

TABLE X

Languages of Indians by Family. ^x	
	No.
1. Gujerati	19
2. English and Gujerati.	2
3. Tamil	10
4. English and Tamil.	6
5. English.	7
6. English and Hindustani.	1
7. Hindustani.	2
8. Telegu	2
TOTAL:	49

^x Family is defined as basic unit of father, mother and unmarried children and/or minor relatives residing with family.

The language pattern of Whites and Coloureds is very similar. In each group English is clearly the most prevalent language, followed by Afrikaans, with a small number speaking some European language.

TABLE XI

Home Language of Whites Coloureds by Family ^x		
	<u>White</u>	<u>Coloured</u>
English.	90	32
Afrikaans.	31	2
English and Afrikaans.	6	7
Italian.	3	-
French	-	2
German.	1	-
TOTAL:	131	43

^x Family defined as basic unit of father, mother and unmarried children and/or minor relatives residing with family.

It is important to note that while the difference in language between Whites and Coloureds and Indians are very considerable, the differences within the Indian group are very considerably also. And that therefore while language may be regarded as a barrier between Indians and Whites, it is also a barrier between Indian and Indian. By this measure the Indians of the neighbourhood do not constitute a homogeneous group.

This heterogeneity within the Indian group is reflected also in religion. The two predominant religions, Islam and Hinduism, have equal followings within the neighbourhood, while the rest of the Indian population is Christian, agnostic or Parsee. All the Whites and Coloureds of the area are Christian of one or other denomination, with the exception of only one White Jewish family, and one large Coloured Muslim household.

Differences of religion make themselves felt in many ways. There are the visible symbols of religious affiliation such as the strings of yellow marigolds which hang across the doors of Hindu houses, or the long bamboo poles bearing faded red and white flags which are found clustered in some Hindu gardens. There is the conspicuous behaviour of Christians such as leaving the house at a special hour on Sunday mornings wearing distinctive clothes, and carrying prayer books, bibles or hymnbooks; or the gathering of cars and people at a particular house for a local religious meeting of some sect.¹ Above all there is

1. Regular meetings of Christian sects were held in at least three houses in the neighbourhood, during the period of fieldwork.

the celebration of religious festivals - the fireworks and lights at the Hindu festival of Deevali, or the flamboyant splendour of Muslim ladies as they pay the social calls customary amongst Believers, at Eid, following the Ramadan fasting. The Christian celebration of Christmas is less remarkable because it is regarded as a universal public holiday rather than a specifically religious festival.

The differences of religion between and within groups are therefore conspicuous differences, and ones which we would expect to influence relationships. They gain further significance in the degree to which they might influence relationships when we consider the religious food taboos. Muslims, for instance, will eat only certain kinds of flesh. This type of taboo greatly inhibits the possibility of the development of relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims because food is a constant source of tension, and offers of hospitality cannot easily be reciprocated. Religion in the neighbourhood thus unifies and divides. But once again the divisions are not strictly racial. Islam unites the Muslims of the area into an integrated group, particularly because the similarity of religion is correlated with a similarity in home language,¹ and a standard of living and education high relative to the Indian population at large. At the same time Islam divides the Indians clearly into Muslims and non-Muslims.

Although Whites and Coloureds share a common religion, this sense of identification is slight, partly because of the considerable differences in religious denominations of

1. Only two Muslim households were non-Gujerati-speaking.

Christians and the wide range of congregations within the one denomination to which they might belong; and partly because in any case many Christian churches have segregated congregations for White and non-White members. Christianity is thus more a factor making for neutrality than for positive identification.

There were, however, instances of relationships between members of different racial groups arising directly out of common membership of a particular Christian denomination. In all instances this occurred when the particular denomination held racially integrated meetings or services. There was, however, no evidence of the development of any inclusive group activity on this basis, as there was amongst Muslims.

Wilner, Walkley and Cook draw attention to the similarity of family living patterns of Whites and Negroes within the American housing projects. The pattern of daily life of Indian, White and Coloured families in Botanic Gardens differs considerably, and although this differentiation is not strictly according to race group, there are distinct 'racial' patterns. Once again it is the Indian group which differs most from either Whites or Coloureds. Almost half of the Indians in the area live in large complex patrilineal extended families, which include as many as 5 basic family units, living together, eating together, and sharing a common budget.¹

1. For purposes of facilitating comparison between groups I have consistently taken "family" to refer to father, mother, minor unmarried relatives and children. The Indians in Botanic Gardens constitute 49 of these "families", of whom 23 are in fact united into extended families of which there are 7.

The pattern of daily life for the housewife in this family is different from that of, say, her White neighbour. Household responsibilities in the extended family are shared by the womenfolk; household difficulties and problems are likewise shared by the women; there is therefore not the same impetus amongst these Indian housewives to share or discuss the domestic details of their lives with neighbours. There is within the family itself somebody with whom domestic problems not only can, but must be shared. This is similar to the situation which arises amongst polygamous families - of which there is only one in the area. Here too, there are resources within the family for discussion and help in domestic matters.

A second factor differentiating Indian family organisation from Coloureds or Whites is the social restriction against Indian women taking employment and working outside the home. Amongst the 73 Indian women of working age in the area only 8 are engaged in remunerative employment outside the home (11% as compared with 41% amongst Whites and 53% amongst Coloureds). Of these only one is a member of an extended family, and only two are married women.

There is, then, amongst half the Indians in the area this distinct pattern of large extended families, in which the women of the family form a self-sufficient group, whose activities are restricted to the management of the home and the rearing of children. The number of Indian children is very considerable. Over 40% of the resident Indian population is between the ages of 0 and 15 years. The remaining half of the Indian population follow a pattern common to Whites and Coloureds - the 'streamlined' family,

in which the family unit is restricted to its minimum membership of mother, father and minor or dependant children. There are invariably fewer children in the family, and it is not uncommon for the women of the family to work. The two factors seem to be correlated; the restricted size of the family reduces the cost of living and favourably affects the ratio of wage-earners to dependants within the family.

A third pattern of family organisation is found exclusively amongst Whites and Coloureds, the imperfect 'broken' family consisting of single persons, or one parent and children, usually sharing a dwelling with other families. 26% of all White families are single person families. Half of these are men, half women. A comparison of the ages of people constituting these families shows the men to be primarily young and unmarried, the women primarily old and frequently widowed.

TABLE XII

Showing age and sex structure of White Single-Person families in Botanic Gardens.

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Mean Age.	35.79 years	55.07 years
Median Age.	26.0 years	61.0 years
Modal Age.	22.5 years	62.5 years

Of these single person families only one quarter are living with relatives. The remainder live alone usually in rooms in lodging houses. Another 14% of all White families are broken families consisting of children and one parent only, making a total of 40% of all White

families which are in some way abnormal in structure.¹

Table XIII shows the age and sex distribution of the different race groups. The five age group categories represent, roughly, Pre-School children (0-5); School Children (6-14); School-going Adolescents or young workers, mainly unmarried (15-24); Working-Age adults (25-59); and the aged (over 60).

TABLE XIII

Age Group	<u>White</u>		<u>Indian</u>		<u>Coloured</u>	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0 - 5	18	23	18	20	8	3
6 - 14	39	29	27	36	21	13
15 - 24	38	34	21	34	22	23
25 - 59	74	66	53	39	24	28
60+	31	39	3	1	4	10
	200	191	122	130	79	77
TOTAL	391		252		156	
Totals in Percentages	48.94%		31.54%		19.52%	

One of the most striking features of the distribution is the difference in total age structure between Whites and Indians. Whites tend to be much older, Indians much younger. For example, in the group 60 years and over, there are 70 Whites, representing 17.9% of the total White population, whilst the corresponding figure for

-
1. The disproportionately high number of White families in the neighbourhood (131 as compared with 49 Indian families) is thus partially accounted for.

Indians is 4, or 1.59% of the Indian population. Similarly comparing the numbers of children (0-15) in the two groups, there is a considerable percentage of Indian children (40.08%) while that of Whites is comparatively less (27.83%).

In part this is a reflection of population trends common to the two racial groups throughout Durban.¹ But it is possible that there are selective factors operating for each race and attracting to the area people of different ages in each race group. Amongst Whites, these appear to be the aged who cannot afford to live in a more expensive area. However, for Indians the neighbourhood contains some of the best residential housing available in Durban, and it is consequently the prosperous active working man who can afford to live in the area.

There are visually conspicuous differences between Indians and other residents, in way of dress and in the preparation and eating of food. Indian women in the area invariably dress in the traditional manner, the loose draped sari, or, amongst Muslim women, punjabis, those wide-bottomed trousers worn beneath a skirt for the purpose of concealing the legs and ankles. Distinctive dress amongst Indian men and children is more rare. Young girls may wear clothes in the traditional style of adults, particularly on any special occasions, but

1. A full description of these population trends may be found in Kuper, Watts and Davies, op cit., pp. 74-81.

the clothing of men and boys is distinguished only occasionally by the wearing of a fez, or pyjamas in the street.

There is a conspicuous difference in the kind of food eaten by Indians and non-Indians. Nearly all Indian food is highly spiced or curried in a traditional manner, a fact which is known to non-Indians, and which exerts a fascinated attraction on them. Indian food is quite an important focus for contact between Whites and Indians in the neighbourhood. Many relationships across the colour barrier involve the passing of food from Indians to Whites. There were no instances of food passing from Whites to Indians, however, a fact which might be due to Indian indifference to non-Indian cooking, or the pressure of various cultural or religious sanctions or taboos concerning the eating of food. While the traditional elaborate rules of diet associated with Indian caste have almost entirely disappeared amongst South African Indians, many people still follow various religious observances in connection with the eating of food.¹

These cultural differences should not obscure the cultural similarities between groups. Coloureds are culturally identical to Whites, in the same way that the Negroes and Whites in the American study were identical. And in spite of important differences between Indians and Whites, there is a small group of Indian families who are like the Whites and Coloureds in religion, home

1. See H. Kuper, op cit., pp. 34, 203-205.

language, family structure and daily behaviour. And even those who are different in these respects, share important similarities.

The groups share similar economic goals. There is a shared admiration or envy at the acquisition of a new car, or the redecoration of one's house. Furthermore all are participating in the same way in the same economic system. This introduces a similarity in the daily routine of men of all races in the area; and differences, for example in the time of rising in the morning, are differences between individuals rather than groups.

The cultural similarities between Indians and Whites are greatest within certain age and sex groups. There are greater similarities between Indian and White men than between Indian and White women. Young school-going children of either sex are also culturally alike, attending similar, though separate, schools, writing the same examinations, wearing the same sort of school uniforms and receiving an important similar education through radios and at local cinemas. The implications of the cultural differences between Indian and White women in terms of contact and integration, are discussed in Chapter VI.

In Chapter II I suggested that the two dominant dimensions of status affecting the determination of equality in the neighbourhood would be (a) the socio-economic and (b) skin colour and race. Let us first consider the relative position of Indians, Coloureds and Whites in socio-economic terms. No information was asked of people in the area relating specifically to

income, but some indication of comparative economic status is provided by a consideration of the following:-

- (1) occupation and employment,
- (2) type and condition of house occupied,
- (3) educational level,
- (4) type of tenure, whether owners or renters.

(1) Occupation:

The following table illustrates the occupational distribution between the three groups, in respect of the chief male earners in each family.

TABLE XIV

Occupations of male family heads and other adult males over 25 years.			
	Whites	Indians	Coloureds
Semiskilled workers.	16	1	11
Artisans and other skilled workers.	53	3	17
Clerical and other white collar including white collar salesmen.	15	18	-
Professional and technical	1	12	-
Managers	-	13	-
Officials (police)	7	-	-
Unemployed (retired or out of work).	13	1	3
TOTAL:	105	48	31

The majority of Whites and Coloureds are in semi-skilled or artisan employment, with a small elite of

white collar workers and clerical workers. The majority of Indians are in white collar occupations. Many of these are owners and managers of stores and other trading firms. A considerable proportion are professions, and in addition there are a large number of Indian students receiving professional training at Universities, both locally and overseas.

(2) Type and condition of house occupied:

In Chapter III, I divided the houses of the neighbourhood into 4 types; the different architectural and building styles were correlated with different periods of expansion of the neighbourhood. Table XV summarises the distribution of these different types of houses amongst the different race groups in the area.

TABLE XV

Distribution of Different Types of Houses Amongst the Race Groups.						
	Dates	Description	Racial Group			Total
			W.	I.	C.	
Type I	1898-1900	Wood and Iron	10	8	5	23
Type II	1880-1914	Single-storey Brick and Iron	20	12	3	35
Type III	1898-1914	Double-storey Brick and Iron	19	2	3	24
Type IV	1915-1930	Single-storey Brick and tile Brick and iron	34	16	9 ^x	59 ^x
Type V	1939-1940	Maisonettes and Flats.	10	-	-	10
			93	38	20	151

^x Includes one house built in 1947.

The most desirable houses in the area, from the point of view of residents, are probably those falling into Type IV in this table, the single storey brick and tile or brick and iron houses built between 1915 and 1930. Non-Whites occupy slightly more than their expected proportion¹ of these houses, Whites occupy slightly less than their expected proportion. The least desirable houses are the oldest wood and iron dwellings built between 1898 and 1900. Amongst these too, non-Whites occupy more than their proportionate share; nevertheless almost half of the houses of this type are occupied by Whites.

No accurate measure of the relative state of repair of White and non-White houses was kept, nor did observation of the area indicate any significant differences in the condition of White and non-White houses, except that in three isolated instances the extremely dilapidated houses of the area were non-White. Against this, may be weighed the fact that at the other end of the scale the most modern, well built and carefully maintained houses of the area are also non-White.

(3) Educational Level:

Level of education can affect status in two ways. First there is the prestige attached to high education per se. Learning itself is highly valued and the educated man is duly respected. Secondly, the educational

1. If the distribution of houses were random we would expect each race to occupy each particular house type in the same proportion that it occupied the total of houses in the neighbourhood.

DIFFERENCES IN STYLES
AND CONDITIONS OF HOUSES
ARE UNRELATED TO RACE
OF OWNER OR OCCUPANT.



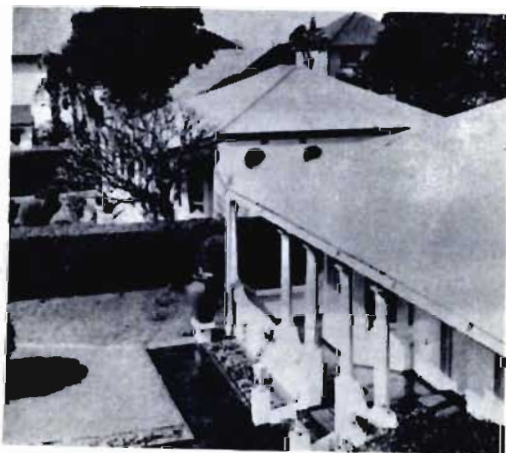
INDIAN HOUSE IN FOREGROUND WITH
WHITE NEIGHBOURS ON THE RIGHT



OLD BUILDINGS IN FOREGROUND ARE
OCCUPIED BY WHITES. COLOURED
AND INDIANS OCCUPY BUILDINGS ON
EXTREME LEFT.



WHITE HOUSES ABOVE AND INDIAN HOUSES BELOW REFLECT SIMILAR GOOD STATE
OF CARE AND REPAIR.



level indirectly indicates the economic means of the family; the extent to which they could afford to prolong the dependency of minor children, and the extent to which they could afford to delay the time when these dependants became contributing wage earners.

Table XVI shows the comparative educational level of the three groups, Indian, White and Coloured, based on figures collected from a random stratified sample of the community.¹

TABLE XVI

Educational Attainment Level based on Sample of Adults from each Group.			
Level of Education	Cumulative Percentage		
	White	Indian	Coloured
University.	0%	5%	0%
Matriculation (Std. 10)	14%	27%	13%
Junior Certificate (Std. 8)	24%	34%	26%
Std. 6.	93%	63%	70%
Remaining percentage in each group who have not attained Std. 6 level of formal education.	7%	37%	30%
TOTAL:	100%	100%	100%

From Table XVI we see that while Indians have the highest percentage of highly educated people (more than a quarter of the sample have passed Matriculation), they also have

1. Based on a random sample of 44 Indians, 44 Whites and 30 Coloureds.

the greatest percentage of uneducated people (37% have not reached Std. 6 as compared with only 7% amongst Whites). Coloured educational levels are lower than either Whites or Indians.

(4) Type of Tenure:

The first important distinction is between home owners and others. Home ownership indicates stability and a certain economic prosperity. 27% of White families in the neighbourhood are home-owners, leaving almost three quarters of the Whites renting houses or portions of houses. By contrast more than half of the Indian families own their own homes, (see Table XVII) and of the remainder the majority are sharing the houses of close relatives, in accordance with the traditional pattern of the patrilineal extended family. Only 11 Indian families are living in rented properties.

Sharing of houses amongst White and Coloured families has a different interpretation. Even where a house is shared between family units of the same kinship group, this sharing between adults of different generations is almost invariably a reflection of economic inability to live alone. Almost a third of all White families are rent-paying sharers of houses. Table XVII also shows the comparative figures of families renting houses from White landlords, and those renting houses from Indian landlords. A substantial number of Whites rent property directly from Indians. If it is correct to assume that the ownership of a house is an important factor for prestige in the neighbourhood, then presumably this group of Whites is important for enhancing the prestige of

Indians and lowering the prestige of Whites.

TABLE XVII

Type of Tenure by Family According to Race.			
	White	Indian	Coloured
Owner	36	29	9
Renter	57	9	11
- from Whites	33	0	2
- from Indians	24	9	9
Sharer	38	11	23
- with owner	19	9	12
- with renter	19	2	11
	131	49	43

The housing situation of Coloureds reflects their economically depressed position, relative to the other neighbourhood groups. They have the lowest proportion of home-owners, and all of these share their houses with other Coloured families. Houses are frequently shared between three or more Coloured families.

In summary, the socio-economic status of Indians would appear to be higher than that of either Whites or Coloureds. This is the ~~general~~ opinion of residents within the area, both Indian and non-Indian, and is confirmed by contributory factors such as the number and condition of cars owned by Indians. Not all the Indians of the area are wealthy, however. Some families derive their sole income from a poorly-paid semi-skilled worker. One family maintains itself by hawking. While

the children are at school the parents push their hawker's cart down the road to the non-White bus terminus, and supplement their income by sharing their house with four other families. But these are the exception rather than the rule. Amongst Whites there is a very constant level throughout the area of working class respectability.

The second factor which we must consider in the determination of status within the neighbourhood is skin colour, the factor of race itself. Botanic Gardens is but a small segment of the larger Durban community, participation in which is prescribed and limited primarily in terms of race group and skin colour. Race discrimination is the norm of South African society. The inferiority of non-Whites receives official sanction, and is the recognised basis for the design and application of most South African laws. Privilege and prestige are accorded to light or White skin.¹ In this matter all Whites can uniformly be regarded as having a superior status to all non-Whites. The important question now arises; how salient is the racial factor in the neighbourhood.

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1. Within the Coloured and Indian groups in Botanic Gardens the lightskinned members are more acceptable to White residents. In the case of Indians this factor of light skin colour is invariably linked with other factors such as language, religion and economic status. Gujerati speaking Muslims have the lightest skin. They also conform to a pattern common throughout Durban of being consistently the wealthiest segment of the Durban Indian community. Comparative income figures amongst Indians in Durban according to language and religion can be found in Kuper, Watts and Davies, op cit., p. 90, Table XXII, p. 92, Table XXIII.

The dominance of the race and colour dimension of status within contact situations in the neighbourhood, is partly a question of the extent to which the patterns of racial discrimination in the wider community are a part of the daily life of the neighbourhood. Wilner, Walkley and Cook drew attention to the fact that in the American public housing projects, there was no discrimination between residents either in terms of policy by management, or in the availability of facilities within the project. Because the Durban study was made within an area of private housing, there are neither "management policies" nor "project facilities" which we can examine for evidence of discrimination within the area. We might look, instead, first at those public amenities which, although not specifically set aside for the exclusive use of neighbourhood residents, are geographically available to the neighbourhood.

The Botanical Gardens which border the property at one side are open to all members of the public, although the benches within the gardens are for "Europeans only". The Government school which borders the property on the eastern boundary is for White children only, and the extensive school playing fields which form the natural play area of the neighbourhood after school hours, are not officially open to any, save children attending the school.

The local authority has recently built a new sports stadium immediately adjacent to the neighbourhood, to which Indians have, after long negotiation, been granted access on certain days of the week. Public buses serving the area are segregated, with only a small section of seating

accommodation set aside for non-Whites on each bus. Benches at bus stops are for Whites only. In short, the facilities provided by public authorities and located in the immediate vicinity of the neighbourhood are not equally available to all. As part of the total services to the public in Durban they are invariably set aside for one or other group, and strongly biased in favour of Whites.

The three local shops within the neighbourhood, privately owned, one by an Indian, two by Whites, are available for the custom of all residents regardless of race; however, the White children attending the government school in the area have been banned from patronising the one Indian shop immediately opposite the school.

The Botanic Gardens neighbourhood has no 'management' corresponding to that found in the United States of America housing projects. The nearest equivalent is to be found in those officials of the municipality to whom residents of the area must refer when wishing to make any changes in the ownership of property or any building changes. Officially the Corporation has no administrative policy of unequal, unfair treatment to non-Whites except in so far as it executes official government policy. In practice many non-Whites find it impossible to get satisfaction from the individual officials, who are their only liaison with the council. The assumption is frequently made by Whites in the neighbourhood that the Corporation is, and should be, on the side of Whites. Stories of Whites running to officials for undercounter guarantees about the future of some property in the area, and stories of indignation should the Corporation fail to make good such guarantees, are

commonly heard in conversation amongst local residents. In contrast to the American housing projects, there are then, within Botanic Gardens, various factors contributing to separation and inequality between White and non-White residents.

I have suggested that in determining whether or not there is equal status between two individuals in interaction, their objective positions in relation to each other are not as important as their subjective perception of these positions; further, not all dimensions of status are relevant to a definition of every social situation; particular dimensions will dominate in a particular situation. If we accept this, it is unproductive to attempt to arrive at any generalisation concerning the relative status of Coloureds, Whites and Indians of Botanic Gardens, as groups. Nor is there much to be gained from any attempt to synthesize the various dimensions of status for a particular individual, to calculate some "average status", by dividing the sum of various factors by a common denominator (a task which would in any case present immense practical and theoretical problems).

We should rather approach the problem of relative status through a consideration of role. In any particular situation the question of whether contact between two people is of equal status is a question of the particular roles in which they meet. In this particular situation, what roles do people play? And in terms of these roles, have they equal status? Within the Botanic Gardens area one constant role active in contacts between Whites and non-Whites is that of neighbours. Whites become friendly

and talk with local non-Whites because they are neighbours. In spite of any other differences between people, the fact of living in contiguous houses, sharing common streets and common neighbourhood facilities creates an equality in this limited role of neighbours.¹

For example, when White neighbour Mrs. A., with Standard VI education level, whose husband is a semi-skilled railway worker, calls over the fence to Indian neighbour Mrs. B., university graduate, whose husband is a doctor, to borrow an egg, the roles which dominate the contact are:-

- (a) as housewives in which they are equal;
- (b) as neighbours in which they are equal.

Subordinate in this contact are the economic, educational and occupational superiority of Mrs. B., the legal, political, racial and colour superiority of Mrs. A. This could then be described as an "equal status" contact because the roles which dominate the contact are ones in which the participants have equal status. In most contacts between White and non-White residents in the area the roles as neighbours are amongst the dominant roles, and therefore in most contact situations there is an element of equality in the respective statuses of the White and non-White residents.

1. However, it is important to note that in the American study, in describing the status of residents as equal, Wilner et al. did not make this equality the function of being neighbours, but rather being neighbours in this particular circumstance, namely, within a public housing project the residents of which had been selected within certain strict income limits from a population equally in need of housing accommodation, which was subsequently available to them without regard to their particular ethnic group.

However, because the contact between them occurs over a long period of time, other roles, although passive in the interaction situation, have an impact on the relationship. Thus although Mrs. B. might never be involved with her neighbour Mrs. A. in a situation in which their race, colour or economic status is directly relevant, she will nevertheless have a knowledge and awareness of these factors, and her attitudes towards Mrs. A. will be coloured by this knowledge, as will Mrs. A's attitudes towards Mrs. B. In other words, the duration of the relationship, whether long-term or short-term, will affect the dominance of role. In a short term relationship, say an isolated instance of social contact, the dominance of a particular role will be more apparent than in a long term relationship, say that of living as neighbours for 10 years, in which over a period of time and in various situations, a variety of roles will be dominant, in turn, each contributing as it were to a residue of knowledge in terms of which prestige will be accorded.

One final factor differentiating between neighbours is the extent to which individuals can lay claim to a stake in the area. Certain individuals, by virtue of length of residence, and home ownership enjoy a certain prestige over more transitory neighbours. The basis for this phenomenon is undoubtedly related to the insecurity of property tenure in South Africa, pending Group Areas declarations, and in particular the whole uncertainty regarding the future race determination of Botanic Gardens. Whites who in 1940 were campaigning for the removal of Indians who had "penetrated" their neighbourhood, now

consider the possibility that the Indians have more claim on the area than they themselves do. For although Botanic Gardens was "White" for fifty years before the first Indian residents moved into the area, the Indian group of today has the longest average length of residence in the area, and has experienced the least population change over the past 20 years.

Table XVIII illustrates length of residence.

TABLE XVIII

Length of Residence in Area in Years, according to Race				
	Mean	Median	Third Quartile	Range
Whites	7.4	2.7	8.0	1 month - 64 years
Indians	9.9	10.0	16.1	4 months - 21 years
Coloureds	5.8	5.4	9.7	2 months - 12 years
Passers	12.45	7.0	18.25	1 month - 33 years

The oldest inhabitants of the area are, however, White - a small group of 17 families all of whom have lived in the area for more than 20 years and one of whom has lived there for 64 years. These seventeen, together with two light coloured families, are the only people now living in the area who can remember the first Indians to move into the area. All the other Coloured and White families came to the area after the first Indian tenants, and all save 6 of these (who moved in between 1938 and 1943) came after the number of Indian occupants had reached its maximum (which was legally restricted in March 1943, and has

remained practically constant ever since).

The White group, with the exception of this core of very old residents, is highly mobile. For many people, residence in the area seems to be a very transitory thing. Half the White population has lived in the area less than 2.7 years, a figure which would suggest that for whatever reasons, Whites appear to find the area undesirable as an area of settled residence.¹

-
1. If the presence of non-Whites were the main deterrent, then we would expect those streets with a low number and proportion of non-Whites to be the areas of most settled White residence, and conversely, that the streets with the greatest numbers of non-Whites would have the most unsettled populations.

A comparison between three such "White" streets with three predominantly non-White streets shows that there is no simple correlation.

In St. Thomas Road, the only all-White street in the area, 9 of the 10 families have lived in the street for less than 5 years, 6 of these for less than three. Waynes Avenue with only one very old light Coloured family has 3 families who have been living there for more than 20 years, but also another 3 families who have been living there for less than a year. Botanic Gardens Road with only one non-White household is clearly divided into two parts, the Northern section containing 5 long-settled families, and the Southern section in which only two families have lived for periods longer than a year.

Ritson Road has a practically all non-White population, yet one of its three White families have lived in the area for 40 years. Similarly Heswall Road, in which the White residents find themselves outnumbered and surrounded by non-White families, has one White family which has been there for 20 years, and a number of others who have lived in the area for 5 years or more, and only one family which has been there for less than a year. Mansfield Road, like Heswall Road, has a predominantly non-White population, and a White population who have lived in the street for anything from 25 to half a year.

The one street where there is a concentration of "old" residents is Botanic Avenue, which is three-fourths White, with non-White families at either end and in the middle of the street.

The most highly mobile street is Youngs Avenue with 50% of its residents non-White, and only two

In terms of length of residence Indians can lay claim to the area with possibly greater justification than Whites. The greater proportion of Whites, in terms of their personal experience, must regard the Indians as the "old residents" of the neighbourhood. The Indian stake in the area is increased when we consider the amount of property which is simultaneously both owned and occupied by Indians in the area. Table XVII indicates that while only 28% of all White families owned their own homes, 57% of all Indian families do, and most of the remaining Indian families are sharing houses with the owner and, in all probability living as part of extended families with the Indian house-owner. The pattern of the Coloured group is similar to that of the Whites; a quarter of the Coloured residents are house-owners, the remainder either renting from Indians or sharing houses.

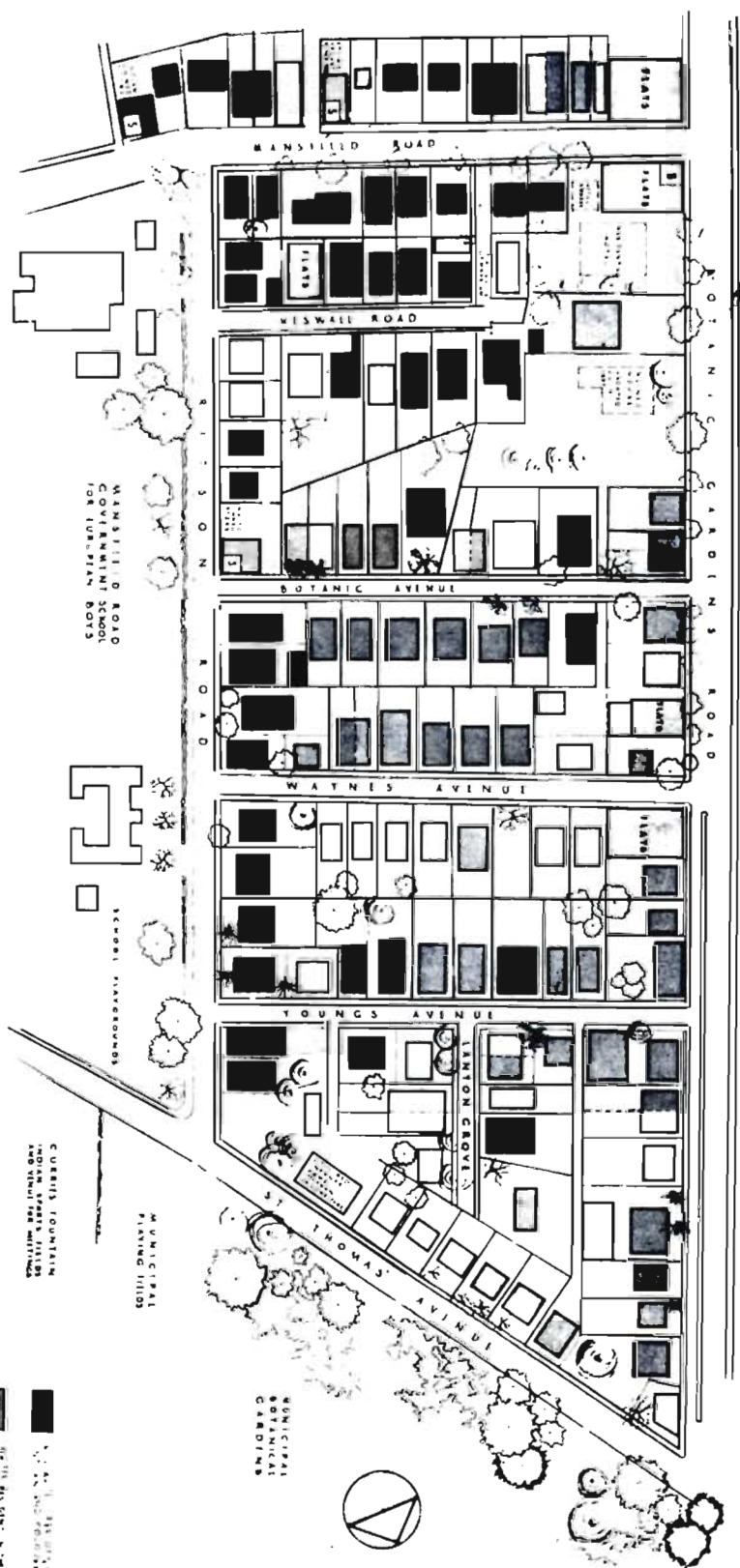
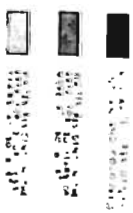
Diagram C illustrates the length of residence of Whites in the area in relation to areas of non-White residence.

White residents who have lived in the street longer than a year.

It is impossible on this evidence to attempt to isolate the presence of non-Whites as a cause of the high White mobility rate. There is certainly no clear evidence for such a supposition although the possibility remains that those persons who moved from the area did so because of the non-Whites.

BOTANIC GARDENS NEIGHBOURHOOD CENSUS ENUMERATION - SUB-DISTRICT 50 - CITY OF DURBAN

DIAGRAM.C LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF WHITES IN RELATION TO NON WHITE RESIDENTS



It becomes clear that blanket statements of status covering all members of the different groups are therefore difficult to make, and of doubtful validity. Residents in Botanic Gardens do not share a common culture. The three prominent statuses affecting any evaluation are:- (i) neighbour status, (ii) race status, and (iii) socio-economic status. The relative status of participants in a particular situation must be defined in terms of the dominant roles they occupy within that particular situation.

In Botanic Gardens Road the dominant cause of mobility is clearly not the presence of non-Whites, but the age deterioration of the large properties on a bus thoroughfare, and the conversion of these properties to lodging houses, with an inevitably transient population.

This description of the people of Botanic Gardens, in terms of status, would be incomplete without some further statement on Coloureds. There was considerable difficulty in classifying people as Coloured, due to the very wide range of skin colours within the area, and the imprecise definition of what constitutes a member of the Coloured group. Objective criteria, such as shade of skin, texture of hair, bone structure, although employed by the Race Classification Board in their mandate under the Population Registration Act¹ are not decisive, and within the neighbourhood, amongst residents engaged in the necessary task of classifying their neighbours, cultural and social factors play an important part. For purposes of this investigation the important criteria were not the objective ones (racial origin and physiognomy), but the subjective ones, the generally accepted racial status of a particular individual in the neighbourhood.

In time it became clear that the people of the neighbourhood recognised two categories of Coloured people, the "Coloureds" who are generally dark, and who both feel themselves to be, and are accepted as non-Whites; and the light-skinned group who are on the fringe of acceptance into White society, and are called "playwhites" by the

1. The study was made at a time when people of Durban were being asked to submit photographs of themselves for the issue of personal identity cards under the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, in terms of which they would receive their ultimate racial classification. It was consequently a time of considerable anxiety for any 'borderline' Whites and Coloureds, and a time of heightened sensitivity of these people to their colour and their race. During the course of the fieldwork three families requested that they be omitted from any study of the neighbourhood. Of these, two were light Coloured families.

non-Whites of the neighbourhood.¹ These are the equivalent of the American "passers". There are a number of particular features of these "playwhites" in Botanic Gardens. The distinction between Coloureds and playwhites is vague and blurred. Coloureds form a continuum with those playwhites who 'pass' as Whites with relative ease on nearly all occasions, at the one end, and those who pass only rarely on specific minor occasions, at the other. One may "playwhite" all the time, or one may "playwhite" once or twice a month. One may "playwhite" only at work, or only at cinemas. It becomes apparent then, that the neighbourhood itself becomes a sort of testing ground for those who wish to pass fully out of the Coloured group into the White group. For it is in the neighbourhood that one is most constantly exposed to observation. A light skinned Coloured youth may work as a White, but in the neighbourhood his darker parents and siblings will serve to classify him as a Coloured in the eyes of his neighbours. Even when all the resident members of the family are light enough to pass, there is the possibility that they may be visited by dark relatives or friends, the witnessing of which by neighbours will suffice to destroy any acceptance they might have had as Whites.

Because of these factors, the "playwhites" classified as such in this study have three distinguishing features.

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1. The term "playwhite" is one used widely, but exclusively by non-Whites, usually in derision or scorn. Some Whites described playwhites as "not really Coloured, more like us"; or as people who "think they're White but they've got a touch of the tarbrush"; some said, "they don't know what they are". Many Whites made no distinction between light and dark Coloureds.

- (1) They are not wholly successful as passers in that within the neighbourhood they are singled out for special reference as a distinct group, rather than assimilated into the White group.
- (2) The classification follows as far as possible the opinions of other residents in Botanic Gardens, and is therefore made in terms of the subjective perception of race in the neighbourhood.¹
- (3) The classification has been made in terms of whole families. Light skinned individuals in dark families who pass for White on some occasions have been classed as Coloureds along with the rest of their family. Only where all members of the family are light skinned enough to pass has the family been regarded as "playwhite".

"Playwhites" constitute approximately a quarter of the Coloured group, as indicated in the following table, showing the sex distribution of the Coloureds of Botanic Gardens neighbourhood within these two categories.

TABLE XIX

Composition of the Coloured Group				
	Numbers		Total	Percentage
	M	F		
Coloureds.	55	59	114	73%
Playwhites.	24	18	42	27%
TOTAL:	79	77	156	100%

Generally the children from "Playwhite" families fail to gain admittance to White schools. All the younger boys from these families attend a particular government

1. Had objective criteria of physical features been applied, the category would have been extended to include successful passers, who, although negroid in feature, are fully integrated into the White group in the neighbourhood.

school in town which although theoretically a "European" school, is in practice for the light children of partly Coloured families who have either been refused, or else accept that they would be refused, admittance to European schools. There were no young girls of school-going age amongst these families; the choice of school for girls would present a grave problem.¹ Three girls who had left school had attended White girls' schools. A fourth had attended a Coloured school.

One of the most interesting features of this group of passers is the genuine confusion which they themselves experience as to their proper racial classification. This was particularly evident in a series of interviews with a group of adolescent school boys from this group, in which they described themselves as 'Europeans', and described the school they attended as a 'mixed' school for Coloureds and Europeans. Later discussing the children of the neighbourhood they spoke of how they fought with European children of the neighbourhood. "The Europeans call us Bushmen". The parents of these children displayed similar confusion. After describing themselves as Europeans they would talk detachedly and sometimes critically of "the Europeans around here", contrasting "the Europeans" with "us".

In terms of social relations this group was the most isolated of all groups in the neighbourhood, associating

1. This problem of choice of school is one which will be eliminated through the Population Registration Act, and the nationwide issue of racial identity cards, which are decisive.

freely with neither Whites nor Coloureds, nor very frequently amongst themselves. There was generally, however, a much greater willingness, on the part of most Whites, to associate with lighter Coloureds than with darker Coloureds.

PART III

CHAPTER V

ATTITUDES - WHITE AND INDIAN¹

There is a widely shared belief amongst Whites in South Africa that any contact with non-Whites on terms of equality is wrong and must be avoided. It is generally accepted that people of different races should not share common neighbourhoods. There is a considerable stigma attached by Whites to living near non-Whites. It is usually assumed that a White would move to such an area only under some sort of pressure like economic pressure; or alternatively his living in such an area would be taken as an indication of some personal failure or inadequacy.² It is against this background that Whites

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1. The material upon which the following chapters are based is derived from interviews conducted with a stratified sample of 60 White residents, 55 Indian residents and 27 Coloured residents. Continual comparisons between three groups are cumbersome, particularly groups of uneven size and consequent importance in the neighbourhood. Because Whites and Indians are numerically the largest groups in the area and those between whom hostility is most institutionalised, I have dealt first with the attitudes and behaviour of these two groups in their relations with one another (Chapters VI and VII). I have introduced the Coloureds in Chapter VIII, drawing comparisons between the three groups in terms of their relations with one another. For details of sampling method and other methodological explanations, see Appendix B, Methodology.
 2. Within Botanic Gardens this personal inadequacy is often referred to as a "losing of self-respect". Unfortunately there are no studies available of attitudes to mixed residential areas in South Africa. These views are therefore based on personal experience with a cross-Section of White South Africans rather than on scientific evidence.

in Botanic Gardens have come to live alongside Indians and Coloureds. In so doing they daily transgress White group norms, for residential contiguity is fraught with latent possibilities for intimate contact and friendliness and as such is in itself a violation of the White code for separation. We can therefore expect White residents to react in one of three ways:

1. to ignore White-group opinion and accept the idea of friendly association with non-Whites. People falling in this category would have favourable attitudes towards friendliness with Indians; their descriptions of Indians would lack hostile prejudices, and their attitudes to leaving or remaining in the area would not be related to the presence of Indians.
2. to attempt to secure their acceptance within the White group by over-identification with Whites, and subsequent hostility and withdrawal towards non-White neighbours. People who reacted in this way would disapprove strongly of any friendly association with Indians, describing Indians in unfavourable terms, and expressing dislike of living in a racially mixed neighbourhood.
3. To effect a compromise, maintaining good relations within the neighbourhood with non-White neighbours at a practical level, and at the same time compensating for any deviation from White-group standards by making prejudiced and aggressive statements about Indians, in order to demonstrate solidarity with, and ensure acceptance within, the White group.

The first reaction, complete acceptance of the idea of friendly association with Indians, was rare. Only three Whites expressed themselves unreservedly in favour of close friendly relationships with Indian neighbours. For at least one of these, this was at the expense of acceptance by White neighbours who reacted to her with very strong disapproval and hostility.¹

1. It was not entirely clear in this instance whether the hostility shown towards this particular resident, on the part of other White neighbours, was the result or the cause of close association with Indians. In either event a chain reaction set up; close association with Indians led to ostracism by Whites and in turn necessitated close association with Indians.

A small proportion of the residents reacted in the second way, with overt hostility towards Indians. From Table XX we see that 13 of 60 Whites expressed highly unfavourable attitudes to the idea of association with Indian neighbours. They made such comments as, "The idea appals me"; "Its very bad, I'd never do it."

TABLE XX

Attitudes of Whites to Friendly Association with Indians (Correlated with Residential Proximity to Indians.		
Attitude	Number	Average Proximity ^x Score
Highly favourable.	3	2.0
Favourable.	27	2.0
Unfavourable.	17	1.3
Highly unfavourable.	13	0.5
TOTAL:	60	

^x Method for calculating proximity score is described in Chapter III, p

There is an interesting correlation between these unfavourable attitudes and proximity to Indians. People holding highly unfavourable attitudes live further from Indians than people with more favourable attitudes. Thus those who are highly unfavourable have an average proximity score of 0.5, compared with scores of 1.3 for those who are unfavourable, 2.0 for those favourable and highly favourable. As distance from Indians increases, so the likelihood of hostile unfriendly attitudes increases.

Proximity to Indians does however, seem to affect attitudes to leaving or remaining in the area. Table XXI summarises the attitudes of Whites on this issue.

TABLE XXI

Attitudes of Whites to living in the Area (Correlated with residential proximity to Indians).		
Attitude	Number	Average ^x Proximity Score
Dislike living in the area.	15	2.1
Do not dislike the area but given the opportunity, would move.	8	
Are satisfied with living in the area and do not want to move.	37	1.2
TOTAL:	60	

^x Method for calculating proximity score is described in Chapter III, p.

Those Whites who wish to move from the area are those who live close to Indians. If we divide all residents into those who live very close to Indians and those who live far from Indians, we find that half of those living very close to Indians wish to move, as compared with only a fifth of those living far from Indians. The implication is that proximity to Indians is causally related to dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood. This was not substantiated by the comments of the Whites themselves however. Of 23 residents who wanted to move, only 4 stated that it was "to get away from the Indians", although

oblique reference to Indians might be contained in statements of a further 6 who wanted to "live with a better class of person". The majority of people give various individual and personal reasons for wanting to move, such as living with friends, building a new house and moving away from the centre of town. In the absence of comparative material, it is difficult to assess the significance of these findings. While it is true that almost half of the White residents living close to non-Whites would like to move from the area, it is significant that more than half living very close to non-Whites are completely satisfied with the area, and would not, even given the ideal opportunity, want to move. There did appear to be some correlation between type of dwelling and satisfaction with living in the area. More than half of the dissatisfied residents are living in flats or are sharing flats or houses with other families.

It is clear from a comparison of Tables XX and XXI, that those Whites who disfavour friendliness towards Indians are not the same group as those who would like to move from the area; and that there is no correlation between attitudes to these two issues. There is, however, some correlation between attitudes to friendliness with Indians, and the descriptions which people gave of Indians. The 11 unfavourable items listed amongst the 132 items describing Indians all came from Whites who were highly unfavourable to the idea of association with Indians. The unfavourable items refer mainly to lack of cleanliness: "They're filthy swine", "They throw all their dirt on the pavements or in their backyards"; or to the failure of

Indians to maintain their proper social distance from Whites: "They tend to be over-familiar", "They're always ready to dig in", "They like to think they're Europeans".

The majority of Whites describe Indians in very favourable terms. The most lasting impression which Whites have of local Indians is their quiet unobtrusive non-interfering behaviour. "They keep to themselves", "They're very quiet"; these are the recurring themes. Others are more explicit: "They never interfere. Like, say you're fixing your car. If a White comes by he'll stop, and start telling you how to do it. But an Indian will look without interfering." Another said, "They're perfect neighbours. They're very quiet. If it wasn't for their cars in the street outside you wouldn't know they were there".

At a non-behavioural level the local Indians impress Whites chiefly with their wealth and their high standard of living. "They're very well off", "They've got nice homes, fit for Europeans". Only two other characteristics appear with any remarkable frequency. One is the good behaviour of Indians, the lack of fighting or brawling amongst themselves. The other is the friendly, helpful, co-operative manner they show towards local Whites. "They're very friendly and helpful", "They're always ready to oblige", "The Indians'll help you more than any other race around here."

In spite of the favourable impression which Indians make on their White neighbours, there is a fairly frequent dissatisfaction amongst Whites at having Indian neighbours.

Thus in response to a question in which residents were offered unlimited powers to improve the neighbourhood¹ a quarter of the Whites suggested the removal of the non-White population from the area. The multi-racial nature of the area was seen to disturb residents again when, asked to state the disadvantages of the area, more than half of the 44 replies contained references to Coloured or Indian neighbours. A comparison of the four attitudes showed that neither length of residence nor language were significantly correlated with attitudes. There was a difference, however, between men and women; a relatively greater proportion of men appeared in the two favourable categories, and a relatively greater proportion of women in the unfavourable categories.^x The differences

1. The question asked was "Assuming the City Council had unlimited powers, what changes and improvements would you, as a City Councillor, like to make in this neighbourhood?" In spite of this qualification of unlimited power, people's answers were conditioned by their own conception of the powers and duties of the City Council - as evidenced particularly in the number of instances in which persons referred to the need to improve the roads. This was probably less a reflection on the state of roads than of a preconception of a City Council whose chief function is road repairs. The Durban City Council has also been active since as early as 1943 in the establishment of racial zones. The Council has represented the Whites at hearings of the Group Areas Board. It is therefore equally possible that the high number of people referring to removal of Indians from the area were likewise conditioned by a preconception of the functions of the City Council.

^x T.F. Pettigrew found sex to be significantly related to social distance attitudes of South African White students towards non-Whites, with females more distant than males, op cit., p. 252

are small but might reflect the different roles of the sexes in the neighbourhood. Men spend relatively less time in the area and would not be so conscious of or exposed to the peculiar hazards of friendliness with Indians in the way of gossip and social ostracism. There was also the feeling, expressed from time to time during interviews, that inter-race friendliness between men is more acceptable than between women, an idea which is presumably tied up with the sexual jealousy between races. White women are believed by their menfolk to be desirable to non-White men, and are therefore discouraged from any behaviour which might bring them into contact with non-White men. Another possible factor is the greater cultural similarity between Indian and White men as contrasted with the more conspicuous differences between White and Indian women.

On the other hand, we would expect women to experience greater pressures towards friendliness to Indians, because, as neighbours and housewives, they would have a greater need for and dependence on neighbours.

If we compare the descriptions of local Indians with attitudes towards, and evaluations of the neighbourhood, it would seem that it is the idea of living near Indians, in a racially mixed area, which is unattractive, rather than the experience. Descriptions of local Indians were more favourable than descriptions of the area itself. Yet, given the strong dislike of Whites for racial mixing in any situation, there is a surprising satisfaction amongst Whites with the neighbourhood. Only 44 disadvantages of the area (compared with 87 advantages) were cited, the chief of which is its location conveniently close to the centre of town, to the bus routes, and to the local market. At the same time the streets are quiet, there is little traffic, and ready access to the open spaces of adjacent

playing fields and the Botanical Gardens. The residents feel that the neighbourhood combines the advantages of a central urban area with the quiet spaciousness¹ of the garden suburb.

As many as one third of all the advantages cited by residents refer to the pleasant quiet people of the neighbourhood. Whether or not White residents are consciously including non-White neighbours in this assessment is largely irrelevant. It is significant that within a population as racially diverse as the Botanic Gardens population, so many White residents are able to make generalisations about the "pleasant people" of the neighbourhood, without recourse to racial reference. The question arises why a hostile and unfriendly reaction to Indians was not more common. The majority of Whites make some sort of compromise between the demands of the neighbourhood and the demands of their White groups. This was theoretically the third alternative for White residents. All of the 44 Whites who occupy the two intermediate categories in Table XX (Page 99) make some adjustment between these conflicting demands. Although I have classified them into two groups, favourable and unfavourable, the differences between the attitudes of people in these categories are slighter than the descriptions would imply. Those who are unfavourable do nevertheless agree that certain forms of friendliness are acceptable ("Its O.K. to greet but you should never mix") and that situation can

1. This reference to Botanic Gardens as spacious is the subjective assessment of residents; by many standards its plots would be regarded as small and cramped.

arise where friendliness is acceptable, even essential, ("A person must stick to his race, but I'll talk to anybody who talks to me, black, brown or any colour"). Similarly those who are favourable admit to situations where they believe friendliness is no longer proper or desirable ("You needn't make a pal of him").

The necessity for some compromise, some adjustment, becomes clear if we consider the implications of being a neighbour. Kuper has described behaviour between neighbours as the result of the interplay of mutual needs on the one hand, and the perception of hazards on the other.

"The free expression of common needs is checked by the many hazards of neighbouring, real and imagined, which keep residents apart." 1.

There is implicit in "neighbour"-hood a dependence, created by the existence of mutual needs, both material and social. This positive aspect of neighbouring, that which brings neighbours together, is particularly forceful in Botanic Gardens because Indians have all the qualities desired in neighbours. They are quiet, undemanding, unobtrusive, and at the same time helpful, coöperative and generous. People continually said that one could turn to Indians in time of trouble, that they would be the first to help one. Thus, because of their social and material needs the Whites could not afford to be too hostile to Indian neighbours. The need for neighbours to whom one can turn for assistance, is one of the major factors preventing the development of hostility to Indian neighbours. This is confirmed by the fact that people who

1. L. Kuper, op cit., p

expressed hostility to Indians tended to be those who lived far from Indians (Table XX). They were the people who could most easily afford bad relations with Indians, because their closest neighbours were Whites. They were distant enough from Indians not to experience as painful any tension between the two races.

Proximity was positively correlated with favourable attitudes to association with Indians. Proximity to Indians exerts a pressure on Whites to adapt their behaviour. The close daily proximity of Indians is a reality, and the realistic response is to develop accommodating attitudes. When Indians are not living immediately close by, Whites do not feel this pressure. In each instance the White adapts himself in the way that is most convenient. One technique frequently employed in the area for facilitating this adaptation, was to regard those Indians living in the area as different from Indians in general. By this means one could have friendly relations with local Indians without a pressing sense of disloyalty to White group norms. This rationalisation ranged in extent from such forthright declarations as - "These aren't Indians, they're Muslims" - to an implicit belief in the superiority in every way of local Indian neighbours. In answers to direct questioning of comparison between local Indians and Indians in general, local Indians were consistently described as "better" than most Indians; they are "better behaved", have a better standard of living, and are "nicer people".

The negative aspect of neighbouring is found in the hazards, "real and imagined, which keep residents apart". Neighbouring in a multi-racial neighbourhood in South Africa

presents its own peculiar hazards which differ in emphasis from those in a more homogeneous neighbourhood.

The hazard of gossip changes its emphasis. One is not so afraid of the Indian neighbour as the tale-bearer; rather one is afraid of the other White neighbours, who, seeing this association across the colour line, may find it a subject for gossip, leading to social ostracism. One of the chief hazards arising from continued association between neighbours in a non-racial neighbourhood is the threat to personal privacy. Added to these fears in Botanic Gardens was the fear of loss of prestige in the community, as a consequence of overstepping the bounds of acceptable behaviour, tacitly prescribed for association between Whites and Indians. The verbalised attitudes of Whites towards personal association with Indians reflected the fears of these hazards, and also described these "bounds of acceptable behaviour".

Residents were presented with three hypothetical situations in which they might be involved in close contact with Indian neighbours. They were then asked to express their attitudes to these situations, which represented:

- (a) casual unstructured social intercourse: "if you stopped in the street to talk to an Indian neighbour":
- (b) a situation of direct utilitarian value to the respondent: "if you used a phone belonging to an Indian neighbour":
- (c) more deliberate, more intimate, more structured social intercourse: "if you visited an Indian neighbour".

The first set of ideas¹ which emerged from the replies

1. The occurrence of these ideas bears no statistical analysis - the figures involved are always very small. The ideas are included for their qualitative rather than quantitative interest.

to these questions was concerned with the circumstances and conditions under which friendliness with Indians was acceptable. It was widely believed that one should always be friendly where not to be so could be interpreted as bad manners or a lack of civility. This invariably meant the reciprocation of any greeting or conversation by an Indian. This idea was very frequently expressed, sometimes to justify past friendliness with Indians, but also as a reasoned personal principle for any possible future encounters with Indian neighbours. "I'll talk to him over the fence if he talks first", said a newcomer to the neighbourhood. "You've got to stop and talk to anybody who stops and talks to you", explained another resident.

A comparison of the attitudes expressed towards the three proposed situations showed that there were no hard and fast rules governing people's attitudes, but that particular circumstances either justified or condemned friendliness in each instance. Most people found it acceptable to stop and talk in the street, although some said that you should not initiate a conversation, nor encourage a conversation to last too long. Most people thought it acceptable to use a telephone belonging to an Indian neighbour, although many added that one should only do so in an emergency, or when there was no other phone available. Others said one should not make a habit of it, nor have long conversations with intimate friends.

The ambiguity of the word "visit" and the emotional connotation of the idea of "visiting" led to considerable confusion in the third question. Entering the house of

an Indian, staying for some time, perhaps drinking tea, does not necessarily constitute "visiting", which for many people was a more formal ritualistic affair, usually pre-arranged by invitation. Only one person thought that visiting Indian neighbours at this formal level was acceptable. But many others thought it acceptable to go to an Indian house provided you had a purpose other than the purely social one. Acceptable purposes expressed during the course of the interviews were, to ask for help in an emergency; to offer help; to deliver a message; to make a complaint; to transact some business or make some arrangement.

In summary then, one should avoid rudeness and bad manners, but at the same time, one should restrict interaction to a minimum compatible with reasonable needs.

A second set of ideas was concerned with limits to friendly behaviour. The purpose of limiting friendly behaviour is to retain and preserve one's separate group identity, and to maintain the colour status - distinction between White and non-White. Specific instructions were offered on how to avoid any relaxation in group awareness.

"If you sit down and drink tea don't make yourself at home like there's no difference between you" advocates one housewife.

"There's no need to joke or laugh or make a pal", says another. Others offer less specific instructions.

"All the time you must remember you're a European. You mustn't sink to his level".

The restriction is not so much on what is done, but on how it is done. Behaviour which is potentially intimate is

nevertheless permissible if the participating Whites maintain group-conscious attitudes.

The limits were perceived by Whites, and maintained by Whites. When, however, as sometimes happened, a non-White was careful to set, and maintain limits to friendliness with Whites, this led to a great increase in the amount of friendliness between Whites and that non-White. Also, by paradox, it led to a considerable increase in the degree of intimacy with such a person. Whites felt secure that "no matter what you do you know she knows her place". Indians who "didn't know their place" were frequently those of high status with whom Whites would have liked to associate. They were deterred from such association by the fear that "they'll think they're as good as what you are".

One frequently recurring phrase in this connection was concerned with "mixing". One was enjoined not to "mix with them", nor to "mix up with them". The meaning of this phrase was not always clear. The actual mixing of blood through miscegenation might have been part of the meaning, although perhaps more often unconscious than conscious. Physical proximity seemed an important part of the meaning. But most generally it seemed to refer to a loss of separate group identification through too frequent and too intimate association.

The third set of ideas was concerned with experienced pressures against friendliness to Indians through the real or threatened disapproval of other Whites in the neighbourhood. At least 15 of the 60 Whites interviewed reported experiences of having felt ostracised or threatened by

ostracism because of friendliness to Indians. They made such comments as:

"They talk and gossip about you if they see you talking to them".

"They talk and say, 'Oh you should see the kind she associates with'".

"They think you're classing yourself too low; they pull up their noses and look down on you".

In summary, the problem for Whites living close to Indians is to balance the community pressures against friendliness with Indians with other ideas of social importance, such as courtesy towards all neighbours, and the maintenance of goodwill amongst neighbours. This neighbourly goodwill has a utilitarian self-interested motive. Hostility to Indian neighbours is inhibited by the potential dependence of neighbours on one another. Far reaching friendliness with Indians is checked by the need to maintain good relations with fellow Whites.

It is interesting to contrast White attitudes towards friendliness with Indians as held by themselves, on the one hand, and those perceived to be held by fellow-Whites on the other. More than half the Whites describe the attitudes of others in the neighbourhood as unhesitatingly disapproving of any sort of friendliness towards Indians. With the exception of the small group of Whites who themselves strongly disapprove of friendliness to Indians and who consequently perceive their White neighbours as tolerant and approving of inter-race friendliness, residents persistently and consistently perceived their neighbours as more hostile to friendly association with Indians than they themselves were.

Similarly, asked to estimate the amount of contact and interaction between Indians and Whites in the neighbourhood, as many as a quarter of all Whites questioned said that "as far as they know"¹ there was no inter-race friendliness in the area whatsoever. Only two people believed it to be a common practice, and said that "nearly everybody associates with Indians". In one instance these contradictory observations were made by people living directly adjacent to one another. Their answers were, therefore, based not upon objective evidence, but were coloured by subjective personal attitudes. Most people stated that "there are those who mix and those who don't ". They varied in their estimates of just what proportion of the White residents "mixed", but were unanimous that it was a minority of Whites.

Deutsch and Collins have described a technique for assessing and defining group standards or norms. A group standard may be measured in the reaction anticipated from other group members to a given behaviour by a member. By this definition the group standard or norm on inter-race friendliness in Botanic Gardens is one of disapproval. Residents consistently depicted other Whites as more disapproving than they themselves were. And yet this is a standard to which each individual admits himself as the exception. What we have is a common White standard of behaviour towards Indians, namely, that a certain degree

1. There is a suggestion of evasion in this reply, which can be accommodated to any objective situation in the area. It is possible that informants making this reply wished to minimize, before White strangers, the fieldworkers, the amount of inter-race contact which occurred in the neighbourhood.

of friendliness is necessary and desirable. But this standard is held individually; and although widespread, it is never communally stated.

At a practical level this implies that Whites in the neighbourhood do not discuss with one another their real attitudes to friendliness with Indian neighbours. Rather they are all careful to impress each other as normal conforming Whites who disapprove of friendliness with Indians. In so doing they are asserting their White group membership, a membership which must be aggressively asserted to compensate for insecurities arising out of the violation of White group standards implicit in their living in a racially mixed neighbourhood.

Wilner, Walkley and Cook write:

"Where not merely individuals but whole groups of White persons are taking part in hitherto unaccustomed contacts with Negroes, still another possibility exists - the emergence of a group norm which supports the level and kind of Negro/White contacts that are likely to take place as a consequence of close proximity."¹

In Botanic Gardens this failed to happen. The reasons for this failure are first, that residents in Botanic Gardens do, to a great extent, act as individuals, not as a group. This is a consequence of the nature and structure of the neighbourhood. The housing projects studied in America were large, well-defined and separated from the rest of the community, which gave residents a feeling of separate identity. Deutsch and Collins emphasised the influence

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of the isolation and separateness of the housing project. It was the separateness which enabled the Whites to develop a norm of friendliness towards Negroes, and which in turn intensified their isolation from the rest of the community. In time there developed such a discrepancy between project and community norms that people were thrown into a tightly knit group.

For the purposes of this study, Botanic Gardens was arbitrarily defined as a neighbourhood. It had no separate identity; residents had no formal cohesion as a group. Furthermore it would seem likely that they avoided such cohesion, for fear of becoming separated from the broader White community.

A second factor was the influence of the total social milieu, of which in each case, the neighbourhood was a minute part. In the United States of America Negroes are a minority group. Federal, State and private agencies are all campaigning against discrimination against Negroes. In adopting a norm of non-discrimination and friendliness, Whites in America are supported by powerful groups, figures and symbols. A norm of friendliness towards Indians by the Whites of Botanic Gardens would be unlikely to find adequate support in the wider White community.

The discussion so far has been limited to the attitudes of Whites towards Indians. The assumption is made that White attitudes are the more important determinant of behaviour in the neighbourhood. It was clear from White descriptions of Indians that Indians are passive, leaving the initiative for interaction in the hands of Whites.

Yet at the same time Whites found Indians willing to be friendly and helpful. Indian descriptions of Whites confirm a picture of social relations in which the Whites are "proud" and "aloof", yet where they frequently turn to Indians for help. They are seen to expressly avoid any clashes or trouble with Indians. "They won't deliberately try to trouble us", "They don't like associating with non-Whites but they're not harmful."

The descriptions of Whites are particularly interesting for the insight they give us into Indian attitudes to, and experience of Whites. In such comments as "They're alright" and "They're not so bad" we have the impression that Indians expected Whites to be very unpleasant and found themselves quite favourably impressed. Another view was expressed by one woman who said, "They're very nice and friendly, but they seem seldom to visit you".

Many replies reflected the status of the speakers. Indians of a higher socio-economic class described local Whites as "poor class", "degenerate", and "not the kind I'd care to associate with". One person made reference to the "hooligan influence" of certain Whites. Some people spontaneously compared White neighbours with other Whites they knew. Many Indians displayed a surprisingly limited contact with other Whites, in such replies as "They seem just the same as the Whites in the bazaar" or "They seem more polite than Whites in West Street".

One young man expressed reluctance at becoming friendly with Whites. He said it was his experience that Indians had "unnatural associations" with Whites, usually "for snobbish reasons". He said he was afraid of being

classed as the kind of Indian who tried to make friends with Whites. Three younger informants referred to various family pressures against too much friendliness with Whites. A father had warned his son "to respect Whites but not to try to marry them". A young girl was not allowed to visit White homes, and another had been ordered never to eat with Whites. The latter prohibition was a religious one. It is interesting to speculate whether in this context such prohibitions are exercised reluctantly or eagerly as a sanction against inter-group mixing.

In assessing the neighbourhood Indians followed very closely the evaluation of Whites. The multi-racial nature of the area was the indirect cause of the very few complaints raised by Indians; but only in so far as it gave rise to colour discrimination in the neighbourhood. Certain facilities, such as the sports fields, and the park benches, are reserved for Whites only. There are also problems in bringing up children in a multi-racial area. "Indian children may any time get into conflict with European children" one mother stated, possibly anxious over the possible repercussions of such conflict for Indian/White relations in the neighbourhood. Another mother, concerned with the same problem, said that children learn to swear from White children, whom, she added, "learn it from the Dutch". None of the Indians who were asked to assess the probability of a new Indian family getting to know White neighbours thought it likely that any intimate relationship would be established. They said that the relationship would be very casual, would take a very long while to develop.

It is against this background of attitudes and opinions that we move to a consideration of the actual extent of relationships between Indians and Whites in Port...

CHAPTER VI

INTERACTION : WHITES AND INDIANS

Friendly relations between Whites and non-Whites in South Africa are rare. The average White person living in Durban passes his life without any relationships with non-Whites beyond those occurring between master and servant, or the impersonal relationships of commerce and industry. The norms supporting this lack of relationship are strong.

The strength of these norms amongst Whites in Botanic Gardens was reflected in the statements describing the attitudes of their neighbours to friendliness with Indians. Viewed against these statements of attitude, the number of Whites in the neighbourhood who reported some personal relationship with local Indians seemed high. Twenty four of a sample of sixty Whites reported some friendly relationships with one or more specific Indians in the area.

The question immediately arises why these 24 Whites became friendly with Indian neighbours, while the remaining 36 did not. This question can be partially answered by comparing the two groups in respect of various relevant or potentially relevant factors.

Contrary to expectations, home language had no apparent relationship with behaviour. Both English and Afrikaans speaking Whites were represented in both groups. Length of residence in the area was similarly unrelated. Those who reported friendly relationships with Indians varied in the time they had been living in the area between one month and thirty years.

Both age and sex appeared to affect behaviour; men were more inclined to friendliness than women, with this difference between the sexes most marked amongst the younger people. Only one unmarried White woman reported any association with Indians, as compared with half of the younger unmarried men. Occupationally the two groups were similar, some in the two extremes; the professional and managerial group on the one hand, and the artisans and semi-skilled manual workers on the other. All of the former group disclaimed any association with Indians; all of the latter fell within the group of 24 who had friendly relationships with Indians.¹

The most striking difference between the two groups is in their residential proximity to Indians. Those who were friendly to Indians tend to live very much closer to Indians than those who were not friendly. The average proximity score for the latter group was 0.44, compared with a score of 2.1 for the former,² who displayed one interesting feature; the almost complete absence in the group of any persons with an intermediary proximity score.³ And although this group included a number of people who were in no way directly close to Indians, the remainder lived close enough to Indians to maintain the average for the group at the high score of 2.1.

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1. This confirms a finding by Rose, Atelsek and MacDonald that in practice people of poorer education integrate more readily than those of higher education, op cit.
 2. Following the method described in Chapter III, which measured proximity to all non-Whites, Coloured and Indian.
 3. Only one person in 24 had such an intermediary score.

At a broad group level there was some consistency between behaviour and verbalised attitudes. Thus, taking as an index of attitude the frequency with which there was spontaneous comment against Indians,¹ we find such comments made by only a quarter of those who were friendly to Indians; compared with a half of those who had no contact with Indians. This seemed to indicate that the multi-racial nature of the neighbourhood was more disturbing to this latter group than to the others. This idea received further substantiation from a comparison of replies of the two groups to the question of whether they would like to leave the neighbourhood. Once again only a quarter of those who were friendly to Indians wanted to move, compared with almost half of the others.

This consistency existed at a broad level of generalisation only, however. Although there were many people in each group whose expressed attitudes coincided with their behaviour, the incidence of inconsistency was high. Five of the people who declared themselves opposed to the idea of friendliness with Indians later admitted to such friendliness in practice; likewise twelve people who favoured the idea failed to put it into effect in the neighbourhood.

There was a tendency for people to behave in broad accordance with what they perceived to be group standards.

1. A similar measure was used by Kramer in his study of a Chicago neighbourhood, in which he used all spontaneous reference to Negroes (whether accommodative or critical) as an index of the salience of the inter-racial nature of the neighbourhood to residents.

People who were friendly towards Indians perceived the norms as more tolerant than did the others; (this notwithstanding the fact already reported that there was a small group of Whites who themselves strongly disapprove of friendliness to Indians but who perceive their White neighbours as tolerant and approving of interracial friendliness).

The great majority of Indians reported some personal relationship with one or more Whites in the neighbourhood. Out of a sample of 55, only 7 Indians reported no friendly relationships with White neighbours. In each case these Indians had an extremely low proximity score to Whites; and were in fact all surrounded by non-White property on every side. In each case they were members of the Muslim group. Four stated explicitly that they had little interest in getting to know White neighbours whom they felt to be their social inferiors.

We have then 24 Whites and 48 Indians each reporting at least one friendly inter-race relationship within the neighbourhood. Because some of these people were reporting mutual relationships, the actual number of real relationships described was 79. We thus have the sample of 115 people, Indians and Whites, between them yielding 79 pairs¹ of Indian/White relations, in each of which at least one

1. Because one informant might have more than one such inter-race relationship, the number of different individuals involved in such relationships was very much smaller than the theoretical maximum, i.e. $79 \times 2 = 158$. In actual fact only 42 Whites and 50 Indians participated in such relationships. But these figures understate the number of people involved. Because relationships occur within a neighbourhood context they frequently involve whole families rather than one individual from a family.

member reported knowing the name and address of the other, and in addition described some regular mutually responsive behaviour between them, which might range from casual greeting and talking in the street to visiting, accompanied by such intimate behaviour as eating meals together.¹

Throughout the fieldwork two aspects of behaviour between neighbours were recorded as a basis for assessing the quality of interracial relationships. The first of these was any behaviour involving a deliberate act of service to a neighbour. I refer to this kind of behaviour as helping behaviour, and included under this heading borrowing, lending, the giving of gifts, and other unsolicited acts such as offering lifts in motor cars. The second aspect of behaviour was visiting. I have included under this term any occasion on which one neighbour deliberately entered the house of another. Before moving on to a description of the comparative intimacy of the 79 relationships reported, some general comment must be made concerning "helping" and "visiting" between Indians and Whites in Botanic Gardens. The most significant feature of helping behaviour in Botanic Gardens is not the prevalence of "helping", but the differences in the roles of Indians and Whites, in this behaviour. In a very high proportion of instances it is the Indian who is the lender, the helper, the loser, and it is the White who

1. It might be assumed that if the sample of 115 yielded 79 relationships, then the total population of 799 people might yield approximately 557 relationships. This is of course, incorrect. The number of relationships are limited by the size of the adult Indian population, of which a considerable proportion was interviewed. For further discussion see Appendix A: Methodology.

is the recipient, the borrower, the gainer. A number of factors would seem to contribute to this pattern.

First there are economic factors. While the per capita income of the majority of Whites and Indians in the neighbourhood is probably very similar, Indians are engaged in occupations usually associated with high incomes, and display certain indications of wealth, such as the possession of cars and telephones. Whatever the actual situation there is a widespread assumption amongst Whites that their Indian neighbours are fairly wealthy. Certainly this idea is supported by a comparison between the Indians in the area and average Indians in Durban.¹ Whites might approach Indians in the belief that they are the neighbours who can most easily afford to help them.

The second possibility is that Whites seek help from Indians in order to avoid going to Whites whom they fear will interpret their need for help as a sign of failure. This attitude was true of a White woman, living in flats, and experiencing difficulty with a violent drunken husband, who used to go in the middle of the night to an Indian neighbour (who lived three houses away on the opposite side of the street) where she would spend the rest of the night. This particular woman was struggling hard to maintain dignity before disapproving White neighbours with whom she shared a block of flats, but to whom she felt unable to turn for help, in spite of their greater

1. 1951 Census indicated that per capita income of Indians in Durban is £40.02. See Kuper, Watts and Davies, op cit., Table XII, p. 66.

proximity.

The cultural and social distance between Whites and Indians seemed to make Whites feel secure from Indian ridicule. Many Whites said that Indians would never gossip about them. There was also evidence that Indian attitudes towards lending were more accommodative and relaxed than White attitudes, although there was sometimes disapproval of habitual borrowing. Among many Whites borrowing was regarded as a sign of personal failure, and there was a general reluctance to admit to borrowing oneself, although most people readily admitted to lending. (Attitudes to borrowing differed according to the type of article borrowed. The borrowing of expensive durable goods such as tools was generally acceptable, whilst strongest disapproval was expressed against the borrowing of food-stuffs).

The third and most significant of factors controlling this pattern of White gain at Indian loss seems to be the race factor itself. There is a carry-over to the neighbourhood of a pattern of White superiority over non-White. This reveals itself in a certain arrogance on the part of the Whites, a confidence that they can make demands and that their demands will be met. In a sense this is a continuation of the pattern of race relations outside the area, in which the non-White is inevitably the server, the White is served. Whites make requests with an air of justification in a full expectancy of satisfaction.

There seemed also to be a feeling of compulsion by Whites to justify any friendliness with Indians by evidence that their relationship conforms to the expected pattern

in which non-Whites occupy a serving role. "Of course you don't go just mixing up with them at any time, but they're there when you need help". This statement summarised a common attitude.

The role of Indians in these situations is controlled partly by an acceptance of this pattern prescribed by the Whites. The absence of Indians borrowing from Whites was explained by an Indian Muslim housewife who said: "Why borrow from Whites whom you don't know so well, when you can borrow from Indians whom you do know?" But a fear of rebuff is also active in comments like that by another who said, (referring to the fact that she did not borrow from the Whites next door), "It's because they're not your class or colour, that's why." The motives for this acceptance of White demands are probably largely a wish to "avoid trouble" within the neighbourhood. They are probably also partly an extension of the norms of hospitality and service to neighbours which Indians follow in relation to people of their own group.

Only one Indian woman refused requests for help from White neighbours. She said, "Our attitude has always been suspicious we have been doubtful about their sincerity. We have always feared that the traffic would be one way, they taking constantly from us and then behind our backs calling us coolies". But the prevailing Indian response to demanding White attitudes has created in the minds of most White residents a picture of Indians who are constantly available and ready to help. "You can always go to an Indian if you're in trouble".

Indian willingness to maintain friendly relations with Whites was demonstrated not only in the ready accession to White requests, but in the number of instances in which Indians make voluntary gestures of gifts of various kinds to Whites. Fifteen different Indians report the regular or spasmodic giving of gifts to Whites in the area, compared with only four Whites giving gifts to Indians (in each case an isolated instance). Observation showed, however, that the actual number of Indians giving gifts is probably much higher, particularly at the Muslim and Hindu festivals of Eid and Divali, and at Christmas, when close neighbours of all races are rarely excluded from receiving a gift of some kind of sweetmeat or foodstuff from an Indian neighbour.

It is particularly interesting, in the general South African climate of hostility to Indians, that there should be such a free acceptance of food, which is normally the subject of strong taboos. The contradiction is particularly apparent because the food is prepared in Indian homes, about which most Whites in the neighbourhood express very strong feelings of repulsion. A White woman, discussing the prospect of moving into a house vacated by an Indian family said: "I never could. I don't know what it is. There's just something about the way an Indian lives. Even if you fumigated and disinfected it, you could never be sure. After all of them had been crowded into some house ... take the kitchen sink, for instance. I could never use an Indian sink..." This same woman was one of the eighteen Whites who regularly ate curried food prepared by Indian neighbours. This food might be

requested by Whites, or it might be offered spontaneously by Indians. More rarely it was eaten as a guest of the Indian family in their house (but only by White men, never by White women).

Yet in a sense this eating of curried food is not a contradiction, because it is a part of the accepted norm that Whites in South Africa may and should enjoy Eastern cooking. The enjoyment of Indian-cooked curry need not, therefore, disturb preconceived notions of Indians as dirty, unhealthy, and troublesome. This is part of a contradiction which runs through the whole fabric of South African society, in which "dirty" non-Whites are involved in the daily preparation of meals, and in a multitude of other intimate family situations of South African Whites.

Another kind of behaviour which shows both similarities with, and certain important differences from helping behaviour and the giving of gifts, is the selling for cash of goods and skills between neighbours. It is common for one neighbour to "take in" sewing or knitting, or to undertake the repair of a radio, car or some other piece of equipment, for another, in return for which he will be paid in money. This activity is predominantly, but not exclusively, of a pattern in which the White requests and pays for a service which the non-White provides.

The reasons for this pattern are complex, and it is difficult to make generalisations to cover all instances. Partly the reasons are economic. Persons who offer or comply with requests to sell their skills are often in a poor financial position, and are glad of any extra income. This is certainly true of those Whites who make such offers

to Indian neighbours, as for example, a White housewife who was knitting a jersey which her Indian neighbour had ordered. She said "People say to me, "Sis, fancy knitting for a coolie!" But I say, 'That's alright, his money is as good as yours'". She said the Indian boy for whom she was knitting had himself been too shy to ask her to knit the jersey. He had, instead, asked her through an African servant, and had himself come later with the wool.

Not all such services are motivated by economic considerations however. One of the very wealthy Indian families in the area does an intermittent trade with neighbours and ex-neighbours in the selling of home-made Indian sweetmeats. The daughters of another wealthy Indian family do occasional dressmaking for White neighbours. Motives for compliance in these cases probably spring partly from a pleasure in performance of a leisure time hobby, but partly from a wish not to offend, to maintain a peaceful co-existence within the neighbourhood.

Occasionally there have been difficulties, the creation of tensions and the arousing of racial consciousness, through tactless blunders of White neighbours who have failed to perceive the socio-economic status of Indian neighbours, or perceiving it, have failed to understand its implications, and have made requests to their Indian neighbours, which have been interpreted as an imposition, and the offer of payment a profound insult. Such an instance was reported by a Muslim woman. "She (a White woman from up the road), came once to have an apron sewn. I told her I did not take in sewing.

She came into my breakfast room with her material and tried to persuade me to sew for her. She invited me to sew the apron for 2/6 or 3/-. I did not feel like having much to do with her so I refused to sew her apron. I might have sewn for another for even less." This behaviour was resented by the Indian woman as resting on the prejudiced assumption that she would have been willing and perhaps even anxious to help a White neighbour, and that she would have been glad of the financial help which the payment of 2/6 or 3/- would have involved.

Thus, although helping within Botanic Gardens is very prevalent, the predominant pattern of this behaviour, whether borrowing or lending, giving goods or selling goods and services, is one in which the Indians serve or lose, and the Whites gain.

There are two important features of visiting between Indians and Whites in Botanic Gardens. The first is the utilitarian basis of most visiting. In two thirds of all the relationships cited there is never any visiting apart from that made in the course of some service between neighbours. This practice was consistent with the attitude expressed by Whites, that friendly association with Indians was acceptable provided that such association had a utilitarian basis, and was not pursued as an end in itself. No such conditions were made for visiting between White and White. The majority of relationships between Whites are definitely non-utilitarian. Of 131 relationships with Whites which the sample of 60 reported, and in which there was visiting, there were 52 instances of some kind of helping accompanying such visiting. In contrast

to this only 1 of the 43 relationships with Indians did not include some kind of helping.

The second feature of visiting between Whites and Indians is the frequency of the pattern in which it is Whites who pay visits to Indians, and only rarely Indians who visit Whites. Amongst the 43 relationships with Indians there are only 19 instances of Indians visiting White homes, as compared to 41 instances of Whites visiting Indian homes. Because 17 of these relationships involve mutual visiting, this means that there are only 2 Indians visiting Whites who do not visit them, and 24 instances of the reverse. Yet these figures are in a sense an understatement of the lack of Indian visiting at White houses. For amongst the 17 instances where there is, what I have termed "mutual" visiting, the Indian partner goes to the White home very rarely compared with the number of instances in which the White goes to the Indian home. The pattern is one of a rare reciprocation rather than mutual equal participation.

This pattern is recognised and maintained by both Whites and Indians. The attitude of many Indians is that they should not intrude into White houses, nor accept too freely White offers of hospitality; at the same time they should indicate their goodwill by an open standing invitation to White neighbours to visit them. The nineteen Indians who do sometimes visit Whites expressed this attitude very clearly. An Indian woman who is visited almost daily by her White neighbour, said "She has invited me to her house and I went once because she was nice and I didn't want her to think I was aloof.

She was very respectful to me, offered me tea, but I told her not to trouble herself." Indians frequently refuse White hospitality. Another woman who reported her polite refusal to drink tea with a White neighbour explained her motives in this way: "It's not that I feel I'm not welcome, but I'd had my breakfast and I don't like her to think I'm forcing myself on her. We're very good friends. When she comes here she always sits down and has tea - she was here only yesterday drinking tea with me." The same attitude is expressed by a young Muslim woman: "I've been to their house about four times, visiting the daughter who is very hospitable. She offers me tea but I refuse." Later she added that this White family were "very much in and out of our house", and that they frequently took food away with them.

Indian reluctance to visit Whites had in some instances quite another basis, as in the case of a younger Indian woman who said of her White neighbour - "She visits me but I do not like to visit her because of the company she keeps." For a few Indians to be visited by Whites, whatever their motives, is a matter of pride and congratulation. Often it is resented, "I don't need Whites coming around with a big smile wanting something and then calling you names behind your back."

Many Whites expressed clearly that they would not welcome any attempts by Indians to visit them. "You can't go too far with them," said one, "or the next thing they'll be knocking at your front door wanting to visit you." Another said: "Of course you don't want them inside your house."

Many Whites were embarrassed at reporting their visiting of Indians. Some justified themselves on the grounds of expanding their general knowledge. They explained their visits to Indians as sight-seeing tours, expeditions to foreign territory. This device was interesting for the manner in which it seemed to highlight the differences between the speaker and his Indian neighbour, and thereby, at least in his own mind, lessen the dangers of identification. But the cultural differences between Whites and Indians do exist and interest many White residents. "I like to walk past Indian houses", said a White woman (who lived in an all-White street). "They sort of fascinate and horrify me. They are so strange with those yellow flowers hanging at the door, and the brass and the darkness inside. You can't ever know what goes on inside."

Other Whites who have lived near Indians for a long time find them neither strange, nor their friendliness embarrassing. A White woman said of her Christian Indian next-door neighbour: "She is such a nice person. She always borrows eggs and I help her with her church bazaar, she's a great church person. Whenever there is something on at the church she comes over and asks me to do something, like knit or bake a cake. As a matter of fact she was the first person I knew when I moved into this street. She came over while I was moving in and said could she help with tea or anything. I thought it was sweet of her. She's just like that." This relationship is unusual in that it was initiated by an Indian who apparently is still responsible for maintaining the relationship. Usually,

however, visiting, like other forms of interaction between Indians and Whites, is initiated and maintained by Whites. The Indian acquiescence with this pattern illustrates the attitudes of the majority of Indians in the neighbourhood; passive, watchful, ready to respond to White gestures of acceptance, but taking no initiative themselves, lest in so doing they upset the equilibrium of the neighbourhood. White anxieties about interracial association must be kept at a minimum.

The utilitarian basis of so much of the visiting between Whites and Indians in the neighbourhood serves to accentuate the interrelated nature of the two activities. In assessing the intimacy of relationships between Indians and Whites we cannot, on the basis of these two criteria, helping and visiting, establish two simple categories. "Helping" is common to nearly all relationships. The term "visiting" covers a very wide range of behaviour. Some refinement is necessary before the term can be used as a criterion for intimacy in relationships. Frequency of visiting is not a particularly useful index. There can be a high frequency yet little intimacy in relationships. The utilitarian basis of visiting is a satisfactory index because we have the comparable figures for relationships with Whites on the basis of which we may reasonably assume that visiting which is not linked to some utilitarian function is more intimate, and less racially conscious, than that which is also utilitarian. I have defined visiting as "any occasion on which one neighbour deliberately entered the house of another." The range is from regular protracted conversations, sitting at ease

and drinking tea, to an isolated occasion of standing momentarily in a hallway or living room. But the continuum for this kind of behaviour begins even before this. We could establish some crude scale of "penetration" into a neighbour's property, beginning with interaction over the gate or fence. During the fieldwork it was in fact established for every relationship whether one stopped at the gate or went into the garden, stopped at the door or entered the house. In this range we have a fairly sensitive index of intimacy.

The 79 relationships between Indians and Whites have been grouped into four categories on the basis of three criteria: helping, visiting, and the degree of "penetration" of neighbour's property. Each category represents an increasing intimacy in the relationships between neighbours. Each category is described in some detail for it is here that we get some insight into the kind of behaviour occurring between Indians and Whites, and something of the process by which these relationships are established.

GROUP A. Where there was greeting, talking in the street, but never any visiting nor helping of any kind. (20 relationships).

Twenty of the 79 relationships which were described involve participants in neither visiting nor borrowing of any kind. They were of a casual nature, where people greeted or talked, but that was the limit of their friendliness.

The figure of 20 does not, however, by any means accurately represent the extent of this casual talking or greeting behaviour. It includes only those instances in

which the name and/or address of the participants were supplied during the interview and it therefore excludes the mass of casual greetings and conversational exchanges in which people do not know or are uncertain of or reluctant to acknowledge the precise identity of the person they address, above recognising him as a fellow neighbour. Such relationships are, however, not by any means irrelevant. Conversely, their presence or absence has much to do with creating the social atmosphere in which more intimate relationships can develop. General questions were asked of informants concerning this social atmosphere, and casual greeting in the neighbourhood. The replies all pointed to the extreme importance of greeting as a social activity within the multi-racial neighbourhood. Amongst the majority of the Whites it is an acceptable demonstration of friendliness towards Indians. It is the acceptable manner in which to demonstrate goodwill towards Indian neighbours without incurring the displeasure of other White neighbours. There were some instances of Whites and Indians living close to each other and yet choosing deliberately to refuse to greet one another. Apart from a demonstration of goodwill it is a means of communication and the satisfaction of a natural curiosity about neighbours, whatever the colour of their skin.

Whites were sometimes reported to use opportunities provided them, through passing Indians in the street or at their gates, for asking questions; sometimes to satisfy curiosity about some culturally foreign matter like an Indian wedding or religious holiday; sometimes to prepare the way for later requests for help of some

kind, such as help with sewing, or fruit from the garden. At the same time there is some anxiety on the part of Whites that any exhibition of friendliness towards Indians might be misinterpreted by them as an invitation to a more intimate friendship. A White woman says, "You greet them today and tomorrow they're on your doorstep thinking they're as good as you are. As far as I'm concerned they don't exist."

For Indians, greeting is important perhaps firstly as a kind of social barometer, indicating the warmth of White neighbour attitudes towards them. Many Indians display a keen sensitivity to this casual greeting and talking behaviour, to the point of remembering years later the dates on which certain families first started greeting them. At the same time they are aware of the anxiety which many Whites feel about displaying any friendliness at all. They adjust to this anxiety with a reticence to greet Whites unless greeted first. They keep a passive, but alert, receptivity to any friendly overtures made by Whites. Often this hesitance to take the initiative remains long after a first greeting has taken place. An Indian woman explained herself, "It's not that I'm ~~sh~~obbbish but I like people to know that I know my place." Another said, "I greet the people who greet me. I don't like people to think I am pushing in." And a young man describes his relationship with his White neighbour - "I greet her whenever our eyes meet."

Other Indians report their disappointment and anger at this White anxiety and the consequent coldness and unpredictability of subsequent behaviour of the Whites.

"I have been greeting them for over a year but we have never got any further than that. They're not like Indians, they remain aloof." Another said, "We had been greeting on and off for a long time. Then I had occasion to deliver a letter to her, but she was quite cold and left me standing on the doorstep."

Although most Whites regard the greeting of Indian neighbours as acceptable behaviour within the neighbourhood, this does not mean that such behaviour is acceptable to them beyond the neighbourhood. Many Indians remarked bitterly: "But they don't want to know you in West Street." An Indian businessman who had for a year been greeting daily a White neighbour, described how he one day inadvertently greeted him in the presence of a group of his White friends at a bus stop. "He pretended not to know me. Since then I have stopped greeting him." Whites frequently expressed their concern about this possibility of encountering their Indian neighbours beyond the neighbourhood and the embarrassment which this might cause.

Group 2. Where there was helping but no visiting save isolated instances of going into gardens (not houses): (16 relationships).

All relationships falling into this category were between close neighbours, and were characterised by the irregular spasmodic nature of the service provided. There were two distinct groups within this category however. In the first group the relationship was one of long-standing, established, yet slight friendship between very old residents. Six of the Whites who fell within this group

had been living in the area before the coming of Indians to the neighbourhood; the Indians involved in these relationships were similarly amongst the oldest of Indian residents. It was amongst this group that Whites were to be found helping Indians, rather than Indians helping Whites. The kind of assistance provided by Whites is in itself interesting: in one instance Whites offered the use of their washing line to Indians whose own line was inadequate. In another instance Indians stored perishable food in the refrigerator of White neighbours.

In the second group the relationships had existed for a very short time (in four instances for less than a month preceding the interview) and they may well have been about to develop beyond this rather casual level.

Group 3: Where there was helping, with regular visits to each other's property, sometimes coupled with isolated visits inside each other's houses (20 instances).

The pattern of helping and visiting was predominantly one of Whites going to Indian neighbours. Amongst these 20 relationships, Whites went to Indians in 19 instances, as compared with only 8 instances of Indians going to Whites. (In 7 instances the behaviour was reciprocal).

Visiting, such as it is in this category, was nearly always strictly in the service of the satisfaction of some practical need, and never a purely friendly gesture. However, 3 instances were reported of Indians visiting Whites in times of crisis, twice when a death occurred in a White family, and once in time of illness.

Both Whites and Indians participating in these relationships expressed in various ways the social distance between themselves and these neighbours, the maintenance of which was consciously pursued by both Whites and Indians. Thus an Indian woman whose White neighbour used to come regularly to her house to make and receive telephone calls, said - "But I never chat to her. I keep my distance. Sometimes in the garden we chat over the fence." And a White man says of his Indian neighbour whom he sees frequently and from whom he borrows car tools, "All the time I'm with him I am thinking that I mustn't go too far or else he'll think he's a pal of mine."

It might be supposed that relationships falling into this group were good, warm relationships in embryonic form, relationships which, given time, would develop more intimate forms of behaviour. Two facts contradict this supposition. First, four fifths of all the relationships reported in this group were between very close neighbours. In other words the participants had every chance to develop such relationships. Secondly the great majority of these relationships had existed in this present form for a considerable time. They were not the initial phase of what promised to become a more intimate friendship. They constituted a distinct pattern, whose main elements were (a) some service, which in turn necessitated (b) some degree of visiting, but this visiting was deliberately maintained at a low level of intimacy. Entering of houses was avoided where possible. The satisfaction of the need was the chief end. Recognition of the individual satisfying the need was minimal.

Group 4: Where there were regular visits inside each other's houses, sometimes for utilitarian purposes, sometimes for purely social purposes, and frequently accompanied by the drinking of tea, meals. (23 instances).

There were 23 instances of this kind of relationship and these may be further sub-divided into two groups. The first consists of 15 relationships which were intimate enough for casual visiting without any pretext of borrowing or service. Neighbours felt free to visit simply to talk to each other. This did not preclude the possibility that these neighbours could and frequently did, call on each other for assistance of various kinds. But they are distinguished by the fact that this excuse, the utilitarian motive, was not essential to the visit.

The second group consists of eight relationships in which there were regular visits inside one another's houses but always as a means to some practical end. This latter group was not, however, for all its utilitarian basis, any less friendly than the former.

The nature and the length of visits varied from time to time. They were often morning visits between housewives, sometimes they were made in the late afternoon and evening between working men and women. They varied in length with the time of day and the purpose of the visit. Conversation seemed usually to be the inconsequential small talk, common to neighbours everywhere. For example, a Christian Indian woman in Ritson Road said, "She comes to use the phone, or something, two or three times a month. She will sit for a while and talk, tell me about her old place in Margate, or she'll discuss cooking or illness." The daughter of this family reported that this White woman liked to ask her about her "boy friends" and "how Indians

get married."

For three Whites falling into this final category, Indians provided an outlet for pent-up emotions, and a source of considerable material assistance in times of trouble. These were people who for various reasons were beset by numerous personal problems, and who turned to Indians in times of crisis out of the belief that Indians, alone of their neighbours, would be prepared to help them. An Indian involved in one such relationship described his neighbour: "She's full of troubles and she's always at our house with them, borrowing money which she doesn't repay, husband in gaol, children in hospital. One feels sorry for her." Another Indian recounts her White neighbour expressing regret at approaching an Indian neighbour, in thisway "She said she was sorry to run to me but I was the only person that's got a bit of understanding."

Language did not necessarily preclude the development of friendliness between neighbours. There was one instance in this category of a warm and friendly relationship developing between a Gujarati-speaking woman and a White neighbour. The Indian woman said: "She comes here quite often. Sometimes she has tea. We cannot speak much because of the language difficulty, but we remain cordial, appreciating each other's presence."¹

1. Translated from an interview conducted in Gujarati.

The factor of race would appear to inhibit both the quantity and the intimacy of friendliness between Indians and Whites. The sample of 60 Whites between them claim to know by name 470 Whites in the neighbourhood, as compared to 35 Indians; for every Indian known there is an average of over 13 Whites known, in a population where the overall ratio of Indians to Whites is more than 1 in 2. The same sample claim to visit between them 131 Whites, as compared with 12 Indians. They claim to be involved in helping activity with Whites in 52 instances, as compared to 16 instances with Indians. For the neighbourhood as a whole therefore, the proportion of Indian/White relationships is fairly low, and much lower than we should expect were the investigation being made in a racially undiscriminating society.

CHAPTER VII

Coloureds - Interaction with Whites and Indians

Because Whites and Indians are numerically the two largest racial groups in the neighbourhood, it is the relationship between these two groups which forms the proper first focus of the study. The third group, the Coloureds, although relatively few in number, are a significant part of the population. The diversity amongst Coloureds, both in standard of living and in skin colour, tends to prevent the development of two distinct categories in the neighbourhood, White and non-White. Coloureds constitute a continuum between Whites and Indians, represented at one extreme by the person of Coloured ancestry who has successfully passed into the White group, and at the other by the Coloured who is fully identified with non-Whites and who may have married into the Indian group. People in the area (both White and Indian) were never entirely sure which of their neighbours were White. They frequently said such things as, "You don't know who's European in these parts and who's not."

One interesting feature of the response of Whites to questions concerning Coloured neighbours was the frequency with which they were either not prepared, or not able to make comments about Coloureds. This group (approximately one fifth of the sample) denied any knowledge of Coloureds. They said they had "never seen Coloureds around here." Some made evasive replies, "I'm not prepared to say. I'm not the sort who has ever had any association with Coloureds, but its not to say I'm against them." This lack of comment

might have been a consequence of the small size of the Coloured group, both in the neighbourhood and in Durban generally, resulting in a real ignorance about Coloureds. It is unlikely that the lack of comment indicated a lack in prejudice. Studies of racial attitudes have demonstrated the readiness of people to make statements about groups they have never met, and to express attitudes towards fictitious groups invented by the questioner.

Most Whites described their Coloured neighbours favourably. They are "nice neighbours", quiet, "decent" people. They impress local Whites as "respectable," "good class" and, in the case of five respondents, explicitly "better than Indians." Only four adverse comments were made, describing local Coloureds as "dirty", "drinkers" with "huge families".

In contrast to Coloureds of the neighbourhood, Coloureds as a whole are rated low by Whites in the area. Three-quarters of all comments are highly unfavourable, depicting Coloureds as "cheeky", "rough" and "noisy". Only one person compared local Coloureds unfavourably with Coloureds generally. The others believed that their Coloured neighbours were different from, and far better than most Coloureds in Durban.

I have grouped the attitudes of Whites towards personal friendliness with Coloured neighbours into four categories, ranging from very favourable to extremely disapproving.

TABLE XXII

Attitudes of White towards friendliness with
Coloured neighbours.

Highly favourable.	7
Favourable.	31
Unfavourable.	15
Highly unfavourable.	7
TOTAL:	60

The distribution of attitudes within the four categories indicates that a clear majority of Whites think that some sort of friendship towards Coloureds is acceptable. Seven of these expressed very favourable attitudes to Coloureds. One woman said, "Any time she (Coloured neighbour) invites me over, I'll go. She comes to my place too, and I make her tea, what's more." Others indicated limits to the extent of which they would be friendly, either by limiting the degree of intimacy, ("Its alright to associate but I don't think I'd like to go inside their houses and be really friendly") or by restricting their relationships to certain of their Coloured neighbours only, ("They're better than the Indians, it's O.K. to visit the decent ones.")

Those who objected to friendliness with Coloureds ranged from those who were prepared to make some concessions (such as greeting) to the extremists who "think its very bad." They say "It's not nice to know them" and "I don't have anything to do with them."

There was a fair consistency between these attitudes to Coloureds and the extent of relationships with Coloureds

reported by Whites. Amongst those who knew no Coloured neighbours there were those who nevertheless expressed approval of the idea of friendliness with Coloureds. But amongst those who knew Coloureds only one in six had expressed unfavourable attitudes to such behaviour. While nobody deliberately flaunted what they believed to be the attitude of their White neighbours towards contact between Coloureds and Whites, they tended once again to describe these attitudes as more disapproving, less tolerant than their own personal attitudes.

As many as two-thirds of these perceived of the attitudes of the Whites in the neighbourhood were classified as unfriendly and disapproving of interracial friendliness. These attitudes ranged from active dislike of Coloureds, "They're very much against them" to a more passive attitude, "They act as if they weren't there." Many people said that friendliness with Coloureds led to social ostracism; "They're sort of disgusted by any sort of friendliness to Coloureds," "They look down on you," "They regard you as lowering yourself. They say you've got no respect for yourself." Only a third of the sample thought that friendliness between Indians and Whites was at all prevalent in the neighbourhood.

Very few studies have been made comparing the attitudes of South African Whites to different racial groups. In a recent study of attitudes amongst University students in Natal, White Gentiles both English- and Afrikaans-speaking, revealed very extreme hostility towards Indians, the rejection of whom was most marked in comparison with other racial groups.¹ While the attitudes of Whites in Botanic

1. T.F. Pettigrew, op cit., pp. 247-248.

Gardens showed none of this extremism, there was nevertheless a preference for Coloureds rather than Indians, and a greater degree of intimate behaviour with Coloureds than with Indians.

Because of the small numbers of the Coloureds in Botanic Gardens we would expect, (other factors being held constant), that in terms of sheer numbers they would participate in fewer relationships with neighbours than either other group. In other words, we would expect Whites to know fewer Coloureds than Indians, Indians to know fewer Coloureds than Whites. Specifically, we should expect a comparison of the proportion in which any particular race group occupies the neighbourhood and the proportion of relationships between that group and any other group in the neighbourhood to yield a ratio of 1. Thus if 50% in the neighbourhood are White, we should expect these Whites to participate in 50% of all the friendships in that area, yielding a ratio $\frac{50\%}{50\%} = 1$. In so far as such a ratio is greater than 1, it indicates a situation in which the particular group is overactive in neighbourhood relations. In so far as the ratio is less than 1 it indicates a situation in which the particular group is underactive in neighbourhood relations.

These ratios have been calculated with reference to relationships of the Whites in the neighbourhood, in order to compare the volume of relationships of Whites with Indians and with Coloureds.

TABLE XXIII

Ratios showing the deviation of the real distribution from the expected distribution of the relationships of Whites.

	Whites	Indians	Coloureds	Total
1. Percentage population (The expected distribution).	49.0	31.5	19.5	100%
2. Percentage of relationships occurring in each group (the real distribution).	82.6	6.3	11.1	100%
Ratio $\frac{(2)}{(1)}$	1.7	0.2	0.6	1

This ratio for Whites in respect of their relationships with Coloureds is thus 0.6. In contrast to this the ratio in respect of Indians is only 0.2. In other words Whites in the neighbourhood have more frequent contact with Coloureds in the area than with Indians. Various factors could effect this result. One could be the relative proximity of Whites to the two groups. The relative distance of Whites from both Indians and Coloureds is, however, identical; Whites have a mean proximity score of 0.76 from both Indians and Coloureds. To this extent the ratios are therefore comparable. Differences between them would seem to be based on racial factors, or some racially-linked cultural factor.

The apparent preference of Whites for Coloureds rather than Indians, as indicated in Table XXIII, is not simply a function of the unequal representation of Coloureds and Indians in the neighbourhood. In spite of

the small size of the Coloured group in sheer numbers , there are more Whites reporting friendly relations with Coloureds than with Indians. Further, each of these Whites reporting these relationships participates in a greater number of friendly relationships with Coloureds than the comparative group of Whites who are friendly with Indians.¹

To a considerable extent these two groups, those friendly with Coloureds, and those friendly with Indians, overlapped.

TABLE XXIV

The participation of Whites in interracial relationships.

No relationship with Indians or Coloureds	29
Relationship with Coloureds only.	7
Relationship with Indians only.	6
Relationship with Indians and Coloureds.	18
TOTAL:	60

From Table XXIV we see that more than half the sample are friendly with at least one non-White resident in the neighbourhood.

There was a marked similarity between individual attitudes to Indians and attitudes to Coloureds. In four fifths of all cases people were consistent in attitude to the idea of association with non-Whites, regardless of

1. Whites who associate with Indians know an average of 1.5 Indians each. Whites who associate with Coloureds know an average of 2.4 Coloureds each.

whether the non-White was Indian or Coloured. In almost half of all instances Whites were favourable, regardless of group; in slightly less than one third they were unfavourable, regardless of group. The remaining fifth had specific and distinct attitudes to friendliness with Indians or Coloureds, accepting the one group, rejecting the other. Nevertheless Coloureds emerged as consistently more acceptable to Whites than Indians. What factors contribute to the greater acceptability of Coloureds in the neighbourhood?

Income and socio-economic status would appear to have little relevance. Broadly speaking the Coloureds are the poorest of the three neighbourhood groups, living in the worst houses, and having the lowest standard of education and working in the least skilled occupations. The cultural similarity of Whites and Coloureds presents itself as a possible factor. Whites and Coloureds share common languages, a common religion and a common background of ideas and values. They share a common pattern of daily living; they cook in the same way, eat the same sort of food, dress in the same way. One White woman said: "It's not so bad to mix with Coloureds because they're more like us." The similarity goes beyond these cultural factors to physical factors. There is the awareness of a common racial ancestry of Whites and Coloureds, a factor which in South Africa may carry considerable emotional importance. In some features Indians may resemble Whites more closely than Coloureds do; but the physical similarities of Indians are offset by the ideas of their different racial origin, and an awareness of a cultural difference which, at least superficially, is greater than any cultural similarity.

And, paradoxically, in Botanic Gardens, the high standard of education and professional status which many Indians in the neighbourhood have achieved, may serve to separate them along yet another dimension, from their White neighbours.

The importance of racial factors as a major determinant of relationships between Whites and non-Whites is underlined by the relatively high proportion of instances in which the Coloureds participating in these relationships with Whites were in fact the Play-Whites. Although Play-Whites constitute less than a third of all Coloureds, they participated in almost half of all reported associations between Whites and Coloureds. It is this group which bears the greatest similarity to Whites in appearance, through its aspirations, in behaviour and values.

In Table XXIII, I calculated the ratio of association for Whites with Coloureds as 0.6. If we break down the Coloured group into two sub-groups, the Play-Whites and the true Coloureds, and calculate the ratios of each group separately, then White relationships with Play-Whites yield a high ratio of .9, indicating practically no discrimination¹ while the ratio for darker Coloureds drops to .4, closer to the Indian ratio of 0.2.

1. A score of 1 in this particular series is still a long way behind the ratio for relationships with other Whites, which are cited disproportionately often (a ratio of 1.7).

The attitudes of Coloureds to the interracial neighbourhood and to White and Indian neighbours is of particular interest in providing information about the direction in which the Coloureds identify in the neighbourhood, whether with Whites or non-Whites, and whether such identification is related to the skin colour and 'race status' of the particular Coloureds, i.e. whether there are any differences in attitudes or behaviour between darker-skinned "non-White" Coloureds and lighter-skinned "play-White" Coloureds.

The Coloured group is the most overcrowded of the three neighbourhood groups.¹ There are fewer dwellings occupied by Coloureds than any other group. They are not concentrated into any particular street or segment of the neighbourhood; but are scattered thinly at random throughout the area.

In Table XXV Coloured residents have been given scores to measure their proximity to the three neighbourhood groups.

TABLE XXV

Proximity scores of the Coloureds to the three race groups in the neighbourhood.

Racial Group	Average proximity score
Whites.	2.52
Indians.	1.91
Coloureds.	1.43

Thus we see that Coloureds have a greater number of White neighbours than they have Coloured or Indian neighbours.

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1. Coloureds have an average of 7.8 people per dwelling, compared with 4.2 for Whites and 5.6 for Indians.

Furthermore, they live further from Coloureds than from any other group. This is the distribution we would expect in a population in which the largest group is the White group, and the smallest the Coloured group. If relationships were unaffected by racial factors, we would expect Coloureds to have more relationships with Whites than with any other group. Not only are Whites the largest group, but they are the group living closest to Coloureds.

Interviews conducted with a sample of 27 Coloureds showed, however, that racial factors are operative, that in spite of their location, Coloureds have more contact with Coloureds than with either other group. Whites whose size and proximity to Coloureds should have increased their likelihood of friendliness with Coloureds, have a ratio of only 0.62. Coloureds clearly avoid both Whites and Indians. The reason for this avoidance cannot be one of location, since both Whites and Indians are relatively closer to Coloureds than the Coloureds themselves are.

TABLE XXVI

Ratios showing the deviation of the real distribution from the expected distribution of the relationships of Coloureds.

	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Total
(1) Percentage population. (The expected distribution).	48.9%	19.5%	31.5%	100%
(2) Percentage of relationships occurring in each group. (The real distribution).	30.2%	48.1%	21.7%	100%
Ratio $\frac{(2)}{(1)}$	0.62	0.69	2.45	1

Did the attitudes of Coloureds corroborate this ethnocentric preference? Was the apparent avoidance of non-Coloured groups deliberate policy, initiated by Coloureds, or was this racial pattern forced on Coloureds by other groups? At the beginning of this Chapter we mentioned the problem of identification of Coloureds in the neighbourhood, whether with White or non-White. What can we learn of this problem from a comparison of their attitudes to Whites and Indians?

Coloureds have widely differing impressions of their White neighbours. A third described them as "friendly", "easy to get to know", "pleasant" people. It is interesting that all save two of the Coloured sample described Whites in behavioural terms, in terms of association, of friendliness or unfriendliness. This contrasts sharply with the manner in which Whites described their non-White neighbours. This difference would seem to reflect the roles and attitudes of the two groups; the Whites do not think in terms of association with non-Whites, but the Coloureds think constantly in terms of their acceptability as measured by friendliness of Whites.

Nearly all Coloureds favoured friendliness and contact with White neighbours. A certain prestige was attached to intimacy with Whites. Many Coloureds said that their families "would be very pleased" and "would think it was very nice" if they became friendly with Whites. The basis for this prestige was scorned by one young man who disapproved friendliness with Whites as a method of "social climbing". Some people were reticent to take the initiative. "It would be alright if they made the first move." However,

the behaviour is not without inherent dangers. "It's alright as long as you don't try to get above yourself." Nearly all of the sample do, moreover, perceive the rest of their Coloured neighbours as slightly less in favour of the notion of such friendliness than they themselves are.

Coloured descriptions of Indians were also primarily behavioural, always favourable, sometimes envious, referring to the "lovely homes", the wealth, good education and "high class" of Indian neighbours. There was an interesting difference between the concepts of a "good" White neighbour and a "good" Indian neighbour. While Whites were praised for their friendliness, and criticised for their reticence, Indians were praised for their unobtrusive and retiring manner. Thus it was said, "They never worry us," "They're not the kind to force any unwanted contact on you", and "They're very quiet". Two critical comments on the behaviour of Indians both depicted them as over-familiar, and over-friendly. One informant said: "Sometimes they're a bit too forward. They'll whistle at my wife; they don't know where to stop". The other said "They'll take advantage of you if you're too nice to them". There was complete unanimity that the Indians of the neighbourhood were far better in every way than Indians usually are. There was a general feeling that "other Indians" were not the kind of people one wished to get to know.

On the basis of their statements about Indians, Coloureds can be divided into two groups:

- (a) those who regarded friendliness with Indians as acceptable, and participated freely in such behaviour. (12 instances).
- (b) those who had reservations of one sort or another about such friendliness. (10 instances).

In addition there was a small group of five people, who had very little personal contact with Indians but who attributed this to Indian unfriendliness and reserve.

Those who are friendly with Indians regard this as normal and acceptable within the neighbourhood. They made such comments as: "I'm a neighbour to everybody. All colours are welcome in my house. Because I'm a Coloured most of my friends are Indians"; "All the Coloureds are friendly with Indians. My closest friend is an Indian"; "We're very close to Indians, we see them as ourselves".

The ten people in the second group, explained their personal reservations about friendship with Indians in this way: "To stop and talk or to visit when sick, that is just civility. But it shouldn't be a habit. A person must choose his friends"; "It's alright to be friendly with Indians as long as you don't actually 'go around' with them, like to the cinema". An attractive 10 year old girl said "Indians are too ready to become intimate. If you give them the tip of your nail, they take the whole hand". A light-skinned woman said: "I'm a naturally friendly person but you can't be friendly in this neighbourhood; it's all Indians and you can't mix up with them."

Very simply the two groups are, first, those Coloureds who feel themselves to be "non-Whites" and a part of a larger "non-White" group, and secondly, those who feel themselves to be separate from other non-Whites. This

latter group included both very dark-skinned Coloureds and light-skinned Coloureds with aspirations to assimilate with Whites.

Race and colour consciousness was reflected constantly in comments of Coloureds. As members of the minority group in the neighbourhood, and moreover, a minority sandwiched as it were between White and non-White, they find it difficult to put aside thoughts of race. Thus, in describing and evaluating Botanic Gardens as an area in which to live, more than half the Coloureds made mention of their experience of colour discrimination and the colour bar within the neighbourhood. Sometimes this was at an impersonal level, the threat of the Group Areas Act, the 'colour bar', and the lack of recreational facilities for Coloured children who are prohibited from playing on the fields of the White government school. The criticism by Coloureds of the local bus service probably implied a further reference to colour discrimination. In contrast a great many Whites described the close proximity to a good bus service as one of the area's chief advantages. Sometimes Coloureds referred to personal experiences of racial discrimination. One woman said: "There is a constant misunderstanding between Whites and Coloureds".

The racial heterogeneity of the area is at the same time perceived as an asset. "It gives you a chance to mix

with Whites", said one. "You have an opportunity to improve yourself in a mixed area", said another; and, "In a mixed area like this you get an exchange of ideas". While only two people expressed a positive dislike of the area, a third would like to move, given the opportunity.

Table XXVI summarised the amount of association between Coloureds and other groups. In terms of sheer numbers, Coloureds know fewer Indians than they do Whites. But if we take into consideration the size of the Indian group, which is smaller than the White group, then Coloureds know proportionately more Indians than we would expect, other things being equal. The ratio of association with Indians is 0.69 as compared with 0.62 for Whites (where 1 represents no apparent racial bias in selection). This very slight over-selection of Indians as against Whites becomes more pronounced when we consider that Coloureds live further from Indians than from Whites. The mean proximity score for Whites is 1.91, for Indians 2.52. The actual number of relationships with Indians may, of course, have been higher than reported. Because interviews with Coloureds were conducted by White fieldworkers, there is the possibility of an emotional impetus to recollect clearly relationships with Whites and to forget casual relationships with Indians.

Moving beyond these gross scores to a more refined examination of the nature of relationships which Coloureds have with Indians and Whites, it becomes apparent that relationships with Indians were of a more intimate nature than relationships with Whites. In Table XXVII I have broken down these relationships into three categories of

intimacy, by the criteria of visiting, helping and greeting.

TABLE XXVII

The comparative intimacy of the relationships of
Coloureds with the three neighbourhood groups.

Group	Total No. of Relationships	Degree of Intimacy			Total
		Visiting	Helping	Greeting	
Coloureds.	126	43%	9%	48%	100%
Indians.	57	38%	16%	46%	100%
Whites.	79	24%	19%	57%	100%
TOTAL:	262	36%	14%	50%	100%

Thus 38% of all relationships with Indians permit visiting, compared with 24% for Whites. There are both a greater number and also a greater proportion of intimate relations with Indians, over and against Whites. Less intimate behaviour, such as greeting, predominates in relationships with Whites. As many as 57% of all the associations with Whites are at the distant, casual level of greeting. The comparative figure for Indians is 46%.

If we break down the total of 57 relationships which Coloureds reported with Indians, we find the sample of 27 Coloureds once again divided into two groups. The first group (12) had very little contact with Indians. Nobody in this group knew more than 1 Indian, and between them they knew only 11 Indians. The second group (14) had a very high rate of association with Indians; between them they knew 46 Indians. There was a tendency for Coloureds in the first group to have a lower rate of association with all groups. They had a mean gross association score of 8.3 per person, compared with a score of 11 for those in the

second group. Two distinct patterns emerge once again; identification is either clearly with non-Whites, or it is not.

In Table XXVIII, I have calculated a ratio to express the difference in intimacy between relationships with Indians, and the standards for all Coloured relationships. Insofar as the ratio is less than 1 for any activity it indicates a lack of that activity; insofar as it is greater than 1 it indicates overactivity.

TABLE XXVIII

The Comparative Intimacy of Relationships between Coloureds and Indians with the Average Standards for Relationships of Coloureds.

	Degree of Intimacy			Total
	Visiting	Helping	Greeting	
(1) Distribution of Coloured relationships with Indians.	38%	16%	46%	100%
(2) Proportional distribution of Coloured relationships with all groups.	36%	14%	50%	100%
Ratio $\frac{(1)}{(2)}$	1.05	1.19	0.91	1

The ratios of 1.05 and 1.19 for visiting and helping behaviour respectively indicate that amongst relationships between Coloureds and Indians this behaviour occurs slightly more frequently than we would expect. It is, however, more interesting to see how very little these ratios differ from the expected figure of 1. Relations with Indians would seem to occupy an intermediate position, with Coloureds being particularly intimate amongst themselves, and most distant from Whites.

Very few of the Coloured sample perceived the relations between Coloureds and either of the other two neighbourhood groups as unfriendly. Five said relations with Indians were bad, apportioning the blame for this on the Coloureds themselves; one said that relations with Whites were bad, blaming the Whites. These perceptions of the state of relations of Coloureds with Indians and Whites, are summarised in Table XXIX.

TABLE XXIX

Coloured estimates of the degree of friendliness of the Coloured group with Indians and Whites.

	Number of Coloureds estimating relationships as:		
	Poor and Unfriendly	Warm and Friendly	Neutral and Reserved
Whites ^x	1	11	13
Indians	5	11	11

^x Two people gave no estimate in respect of Whites.

Some of the people who described relations with Indians as reserved, believed that this reserve came from the Indians, whom they described as clannish, "finding a pleasure in themselves"; "they think they're better than us"; "snobbish". But the majority thought that it was the Coloureds who were cold and reserved towards the Indians, who would have responded warmly had they been invited to. The majority of people who described relations between Coloureds and Whites as reserved, said that the reservations were made by the Whites, that Coloureds were prepared and willing to associate freely with Whites. Coloureds describe a position in which relations between Indians and

Coloureds are inhibited primarily by Coloured attitudes; relations between Whites and Coloureds are inhibited primarily by White attitudes.

In Table XXX the intimacy of relations between Whites and Coloureds is compared with the standards for all relationships of Coloureds.

TABLE XXX

Comparison of the intimacy of relationships between Coloureds and Indians, and the average standards for relationships of Coloureds.

	<u>Degree of Intimacy</u>			Total
	<u>:Visiting:</u>	<u>Helping:</u>	<u>Greeting:</u>	
(1) Distribution of Coloured relationships with Whites.	24%	19%	57%	100%
(2) Distribution of Coloured relationships with all groups.	36%	14%	50%	100%
Ratio $\frac{(1)}{(2)}$	0.67	1.42	1.32	1

Taking into account that the average standards of intimacy of relationships of Coloureds include relationships with the White group, we see that there is a clear difference in the kind of behaviour between Coloureds and Whites, and between Coloureds and non-Whites.

The main features of this difference are first, the high proportion of instances in which relationships with Whites are of the kind in which there is helping. This is substantiated when we consider that although Whites participate in only a third of all Coloureds' relationships, they participate in 42.9% of those relationships in which there is helping without visiting. The second feature is the comparatively low proportion of instances in which there

is visiting between Whites and Coloureds; only 20% of all the Coloureds' visiting relationships are with White neighbours though Whites are almost half the population.

Coloured statements concerning friendliness with White neighbours indicated the widely felt presence of various deterrents to the creation of intimate relationships.

These were, in order of frequency:-

1. Hazards to Coloureds:
 - (a) Uncertainty of prevailing White mores; fear of destroying existing goodwill through over-intimacy;
 - (b) Uncertainty of response; fear to take initiative, fearing rebuff.
2. White attitudes which discourage friendship.
3. Pre-knowledge of the limitations which will be placed on the relationship, through prevailing mores.
4. Bitterness to Whites.
5. Coloured group loyalty.

1. Hazards to Coloureds: (a) fear of destroying goodwill:

This hazard arises out of a lack of familiarity by Coloureds with the attitudes of Whites, and a mistrust of accepting White attitudes at their apparent face value, particularly when these encourage intimacy. This attitude of mistrust on the part of the local Coloureds was particularly interesting in that it led to a rejection of a number of White invitations to greater intimacy, and this in spite of the fact that these invitations were one of the much-desired goals of the Coloured group. The rejection was in fact largely because the intimacy with Whites was so desired as a goal. It was felt that White/Coloured relations were generally a little too precarious to weather

the potential hazards which intimate mixing might involve.

This fear to become intimate was expressed by many people who said such things as, "When I go to their house I never have tea even when they ask me. I never sit down. You don't like them to think that you don't know your place". Another said: "If you visit Whites they wouldn't think so good of you. They'd think you were trying to get above yourself". A Coloured housewife said: "I call them Mam; they like to know that you know there's a difference between you", and another said, "One tried to borrow but I discouraged that. You don't want to get too intimate".

(b) Fear to take initiative:

There was a constant repetition of the idea that it was best to leave the initiative in creating and sustaining relationships entirely to the Whites. A housewife said: "The White people we speak to are the ones who spoke first; it's a question of colour; you don't want to push in. You don't know whether they'd snub you." Another said: "We had to wait and then reciprocate". One woman reflected this policy of passivity in the way she brought up her children. She restricted her children's play entirely to the yard, saying, "I don't want them to be forced on other people".

2. Pre-knowledge of the limitations:

There was a strong feeling that relationships with Whites were doomed to remain constantly at a very superficial level because of the opposition of White norms to intimacy beyond a certain casual level. This was expressed particularly by young Coloured boys, who failed to accept

philosophically the discrimination against them because of their colour, and who were usually close enough in time to the interracial intimacy of childhood to resent the barrier at adulthood.

One said, "You know all the time that when you grow up you will grow apart. It's a reciprocal thing, part of the colour bar". Another said, "When I played with them I always thought of them as White children. I knew I couldn't go places where they went".

A Coloured housewife said: "Mrs. S. (White) would stay and talk comfortably but she is afraid of what others would say". And again, "The children come to the house if it's a special occasion, but they sneak in. Once inside they're quite comfortable."

3. Excessive group consciousness:

Comments in this category were very group-centred. They were made by people who perceived the Whites and Coloureds as belonging to two divergent and irreconcilable camps, between whom there must sooner or later, develop open conflict.

The comments, though rare, are interesting. One boy said, "Many Coloured people keep off friendships with Whites because they know they may have to break off these friendships soon. They know that there is trouble coming and that they will be on the other side". Another said: "When I just see a White man I often feel a bitterness I just cannot control". If we consider this small group of 7 Coloureds who know no more than one White family in the neighbourhood, we observe that they have a generally low

level of association with people of all races in the area, with an average association score per person of only 7.4 of which Indians are a relatively smaller proportion than Coloureds. There is no correlation between proximity to Whites and the number of Whites known. This group of Coloureds who know one or no Whites is exactly average in terms of proximity to Whites.

4. Discouraging White Attitudes:

Coloureds comment constantly on the manner in which Whites discourage contact with them. A young Coloured adolescent says: "You don't get any verbal insults; it's just the way they look at you". Coloured housewives say, "Barrier is their way of life", "None of the Whites are hasty to speak to you", and "Whites round here are a bit snobbish". The overall impression from this type of comment is of a group of Whites whose policy is to keep interaction at a minimum.

A number of Coloureds volunteered statements of their personal preferences for Whites or Indians. There was no agreement amongst them in evaluating White and Indian neighbours. Four people said that there was no difference between Whites and Indians. They were people who had no particular wish to associate with either group; "The Indians are like the Whites; I'm not in the habit of getting too friendly with either of them". Another four people expressed personal preference for Whites. Each of these four indicated or implied that they were following majority opinions in this matter. One such remark was "It's always right in principle to visit a White, even

though in practice you may not visit any more Whites than you do Indians". And a young boy expressed his family's attitudes when he said, "My mother likes me to mix with Europeans. She wouldn't have Indians in the house. She wishes I was a European".

Two people expressed a preference for Indians: "I'd rather visit the Indians than the White rubbish up the road", and "Indian children are better brought up. You'd rather let your kids mix with them. Whites are taught to grab everything". Three others commented on the warm friendly attitudes of Indians as compared to the cold and unfriendly attitudes of Whites.

One feature of the comparison of the intimacy of relationships of Coloureds with Indians and with Whites, deserves comment. This is the role of helping as a neighbourly activity. Helping emerges clearly as the acceptable form of behaviour between neighbours of different groups. Between neighbours of the same group, that is, between Coloureds and Coloureds, it was rare, occurring in only 7% of all Coloureds' relations with other Coloureds. By comparison it occurred in 20% of all Coloureds' relations with Whites, and in 16% of Coloureds' relations with Indians.

It seems likely that Coloureds might have helped each other more than was indicated by these figures, but that this helping was a minor, casual part of more intimate relations between Coloureds, and therefore was not mentioned. Alternatively Coloureds might have felt that helping was not necessary between Coloureds, while with Whites and Indians it served the function of integrating the Coloureds into the community, thereby giving them greater security.

Coloureds might have been reluctant to establish helping relations with other Coloureds because they knew them too intimately, thereby incurring the risk of gossip, which would be less harmful and less potent amongst non-Coloureds.

If we group Coloured relations with Coloureds and Indians into one category, non-White, and compare Coloured relations with non-Whites with their relationships with Whites, we see clear differences between the two sets of relationships. Relations with non-Whites are very much more intimate: 40% of these relationships involve visiting, as compared to less than a quarter of the relations with Whites.

Similarly while less than half of the relations with non-Whites are concerned solely with casual greeting, this is the chief behaviour with more than two thirds of the Whites who associate with Coloureds. The picture which Coloureds give us of the relations between themselves and Whites is one in which most Coloureds would like to be friendly with Whites, but are constrained by what they believe to be White attitudes of reticence or hostility. Those relationships which do develop between Coloureds and Whites are similarly affected by the perceived reluctance of Whites.

Within the sample of 27 Coloureds interviewed, 5 are play-Whites. The figures for comparing this group of play-Whites with the other Coloureds are necessarily very small and of spurious validity. But they do indicate the aspirations of this group to assimilation and identification with Whites.

In Table XXXI the dark Coloureds and the play-whites have

been compared on the basis of their relationships with different groups in the neighbourhood.

TABLE XXXI

Comparison of the interracial relations of play-whites and dark-skinned Coloureds, in terms of the average number of persons known in each race group.

	Average Number known to play-Whites	Average Number known to other Coloureds	Average Number known to Total Coloureds
Whites	4.7	2.8	3.2
Indians	2.5	2.8	2.7
Play-Whites	3.3	1.1	1.7
Other Coloureds	2.3	4.4	3.9

From this Table we see that passers know more Whites and play-Whites, less Indians, and very few other Coloureds. The avoidance of Coloureds is interesting, a possible reflection of a fear of identification with Coloureds, a danger which does not occur in the same way with Indians, although to associate with Indians is to run the risk of being identified with the broader non-White group.

PART IV

CHAPTER VIII

R E V I E W

The particular interest of this study is to assess the effect upon the development of social relations in a racially mixed neighbourhood, of those conditions which are present in the South African context but absent from the American context.

I have already discussed some of these conditions in Chapter I. Official attitudes towards interracial association are not simply passively disapproving, but actively hostile. One of the consequences of the extensive legislation against potentially intimate contact between White and non-White, is a widespread belief amongst ordinary Whites in the illegality of any friendly contact with non-Whites, even where there is no legislation specifically prohibiting such contact. The official attitudes react with public opinion and a strong social disapproval of interracial friendliness develops, so that the fact of living in the same street as non-Whites can produce guilt and anxiety amongst Whites, in spite of the fact that, in Botanic Gardens, the interracial character of the neighbourhood is the direct result of official governmental intervention. I have discussed the pervasive and decisive nature of race-group membership in South Africa which makes untenable the assumption that contact between neighbours of different races can, ipso facto, be considered equal status contact.

The roles of housewives in South Africa differ from those of housewives in other parts of the world because of

the universal employment by Whites of domestic servants. This has implications for the relations between neighbours in terms of dependence and self-reliance. It also has practical consequences for neighbours in terms of the contact between them. Servants are sent as a go-between where in the normal course of events some family member would be sent.

The strong central government in South Africa, empowered by an all-White electorate, is concerned with furthering the interests of Whites. Consultation with non-Whites is of an advisory nature, and the government invariably declares that the interests of both sections are best served by those policies which are most favoured by the White electorate. The two aspects of government which here concern us are, first, the very considerable power which it wields, and secondly, that this power rests entirely on the mandate of the Whites. Thus in South Africa, at the whim of Whites, non-Whites are to be forced to vacate and sell to Whites properties which their families have owned and occupied for generations. In Chapter I, I described how racial competition for land in Botanic Gardens has been lifted from the hands of individual property-seekers, and has become the concern of power groups. The strong feeling prevalent amongst Whites that they can safely rely upon the government to safeguard their interests is based on a realistic perception. It has not, for instance, become necessary in South Africa for individual Whites to resort to violence and arson in order to effect the removal of non-White neighbours, as it sometimes has in America.

A final factor to be considered is the broad and yet basic one of the structure of South African society. In terms of interests, South Africa may be divided into two conflicting sections, representing the interests of numerically small yet politically powerful Whites, on the one hand, and non-Whites on the other. I here describe the relations between Whites and non-Whites as "conflicting" on the basis of Barnard's definition;

"Conflict arises when there are incompatible or mutually exclusive goals or aims or values espoused by human beings. Both may be desirable; but both cannot be pursued simultaneously. If one is selected, it is at the expense of the other ... The problem of minority groups, so viewed, is not one of "prejudice" but one of mutually exclusive values espoused by human groups; if one group wins its values, another loses those it espouses." x

For, in terms of basic structure, the goals of the White and non-White group are incompatible. If Whites attain their group goal of White power supremacy, the non-Whites must necessarily be frustrated in the attainment of their goal, a minimum demand for participation as equals with Whites.¹ Similarly for non-Whites to succeed implies the inevitable failure of Whites. Conflict as thus defined by

x J. Barnard, The sociological study of conflict from The nature of conflict: Studies on the sociological aspects of international tensions: (UNESCO 1957), p. 38.

1. Group relations at this national level are power relations. I have, therefore, taken White government policy as the proper expression of White group goals. Non-Whites have no parallel means of political expression. The two largest African political movements, the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress (both banned in April, 1960), aim at a total participation in Government by non-Whites. It is therefore a conservative estimate that the non-White political parties have as their goal, a minimum demand for respect as equals with Whites.

Barnard may or may not be accompanied by hostility or violence. It is, however, clear from the manner in which the government empowered itself to implement the Group Areas Act¹ that it was insulating the White group from any violence which might erupt from the existing conflict between White and non-White.²

Given these conditions of South African society, what happens when Indians, Whites and Coloureds share a common neighbourhood? In Chapter I I posed three questions which were concerned with the possible processes in such an interracial neighbourhood in South Africa. The first question was concerned with whether the proximity of neighbours would lead to contact between them, or whether there would be a deliberate avoidance of contact.

There was some evidence of deliberate avoidance of contact between neighbours. There were the instances where people had erected high walls and prohibitive fences between their property and that of non-White neighbours. In similar mood a White family who came to live in the

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1. Provisions are made for providing border strips between the areas of one group and another. At one time it was laid down that the width of these zones must be carefully controlled, differing in accordance with the race of the group to be insulated. Thus an African area had to be insulated from a National road by a zone of at least 500 yards. This regulation is no longer in force.
 2. When these provisions were first made known it was quickly pointed out by observant critics that the border strips, and indeed the whole plan for group areas, were strongly suggestive of a preparation for military manoeuvres with border strips enabling one very rapidly to surround a non-White area. This observation was substantiated during the State of Emergency in 1960, when African locations in Cape Town were effectively surrounded, and kept under close military guard for a number of weeks.

neighbourhood during the field-work period, and who moved into a house immediately adjacent to Indians, kept the blinds closed at those windows which faced the Indian property, in spite of the fact that they were quite distant from the Indian house, and that there were a number of trees and shrubs in the intervening garden. On a number of instances White parents confined their children to their own gardens, explicitly in order to prevent them from playing with non-White children in the neighbourhood. Indians quite frequently avoided contact with neighbours, but this was often an attempt to conform to what they felt to be the wish of White neighbours, rather than an expression of personal attitudes.

The opportunity for contact between Whites and non-Whites were to an extent reduced by the location of the segregated transport routes. The municipal bus route, catering for all races, but giving markedly preferential treatment to Whites, runs along Botanic Gardens Road, the upper boundary of the neighbourhood, while the non-White bus termini for both municipal and privately owned buses are at the lower end of Mansfield Road. This fact, coupled with the general pattern of racial distribution in the neighbourhood, Whites predominant in higher areas, non-Whites predominant in the lower areas, meant that the likelihood of Whites passing non-White houses, and non-Whites passing White houses, in the course of entering or leaving the neighbourhood, was greatly reduced.

Aside from these factors there was a general feeling that some contact between races in the neighbourhood was inevitable. The effort involved in avoiding contact

became too great, relative to the rewards. The relationship between this contact and proximity was clearly demonstrated throughout the study, both in the volume of contact reported by Whites living close to non-Whites, and in their explanations of the process of development of relationships with non-Whites.

The second question was whether contact between neighbours would lead to the development of friendly relations, or whether there were factors operating to inhibit this development. The data clearly show that friendly relations do result from this contact. Only very rarely did people in contact with one another choose deliberately to ignore one another, and there was a widespread belief that a certain minimal friendliness between neighbours was essential. Contact leads to interaction and interaction leads to friendliness. But any spiralling of this sequence is inhibited by various pressures which arise to limit friendliness between White and non-White.

In the data we saw something of this process of inhibition, which is a response to the strict norms for segregation in the community, strongly reinforced at an official level and implicit in the total organisation of all aspects of daily life. The process is most clearly demonstrated in the changing attitudes and behaviour of children in Botanic Gardens, as they move through adolescence to adulthood.

Interracial play was extremely common amongst many children in the neighbourhood. Children were constantly observed in multi-racial groups, in the streets, in gardens and in vacant spaces around the neighbourhood. On one

occasion they were observed at an Indian child's party, which was attended by Indian, White and Coloured children alike. Children themselves reported "knowing" and "being friends with" other children of all races in the neighbourhood. Even the White parents spoke freely, though frequently in disapproval, of this aspect of living in the neighbourhood. This disapproval of parents was rooted in an anxiety that children would lose their sense of racial identification, and would grow up to deviate from acceptable South African practices. This anxiety was particularly acute where sexual mores were involved. It was felt to be particularly bad that White girls should play with Indian and Coloured boys. Some parents with young daughters spoke of the necessity of leaving the neighbourhood when their children reached the age of wanting to play with other children. One parent, who had resorted to confining her two girls to their own garden said, "If they're good enough to play with now, they're good enough to marry later." She reported with horror, and a certain excitement, seeing a young White girl kissing a young Indian boy in a neighbouring garden. Another mother said, "It's not so bad for a boy but a girl will think she can marry them."

The statements of a mother of four boys, reflect very clearly the dilemmas facing White parents in the area, and the resolution of these dilemmas by one parent. At the time of the interview her two eldest sons were married, living away from home, and her two younger sons were at home, just approaching adolescence. These younger boys mixed freely with all the children of the immediate neighbourhood, and daily kept company with Indian and Coloured

children. The mother said there were often as many as fifteen children in her yard, "Coloureds, Coolies and Europeans". She didn't think there was an Indian house in the neighbourhood that her boys hadn't been into. She said she didn't know what she would have done, had she been the mother of girls. But, she added, she thought this was quite good for her boys. "If the kids mix they find out what's good and what's bad. They find out for themselves without you telling them." This woman's experience with her two elder sons had given her confidence that the pressures to conformity with White group opinion were strong enough to ensure adult conformity, regardless of childhood experience. She continued, "My older sons used to mix with Indians. Now they greet each other, but they don't gad about together. They've all got their own friends outside the neighbourhood. They're civil to each other, but that's where it ends." In spite of this relaxed acceptance of interracial play by her young sons, this mother did not always encourage this behaviour. When her boys were invited to a party given by an Indian child of the neighbourhood, she sent them to deliver, by hand, a polite refusal, (written by herself) explaining that they would be busy with homework on that particular Sunday afternoon. As children grow older, their interest in neighbourhood play groups declines. This declining interest is as inevitable as the active participation was in earlier years. In Botanic Gardens, as the interest moves outwards, it moves into a segregated wider community. Children spend less time playing games with each other, more time in cinemas, and in outside recreation. Sport,

hitherto a spontaneous activity, often on a neighbourhood basis, becomes regulated as part of a school curriculum.

The growing sexual interests of adolescents exert social pressure on them to seek friends amongst their own racial group. One young man said he regretted playing with Indians when he was a child because now "they" all knew him and talked to him in the street. He was worried that "One day I may be walking in the street with a girl and an Indians says Hullo to me and the girl will think - what kind of a person am I to know Coolies." Young Indian and Coloured informants, who had grown up in the neighbourhood filled out this picture of decreasing participation. "At first he still stopped to talk to me, but nowadays we just greet." "We didn't draw away from each other, he drew away from me. I noticed it when he started to work."

These changing attitudes and behaviour of children as they approach maturity provide a sort of slow motion picture of the process of inhibition of friendliness between White and non-White neighbours. Against all the factors which would stimulate friendliness between neighbours, is the constant pressure from the norms of the wider community, to keep friendliness at a minimum. The behaviour of all is self-interested. Whites want the coöperation of their good, useful non-White neighbours, but they also want a place in their White world. Indians and Coloureds depend to a certain extent on their White neighbours for security. Whites are politically powerful, and might be able to effect the removal of non-Whites from the neighbourhood. This passive coöperation of Indian neighbours had only one notable exception, the Indian family

who behaved with undisguised hostility to Whites might have been reacting to a hardening political situation.

The third question was concerned with whether friendly relations between neighbours of different races would lead to a breakdown of racial prejudices, and the development of favourable attitudes. The data yielded no simple answer to this question. No scales of social distance, or other quantitative measures of racial attitude were used in the collection of data. Racial attitudes were assessed on the basis of descriptions of other racial groups, and of answers to a number of issues; on the basis of spontaneous comments about other racial groups, and on the basis of behaviour.

The question can be partially answered by a comparison of the attitudes of Whites implicit in descriptions of local non-Whites, and descriptions of non-Whites generally. There was a marked discrepancy in images of the two; local non-Whites, whether Coloureds or Indians, are invariably more pleasant, "better" in every way. The broader non-White communities are invariably described in exceedingly unfavourable terms, often with hostility. This failure to generalise would indicate that racial prejudices had not been abandoned, that favourable attitudes had not developed widely. At the same time some shift in attitude was implicit in the fact that a situation was able to develop where at least some non-Whites (namely, non-White neighbours) were regarded with favour.

A second comparison, between attitudes towards friendliness with non-White neighbours, and the actual behaviour of Whites with non-White neighbours, reveals a similar

discrepancy. Attitudes towards friendliness with non-Whites are very much more disapproving than the widespread practice of such friendliness would have us expect. There is a lag between behaviour and attitudes. The practice is established, but the development of favourable attitudes to this practice is unestablished. The point receives emphasis from the fact that people constantly described the attitudes of their neighbours to such practice as even less approving than their own. They see themselves as deviants, their neighbours represent the White community. In describing their own attitudes as they do they are, so to speak, admitting minimum guilt.

Accepting that the attitudes of White residents are not remarkably changed by the experience of living in Botanic Gardens, it may be argued that these attitudes do nevertheless show an improvement relative to the attitudes of other Whites, who have not had such an experience; that the acceptance of the notion of talking with, borrowing from, greeting non-White neighbours is in itself significant. Before we can consider this argument we must consider the possibility that the Whites living in Botanic Gardens were a selected group, with attitudes which were more favourable than those held by most Durban Whites. There were a number of factors in the situation which made this possible and likely. White residents can be divided into:

- (a) A group of people, home owners, who were living in the area since before the coming of Indians, and who remained in the area, with Indians.

- (b) Renters who have been living in the area since before the Indians and who have remained in the area in spite of the Indians.
- (c) Renters and owners who have come to the area since the Indians moved in, knowing that although the number of Indians would not be allowed to increase, those families who were there would probably remain their neighbours for all time. It was expected that the area would always contain a certain percentage of Indian residents (there was no talk until the Group Areas Act, of moving settled Indian families).
- (d) People who came to the area after Group Areas were mooted in 1950, and who had been told that the area would become either Indian or White, but would not under any circumstances remain racially mixed. In spite of statements to the contrary Whites probably expected that the area would be proclaimed as a White area. Assurances to this effect were reported to have been made by officials of the City Council in all instances of purchase.¹ Even if, under the Group Areas proclamation the area was eventually to become a White area the White residents did not expect that this would happen in their lifetime.

We have then in each category people who came to or remained in the area, voluntarily, knowing that the area was racially mixed and believing that there was no immediate

1. After the area was proclaimed in 1958 as a White area, White residents said that the decision came as no surprise to them.

prospect that this situation would alter. The only period of uncertainty was between 1950 and 1954 when the Group Areas Act had become known, although no areas were recommended or proclaimed. From 1954 to 1958, it was assumed with greater certainty that the area would become completely White.

Whites living in the area repeatedly made three interesting statements concerning their decision to come and live in Botanic Gardens.

- (a) Rents were very low.
- (b) That they came without knowing that the area was also occupied by Indians.
- (c) That they came on the understanding or the assurance that the area was to be declared for eventual White occupation.

What is interesting is that they came voluntarily into a racially mixed area, disapproving of the idea of racially mixed neighbourhoods, but persuaded by economic pressure and the belief that the area was destined to become a White area although not in their lifetime. In other words, the actual day to day experience of living with non-Whites did not disturb them when they knew that

- (a) the area would not become progressively more and more non-White, and
- (b) that the area would eventually (though not in any immediate future) become an all White neighbourhood. In addition they excused their original migration on the grounds of their ignorance of

the presence of Indians.¹

It is interesting to note in this connection that when the area first began to "go Indian", there were fierce attempts by property owners to prevent any further selling to Indians. These early property owners felt it was better to maintain one's property in a racially mixed neighbourhood than to lose it as a result of complete "Indianisation" of the area, in spite of the fact that Indians were offering the highest prices for properties at the time. The fact that they already had Indian neighbours was not sufficient incentive to cause them to sell.

There would seem to be some evidence then that the Whites living in Botanic Gardens were unusually accepting of their non-White neighbours. There was also a surprising degree of agreement between Whites and Indians about maintaining the neighbourhood in its present multi-

1. The following lively report from a White resident illustrates the way in which the excuse was offered: "I walked in here with my eyes closed. I had put an advert in the paper to exchange - (I was in a lovely place before, a perfect place, all Europeans). Well this woman phoned me and said could she come and see my place. So I came to see this place. And I didn't see a single Indian in the street, not a bloody one of them. Oh, she had some luck that day I tell you. So the first night we moved in my husband comes to me and says, Why the hell did you want to live amongst Indians? I said, What do you mean? Where's Indians? He said, Everywhere. There are Indians everywhere. The place is overrun with Indians. Well that was nine years ago and he's complaining still."

racial state.¹ All Indians thought that this was the most desirable solution. A large number of Whites also believed this was a reasonable solution. This attitude on the part of many Whites arose, perversely, out of the problem of what should be done with houses which had been occupied by Indians. Many Whites expressed horror and repulsion at the idea that Whites would live in houses vacated by Indians. Some suggested fumigation and repainting, or a period of "purification" during which the house would be vacant.² We have the anomalous position in which Indians are felt to be so unclean that it is better that they persist as neighbours, than that Whites should live in houses vacated by them.

Other Whites favoured the maintainance of the area as a multi-racial area, because, they said - "you can't be sure what White rubbish will move in once the Indians move out", and "There may be Indians next door but they're better than more White neighbours". This stated preference for Indian neighbours rather than 'White rubbish' suggests

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2. Braby's directory of Durban, 1940-44 shows that there were in fact, during this period, instances of occupancy changing from Indian to White hands. Nobody in the area recollected this, however.

that White residents thought that the only Whites who would be prepared to move into property which had previously been occupied by Indians would be 'White rubbish' - poor Whites who furthermore had a dulled colour sense.

In making these statements the White residents were stating a preference for the wealthy or professional Indian family as against the White of low social status. This factor of the high status of Indian residents was of considerable importance to many Whites who felt it to be a matter of prestige that they lived next to professional people. Thus on many occasions White residents made reference to "the doctor on the corner", or "the lawyer down the road" without making explicit that he was an Indian doctor or an Indian lawyer. It is relevant that the majority of Whites in the neighbourhood were engaged in manual employment of some kind.¹

There is support amongst various theoretical analyses for the explanation that to the extent that people in Botanic Gardens had favourable attitudes they were responding to a particular situation in which they found themselves, rather than expressing any fundamental changes within themselves. There was only one instance in the neighbourhood where Whites were prepared to explicitly relinquish all reservations in their attitudes and behaviour to non-Whites, conscious of the social ostracism this would involve.

1. Table XIV on page 76, shows 69 of 105 White household heads engaged in employment as artisans or semi-skilled labourers; 66% as compared with 8% of all Indians in the same employment.

A recent American publication¹ reported the finding that in an area of private housing into which Negroes were moving, there were no differences in the racial attitudes of people who left the area immediately the "invasion" occurred and others. There was similarly no correlation between friendly interracial behaviour and the speed with which people left an invaded area.

An explanation was offered for the above facts in terms of the rationality of the behaviour. People who leave a mixed neighbourhood are spurred on not by prejudice but by a rational assessment of the probable future of the area in terms of status and the physical deterioration which will follow a Negro invasion. The deterrent against living in an interracial neighbourhood is to be found not in attitudes to Negroes, nor to experiences of personal contact with individual Negroes, but in the fear of being a White minority, with attendant deteriorating living conditions which a Negro majority would bring, a fear of a lowering of the standard of living and a drop in property values.

In a study of attitudes, Lohman and Reitzes² found that individuals do not have fixed abstract generalised attitudes to other groups, except in response to abstract generalised situations. In any real situation, the individual's attitudes will be determined by the factors relevant to that situation. An individual may display

1. E. P. Wolf, The invasion-succession sequence as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Journal of Social Issues Vol XLII, 4, 1957.

2. Op.cit.

hostility to Negroes in one situation, tolerance and friendliness in another. This seemingly paradoxical behaviour becomes understandable within each context. In each instance the behaviour is consistent with the particular group affiliation and interests of the individual.

Group affiliations have been demonstrated as the dominant and most decisive factor affecting attitudes.¹ The group which influences attitudes is not the simple membership group, but the 'reference group'. Reference groups are those groups to which the individual relates himself as a part, or to which he aspires to relate himself psychologically. "Attitudes towards members of other groups are not determined so much by experiences while in contact with the groups in question, as by contact with the attitudes towards these groups prevailing among older members of the group in which they (individuals) develop."²

The problem becomes one of identifying the reference group or groups of the Whites in the neighbourhood. This may be the broader White community, per se; or the representatives of the White community with whom the residents of Botanic Gardens associate. With few notable exceptions, there is little disagreement amongst Whites with the very widely accepted notion that personal contact with a non-White, on the basis of equality as friends, is wrong, foolish and to be avoided. Therefore as long as White residents identify with some all-White group, there

1. Sherif and Sherif: Op cit. p.94

is considerable basis for assuming that they all have generalised attitudes of hostility to non-Whites. The alternative was that residents themselves developed a standard of behaviour and attitudes to non-Whites which was different from that prevailing in the wider White community; in other words, that the Whites of Botanic Gardens themselves constituted a reference group for White residents. This is what occurred in the public housing projects studied in America.¹ There was no emergence of any such group standard in Botanic Gardens. We have seen how White residents believed other Whites to be more opposed to friendliness with non-Whites than they themselves were. There was little discussion amongst Whites concerning interracial friendliness. Insofar as Whites did associate with non-Whites, they usually behaved furtively and secretively, feeling that they were violating their group norms.

The fact that White residents had large numbers of White friends living outside the area demonstrates the importance of the wider White community to residents. Most residents knew more people outside the neighbourhood than in it. This again contrasts with the housing projects in America in which most people restricted all social contacts to people who were also within the project. Many Whites in Botanic Gardens derived their standard of behaviour from family and relatives, and expressed family opinion to be the strongest sanction against interracial association.

1. Wilner, Walkley and Cook, op.cit. Also Deutsch and Collins, op.cit.

Under these circumstances we would not expect attitudes to Indians to change, even under the impact of close proximity. Individual experiences alone are ineffective to change attitudes. They must be accompanied by membership of a group with favourable attitudes.

Sherif has demonstrated further that in order to change the attitudes of hostile groups it is not sufficient that they be brought into a situation of pleasant egalitarian social contact. Favourable attitude change is effected only when the interaction involves "a state of inter-dependence and co-operation for the attainment of goals".¹ It is not even sufficient that the contact be pleasant. He says "contiguity in pleasant activities with members of an out group does not necessarily lead to a pleasurable image of the out group if relations between groups are unfriendly. Inter-group contact without superordinate goals (i.e. goals which could not be attained without the joint co-operation of both groups) is not likely to produce lasting reduction of inter-group tension".²

Barnard³ makes the same point. Conflict between groups can be eliminated only when the goals of the two groups are compatible. At a national level conflict is inherent in the relations between White and Black in South Africa. The groups have incompatible goals, if only in so far as the goal of the one group is to subjugate the other perpetually. Within this context racial prejudice

1. M. Sherif, "Superordinate goals in the reduction of intergroup conflict", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXIII, 1958, pp. 346-356.

2. Ibid., page 355.

3. J. Barnard, op cit.

and hostility cannot be regarded as irrational behaviours, to be eliminated through proper education and experience. It is a rational defence for self-preservation. Even if particular prejudices are based on misconceptions, no amount of education will be able to contradict the reality of a Black majority inimical to the White minority in terms of political goals.

It is against this background of national conflict between White and non-White that we must evaluate the findings in the inter-racial neighbourhood of Botanic Gardens. In terms of our preceding analysis we may express the problem as follows:- given the tense and conflicting relations between groups in South Africa, what are the interpersonal relations between representatives of these groups within the Botanic Gardens? For while intergroup problems cannot be assessed or solved on the basis of interpersonal relations between members of these groups, there is a very real influence exerted upon interpersonal relations by the group relations. How decisive is this influence?

Or we might approach the problem from the other side, and pose the question - To what extent the fears of the government, of "close and intimate association, friendship and marriage", the "disregard for racial differences" and "the dulling of the colour sense" have been realised, within the multiracial neighbourhood of Botanic Gardens. If groups are in conflict, defined structurally, can contact between them promote harmony?

We have already discussed that there is implicit in the proximity of neighbours certain pressures towards association arising from the mutual needs of neighbours as

neighbours. What we are in fact saying is that within the neighbourhood people and groups bear a certain structural relationship to each other, in terms of needs and goals; and that this structure differs from that prevailing between White and non-White at a national level; that within the limited concept of the neighbourhood Indian, White and Coloured are not in conflict, and that they do not have incompatible goals. People in the neighbourhood took concerted action, regardless of race, when they petitioned the City Council to declare Heswall Road a one-way street. They acted together when they subscribed to a fund to assist a White family in the neighbourhood whose house was destroyed by fire. The children were dependent on each other for playmates, particularly where their games, such as cricket, required a large number of participants. Specific attitudes to local non-Whites were shaped by the structuring of relations within the neighbourhood. But the overall definition of the situation as one of conflict was more decisive. Generalised attitudes to non-Whites were unfriendly and unflattering.

It is for this reason that we did not find attitudes in Botanic Gardens following the "change" cycle described by Wilner, Walkley and Cook. Briefly, this process of attitudes change within integrated housing projects in America, is as follows: Whites meet Negro neighbours; the encounter serves to destroy White stereotype of Negroes, thus breaking one of the three main props of prejudice; similarly the contact feels pleasant, in contradiction of the expected repulsion at contact with a Black; finally the contact occurs in an environment which is permissive

about such contact. The whole basis for prejudice crumbles. Whites generalise on the basis of this experience. They recall statements of powerful emotion on the equality of man, and these recollections strengthen their impressions that prejudice is wrong. The prejudices are eventually discarded.

In Botanic Gardens when Whites met Indians they often found many of their stereotypes of Indians to be wrong. They found Indians clean where they expected to find them dirty. They found them speaking English where they expected a foreign language or pidgin English. They found houses furnished very like their own. It was almost certainly surprise at these things which led Whites to comment so frequently on favourable aspects of their Indian neighbours. However, instead of generalising from this experience to all Indians, Whites in Botanic Gardens decided that those Indians whom they knew were different from other Indians. The basic notions of the undesirability of contact with Indians remained. Whites' feelings about contact with Indian neighbours were complex. While some people expressed a surprised pleasure at such contact, they were more often guilty and worried about their behaviour. The Indians in the area observed and commented on how ill at ease White visitors often were. There was no support from the community or neighbourhood for any change of policy towards Indians, so prejudices towards Indians remained, in spite of close proximity and association with Indians.

The Whites in Botanic Gardens adapt themselves to living in the inter-racial area. The particular nature of the adaptation varies from individual to individual, from street to street. The pattern for adaptation is a minimum interaction compatible with the maintenance of friendliness at the level where needs may still be fulfilled. This minimum differs with different Whites, depending on their location in the neighbourhood in relation to non-Whites; on their personal needs, in terms of personality and also in terms of material economic needs; and on the expectations of their particular non-White neighbours.

Indians accept this White lead in the matter of determining this level of intimacy; but there are exceptions in which White demands are rejected, or when Whites are encouraged to intimacy through subtle gifts and various forms of assistance and friendliness. Coloureds waver between wanting identification with Whites, and yet being forced to accept identification with their more obliging and coöperative Indian neighbours, whom some of them eventually choose in preference to Whites.

Comparing the Whites in Botanic Gardens with Whites in American studies, we find certain similarities. There is the same favourable description of local non-Whites; a willingness to yield to the demands on one arising out of close proximity; a willingness to make concessions to previously held standards, and adapt to the new situation. One feature of the South African study which arose out of the lack of standardised procedures for assessing racial attitudes, was the complexity of attitudes of people who find themselves in this unusual situation. Attitudes of

people presented a mass of contradictions; there were contradictions between one interview and another, and within the same interview. There were discrepancies between reported behaviour and observed behaviour; there was the inconsistency of the maintenance of unfavourable general attitudes to non-Whites, and to inter-racial residential areas, in spite of pleasant individual experiences with non-Whites within the neighbourhood; and the reluctance of Whites to admit to any inter-racial friendliness.

The problem of inconsistencies in attitudes is by no means a new one. Wilner, Walkley and Cook, Deutsch and Collins all observed that attitudes could change along any dimension without affecting attitudes along other dimensions. Thus beliefs about Negroes could change without any corresponding change in policies towards Negroes. Sellitz and Cook,¹ observed the discrepancy between the preaching and practice of racial tolerance; verbal attitudes towards inter-race neighbourhoods have improved concurrently with the increase in residential segregation. In a survey of recent work, Freedman² drew attention to the lack of knowledge of the relationship between attitudes and social behaviour.

The low numbers involved in the Botanic Gardens study, and the lack of precise definitive methods of collection of data on these aspects of attitudes, preclude any significant analysis of the nature of these inconsistencies. But the

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1. C. Sellitz and S.W. Cook: Housing and Minorities: (Unpublished) 1958.
 2. M. Freedman, "Some recent work on Race Relations; a Critique", (British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 5, 1954), p. 342.

data point clearly to a need for a careful study of this aspect of attitudes.

In Chapter I I raised six minor hypotheses, which were relevant to this study.

- (1) No significant differences were found in the attitudes of house owners and renters.
- (2) There was evidence that the limitation of the numbers of non-Whites living in the neighbourhood ameliorated White attitudes.
- (3) Whites who had actually experienced proximity with non-Whites displayed more favourable attitudes than those who had not; those who were merely threatened with proximity were most hostile to non-Whites.
- (4) Data did not allow a comparison between the attitudes of high and low income groups.
- (5) Parents of school-going children displayed a greater readiness to adapt to the demands of the interracial neighbourhood, and they were also the people who experienced the greatest pressure of these demands.
- (6) The coöperative attitudes of non-Whites were instrumental in effecting favourable White attitudes.

Finally the study has provided some data for critical analysis of the idea that contact gives rise to conflict as expressed particularly in the Group Areas Act of 1950:

Three themes occurred frequently in the arguments used to defend the introduction of the Group Areas Act. The first was concerned with the idea that the juxtaposition

of different racial groups would lead to an outbreak of violent conflict. An examination of the validity of this argument is clearly beyond the scope of this study. A stable interracial neighbourhood such as Botanic Gardens is unlikely to be the ignition point for any violent disturbance. In an analysis of racial riots in the United States of America it was shown that

"in areas where patterns of occupancy remained relatively unchanged over long periods of time, where friendly or at least cordial relations prevailed between the two races ... violence such as it was resulted from the outside, not¹ from the explosion of local social tensions."

The second was the threat to White race purity which would arise from the interracial mixing in such areas. Thus it was argued by the Prime Minister, "What is the use of having a law to deal with mixed marriages if we have conditions ... where European and non-European live alongside each other and associate with each other, where the children play together in the street and where the colour feelings of the Europeans are becoming dulled, and where the colour sense, which is the White man's protection, disappears completely."²

Dr. van Rhyn said, "How can one maintain a law against mixed marriages, how can one maintain a law against illicit intercourse between White and Black while people live in mixed residential areas? ... Seeing that the human being is only a human being we must separate them and provide them with separate residential areas so that we no longer

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1. A.D. Grimshaw, Urban Racial Violence in the United States, changing ecological considerations. American Journal of Sociology Vol.LXVI, 1960, p. 113.
 2. Hansard, House of Assembly Debates, 1950, p. 7724.

have that mixing which causes all those evils."¹

Other speakers said that "mixed residential areas create social intermingling areas where levelling influences are created."² "Mixed residential areas are the main social cause of miscegenation in South Africa."³

Evidence in Botanic Gardens showed that these fears had little foundation. While children certainly did play together, they seldom maintained this intimacy beyond adolescence. Whites in Botanic Gardens showed no signs of a "dulling" of their "colour sense".

The third idea was expressed most clearly by a sub-committee of the Durban City Council in a memorandum making recommendations for the racial zoning of Durban.⁴ Residential contact between races will produce irritation, conflict and offence.

"the juxtaposition of races of different cultures has tended to produce conflict ... Race differences may cause one group quite unwittingly to offend another."

"However harmoniously an individual may get on with his neighbour of another race, and however free he and his particular property may be from those features which other races dislike, the sheer fact of his being of that race may, in a society where race feeling often runs high, be sufficient to make his presence distasteful to his neighbours."⁵

This last clause is interesting, and would seem to be true for people living in Botanic Gardens. But it is important to note that the residential contact is not itself the cause

1. Hansard, House of Assembly Debates, 1950, p. 7686.

2. Ibid., p. 7709.

3. Ibid., p. 7708.

4. First Report of the Technical Sub-Committee on Race Zoning, 22nd June 1951. The substance of this report has been analysed by L. Kuper, H. Watts and R. Davies. op.cit. pp. 31-41.

5. op. cit., p. 6.

of the trouble; it merely precipitates and activates the "race feeling" which "often runs high" in our society. Concerning the first two clauses, however, data from Botanic Gardens seemed to indicate that the interracial nature of the neighbourhood is of surprisingly little concern to Whites, considered against the total South African situation.

The possibility should not be overlooked that White attitudes had been ameliorated, their anxieties allayed by their knowledge that a strong White government stood behind them. The attitudes of the majority of Whites towards the racial determination of the area were, on the whole, fairly unconcerned. They believed that the area would in all probability be declared White, and they were supported in this belief by the frequent assurances they received to this effect from municipal officials. However, if it were declared Indian or Coloured, property owners would get good prices for their houses and the government could be relied upon to provide Whites with good alternative accommodation. In addition it should be noted that the Group Areas Act was passed in Parliament in 1950 and that at the time of the study six or seven years had elapsed, during which time the residents, non-White and White alike, had been kept in suspense as to the ultimate determination of the area. It was also true, however, that sufficient time had passed for all powerful emotions on the subject to have considerably abated. No-one had yet had to move, although people were becoming accustomed to the idea that residential areas belonged exclusively to one group or another. Whites felt secure and non-Whites had not yet

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suffered any practical hardship.

CONCLUSION

Most of the research into race relations has been undertaken in the United States of America. This fact alone has ensured that the Americans have set the pattern for research into race relations for the rest of the world. The considerable output of research in this field in America arises out of the practical urgency of finding the means to enable the absorption of differing groups in the United States to proceed as quickly and smoothly as possible. The distinctive features of the situation in America are:

- (a) that the research is the basis for practical programmes; the emphasis is on workable solutions and formulae which can form the basis for policy and administrative decisions and action programmes;
- (b) that the goal of this research is the "improvement" of race relations, by which I mean the speedy assimilation of different ethnic groups;
- (c) the problem is an internal one, the minority groups are to be absorbed into the United States population.

Within this framework, any "improvement" in race relations has been measured by the sum total of changed individual attitudes. Racial hostility is regarded as a basically irrational response of a defective personality, in need of corrective education. It is on the basis of this concept that various programmes for the improvement of race relations through education are based. These programmes, known as action programmes, are common in the

United States of America. They frequently have as their key technique the bringing together of people in such a way that their attitudes towards one another will develop favourably.

Botanic Gardens in Durban exists as a multi-racial neighbourhood by the irony of fate; deliberate government intervention to prevent racial integration has produced a stable and enduring multiracial residential area. It is only with the passing of the Group Areas Act in 1950 that the area faces abolition as a multiracial area; and this will be a gradual change rather than any abrupt disruption. The striking differences of conditions between American projects and Botanic Gardens, the differences of context, have provided an opportunity for an assessment of the relevance of these differences, as affecting both the behaviour of residents in the area, and the interpretation of this behaviour. The major difference is to be found in the basic structuring of the two societies; the one attempting to absorb and assimilate minorities, the other attempting to isolate and separate a dominant White minority from a subordinate Black majority.

Racial prejudices may justifiably be regarded as the main stumbling block to peaceful inter-racial co-existence in America. South Africa rests precariously on an unstable structure of racial conflict. Peaceful inter-racial co-existence can be effected only through a radical change in this structure.

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APPENDIX A.

METHODS USED IN STUDY OF BOTANIC GARDENS

1. Selection of the area: The area was selected on the basis of the following criteria:

racially diverse population,
suburban residential area,
fairly homogeneous land usage;
accessibility;
well-defined boundaries.

The racial distribution of population was available in the 1951 census figures, by enumerator's sub-districts. Because the population of Durban is highly segregated, racially, the choice of area was very limited. Most sub-districts were racially homogeneous (exclusive of the African population, mainly domestic servants, who are to be found in all areas of Durban) or contained a preponderance of one race group. Areas with equal representation of Indians and Coloureds were fairly common, but these areas seldom had any appreciable White population.

Those enumerator's sub-districts which appeared to contain a fairly balanced population (in terms of non-Whites and Whites) were then examined for the degree of internal racial segregation. A very rough estimate of the location of Indians in such districts was made on the basis of names in the city directory. Botanic Gardens was one of three sub-districts which seemed to meet the criteria; and was finally selected in preference to the others, on the basis of exploratory observation and interviews in the four areas.

2. Description of the population: A comprehensive dwelling-by-dwelling survey of all residents in the area (excluding domestic servants) was made, in order to describe the population in terms of age, sex, race, family structure, household size, length of residence, occupation. (See Appendix B). The population eventually selected and isolated for inclusion in the study consisted of 799 persons, of which 391 were White, 252 Indian and 156 Coloured.

Data for this report were collected over a period of 18 months, by means of interviews, both structured and unstructured, observation, both participant and non-participant.

3. Exploratory study: Use was made of the opportunities presented in the house-to-house enumeration of the population, to interview those residents with whom there was good rapport. These interviews were unstructured, and differed greatly between one another in length of time, and content, although they were broadly concerned with descriptions of the neighbourhood, attitudes to the neighbourhood and to neighbours, particularly to neighbours of other race groups; they included any descriptions of behaviour of neighbours, but frequently included much comment either tangential or irrelevant to the study except in so far as they filled out the background to life in the neighbourhood.

Records of these interviews were written up as soon after the interview as possible, usually on the basis of some skeleton notes made during the interview where practicable. Approximately 60 of these interviews were

On the basis of these interviews I decided finally to exclude from the study all backyard dwellers (regardless of race) and all people (Whites) living in large blocks of flats. All opportunities for the observation of behaviour in the neighbourhood, particularly interracial behaviour, were used during this period, and all these casual observations were recorded and filed.

4. The Sample: Although the neighbourhood contained only 207 families, the research unit for the study was the individual, the 544 adults (i.e. persons over the age of 14 years) in the population presented too formidable a task for the fairly detailed information I was requesting. Some sampling seemed necessary. The limited knowledge I already had of the neighbourhood indicated that a straightforward random sample would not be the best method. There were certain clear strata in the universe from each of which I wanted information, viz. Indians, Coloureds and Whites. Within these strata there were other categories, of age and sex, which had been suggested to be significant. The universe from which the sample was to be drawn was small enough to have necessitated a very large random sample in order to ensure the representation of all of these groups and categories.

A racially stratified sample was therefore planned originally, to select every fifth person in the adult population, the sample in each stratum proportional to the size of that stratum, and selected at random within that stratum. This yielded a sample of 56 Whites, 30 Indians and 22 Coloureds.

5. Design and pre-testing of the interview schedule:

The interview schedule was derived from the one used by Deutsch and Collins¹ and was designed for use with all three racial groups of the neighbourhood. (See Appendix C). The schedule was slightly modified after pre-testing with 2 Whites, 2 Coloureds and 2 Indians.

6. Modification of the Sample: This sample was modified during the course of the fieldwork, however, on the basis of evidence presented during interviews. It was found that in response to the first part of the schedule, the quantitative account of the number of neighbours known to an informant, people rarely answered as individuals; they included amongst people known to them all the people known to other members of their family as well. It was in fact almost impossible to get differentiation within one family on this question, because they shared their knowledge of neighbours, as a family. The situation frequently arose when a person being interviewed would call in a second member of the family to help him in recalling the name of a particular neighbour whom he "knew", but whom others in the family knew better. Repetition of this part of the schedule with different members of one family, where more than one member appeared in the sample, became both tedious and redundant.

The more important evidence from these early interviews was, however, concerned with the accuracy of information in this first section of the schedules. White informants were often reluctant to acknowledge knowing non-White neighbours. Non-Whites on the other hand gave very

exhaustive accounts of all the Whites they knew in the area, and very full descriptions of the nature of the relationships which they had with these Whites.

This fact, together with the fact that any individual in a family seemed able to report on all the neighbours known to all members of his family, meant that it was possible, with a relatively few interviews, to get a fairly comprehensive picture of all the relationships between White and non-White in the neighbourhood.

The sample of Indians was therefore amended to include, where possible, one person from each Indian family. These additional people were selected on the basis of age and sex factors, in order, furthermore, to make the sample more representative of groups which had been neglected in the original sample. Within these limits, however, the selection was, once again, random. The working sample of Indians consisted finally of 55 people.

The data collected through this first section of the schedule was then comprehensive, rather than a sample. The number of interracial relationships in the area was limited by non-White participation in these relationships. The figure of 79 relationships, reported in interviews, approximates the total extent of interracial relationships in the area. It should be noted, however, that, in spite of the fact that I used as the unit for study, the individual, the relationships were frequently between families rather than individuals. The figure of 79 accounts for relationships in terms of "chief participant" and therefore understates the extent of interracial relationships, in so far as these relationships involve more than 2 people.

The White and Coloured samples were increased slightly to 60 and 27 respectively.

7. Interviews: Interviews were conducted by three fieldworkers, and were guided by the schedule, described above. In addition follow-up interviews were held with selected informants, where the initial interview had indicated that this might be productive. The fieldworkers usually worked alone, although joint interviews were used, particularly in a follow-up interview, to assist with recording. Records were usually written up afterwards, on the basis of skeleton notes made during the interview. A tape-recorder was used for selected interviews, but due to the time involved in transcribing the text, coupled with a possibly inhibiting effect of the machine, it was not used widely.

In addition to the adults occurring in the sample, 24 children in the area were interviewed. The main substance of material derived from these interviews is not reflected in this report.

8. Criticism of Methods: The study must be regarded as exploratory and qualitative, rather than decisive or quantitative. The design of the research was too loose to test any specific hypotheses; what we have are rather pointers to the kind of hypothesis which might prove fruitful in future research. The numbers involved in the study were too low to meet the mathematical assumptions underlying the use of statistical tests of significance.

Data on attitudes were often vague. While inconsis-

nature of these inconsistencies. Attitudes were further assessed partly on the basis of behaviour itself, introducing circularity into any arguments contrasting behaviour and attitudes.

There was not sufficient control of extraneous factors influencing the collection of data. Different fieldworkers introduced the research project to the residents in different ways; the nature of the data was such that any indication of attitude on the part of a fieldworker could considerably influence the statements of the informer. Some of these failings were somewhat compensated by the fairly intensive nature of the fieldwork, and the fact that material was collected over a prolonged period of 18 months.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR ENUMERATION OF
POPULATION FALLING WITHIN THE SCOPE
OF SURVEY
FAMILY SHEET

SURNAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

1. How long has the family been living in the area: _____

Previous address (1) _____ (2) _____
and dates of leaving: _____

Composition of family:

Name	Sex	Status in family	Age	Ethnic Group	Occupation
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
Away from home: Name	Sex	Status in family	Age	Ethnic Group	Where? Why? How long?
1					
2					
3					
4					

Home language of family: _____

Other languages spoken: _____

APPENDIX C

SCHEDULE USED IN INTERVIEWS WITH
RESIDENTS OF BOTANIC GARDENS

NAME:

ADDRESS:

SEX:

AGE:

ETHNIC GROUP:

LANGUAGES SPOKEN:

HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD:

MARITAL STATUS:

Married	Living together
Divorced	Separated
Widowed	Unmarried

OCCUPATION:

Retired	Unemployed	Working
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PLACE OF WORK/STUDY:

INCOME:

WHAT STANDARD DID YOU LAST PASS AT SCHOOL?

DATE OF PASSING:

NUMBER OF ROOMS IN HOUSE:

NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN HOUSE:

DESCRIPTION:

Brick/Tile	Brick/Iron	Wood/Iron	Other
Flat	D/S	S/S	Maisonette
Semidetached			
Sharing	Room		

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

I. CONTACT:

How many people do you know around here - even if you only knew their names?

(Then) Anybody else in this street?

Anybody in any other streets (name one by one).

Any outgroup people? (specifically ask "Indians, Whites, Coloureds").

[illegible]

FROM PREVIOUS PAGES SELECT ALL OUT GROUP CONTACTS AND INVESTIGATE EACH AT ITS MOST INTIMATE LEVEL - COMMENTING PARTICULARLY ON:

1. How they got to know each other.
2. The most recent contact.

From page 2, Col. 8, 9, 10 - (Whom they see most of, like best, and consider close friends).

How did you get to know these people?

Apart from the people you have mentioned on the previous pages, do you know anybody at all in this neighbourhood? - even to greet? NO YES - Comment

II. NORMS AND ATTITUDES.

1. { a. You stop in the street to talk to Indian neighbours.
b. You use the phone of Indian neighbours.
c. You visit Indian neighbours.
d. You let your children play with Indian children.

- (a) What would your family think?
- (b) What would your friends/people at work think?
- (c) What would the people who live around here think?
- (d) Which particular people did you have in mind?
- (e) Do you think all the people who live around here think the same way?

YES NO - Comment.

2. { a. You stop in the street to talk to Coloured neighbours.
b. You use the phone of Coloured neighbours.
c. You visit Coloured neighbours.
d. You let your children play with Coloured children.

- (a) What would your family think?
- (b) What would your friends/people at work think?
- (c) What would the people who live around here think?

3. { a. You stop in the street to talk to White neighbours.
b. You use the phone of White neighbours.
c. You visit White neighbours.
d. You let your children play with White children.

- (a) What would your family think?
- (b) What would your friends/people at work think?
- (c) What would the people who live around here think?

III. OTHER PEOPLE'S CONTACTS:

Suppose that a close friend of yours from up country is thinking of moving to this neighbourhood - to your street. So he/she writes you a letter and asks:-

1. Is this a friendly neighbourhood? Will I be likely to get to know people? YES NO

(Comment):

2. (a) Am I likely to be in contact with Indian people in the neighbourhood? YES NO

(Comment):

(b) Where will I see them?

- (c) Will I get to know them? YES NO
(Comment):

(d) What are the Indians like who live around here?

(e) How do the Indians here compare with Indians in the rest of Durban?

3. What about the rest of the family?

4. (a) Am I likely to be in contact with White people in the neighbourhood? YES NO
(Comment):

(b) Where will I see them?

- (c) Will I get to know them? YES NO
(Comment):

(d) What are the Whites like who live around here?

(e) How do the Whites here compare with Whites in the rest of Durban?

5. What about the rest of the family?

6. (a) Am I likely to be in contact with Coloured people in the neighbourhood? YES NO
(Comment):

(b) Where will I see them?

- (c) Will I get to know them? YES NO
(Comment):

(d) What are the Coloureds like who live around here?

(e) How do the Coloureds here compare with Coloureds in the rest of Durban?

7. What about the rest of the family?

IV. SOCIAL LIFE:

1. (a) What religion are you?
(b) Are there any other people around here of that religion? YES NO
(in the case of Christians, use denomination).
(c) Who are they?
2. (a) You have said that you have XX close friends in the neighbourhood.
Have you any close friends outside the neighbourhood? YES NO
(b) How often do you see each other?
3. (a) Have you any relatives in Durban?
(b) How often do you see each other?
4. Including your relatives, would you say you have more friends inside or outside the neighbourhood?
INSIDE OUTSIDE
5. (a) Apart from your neighbours or people living around here, do you know any COLOUREDS, WHITES? INDIANS?
(b) Do you ever visit any COLOUREDS WHITES INDIANS?
(c) In the past have you ever known any COLOUREDS WHITES? INDIANS?

If the answer to any part of question 5 is in the affirmative -

- (d) How did you come to know these people?
6. What clubs, meetings, societies, etc. do you belong to?
7. (a) Which of your neighbours would you say were good neighbours?
(b) What makes people good neighbours?
8. (a) Which people around here are not good neighbours?
(b) What makes people bad neighbours?

V. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD:

1. Do you own/rent the house? OWN RENT
2. FOR OWNERS:
 - (a) Who occupied the house previously?
 - (b) Since you owned the house, have you
let it to anybody else? YES NO
 - (c) To whom?
3. FOR RENTERS:
 - (a) Who is the landlord?
 - (b) What are the names of the previous tenants?
 - (c) Have you ever had any trouble since renting
the house? (landlords or laws)? YES NO
 - (d) What happened?
4. Why did you come and live in this neighbourhood?
5. (a) Do you think this is a good place for
bringing up children? YES NO
- (b) Do you think there are any problems in
bringing up children in this area? YES NO
- (c) What are the main difficulties in bringing
up children here?
6. Compared to other people around here, would you
say you were on the whole a friendly family?
 YES NO
7. What was your first month in this area like?
(making friends with neighbours, particularly
outgroup neighbours).
8. Do you like living here?
9. (a) If you had the chance to move, now, would you?
 YES NO
- (b) To where would you like to move?
- (c) Why would you like to move to that place?
10. Do you think there are any particular advantages
in living in this area?
11. (a) Have you heard of the Group Areas Act?
 YES NO
- (b) What do you think of it?
- (c) ...

- (d) Do you think it will affect anybody in this neighbourhood? YES NO
(Now lead on to general discussion of apartheid, race relations in this area, attitudes, etc.)

12. Which group predominates in this neighbourhood?

INDIANS WHITES COLOUREDS

13. In 10 years' time which group will there be most of?

INDIANS WHITES COLOUREDS

14. Which group would you say owns most property around here?

INDIANS WHITES COLOUREDS

15. If you were a City Councillor for this area, what improvements and changes would you make?