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

by L. Schlemmer.

INTRODUCTION

The full range of effects of the resettlement of Indian families in
Durban in terms of the provisions of the Group Areas Act have never been
directly or systematically studied. At present very little material on the topic
is publicly available. For this reason this paper cannot hope to be more than
speculative and suggestive. The major aim is to stimulate discussion
and suggest fruitful lines of research than to draw final conclusions.
It is not the intention to provide a full documentation of the process of
actual resettlement, and for this reason many statistics and facts which are in
themselves important have been omitted. Instead, additional consideration has
been directed to what are undoubtedly the more permanent and pervasive
features of the process of resettlement; the effects on the economic cultural
and social characteristics of the Indian community.

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

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

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

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

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

THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF RESETTLEMENT

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

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

(1) Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts, and Ronald Davies. Durban, a Study in

(2) First Report of the Technical Sub-Committee on Race Zoning, 22nd
June 1951. The Sub-Committee was appointed by the Durban City
Council in November. 1950, five months after the passing of the Group
Areas Act.

(3) Studies quoted by G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yingler. Racial and Cultural


(5) Proportions refer to population in the Municipal area.
The Group Areas Act has, notwithstanding the position in 1951, provided for a far more rigid geographical separation of the races. If one looks at the map of the group areas as proclaimed, the future position becomes clearly apparent. (See Figure 1) Once resettlement of the Indian population has been completed, (6) no Indians will live in the areas which in 1951 were predominantly White, and none will live on the alluvial flats (with the exception of the relatively small Meeropol complex at the Southern extremity). The vast bulk of the Indian population will be housed in the peripheral areas to the North and South of the path of inland White expansion. The only areas of original Indian occupation which will remain as Indian group areas are the inland transitional areas of Springfield, Clare Estate, Sydenham, and Seacow Lake. (See Figure 1) The difference between the 1951 position and the future picture is clearly revealed in Figure 1 where past and future patterns are superimposed.

Indian families which have been required to move have the alternative of either finding their own accommodation elsewhere in private Indian housing developments, or of making application through the Group Areas Development Board (renamed the Community Development Board in 1965) for accommodation in Municipal housing schemes at Chatsworth, Meeropol or Springfield. Some idea of the magnitude of the operation to resettle Indian families can be obtained from the fact that by 30th June 1966 (7) families from proclaimed and controlled areas have been resettled in Municipal schemes. This amounts to almost 41,000 (8) people. Of this number the majority have been displaced from the Cato Manor area, an inland peripheral zone behind the high-quality Berea Ridge. This is an area in the path of White expansion. Large numbers of people have also been resettled from the old Borough area, the area on the Northern banks of the Umgeni River (Riverside), and the Southern and South-Western industrial and suburban areas (Clairwood, Jacobs, Hillair, Seaview etc.). However, the Department of Community Development estimates that some 13,000 families (or roughly 86,000 people) are still living in "incorrect" group areas (proclaimed). These families will all be forced to move within the next decade at the very most, and will have to find alternative accommodation. The majority will have to be accommodated in Municipal housing schemes.

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

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

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(6) Here shifts from both proclaimed and controlled group areas is assumed.
(7) Figure supplied by Department of Community Development. It reflects the position in mid-1966.
(8) An average Indian family size of 6.6 members is assumed, which corresponds closely to the figure established by both the Bureau of Market Research, University of S.A. and the Department of Economics at Natal University.
Mayville, Cato Manor, Riverside, and perhaps even the Central City area (9) will have to find alternative accommodation. At least 90,000 to 100,000 people are likely to be affected, while the possibility exists that as many as roughly 150,000 or more will have to move.

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

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

**TABLE I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monthly Income of Main Breadwinner</th>
<th>Percentage of Applicants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 9 - 20</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 21 - 50</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 51 - 70</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 71 - 90</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 91 - 110</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R111 - 130</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R131 - 150</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R151 - 180</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R180+</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to see where the applicants are presently residing, since it gives an indication of the ecological patterns of movement which will take place with resettlement over the next decade. The Housing Section of the Municipal Corporation conducted a sample study of the records of applicants for municipal housing and arrived at the following results.

**TABLE II**

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

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

It will be noted from the map in Figure 1 that the Indian Group areas tend to be situated outside the fringe of the central core of white land, and between the radiating lines of the main highways to the West, North and South. The Indian housing schemes of Meerbank and Chatsworth are between the 5 and 10 mile radius from the Central City. The projected areas of future Indian development at Newlands are also within this radius, while the areas of Shallcross to the South West, and Phoenix to the North, lie between a 10 and 15 mile radius from the centre of the town. Only the Springfield, Clare Estate and Sydenham areas are in relatively close proximity to the centre of the city. Inspection of the group areas map leaves no doubt that the Indian group areas generally tend to be much further removed from centres of commercial and administrative activity than the bulk of the white areas.

In the Municipal housing schemes the type of housing provided up to now has been mainly of the semi-detached or maisonette type. Of the roughly 10,000 municipal houses erected thus far, only slightly more than 200 are detached cottages. In addition, there are some 1,400 flat units which have been
erected at Chatsworth, in blocks of 6 flats per building. In the Municipal schemes some 1,400 undeveloped sites have been sold to individuals on Council loan schemes. Of these sites, a certain number have been sold by public auction. A total of 239 sites have been auctioned in Chatsworth to date.

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

Some 4,800 Sub-Economic and 11,400 Economic houses have been erected, in the ratio of roughly 30:70. The criterion for allocation of Sub-Economic housing is an income of the main breadwinner of R60 per month or less, and for Economic housing an income of R180 per month or less. Reference to the income distribution of applicants on the waiting list given in Table 1 suggests that in order to accommodate existing needs the proportion of Sub-Economic housing to the total will have to be nearer to 40% than 30% in the future.

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

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

SOME ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL EFFECTS OF RESSETLEMENT

a. Economic Effects

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

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

One of the reasons for the shortage of land, apart from the restrictions imposed on Indian property development by the Group Areas Act, is the fact that much of the vacant land in places such as Clare Estate, Seacow Lake, Kenilworth, Avoca, is underlain by a bed of shale which prohibits septic tanks being installed. Until waterborne sewerage or an efficient bucket system of sewage disposal is provided, the land cannot be fully developed. Apart from this, it is quite apparent from the map in Figure 1 that a disproportionately small area of land has been set aside for a group with a population larger than that of the White group.

A further economic ill besetting the families affected by group areas removal programmes relates to the prices realised for the properties expropriated or purchased by the Community Development Board. The properties are usually valued long before the families are required to move. In some cases market values of properties presently being vacated were assessed as long ago as 1959. The owners are therefore paid out at prices far below what the current market values would be if they were able to sell to other Indians. Naturally, in many cases they cannot sell to Whites since properties previously owned by Indians are usually of a type not desired by Whites, and former mixed areas retain a stigma until the removal of non-Whites is complete. Despite the economic safeguards contained in the provisions of the Group Areas Act therefore, many property owners have to relinquish houses at one-third or less of their replacement value. This unfortunate pattern has also been noted by Muriel Horrell in the Transvaal. (14)

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

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


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

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

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

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

b. Some Likely Social and Cultural Effects

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

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

These patterns are likely to be undergoing a process of change, but research projects conducted by the Department of Economics at the University of Natal show that as much as 20% of Indian households still contain joint families. The impression is gained that kinship bonds are still very strong in Indian life. Central to the preservation of these systems is the large house with a sufficient number of rooms to accommodate multiple families with shared cooking and recreational space, and the opportunity of kin members to locate residences near to those of kinsmen.

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


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

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

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

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

The phenomenon of vast concentrations of poorer people in defined residential areas usually has a far more pervasive ill-effect on the education of children. Where neighbourhood schools are filled with predominately lower socio-economic pupils the standards of education and the incentives to achieve academic success are inevitably reduced.
The practice of erecting semi-detached or maisonette-type housing is one that can be defended on many practical economic grounds. However, it is a practice which can reduce pride in home ownership considerably. In Merelbank it is a tragic sight to see semi-detached houses where one side of the house has been painted, improved and altered, and the other side has been allowed to fall into disrepair. How many owners of half of a semi-detached house would go to the trouble and expense of improving their house when the other man's half will ruin the whole effect?

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgements

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Mrs. Sabitha Jithoo, Institute for Social Research, University of Natal.

Members of the Housing Committee, Indian Child Welfare Society, Durban.

Mr. P. N. Pillay, Department of Economics, University of Natal.

EMERGING SOCIAL PROBLEMS AMONG THE INDIAN PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

by Mrs. P. Ramasur.

Introduction

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

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

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

Problems in Relation to Individual and Personality Development

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