

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP IN GRAHAMSTOWN

N.C.S.R. RESEARCH PROJECT N/R/6/891

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COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP IN GRAHAMSTOWN

ABSTRACT

In this study an analysis was made of the leadership structure of the community of Grahamstown. It was hypothesized that the leadership structure is pluralistic, i.e. that leaders are divided among themselves on different issues. An historical and Documentary analysis of various aspects of community life revealed that leaders were not united on almost all issues. An analysis of the voluntary associations in which the top leaders took an active part revealed great discrepancy in terms of orientation toward the community and society, and social exclusiveness. A schedule was administered to 90 leaders who were identified by the Cooperating-Informant Technique. Data were collected about their background characteristics, attitudes toward certain local issues and their general ideological orientations. It was found that stands taken on local issues can best be interpreted in terms of ideological orientation. We conclude that local community leadership is pluralistic. In view of the relationship between local issues and the larger society, several selected problems merit further investigation.

INTRODUCTION

The Sociological Significance of a Community Study

In the present study an analysis was made of community leadership in Grahamstown, Cape Province, Republic of South Africa. The idea of undertaking such a study appealed to the author particularly in view of his previous research on the same topic in a small rural community in Saskatchewan, Canada, which was experiencing at the time of study a great industrial boom and population expansion. In contrast to this blooming town of less than one thousand inhabitants, dubbed the "Potash Capital" of Canada, Grahamstown, which once was the "Emporium of the East," has now become known as the "sleepy hollow".

The process of rapid industrialization in the Saskatchewan community of Esterhazy forced the community to call on its more competent, qualified members to participate in the leadership process. Traditional leaders could not cope with the demands of the new society. In Grahamstown, intellectuals intervened (or were called upon) with the explicit purpose of generating or initiating the necessary industrial development which was lacking.

The present study will contribute to comparative analysis of South African and Canadian societies.

The study of the Grahamstown community will also have significance for South African sociology in a wider context. The detailed analysis of one community contributes to a better understanding of diverse trends in social, economic and political developments in other communities in South Africa. In so far as the Grahamstown community reflects problems typical of South African communities, we may, on the basis of our findings, make generalizations applicable to the wider scene.

The microscopic study of one community, furthermore, has significance for the larger society in the sense that local leadership can be linked with national leadership in related spheres, viz. educational and economic policy.

Finally, also in the methodological sphere a study of one community may contribute to sociological research in general. Systematic research contributes to the development of new and/or refinement of existing research methods and techniques, which may be applied in other research projects. A detailed discussion of our method is presented. It is argued that we have improved on the conventional method and that the new method is standardized for general application.

Statement of the Problem

The main purpose of the study is to analyse the leadership structure (or power structure) of the Grahamstown community with an attempt to determine to what extent this structure is monolithic or pluralistic.

A monolithic structure refers to conditions where leadership is united on all or most issues. In monolithic structures leaders often tend to have similar background experiences or come from homogeneous groups.

A pluralistic structure refers to leaders who are divided among themselves on different issues. They may be united on certain issues, but they disagree on most or all, or on the most crucial issues. Pluralism may refer to distinct opposing sections or factions in the community, or it may merely refer to the fact that leaders are not united on specific issues even though distinct factions are not formed.

Methods and Techniques

Data have been collected within two frames of reference: on leadership and on main events.

1. Leadership analysis:

Leadership analysis entails several steps. The first is the identification of leaders, then the collection of data about their leadership activities and the nature of their leadership. Distinctions are made between formal and informal leadership, actual and potential leadership, leadership and popularity, etc.

2. Event analysis

The main events in various facets of community life over the past four or five years are isolated and analysed. These events include (a) the establishment of new institutions or organizations, industries or buildings; (b) slum clearance or the proclamation of group areas; (c) trends in group relations among churches, schools, etc.

Some of these events have developed into issues or controversies on which leaders or groups were divided and opposed each other.

An analysis of the main events in the community indicated that leadership was not united on most or all issues. In fact, it appeared that on many issues there were marked differences of opinion. It remained for the investigator to determine the bases of these divisions.

Differences among leaders can be due, in the first place, to background characteristics. The following items were taken into account: education, social status, church affiliation, home language, ethnic group. On further investigation it appeared that none of these characteristics accounted for the main divisions among leaders. An analysis of events and their interrelationship with the larger social structure of the South African situation suggested that leaders' stands on local issues might be linked with and even determined by their respective views of the political situation in South Africa.

In addition to the analyses mentioned above we then administered a schedule to obtain from each leader detailed information about his own background and also his stands or views on various local issues and

related political implications which might have some bearing on his attitude toward and participation in local decision-making.

Presentation of Material

The material is presented in two parts. First a general overview of all aspects of community development is presented and then a more technical account is given of the methods and techniques employed including an analysis of the findings based on these procedures.

It was the intention to present a more detailed discussion of several selected problems as a third part of the report. It was found, however, that our interpretations were not conclusive at this stage. We have decided, therefore, to sketch these problems briefly in our concluding chapter and then develop these themes during the coming year in further discussions with community leaders and university colleagues.

This development was necessitated partly by the need to interpret local leadership in terms of the national scene. Though this interpretation was envisaged in the original application, it eventually received more attention than intended. The bias was introduced because of the apparent link between local and national leadership and was stimulated by the new study on South African Elite, also sponsored by the National Council of Social Research, which is now in its infancy.

CHAPTER TWOBRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH OF GRAHAMSTOWN

According to the historian, Dr. Cory, the settlement of Grahamstown began after the military campaign of 1811-12, on the instructions of Cradock, the Governor of the Cape, as the permanent military headquarters for the Cape Regiment. It was also specified that the site chosen for the Head Quarters should be "some suitable spot which also should admit of a number of settlers established themselves upon it". (Cory, pp. 246-7) The site was to command the Fish River frontier and the Zuurveld while being capable of supporting the development of a town with a civilian population. (Watts: 21). It was thus an important outpost on the eastern fringes of the Cape Colony and this function dominated the town for a good part of the 19th century as well as being the main source of the further development of the town. When later Grahamstown ceased to be an outpost it lost its function as the "trading gateway" to the Colony and the town stagnated.

From the start Cradock envisaged the civilian character of the town as being the predominant one, with a Deputy Landdrost, etc. By 1815, the military Head Quarters having moved out of the centre of the embryo town, the town could develop as a town and not solely as a military outpost. However, until the 1820 Settlers arrived it remained an embryo town (though it proved its strategic military value in the Battle of Grahamstown of 1819 when the invading tribesmen were turned back and prevented from invading the rest of the Eastern Province). These Settlers, intended as a "buffer" between the Khosa tribes and the Colony, were mainly settled round Bathurst, and Donkin, Acting-Governor, began to develop Bathurst as the major town in the Albany District in preference to Grahamstown. Somerset, the Governor, countermanded this, as it was felt Grahamstown was better situated for a wider regional importance. As the Settlers, many of whom were townsmen and tradesmen and certainly not farmers, drifted to the towns to make a living either at their old trades or at any job they could find the town began to develop rapidly. Grahamstown began to be commercially important as a local supply centre, then as the trading and supply centre for the region, and ultimately as a centre for trading with the tribes of the interior, especially in ivory. As the only town of any importance near to the main body of Settlers Grahamstown attracted a good many settlers and they stimulated the development of trades and minor industries (e.g. wagon-building) as well as increasing the population and size of the town. For the next 20 to 30 years Grahamstown experienced the "accelerating and self-perpetuating cycle of growth and development which operates in any region undergoing rapid expansion". (Watts: 44) Indeed, this continued for as long as Grahamstown remained the supply centre for the frontier and an outpost of civilisation.

This development included administrative, legal, cultural and political domination of the region as well as commercial domination and the influence of the town spread far beyond the Albany District - even as far as the then tiny town of Port Elizabeth, which was merely a landing point for Grahamstown's imports from Britain, Europe and the East. The "Graham's Town Journal", which commenced publication in 1831 was the first newspaper published in the Eastern Cape. Financial institutions came to Grahamstown, marking the end of a subsistence economy, and soon the town floated its own joint stock company and bank. Many cultural associations were formed in the early 1830's, including a circulating library and many missionary activities. In 1831 the "Graham's Town Infant School" was started and by 1832 had seventy-two scholars. Several other schools were established during the early 1830's and the town already had far more educational institutions than any other town in the Eastern Province. In 1837 Municipal Regulations for Grahamstown were promulgated in the Government Gazette and local government was established. During these years the "Journal" contains frequent advertisements and reports of public meetings held in the town and of petitions and memorials drawn up by the townspeople. The two main issues were frontier security and the demand for some form of government for the Eastern Province apart from that in Cape Town. It appears that the people of the town were to the forefront in any political movement. This continued until the town finally relinquished political leadership of the Eastern Province to Port Elizabeth in the latter decades of the 19th century.

By 1840 Grahamstown had reached the zenith of its influence as undisputed leader of the Eastern Province. Even then, however, growing signs of competition and struggle for Grahamstown's position were beginning to appear and gradually the town declined to the subordinate commercial position it holds today. That the townsmen were aware of the threat to their position the "Graham's Town Journal" of 15th August, 1844 records. Grahamstown was no longer the "gateway to the Colony" - the frontier had moved eastwards - the area was no longer underdeveloped, and other towns offered competition, especially Port Elizabeth. The question of the importance of insisting that main roads be made to pass through the town was raised in 1845, while Port Elizabeth planned a road to the north which would by-pass Grahamstown entirely, and Grahamstown did her best to promote a port at the Kowie which would free her from Port Elizabeth's domination.

Trade was still proceeding, of course: the decline was long and slow, while Port Elizabeth was steadily expanding. Then in the 1850's the problem of the railway route to the north arose: should it go via Grahamstown, or via Graaff-Reinet. The 1860's were depression years when all trade was reduced, but the 1870's saw the discovery of diamonds and an intensification of Grahamstown's struggle for a port and for a main-line railway link with the north.

The port scheme finally failed when the Cape Parliament refused to make a loan of £50,000 for development purposes in 1871. About this time the military Head Quarters had been withdrawn from Grahamstown - another blow to the town's trade - and after years of wrangling Grahamstown was condemned to a branch railway line in the 1870's: a decision which, it was felt at the time, finally condemned her to a static "sleepy hollow".

The editor of the "Graham's Town Journal", in discussing the future of the town, speculated that its good climate, its churches and its good schools might enable Grahamstown to become "the Saratoga of South Africa" (Watts: 129) and become a good holiday resort. This idea proved futile, too. The ecological position of the town would ultimately have condemned it to being a "sleepy hollow" regardless of whether the rail or sea links desired had been achieved.

What Grahamstown actually did, being now a "mere consumer", with no industry, little trade, no raw materials, no strategic importance, was to develop and use the facilities established in her heyday: her "good schools". As Watts puts it, "The function of education has replaced that of commerce, and learning that of war". During the mid-nineteenth century when commerce was threatened the cultural institutions were still being developed and consolidated. The Convent was established in 1849, St. Andrew's College in 1855, The Diocesan School for Girls in 1874, St. Aidan's College in 1876, St. Peter's Home, from which grew the Teachers' Training College and the School of Music was established in 1883, Kingswood College in 1894 and the Rhodes University College in 1904. Graco College and Victoria Girls' High School (Then one school) were established in the 1890's, too. Other schools and institutions which have either ceased to exist or have moved to other towns were then flourishing, too. Today, education is a compensating function for the loss of commerce, and Grahamstown is still important beyond the immediately surrounding region. Grahamstown still (rather tenuously) remains the seat of the Supreme Court for the Eastern Province, is the seat of the Anglican Bishop and is an important centre of the Methodist Church. No important new functions have been acquired since the turn of the century and an old-world atmosphere reigns over the white settler-houses and early Victorian buildings of the High Street.

While not a rapidly growing town, Grahamstown is not stagnant, and its population is slowly increasing. The following table shows a small, but steady, population growth in all racial groups. The figures are only estimates and the figures for 1964 are obviously incorrect, the two sources (State Health Report and Municipal Council Report) not agreeing and in fact almost contradicting each other, but it does give us a rough idea of the present size of the town we

have studied in the pages ahead.

<u>Rough Estimate of the Population of Grahamstown.</u>							
	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	
White	10,624	10,500	10,655	10,820	11,150	11,288	11,801
Bantu	16,300	17,350	18,161	18,972	20,594	18,600	20,300
Coloured	3,710	4,155	4,568	4,981	5,807	4,873	5,023
Asiatic	304	190	202	214	238	214	205

* State Health Report

** Council Report

CHAPTER THREEECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTCOMMERCE AND INDUSTRYThe Commercial and Financial Background of the Town in brief

The Center of the Ivory Trade of the early frontier, the "Queen of the East" Cape, Grahamstown has become today the limpid city. Like other facets of the town's life, commerce is also slow in financial tempo. As mentioned, the City Council bears the colossal burden of 48% derated property, owing to the various educational institutions. Coupled to this the town receives an annual revenue shock from the end of November (early December) through Christmas and the New Year to the beginning of February (until the end of January): Rhodes University and the numerous schools - the quintessential commercial supporters and suppliers of revenue - close for long vacation.

Then "the larger portion of de-rated property no longer justifies its concessions. Shopkeepers sigh. Church pews are vacant. The streets are noticeably empty. Only, it seems the Saints remain".

The approximate $\frac{1}{3}$ of the population which departs the city is constituted of approximately 2,325 boarding scholars, and approximately 1,557 Rhodes and Training College students. (Grocott's Mail, 26th November, 1965)

The local Newspaper, Grocott's Mail, explored the position further:

"Rhodes and the Training College give a combined figure of approximately 787 women students excluding Oppidans. Allow each of these students R1 per month as a conservative estimate expenditure on nylon stockings. Think in terms of revenue from toothpaste, lipstick, complexion creams, cigarettes, hair rollers, sundry chocolate slabs, and other petty cash items. Gone with the wind for three months.

"The basic essential of food expenditure for the floating population gives startling revelations.

"At Rhodes alone an approximate $9\frac{1}{2}$ tons of meat is consumed each month.

"The University eats 1,932 lbs. sausages per month, 2,267 lbs. mutton chops, 4,953 lbs. topside, 885 lbs. stewing mutton, 1,938 lbs. beef mince, 539 lbs. sirloin, 1,480 lbs. pork, 2,008 lbs. rumpsteak, 651 lbs. bacon, 372 lbs. cold meats, 824 lbs. other meats and 272 lbs. dripping. Also 1,288 lbs. fish and 750 lbs. poultry each month.

"Butter, eggs and cheese are consumed at the rate of 2,270 lbs., 3,197 dozen, and 630 lbs. each month. Milk is swallowed at the rate of 1,660 gallons, ice cream at 142 gallons and bread at 5,858 loaves every 30 days. Groceries to the monthly value of R1,888-80 and produce of R1,866-42 completes the basic diet per month of this one institution.

"No wonder, we said, for the ensuing harvestless months, only the Saints remain."

Over the Christmas Season "Buy Locally" became the slogan of local business firms. Despite the "death-drain" of revenue at the close of University and Schools, Christmas sales compared favourably on the standard of previous years' seasons. Grocott's Mail reported that, "according to a quick gallup poll", it appeared that fewer people were shopping in larger centres, owing to a satisfactory range

of consumers' goods and the convenience of the smaller centre.

Mr. Neville Louw, president of the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce and Mr. Desmond White, Secretary of this organization, gave the following statement:

"It is one of the basic concepts of economics that the more money that is kept circulating in one's own area, the more the local public are benefiting themselves."

"The Chamber of Commerce aims at promoting high ethical standards in business, service to the community, and the encouragement of free competitive enterprise, through the payment of higher staff wages and the betterment of general working conditions particularly for non-Europeans. By supporting local business houses, the public makes it possible for member firms to achieve their aims in the interests of the community."

The comment of a large High Street store spokesman was:

"Christmas buying is now at its peak, and we have no complaints despite the credit squeeze. This may even prove the best Christmas we have ever had. Certainly it is proving as good as the best we have had."

At the end of the year the local paper confirmed that the 1965 Christmas season was the "best ever" and that trade turnovers had increased on previous years (records) figures.

Towards the end of January Grahamstown welcomed back the School population which meant that a few of the vital "revenue arteries" were back in circulation. These institutions' revenue contribution to the community was estimated and that of the University again cited:

"According to the University's 1964 accounts, R834,000 per annum was paid in salaries and wages. Doubtless this figure since has increased, but of its total some R84,000 were earned by the 394 non-European employees of the University.

"The University's food bill per annum totalled R114,000.

"The maintenance account of the University's buildings was an approximate R60,000."

At a conservative allowance of R2 pocket money per student, and on the working assumption of an academic year of 30 weeks, local stores "benefit to the tune of an approximate R100,000 each year."

"Two Private schools alone, apart from pocket money, contribute direct to local businesses, an approximate R111,000 from sundry expenditures. This includes doctor's bills, possibly some clothing items, and the purchase of smaller items such as hair combs, or toothbrushes. These are bought by local school-masters for pupils on the "chit" system. This is money earned outside Grahamstown that automatically flows into the city.

"The municipal accounts show that the basic and unit electricity charges for local private homes and commercial houses is R213,000 per annum. The combined educational institutes figure is R65,000 almost $\frac{1}{3}$ of the other total." (Grocott's Mail, 28th January, 1966)

Meanwhile, the advertised interest rates of Building Societies, which have their Head Offices in Grahamstown, have fallen over the period February, 1965, to January, 1966. However, it may be erroneous to attribute this to the local scene because of the direct involvement of these financial institutions in the national economy.

Other aspects of the financial situation of the town are dealt with in the section on Local Government in which the formal representative body of the Community, the City Council, is discussed.

The Present Position on Industry in Grahamstown

General Community opinion considers that the primary "industry" in Grahamstown is Education. Apart from the preponderance of educational institutions in the city, there may be justification for viewing this as an industry in that these institutions can be analyzed along input-output lines: they employ labor of various types, and take in "raw materials" which are converted into goods that are distributed along determinable lines; for the enterprise as a whole costs of production can be calculated.

Other than Education, a few individual manifestations of industry are localised in Grahamstown. They are:

T. Birch & Co. Ltd.,

Academical, civilian, clerical, municipal and legal outfitters; tailors and robe makers.

Blakes Bricks Ltd.,

quarriers and suppliers of all types of face and building bricks.

Dick's Bakery, bread bakers and confectioners.

Eastern Province Refrigerating Co. (Pty.) Ltd.,

automatic manufacturers of steel chairs.

G.B.M. Fishing Tackle, manufacturers of trout-flies and fishing lures.

Grahamstown Butter and Ice Factory,

butter manufacturers; ice is no longer produced on the premisses.

Grahamstown Engineering Works, (general engineering)

Grahamstown Gas and Coke Co. Ltd.,

(alias South African Lighting Association Ltd.) - gas works.

Grahamstown Potteries Ltd., and

Hamburger's Pottery, ceramic industry utilizing clay, a natural raw resource of the vicinity.

Grocott and Sherry, printers and bookbinders.

Modern Printing Works, printers and bookbinders.

National Lamp (Pty.) Ltd.,

manufacturers of miniature bulbs and special electrical lamps.

Randall's Engineering Works, (general engineering)

To preface the issue of industry in Grahamstown, a brief account of a few existing industries is set out.

The Ceramic Industries

Towards the end of 1963 big developments in the Ceramic Industry of South Africa were foreshadowed. A factory in the Transvaal involving R1.5 million investments was to be established, and to this was linked an established Cape Enterprise, Continental China Co., the South African branch of the German Co., Rosenthal. This was of direct interest to the Grahamstown establishment which antedated these new firms by many years.

Development of the Grahamstown concern has been going ahead steadily and at the beginning of 1965 a report estimated enthusiastically, that there was the possibility of the city becoming the North Staffordshire of South Africa. Furthermore it was stated:

"Hitherto our only advantages here have been our ready vast deposits of suitable clay and a good supply of adaptable labour at reasonable rates of pay, and the disadvantages have been the high cost of heating - whether by electricity or other fuel - and our position vis-à-vis the major market centres of the country. This situation has definitely changed of late, for while our advantages remain, the disadvantages have certainly begun to diminish, one in particular, the cost of heating, very markedly.

"The development of oil refining in this country has led to the production of big volumes of gas, a portion of which at least can be liquified at normal temperatures by the application of quite moderate pressures. Where refineries are located near the oil-wells, as in the Persian Gulf area, this gas has so far been wastefully burnt on site but where the refinery is situated in an industrialised country, such a gas has obviously an economic value and our South African refineries are developing its use over a wide range. It is this gas which is now being applied to the baking of pottery at what is familiarly known in Grahamstown as "The Pots".

"Last year an experimental kiln was set up, supplied by the conventional 100 lb. content steel bottles and it was quickly proved that direct heating by open flame was most effective whether for biscuit, glaze or enamel (decorated) firing. It was found, particularly, that the kiln was most effective in firing decorated ware, one of the difficult jobs, and the most sensitive and difficult colour, red, came through in a quality which could not be equalled by any other method of firing, even electrical.

"With this type of kiln it will be possible to determine with greater accuracy the cost of heating by L.P.G. (Low-pressure gas) and the next step is to apply the same heating medium to a suitably-designed tunnel kiln.

"In connection with these gas-fired kilns, the suppliers of the L.P.G. have opened a depot on the brickworks siding, from which the fuel will be piped down to four spherical storage tanks, to serve the potteries' kilns. These are associated with a vaporiser, turning liquid into gas as it is piped forward to the kilns.

"Prior to this the gas had arrived by road and was pumped into six rotund 500 gallon spheres at the Grahamstown potteries for storing liquid petroleum gas. The stored gas lasts about a month. Regular monthly amounts have been sent by road from Port Elizabeth.

"Following the success with the one experimental kiln, the gas will operate five kilns all told.

"It is noteworthy that Grahamstown Potteries have done the pioneering work in South Africa in this particular application of L.P.G. which is not developed at all, so far, in Britain, though France and Belgium are beginning to use this method of heating in their ceramic industries." (Grocott's Mail, 15th January, 1965)

Changes have further occurred in the type of goods produced. In contrast to 2 or 3 years ago, when the articles were mainly fancy goods, Drostdyware, such articles form only a portion of the total output today. Articles of higher utility value, such as cups and saucers, are produced in response to the market. To accommodate the increasing demand for these goods a number of additions have been made to the plant:

"There are three semi-automatic cup-makers, set to produce four cups every minute and each with its own rotary spindle drier. These machines can be set to do as many as eight cycles a minute and production can thus be stepped up as the skill of the operators develops.

"Cups require handles, and here another semi-automatic machine is involved. The handles are precast and fed in one by one. The machine dips their ends in a suitable sticking medium - mainly clay - and lifts them up and sticks them one at a time on a cup suitably located on a mandrel, at the rate, at present, of four a minute.

/Then.....

"Then there are three semi-automatic saucer machines. Here two operations are necessary. A piece of clay is put on a flat spinning table and spread out as a sort of pancake nearly as thin as the saucer to be. It is then slapped on to a saucer mould, which is put in another spindle and shaped (externally) by a descending blade.

"Mould and saucer are put into a "mangle" drier, of which there are now two, and by the time the mould has gone over the top (the main drying zone) the saucer can be detached and the mould then finally dried for re-use. With these and the spindle type already mentioned drying is quick and the number of moulds required for a given output greatly reduced." (Grocott's Mail, 16th January, 1965)

About March the town's confidence in the local clay industries was set-back by the announcement of the proposal to establish a clay washing and exporting industry at East London. A local manufacturer, Mr. J. Hamburger, was not surprised by this, stating that the Grahamstown "clay is either good or bad, according to the use to which it is to be put. For the manufacture of certain articles the Grahamstown clay is superb and a large paper manufacturing concern at Springs in the Transvaal imports thousands of tons of it as a filler in the manufacture of its wares because of its whiteness." In his expert estimation the clay of East London was probably more suitable for the requirement of the mud industry. Mr. Hamburger also mentioned that in recent years several attempts had been made to establish a pottery as a border industry at King William's Town. (Eastern Province Herald - Grahamstown News).

Owing to the fairly rapid rise of the Transvaal Ceramic projects, Grahamstown seriously had to consider its position so as to plan effectively to protect its "home" industries. A major drawback is Grahamstown's awkward location and hence transport problems. Measures had to be taken to neutralise the disadvantageous position especially with respect to industry.

In a paper read on transport problems before the Chamber of Commerce Congress in Grahamstown in 1964, the matter was candidly stated: "South African Railways were hampering our development, where they would, if properly run on competitive lines, be aiding it." With regard to the Ceramic industry it was pointed out that:

"Our ceramic industry is forced to pay the highest tariff in order to send its finished product to the markets. But it is in order for us to ship clay at the crude ore rate to the Rand where this is processed and manufactured by pottery firms who are then allowed to transport their goods to their customers by road.

"The Grahamstown Potteries has appealed time and again to the local road transportation board for permission to use road transport. In 18 years it has been granted two permits to transport goods for local consumption by road.

"The first was to transport £2,000 worth of goods to Johannesburg for an urgent delivery. It was delivered within three days with no breakages at a cost of 11 per cent. of production.

"The second permit was to transport a consignment to Port Elizabeth from where it was shipped by coastal steamer to Durban. Despite the frequent loading and unloading between the factory and customer this consignment was delivered in one week at a cost of 18 per cent. and there were no breakages. Delivery by South African Railways would have taken three to four weeks and the cost would have been 30 per cent. and there would have been $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. breakages. Packing costs by road are reduced by 40 per cent."

Towards the end of 1964 the South African Railways allowed some concessions to Road transportation. Mr. N. Steele Gray, F.I. Ceram, in Albany - the North Staffordshire of Southern Africa set out the position:

"The one natural asset which Grahamstown possesses is its clay deposits, which are the obvious foundation of both heavy and light industries but Grahamstown, unfortunately, is very much on a branch line, as regards the distribution of its actual and potential products, in both heavy or crude or light and refined categories. As regards the latter in particular the railway tariff originally applicable in the 1940's, namely, Rate 3, was, in a reclassification in 1954, raised to Rate 1. This has meant a threefold increase in distribution costs since the local industry was established. Moreover the present rail charges are at least double those which can be offered by road transporters.

"But here's the real rub. Competitive products from the aforesaid Transvaal complex can be sent by road not only to Grahamstown, but to Port Elizabeth, Durban and elsewhere. Grahamstown products have for example, to be railed to Durban but wholesalers there can send these back to East London and intermediate points by road!

"The essential points are that Grahamstown has the raw material, clays in great variety, and it has very serious unemployment problems. True, it has no nearby coal resources, but due to the expansion of oil refining in this country a supply of what is known as L.P.G. (liquid petroleum gas) is becoming available at a competitive price which does much to meet this particular cost angle of production. Nevertheless, the very serious and completely unfair handicap of distribution costs remains to impede the development of Grahamstown into the North Staffordshire of the sub-continent. Moreover there are undoubted prospects of further developments in our clay industries, in directions hitherto unexploited, which would greatly assist in local industrial advance. Yet we are apparently frustrated by a discriminatory policy which it is difficult if not impossible to understand.

"Give us the tools, in the form of economic and efficient transport and capital at appropriate interest rates and the Clay Industries of Grahamstown will do the job not merely of providing work for the inhabitants of the Pingo Village and of the Peddie Reserve, but of satisfying many of the urgent needs of the fast growing economy of the Eastern Province in building materials and of our country and indeed of certain export markets in some of the more specialised ceramic fields.

"Here, surely is a matter calling for the concerted action of every local institution interested in our industrial development, including in particular our City Council. Let us get busy as a community and endeavour to remove the anomalies which are obviously handicapping our progress.

"It should be noted that the much bruted concessions apply to the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging-Vanderbijlpark complex and the Durban and Western Cape Areas. We can only assume that those limitations were arrived at on what might be termed a tonnage basis, but the limitations are nonetheless subject to critical scrutiny, particularly from what might be called a parochial angle, but one which is of major significance to Grahamstown and other parts of the Eastern Cape." (Grocott's Mail, November 3rd, 1964)

But the Transport problem was not solved for in January, 1965, the distribution difficulties were reiterated. It was suggested that the high cost of sending products to the markets could be overcome in two ways:

"The first is by road delivery. This is a door-to-door service, which eliminates handling and thus reduces breakages very greatly, and which is quicker and less costly than rail transport, especially in the case of pottery, since the highest tariff rate was applied to such goods.

"The other is the very obvious development of local demand caused by the steadily rising standard of living of the people generally and of non-Whites in particular. As has been remarked, our people are only now beginning to live. When one tries to predict a curve of growth for the ordinary needs, in such essentials as cups and saucers, plates and the like, one begins to wonder if the estimates can possibly be reliable,

so high are the possibilities, and if so, how they can be met." (Grocott's Mail, 15th January, 1965)

Further discussion of the effect of inadequate transport facilities in the retardation of local industrialization is continued below in the sub-section on the dispute on industry.

"Finally regarding Pottery an instance was mentioned of the establishment of the industry in the Alberton district to the Southeast of Johannesburg where the electricity charges were comparably lower than Grahamstown. In fact, electric heating - conceived as the only feasible means - cost one-third as much there as it would in Grahamstown. Local potteries, having overcome this handicap with the introduction of L.P.G. heating, have taken one step further forward." (Grocott's Mail, 9th March, 1965)

With community effort it was suggested that remaining obstacles to the expansion of existing industries could be largely eliminated.

National Lamp (Pty.) Ltd.

In the course of the question of stimulating industry in Grahamstown it was said that the "one special industry, the manufacture of electric lamps, is obviously very sound and continues to expand but is in much the same position as the clay industries. From it one cannot expect spectacular developments especially as it has already broken into the export field, to its great credit." (Grocott's Daily Mail, October 4th, 1963.

Eastern Province Refrigerating Co. (Pty.) Ltd.

An innovation adopted by this company was laudably announced by the local press: "AUTOMATION HAS COME TO GRAHAMSTOWN". It was suggested that the author of the machine, Mr. Graham Brown, did not originally conceive it only for its present purpose of manufacturing the tubular steel components of the modern chair and table, because this automatic "lathe" is suitable for other applications as well. This bending machine is controlled by a length of celluloid film on which the instructions are contained. A length of "raw" tube fed into the apparatus for conversion is advanced an exact amount, gripped, bent, released and again advanced, cut off, and the same procedure followed for the rest of the cycle, until the length is all utilised.

Eventually when the assembly line has been completed and the bending machine fully employed; a completed chair will be produced every $4\frac{1}{2}$ minutes.

As in the case of the production of ceramic goods, a serious obstacle facing this firm is that of DISTRIBUTION.

"This local manufacturer of tubular steel chairs and tables imports by South African Railways all the components and then he manufactures the finished article here in Grahamstown. He is forced to rail them in crates - not in corrugated cardboard packing - because the L.R.T.S. will not allow him to use road transport but his competitors who manufacture the identical article on the Rand have a permit to deliver in Grahamstown, East London and Port Elizabeth by road.

"It would cost our local factory 30 per cent. of the manufacturing costs to rail his goods to Johannesburg. Delivery would be anything

/from.....

from 10 to 14 days and he could suffer $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in breakages. The Rand factory pays 10 per cent. on his articles to be delivered, unpacked, by road to Grahamstown, East London and Port Elizabeth within three days of the order being placed." (Grocott's Mail, 11th June, 1964)

The problem had not been solved because in 1965 it was repeated:

"At present the tubing used is produced in the Witwatersrand area and is transported to Grahamstown at a reasonable rate. The picture is different when it comes to distributing the finished article. As can be imagined, the railways demand that the chairs be packed to a specification before they can be accepted for transportation. The result has been that it would cost about 65c to carry a chair from the factory in Grahamstown to a Port Elizabeth destination. Fortunately a dispensation has been granted permitting carriage, at least within a limited local radius, by road as a comparative cost of 10c, it is upon factors such as these that the economics of the undertaking turn, and it is encouraging to find the Road Transportation Boards are beginning to appreciate the position and its needs." (Grocott's Mail, 8th January, 1965).

Overall, the introduction of this chair-making technique has attempted to reduce the cost of production and improve production efficiency. Enthusiastically the report concludes that "at present Grahamstown possess a unique machine and with it the possibilities of a quite important industry developing in due course". (Grocott's Mail, 8th January, 1965)

Economic Development and the Issue of Industry

All social action is oriented towards the attainment of certain goals; therefore, action on the issue of industry, in so far as it is social**, can be interpreted within an ends-means scheme.

(i) Industry - a means to what ends?

Viewing INDUSTRY, generally, as a means, what is the end to which it is geared? Why should industries be brought to the town?

In interviews with selected townspeople, the end frequently stated explicitly was humanitarian, viz., to remedy the deprivation of the African and Underprivileged non-white people by raising their living standards by providing employment for them. The local newspaper has from time to time published editorials sounding the same theme. In 1963 it asserted:

"Grahamstown's problem is that it has more would-be workers than available jobs, particularly in the non-European sector. Moreover natural increase in population is introducing such workers faster than jobs are arising, and laws and regulations practically preclude non-Whites, especially Bantu, from venturing elsewhere in search of employment. Hope is held out that there will be much scope

/for.....

** "Action is social in so far as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual, (or individuals), it takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course".

for unskilled labour in a year or so's time in connection with the Orange River Project. Work on this, it is reported, will be reserved for Xhosas particularly and Basutos and other "foreigners" will be excluded. We cannot see that this will in any way help to solve our local problem. Not only will Grahamstown Africans be most chary about leaving the city to work elsewhere, particularly on rough manual labour, but, unfortunately, all too many of our unemployed are unfitted for such work, partly owing to lack of physique and partly by temperament, as they lack the "will to work". They are unable and unsuited to face a tough world and for this they are not entirely to blame. Local circumstances have contributed largely to what they are. Nevertheless they are potentially useful labour in categories suitable to them. There have been no complaints from either the Potteries or the Lamp Factory that there is any shortage of suitable labour as far as their needs are concerned.

"What the city needs, it is painfully obvious, is industries, light industries to absorb our surplus labour or at least to offer it a chance to work." (Grocott's Daily Mail, 4th October, 1963)

By March, 1965, these same considerations were being put forward.

Referring to the gross unemployment of Africans in Grahamstown, a report maintained that

"Restrictions on their movement prevent their risking leaving the only area where they have been born and bred and have at least some right, in these days of 'baaskap apartheid', to live. The result is for this community a menacing and growing problem, the only solution of which seems to be the development of local industry." (Grocott's Mail, 9th March, 1965)

This humanitarian outlook seemed to be the overriding end to which industry as a means is to be directed.

However, when the issue is analyzed within the community and simultaneously it is ascertained who participated in the issue, inclusive of members of the City Council and the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the authenticity of the end begins to be disputed.

An informant in an interview stated that Industry as a means for Grahamstown "is designed to create greater purchasing power, and so improve trading, primarily; from the point of view of the Council, to improve revenue and so overcome the lacking owing to the many institutions which do not pay rates. It is largely the concern and self-interest of business people in the town and on the Council.

"A tertiary end, but certainly not the dominant one, is to provide jobs for Africans, and so improve African living standards; this is not a dominant interest, but the interest of a few who are concerned with this."

Industry- an appropriate means?

The end or ends having been defined, the appropriateness of industry as a means for the realization of the end(s) can be examined. In the same interview above-mentioned, it was pointed out that this is largely a question of policy, which can be interpreted as 'what type of development should some authority induce?' Moreover, this question is complex owing to the numerous factors that must be entertained. The following suggestions were put forward. Perhaps if agriculture improved, trading also would be enhanced. Alternatively, a significant sector is education.

In order to produce any significant growth in Grahamstown, those sectors, which bring in income from outside the area, e.g., education, might be enlarged. Without industry it is difficult for the Grahamstown economy to grow, so in accord with this end, industry, which is selling on a national scale, needs to be established. Whether agriculture or industry is to be fostered depends on the costs compared to benefits to be derived. From a national point of view which should be given, special encouragement depends on whether one's considerations are economic or political. If development is left to the City Council, the only real means available to them is manufacturing industry.

As early as 1963 it was voiced via the local newspaper that the only possible move in this matter must be the City Council. "It is high time that this problem was taken in hand. It is no reflection whatever on members of the Council to say that this particular task, of attracting industries to the city, is not exactly up their street." But clearly the industrial proposition for Grahamstown from the City Council's standpoint has concomitant problems, to mention a few specifically:

Water problems, if industry came in any significant scale. It would create an immediate problem for the City Council in that it would have to find suitable flat industrial land. It would have to provide suitable facilities for these areas - roads, sewerage, rail-sidings, shunting yards, which could (unless carefully planned) create financial difficulties for the municipality initially. These could be offset if the local authorities could receive some assistance from the central government like the local authorities in border areas. To expand upon this problem of providing industrial facilities for prospective entrepreneurs: it would be contrary to attracting industries to expect a particular industry to bear the costs of the construction of the industrial roads for the entire area. These costs would therefore fall upon the Municipality largely. Unless the whole area developed swiftly with each firm bearing partial road-construction costs, it would be initially costly. If industry came, the Municipality would have, or should have, thought of these problems in advance. The question of bearing costs by the Municipality could only be remedied in part by increased property rates, but as it is these are extremely high.

In an interview one respondent suggested that "the fact that Grahamstown has no industry might well be that there is no available ground for industry. The Council has done nothing to make any ground available to entrepreneurs". This interviewee quoted a case in point of a scrap metal dealer who wished to open a yard in the town. The Council was said to have said that there was no room for that as they had no land available. The dealer consequently moved to King William's Town and opened his business there.

Another interviewee stated that on the Council most Councillors were in favour of industry coming to Grahamstown. Those for the issue were led by Professors Hobart Houghton and Antonissen, Dr. van der Riet and Mrs. Rennie. Only one Councillor according to the interviewee had taken a stand against industry. His main contention is that the coming of industry will bring its own problems and not completely resolve the present problems facing the Council. The present problems should be solved first before others are created. In other words the gravamen of this side of the industrial dispute is that as a means to certain defined ends it is inapposite. Moreover, one councillor maintained that the town people are eager to preserve the tranquil 1820 Settler atmosphere - and desirable milieu for Education - which would be disturbed and corrupted by industry.

Yet another interview revealed that the respondent, a town estate agent and former Secretary of the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce, was comparing the arrival of Industry in Grahamstown with the conurbated industrial centres of Britain: he was against heavy industry as this would create a smog menace to the city. He also feared the residential invasion of the city by "undesirable" white employees which would accompany industry. This person was subsequently elected to the Town Council.

To bring the problems hampering the development of industry in Grahamstown into relief, the position of Grahamstown is compared with a new industrial estate, Westmead, near Durban, Natal. In a recent advertisement the following advantages were listed: power, water, labour, housing, climate, rail, roads and shipping. (Eastern Province Herald, 10th January, 1966). A respondent was asked to check these facilities in the case of Grahamstown. He did not consider power (electricity), water, housing, rail roads, shipping as advantages which Grahamstown has to offer prospective industries. In the case of Climate his response was "do not know". Regarding labour, he said that there existed a supply of unskilled labour, but that there were other places with an abundance of this class of labour plus other advantages. To the disadvantages he added: markets and raw materials, generally, although there are possibly materials for a pineapple-canning industry and, of course, clay. Further disadvantages are the absence of auxiliary services, e.g. light and general engineering workshops; high rates; slow and circuitous rail connections.

The railage problem has been cited above. In a paper on Transport matters read before the Chamber of Commerce Congress in Grahamstown, Mr. Tom C. Knowles asserted that the Railways were hampering local industrial development. (Grocott's Daily Mail, 11th June, 1964). In November, of the same year, transport was again dealt with as a handicap to local industry. The matter was taken up as one of competition between the nationalised South African Railways and private Road Transportation firms. The Railways were

reluctant to make concessions to road transportation as it would cost them "millions". The reluctance was conceived as a monopoly of transport on the part of the South African Railways. (Grocott's Mail, 3rd November, 1964)

Further scrutiny of Industry as a means leads to the consideration of types of industry, as for instance the commonplace distinction between light and heavy industries. In the interview referred to, the interviewee, mentioned that "heavy industries are usually situated where the cost of bringing together their materials and distributing their products (transport costs) are lowest; if Grahamstown and surrounding areas are the source of some raw material used by industry they may very well be suitable for heavy industry like the pineapple canning industry, which is 'heavy' because it handles materials in bulk (weight loss must also be calculated). Grahamstown has a better chance of attracting industries which find that the advantages of unskilled labour (cheaper and more plentiful than in, say, Port Elizabeth) are sufficient to offset the disadvantages of being further away from markets and materials; and this is most likely to happen in the case of light industry. I'm not saying that a number of industries of this latter sort will be significant. (It depends on a better combination of factors in other areas.)"

"It's possible that the bulb factory falls in this category and the "trout-fly" factory, though the location of the latter factory was dictated by personal factors, since the owner is a permanent resident and student. If people do settle for personal reasons, the number of industries likely to be established on this basis is likely to be low, because industries usually establish where money costs are low."

Economically speaking from the point of view of the prospective entrepreneur who entertains the idea of establishing an industry in Grahamstown, the main factors, location-wise, to be considered would be in the rank order: market, materials, and labour. Distribution facilities would be attendant on the availability and accessibility of markets.

(ii) Industry - as an end : what means?

Interpreting Industry as an end, the appropriate means recommended may be examined.

With regard to immediate means, as above-mentioned, the City Council was named as the body responsible for the procurement of industry. The local press channelised the remonstrations of the townspeople holding this attitude.

City Council and Industry

One report made comparisons of the situation in Grahamstown with that of the neighbouring coastal sea-ports of Port Elizabeth and East London. Port Elizabeth is establishing a factory for the

manufacture of internal combustion engines for motor cars, which in turn, would attract a foundry. Since these developments have an accumulative effect, other subsidiary industrial growth is likely to occur. On the other hand,

"East London was a tardy and late starter in the race for industries, but she seems to be putting on a commendable sprint and gaining ground rapidly, not necessarily to the exclusion of other centres. The decision to send a mission overseas to interest would-be industrialists seems to be paying off despite not a little pessimism at the time it was taken.

"Mr. Cyril Lord, who has been looking at things from without has just come back not only fully satisfied with the outlook for his textile venture in East London, but expecting that many more similar industries will be established there."

In a letter to the Editor, one correspondent referred to the shock of the establishment of a clay-washing plant in East London. The Director of the Grahamstown Publicity Association was said to have known about this.

"Why then did he not induce the Grahamstown Municipality to make representations to the industrialists in question even though they had not been asked to do so? Only boldness will ever secure any industry for Grahamstown.

"What is more, the East London Municipality leans over backwards to impress and assist prospective industrialists. May I suggest that the Grahamstown Municipality starts practising these successful back-bending exercises? Unless they do, Grahamstown may at the end of this century have no more industry than it has at present.

"There is no remedy but industry for the serious and ever-growing problem of non-European poverty in Grahamstown. Unless Grahamstown bestirs itself, we may be assured that every industry will pass the city by."

Another comment:

"It is quite obvious that Grahamstown is no place for heavy industry, owing to its geographical and railway circumstances, but we are quite satisfied that there are many light industries, of the type which might go almost anywhere, which would find themselves quite at home here. They are most unlikely to find their way here unless a real effort is made to look for them and to attract them. And whose job, whose responsibility is this?

"We have already suggested that the only possible mover in this matter must be the City Council."

In addition to the City Council numerous other bodies of a local, regional and national nature were recommended:

The Members of The Chambers of Commerce and Industries

Grahamstown Publicity Association

Grahamstown Industrial Development Corporation

National Government Departments concerned with Industrial
Placing and Development

Mr. Tom Knowles speaking at a Rotary Luncheon in Grahamstown, mentioned relevant aspects of the Chamber of Commerce:

"A Chamber of Commerce consists of men drawn from every walk of life, retailers, bankers, solicitors, and other professional men, all of whom have three things in common. They believe in the capitalist system, they own a part of that system, and they wish to preserve the conditions under which they are permitted to compete for their living.

"The strength of the movement lies in its diversified membership and the many different opinions, theories and beliefs that are held by the members. The whole association of the Chambers of Commerce

of South Africa (known as ASSOCOM) is based on the principle of free competitive enterprise and the discipline of the market.

"Today there are over 160 Chambers of Commerce in South Africa, each affiliated to ASSOCOM. The affairs of ASSOCOM are conducted by a full time secretariat.

"The secretariat is responsible for co-ordinating the actions of various Chambers and various Regional groups of Chambers. Herein lies one of their most difficult tasks because the interests of one Chamber may conflict with those of another. The officers must sift the evidence, weigh the arguments and decide what course is in the best interests of the national economy. It is because the Government appreciates that ASSOCOM acts only in the interest of the national economy that there is such close co-operation between ASSOCOM and the various Government departments.

"It is clear that the Government values ASSOCOM views very highly because there are two ASSOCOM representatives serving on the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Committee.

"In every town or city the local Chamber of Commerce should play a leading role. A strong and active Chamber should promote business by organising shopping campaigns, regulating trading hours and encouraging attractive shop premises.

"The Chamber should be in continual touch with the Post Master, and the Station Master, helping and advising on the best ways of providing services in their departments. The Chamber should co-operate closely with the Town Council in encouraging adequate rail, air and motor services and promoting the establishment of industries. The Chamber should be the authority that is consulted by all other public bodies including the Town Council on economic matters affecting the town." (Grocott's Daily Mail, 7th July, 1964)

The City Council took cognizance of the grievances of the Community which it represented, for it was announced that the Council was to encourage industry to the City:

The local press reported

"At the monthly meeting of the City Council last night the Finance and General Purposes Committee made six recommendations on a motion by Cr. R.D. Hobart Houghton to attract industry to the city. The recommendations were accepted, and it appears that a definite move will be made, in the near future, to attract factories to Grahamstown."

Cr. Houghton's motion called for an "investigation into all the possibilities of increasing employment opportunities in Grahamstown, and that industrialists in the city be invited to offer suggestions for attracting more factories to the city."

As a result of this motion Cr. Hobart Houghton, Professor of Economics at Rhodes University, specified the following 6 recommendations that could be pursued to advance Grahamstown's industrial level:

"1. That the Secretary of the Board of Trade and Industries be informed that Grahamstown is anxious to develop suitable avenues of employment for non-Europeans and to stimulate interest in the development of light industries for Grahamstown, and that he be respectfully requested to send an official to advise the council on the preliminaries.

"2. That the City Engineer report on sites considered suitable for light industries.

"3. That the Mayor offer a suitable prize for the best short essay on any aspect of attracting industries to Grahamstown.

"4. That the local industries, the Chamber of Commerce, leading financial institutions, the publicity association, and the press be asked for their co-operation in attracting industries to the town.

"5. That a member of the municipal staff be appointed to be specifically responsible for undertaking work of this nature.

"6. That the Town Clerk be granted permission to visit Port Elizabeth and East London whenever the occasion arises, to interview

prospective industrialists, when they visit these areas, with a view to attracting industries to Grahamstown."

Cr. Hobart Houghton urged that a member of the municipal staff be appointed immediately in order that a start could be made with the undertakings stated in the recommendations. This he regarded as the most important immediate move. These recommendations stimulated discussion and one can see that there were two lines of thought. Those who agreed that industry must be attracted but differed among themselves on the question of sites:

"On the one hand it was pointed out that it would be better to settle the matter of sites first, for it would be embarrassing to be confronted by a prospective industrialist and then being unable to show him any sites for his factory, while on the other hand it was felt that it was more important to know what light industry would be attracted, before sites were considered."

Others like Cr. Poole, emphasized that industries did not move to our town simply because the town needed them, but were only attracted to an area which would benefit them. Cr. Poole moreover asked for a reason which would attract industrialists to Grahamstown. The town should concentrate on the tourist industry, or should further develop as an educational centre. This would be progress in a more realistic direction.

In the 4th October, 1963, issue of Grocott's Daily Mail a columnist suggested:

"Outside help is needed, as was suggested by at least one candidate during the election campaign. If we need to fee a consultant to tell us how to improve our electrical distribution system, we cannot afford not to employ an industrial expert to examine our situation, what attractions we have to offer and not only to recommend the types of industry which should find themselves comfortably accommodated in Grahamstown, but one who would also have connections and be able to contact and direct to us suitable entrepreneurs. He might also, who knows, be able to suggest lines which were worth developing by local effort and capital. This is a novel field as far as most of us are concerned but outside know-how would make a tremendous difference. Moreover, we cannot afford to sit and twiddle our thumbs hopefully, and merely watch, enviously, the tremendous development going on almost on our doorstep. So, we suggest, let us be up and doing without further delay."

With regard to Professor Hobart Houghton's recommendations, a report paid him a double-edged remark:

"Fortunately we have in Professor Hobart Houghton a councillor who is able to suggest quite a list of industries which could find themselves well sited in Grahamstown, but on the other hand the mere recital does nothing to contact and inform the potential entrepreneurs interested in establishing such industries. As we stand, we have no channel through which to work to that end, nor can we conceive of a suitable one being established by purely local effort and resources. We evidently need outside help, which cannot be supplied by governmental agencies. The Government is dedicated to the development of what are known as "border" industries and has already been compelled to admit that despite all inducements this development has lamentably lagged. Its only resource has been to still further inducements and still we doubt if these will have the desired effect.

"The fact is that it is necessary actively to seek out possible entrepreneurs and to present our attractions to them through a well-informed channel. We do not think results can be expected through

advertising, despite the fact that other areas have used this means in the past. What is needed is a specialist, an industrial consultant who, having acquainted himself with our possibilities and our limitations, knows where to seek and find the necessary contacts and brief them adequately. We do not have such a person in our midst and it is necessary to look elsewhere. Moreover our city fathers, realising that this will cost money but convinced, we trust, of the importance of the step to the community which has elected them, must be prepared to grasp the nettle, despite our established aura of hard-up-ness, and, as the saying is, to speculate, if we are to accumulate. We incline to the belief that the ratepayers will blame them less if they make the attempt and fail or only have a *succée d'estime*, than if they burke the issue and do not even try. (Grocott's Daily Mail, 27th May, 1964)

An informant maintained that all the bodies cited could co-operate, and advanced similar propositions apropos industry:

The Grahamstown Industrial Development Corporation could compile some sort of brochure and distribute this, advertise in the Financial and other newspapers, and contact industrialists in this way. But for reasons given above it seems doubtful if this will succeed in attracting any significant amount of industry. There are a number of things Grahamstown's Industrial Development Corporation could do - send delegations to discuss, in other parts of the country and overseas, coming to Grahamstown. It seems unlikely though. The City Council could provide certain inducements such as specially low property rates, power and water charges, subsidized land values. But, it seems highly improbable whether the benefits to be derived from industries would justify the probably considerable costs.

If the Government supported the Municipality and private industries establishing in the area to a sufficient extent, then it would be within their ability to attract industry. How much industry would depend on how much the Government is prepared to pay. One can, however, see no good reason why the Government should favor Grahamstown in this way rather than any other platteland town.

Border Industry Status for Grahamstown

In accordance with present Government Policy of granting certain subsidies to firms in border areas, this avenue was explored as a possibility for Grahamstown. This point was discussed as reported in the local press.

"Now it is generally known that enterprises which win the classification of 'Border Industries' enjoy not a few special privileges, and in this connection we feel we should enter a plea for Grahamstown, not only for its ceramic industry but for other present industries and for any that we can attract in future. There is no artificiality or device about Grahamstown's situation, now or hitherto. We are, as the crow flies, about 30 miles from Ciskei reserves. We are, unfortunately, a magnet to Africans therefrom, and from farms roundabout, despite a number of genuine locals who cannot obtain employment. What we need, most obviously, is industrial development. Two questions arise. First, is a privileged position being artificially created, under Government auspices, for the new Rosslyn enterprise and second, do we or do we not qualify for equal consideration as a "border" industry,

wherein our position is a priori natural? Depending thereto is the question if so, why or why not?

"Here are questions which affect not merely a particular local industry or enterprise but the whole community, and how are answers to be sought? The obvious leader in any inquiry into these is the local authority our City Council. We suggest that it is up to the Council to promote such an inquiry and to invite the cooperation of all local industry. We want to know first if we qualify as a "border" industrial area and if not why not? Next we want to know what advantages and disadvantages may flow from our classification as such. Do we get concessions in the transportation of our products, do we have special concessions or any other local advantages? On the other hand, will it follow, as it has evidently done elsewhere, that the Department of Bantu Administration and Development take immediate advantage of the new classification to dump thousands of Africans on us who are being routed out of the Western Province? This might well make the game not worth the candle, in our present circumstances, though we would naturally expect to be permitted an influx of labour according to our needs, if and when they arise." (Grocott's Daily Mail, 22nd November, 1963)

After inquiries had been instituted it was announced the following year that Border Areas status was not applicable to Grahamstown which was only considered a marginal Ciskeian area.

However, on the 17th September, 1965, the press reported a spectacular event. At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce the Grahamstown Industrial Development Corporation was resuscitated with a Committee of four, viz.,

Mr. Louis Fourie, M.A., Lecturer in Economics at Rhodes University,
Mr. Desmond White, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce,
Mr. Tom Knowles, Director of the Grahamstown Publicity Association,
Mr. Guy Beaumont, member of the Chamber of Commerce Executive Committee.

The Grahamstown Industrial Development Corporation founded in 1956 is registered as a regional development association by the Natural Resources Development Council. The explicit purpose of the Committee is to liaise with the City Council, the Chamber of Commerce and other local bodies, in attracting industries to the Albany Area.

In his address to the meeting entitled "Industrial Development in the Midlands Regions* and Planning for Economic Growth" Mr. Fourie indicated the leading part Albany could play in the industrial development of the interior Midland's districts. He mentioned that:

"Of the rural Midlands' districts, Albany had the highest personal income outstripping the other rural area in mining and quarrying, general industries, the wholesale and retail trade, financial institutions and fixed properties, the ownership of dwellings, Government services and other services, as well as in the net differences.

"The Albany district however, did not lead in agriculture, forestry and fisheries, or in transportation and storage.

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* This was defined by Mr. L. Fourie in his lecture as the area of jurisdiction of the Government's Inspector of Labour at Port Elizabeth. This is bounded by Venterstad in the North, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage in the South, Middleburg and Graaff Reinet in the West, and Cradock and Albany in the East.

"A significant decline of the White population in the Midlands' area, outside Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, from 76,981 in 1936 to 69,283 in 1960, and a vast increase in the Southern Transvaal's population and net output, in the same period, showed the need for a balanced decentralization of industries.

"By this, I do not mean the shifting of industries to border areas, but to White rural areas," said Mr. Fourie. "These figures of the de-population of the Midlands area and of its relatively lower productivity, stress the need for planned economic development within this region. And the advent of the Orange, Fish and Sundays River Project provides fresh stimulus for regional planning." (Grocott's Mail, 17th September, 1965)

An informant criticized the statement that the fact concerning population decline "showed the need for a balanced decentralisation of industries". The critic argued that this fact in itself does not show that a balanced decentralisation of industry is necessarily desirable, if by "balanced decentralisation of industry" is meant state-induced industrialisation in Midlands' area. Labor migration (internal) is partly a reflection of adjustment to changing economic conditions, and, unless this process of adjustment is thought to be too painful and therefore socially undesirable, there is no reason why the government should intervene. Declining population of this sort is not necessarily inconsistent with the rising standards of living and in fact may contribute towards making this possible.

This labor migration is probably due partly to changed farming techniques, more mechanized and more productive, and partly due to an increasing number of attractive alternates in other centres. Unless unacceptable political and social consequences follow from this trend, there appears to be no reason why the government should intervene. Mr. Fourie further advised that the rural Midlands should aim at an expanding market, developing industries that could export products, not only to the rest of South Africa, but overseas also.

It was obvious that if the Government assisted rural industry expansion it also would be helping the farming population of the concerned areas. (Grocott's Mail, 17th September, 1965)

As far as Grahamstown is concerned,

"In 'modern economics', a town could not wait until industrialists commenced enquiries. Plans for the growth of industrial sites must be surveyed in advance. Water and power must exist, and roads should be constructed before industrial sites were advertised. Even the question of additional residential accommodation had to be considered in advance.

"Factors relative to attracting industries that might require serious attention were the standard of hotels, the establishment of motels, parks and recreational areas, as well as other tourist attractions."

In conjunction with local initiative the Regional approach was essential to ensure the full development of the Midlands and to exploit to the full the possibilities of the Orange-Fish-Sundays Rivers Scheme. The Regional planning could be linked with planning at Provincial as well as at National level.

Supporting this emphasis on Regional approach, Mr. Fourie quoted Mr. J.F.W. Haak, Minister of Economic Affairs, in his address to the

Regional Congress of the Chambers of Commerce in March, 1962:

"The man who helps himself is helped. This is true also for a community or a region. The soul of development must come from the people of the region, from the joint effort of different interests with a variety of objectives".

Above all, especially with the construction of the military coastal road from Port Elizabeth to East London via Port Alfred and its threat of isolation "Grahamstown must keep itself on the map at all costs."

This enthusiasm was not shared by another resident:

"Only Saints and martyrs are prepared to pay any costs for the ends they seek. Other bodies, individual or collective, must always consider costs. The optimal size of the dot on the map depends upon the marginal costs and marginal benefits of an increase or decrease in the size of the dot (figuratively speaking)."

In a separate report, Mr. L. Fourie's criticisms of the Government's Economic Development Program for the Republic of South Africa for the period 1964-1969, with reference to industrial development of Grahamstown, border and rural areas, were published.

"To my mind, the great weakness of the Economic Development Programme is that no account was taken of the great disparity of rates of economic growth between the major metropolitan concentration on the one hand, and neglected rural economies on the other.

"The Economic Development Programme was published last year by the Department of Planning as a result of instruction to the Prime Minister's Economic Adviser 'to investigate whether a system was possible whereby future economic development could take place in a better planned and co-ordinated manner.'

"The Government also believes that where certain developments appear to be justified, but the Private Sector is unable or unwilling to take the initiative, it has the responsibility to initiate the necessary development project.

"I believe that if the Government actively assisted the industrial and economic development of rural areas, the long term results of the Economic Development Programme would become much more favourable. This must result from such a major structural change as rural economic growth. What we require is an Economic Development Programme for rural areas to supplement National Economic Development Programme."

(Grocott's Mail, September, 1965)

Commenting on Mr. Fourie's "belief" regarding the Government's active assistance of the development of rural areas and the promotion of more favourable long-term results of Economic Development Programme, one respondent stated that "It would be interesting to hear precisely what reasoning led to this view. Clearly if it is thought that the industrial development of the rural areas will obviate certain unfavourable and disruptive long term political and social consequences, which are apparently feared in some quarters, then it may be reasonable to accept some decline in the economic efficiency in the short run. Likewise, if war in the Republic of South Africa is thought to be a real danger, in the long run, then, too, for strategic reasons it may be rational to produce greater dispersal of industry throughout the countryside and to willingly accept a certain amount of short-term economic harm. Both of these factors, however, are essentially political decisions and must rest with the subjective judgment of the government of the country. Analysis of the economic arguments which have been put forward for border areas industrialisation and industrial

decentralisation in general has led me to conclude that to the extent they are valid they are insignificant quantitatively and incapable of providing a rational basis for a program of state-induced large-scale development in the border areas and other semi-rural areas.

Mr. Fourie's comments on the Economic Development Programme report continued:

"Whereas decentralisation for the past Commissions of Enquiry into Economic Development, meant a shift towards the rural areas, such as those of the Cape Midlands, the Government in recent years had used the term to signify border economic development. The latter scheme was of political significance for the State, but it should not be confused with the accepted meaning of decentralisation. The Government's bias in the use of this term was reflected in the Economic Development Programme report.

Discussing the statement of the need for more Bantu workers in manufacturing, Mr. Fourie said:

"It should, however, always be borne in mind that the progress of the policy of decentralisation of industries will shift the geographical centre of gravity of this increase in Bantu employment in industry to the border areas and the Bantu areas.

"Rural areas should demand that the White rural areas be recognised as priorities in any plan for the de-centralisation of industries on a par with the politically expedient border areas." (Grocott's Mail, 17th September, 1965)

On the latter statement, a critic remarked "I would not say they should, though it is understandable that they do. In fact if I had business interests in Grahamstown, I would strongly support any representations of this sort made to the Central Government, and if asked to do so, would give what assistance I could even now. At the same time it is quite understandable that the government shouldn't take too much notice of these representations. The benefits the Government seeks in the border areas are for them real political ones for which they are prepared to make the electorate pay a price. It so happens, too, that border areas development may produce a welfare effect incidental to the political aims, which I personally regard as desirable (good), viz., a tendency to raise the living standards of Africans residing in Bantu areas close to the border areas."

Mr. Fourie, furthermore asserted that "few people realised what lengths the Government was prepared to go to establish border industries."

TEN-POINT PROGRAMME

"The Government's ten-point programme for border industries read as follows:

1. Assistance in provision of basic services such as power, water and transport.
2. Assistance in providing housing for White employees. (The responsibility for Bantu housing already rests with the Department of Bantu Administration and Development)
3. Increased allowances in respect of depreciation of factory buildings and equipment.

4. Inclusion costs of moving industries to a border area as calculated by the Permanent Committee in the capital to which depreciation allowances apply.
5. Reimbursement in special circumstances to a manufacturer to a maximum extent of 20 per cent. of costs of building a factory or a guarantee of up to 40 per cent. of the costs constituted for a period of 10 years. (The purpose of this guarantee being to make it easier for manufacturers to raise mortgage loans with financial institutions)
6. The erection and lease of factory buildings and the laying out of fully planned industrial sites.
7. Where necessary, the provision of extra funds to the Industrial Development Corporation for investment on special terms in Bantu area industries.
8. Maintenance of the principle of wage differentiation in respect of Bantu areas in so far as such differentiation can be justified on the grounds of lower productivity and lower costs of living.
9. The raising of low productivity of Bantu labour by means of trade schools in Bantu areas.
10. Concessions to industrialists in respect of railway rates.

The Economic Development Programme report stated that the Government also had decided to give aid for industrial development in certain "backward areas" where Indians and Coloureds were employed.

Paragraph 282, Section D (c), (d) and (e) reads:

"(c) That in backward areas where there is extensive unemployment, some border area concessions may be granted to industrialists who establish factories and employ Indians and Coloureds." In the case of Coloureds, specific mention was made of the George, Knysna, Uppington and Heilbron areas, and with Indians, in the Pietermaritzburg, Verulam, Tongaat and Stanger areas.

"(d) That certain border area concessions be granted to industries of all races (except the Bantu who are given opportunity in their Homelands), provided that Coloured or Indian manufacturers locate their factories in those border or backward areas where traditionally there are large concentrations of their own racial group."

There was only one very minor concession to Whites outside border areas. In footnote No. 19 on page 78 of the report this read "in the case of the Knysna-George area, the concession will also be extended to employers of European women."

This was grossly inadequate, Mr. Fourie felt.

Looking back at promises of past Commissions and forward to the needs of the future, he believed that White rural areas such as the Midlands, should demand that Government assistance for industrial location and development in their regions be the same as that granted

to the politically expedient border areas and the economically backward Coloured and Indian areas of South Africa.

"This type of assistance by the State was warranted especially if other restrictive measures were imposed by the State on the Midlands regions.

"During June, the Minister of Planning had signified that economic development resulting from the Orange River project should be based not on Bantu labour, but on the employment of Whites and Coloureds. This policy would immediately place the White rural industries at a disadvantage in comparison with the metropolitan and border industries."

In November, 1965, the possibility of Border Industry status for Grahamstown was resumed. At an S.E.A.P.A.B. Conference it was reported that Mr. A.J. van Niekerk, the State Secretary of Planning, had given "strong indication that the Government would be prepared to grant Border Industry status to Grahamstown." In fact Mr. van Niekerk's statement was vague and conditional: "Entice industries to go there, prove to us that they are of benefit to the Coloureds, and I am positive that we will extend privileges to Grahamstown." This enthusiasm over border industrial status even if it only makes provision for the Colored group seems to evidence that industry has become an end in itself: the initial outlook on industry as a means to solving the Bantu unemployment problem as an end, is overlooked. Alternatively it may be interpreted, as was suggested above, that even initially the dominant end in the industrial disputation was not the solution of the Bantu unemployment problem at all, but the increase of the City's revenue.

For the sake of clarification, Border Areas, as defined in terms of Government policy, are centres situated so close to the Bantu areas that workers will be able to travel to their homes in the reserves at frequent intervals, that is, daily or weekly. In the perspective of the larger national economy Border areas industrial development is a form of decentralisation. To induce industries to establish in these areas, the Government pays subsidies of various forms:

Investment and initial allowances;

A remission of tax which is dependent upon their investment in physical capital e.g., machinery, plant and buildings;

A tax rebate based upon cost of power, water and transport, (subsidized) reduced transport charges by the South African Railways to firms in the Transkei and Ciskei border areas;

Subsidized rentals for factory buildings;

Low interest loans;

Low interest loans to municipalities to assist them in the construction of railway sidings, the establishment of industrial estates, the establishment of trade schools in certain areas, e.g., the Textiles Training Centre for Africans in East London;

Exemption from Road-Transport (motor) regulations in certain instances.

Generally classified, the above are modes of capital-intensive subsidization rather than labour-intensive subsidization.

In the view of one informant, Grahamstown did not qualify as a "Border Area", in terms of the Government definition.

The present stage of the Border Industrial question is that the total direct investment in border industries since 1960 is estimated at more than R100 million, according to an official survey.

The State Department of Information's publication stated that employment has been provided for 42,000 people, of whom 33,000 are Bantu.

More than 1,200 industries are in border areas and since 1960 some form of Government assistance has been given to 60 more industries. 28 factories have been erected without Government assistance, while 33 factories have extended their activities.

Within a period of three years the number of border factories erected at Rossllyn, near Pretoria, has more than doubled and the industrial area has had to be extended. About 20 industries are rising in the area at present. (Grocott's Mail, 18th January, 1966)

For the present Grahamstown remains a "sleepy hollow" with little prospect for industrial development.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTIntroduction

Within the context of the Social System certain activities can be classified, according to their orientations and consequences, as either instrumental or consummatory.

In order for the Social System to persist, relative to ordered processes of change, a sufficient degree of participation of actors in instrumental or consummatory roles must be secured. The two major subsystems of the Social System with primacy of these functions are respectively the Economy (Adaption) and the Polity (Goal-Attainment). The other two Functional Imperatives are Integration and Latency, or Pattern-Maintenance, or Tension-Management; the respective subsystems which are distinguished analytically according to these functions are respectively the Integrative subsystem and the Pattern-Maintenance subsystem.

This section of the study of Leadership in the Grahamstown community will focus on the Polity, that is, that subsystem with Goal-Attainment as the functional primacy and with consummatory roles.

In speaking of a system at the analytical level of social phenomena, the assumption is that social life is ordered and organized. Human social life is ordered at the level of values. Analytically the problem is of integrating values and human behaviour: how "to get values into" the personality system and integrate values and action. This is achieved by the two processes of internalization and institutionalization respectively. In this way, there is a certain coincidence between the values internalized within the personality system through the process of socialization, and those values institutionalized in social action. The mutual complementarity occurs in interaction situations,

Dependent upon the level of values, the social system is hierarchically organized, that is, social objects relative to one another occupy various positions in the social system.

As this positional organization tends to become patterned at various levels of the social system, various social strata can be identified, and we speak of a stratification system.

Similarly, there are various levels of INSTITUTIONAL organization. "Institution" is here used as a shorthand term for "a system of patterned expectations of roles of actors in social action situations oriented towards the attainment of an end". These institutions will be viewed, for our purposes, as hierarchically organized within the subsystem of the polity.

Commencing with the Grahamstown community, a variety of institutions - education, voluntary associations, religious, business firms, financial, and so on - can be classified as "primary". These channel the diverse life interests of members of the community.

At the next level the local government authority, the City Council, is identified. This synthesises, in turn, the diversity of interests of the "primary" institutions. It considers and evaluates these interests

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in the general interest of the community. For the purposes of this study, this institutional level will be called that of "community".

At the national or "societal" level, there is the institution of National Government. This, in turn, synthesises diverse "community" institutional interests, by setting certain conditions which bear upon the decisions taken at the community level. In selecting means in the process of goal-attainment, these conditions form a framework - a more or less unalterable constituent of social action situations.

The overall consequence of this is that despite the diverse interests and values of individuals in society, social life is patterned, and organized at different institutional levels, from "primary", through "community", to "national", with increasing unifications in the hierarchically ascending order. Thereby different ad hoc institutions, as action systems, are integrated into the all embracing social system.

Conditions, Means and Ends have been mentioned. Another outcome of this organization is that social life is given direction, in the sense that the ends to which social life is oriented in turn can be scrutinized and defined as legitimate or illegitimate in terms of those conditions set by the higher institutional levels: in the case of "community" by the "national" level.

So in the study of Leaders on the Grahamstown City Council, in their participation in the goal-attainment process, of "getting things done" for the community, in the issues that arise and the leadership that is given, frequent reference will be made to the conditions set by National Government, and the interrelations between these two institutional levels.

A testing case which arose in the Grahamstown community was the issue of the implementation of Group Areas. In terms of Government decisions, the Group Areas Act, (1950) as amended, the establishment of group areas for the separate development of different races - Whites, Bantu, Coloureds and Asiatics - was sought for Grahamstown. This scheme was desirable, by virtue of its formulation as Law, for community planning and development. After preliminary community objections voiced through spontaneously organized meetings, the City Council was nominated as the most appropriate body to channelize remonstrations and present the case to the Government's representatives in the interests of the Community. By this, informal leaders gave way to those activating formal roles as Councillors in local government. The City Council in its turn elected legal representatives to present its case to the Group Areas Board, a semi quasi-judicial body representing the National Government.

The protracted case which was made out against Group Areas, over a period of years, from 1957 to the date of writing, did not challenge the legitimacy of the law, but accepted it as a condition. Moreover, in considering means by which Group Areas could be implemented in Grahamstown, the question of costs entered in. In the estimation of these

financial costs, the economic question weighed heavily against Group Areas being implemented. The City Council in the allocation of community resources, for example in the form of property rates, could not afford the costs of Group Areas. The case in toto that was put, therefore, was that the Group Areas Act should not be applied to Grahamstown because the Community could not afford it. The basis of the case was financial in nature.

Prior to the City Council's taking up the case through its legal representatives, informal leadership was an important factor in canalizing the interests of individual members of the community, in formulating the case in the interests of the community, and, finally, in putting the case to the Community representatives, the City Council.

The final result of the issue has not yet been proclaimed, to date. Whether the National Government will succeed in patterning local communities, e.g., Grahamstown, in accord with those interests at a national institutional level is not known.

The entire instance of Group Areas and Grahamstown, because of its complexity and extent, is treated as a separate section of this study.

Before investigating other issues that arose at "community" level, a brief description of the background to the City Council is undertaken. Against this background, the instances of the issues will become intelligible.

Part of the financial nature of Grahamstown has been described in the section on Commerce and Industry. The 47% derated property as a major hindrance is reflected in its implications in the affairs of the City Council. To compensate in part for the derated property, the rates, on the remaining 53% of property, posed by the council, are comparably high. As mentioned in the dispute on industry, high rates are a drawback in the attempt to attract industry to the town. Despite this, the City Council has to manage a very finely and precariously balanced financial situation. As has been said, it was on financial grounds, mainly, that the Group Areas issue was tackled.

Ward System of Voting

The City of Grahamstown was divided into 4 wards (See Map included). 15 Seats on the City Council are filled, drawing three candidates from each ward. Voters are required to vote for at least three candidates in each ward.

An issue that arose within the Council itself in relation to the community was the Ward System of voting. Those who were in favour of abolishing the ward system maintained that it was not democratic. They maintained that a particular councillor maybe representative of his ward, but was not representative of the entire community. Instead, they urged that ratepayers should be able to vote for the individual councillors of their choice; councillors then would be elected en bloc. by all ratepayers, which may overcome public apathy.

Those against the proposal maintained that the ward system was traditional to Grahamstown, and that its abolition would be a retrogressive step and would put Grahamstown on the same level as the village management board of a town (like Peddie, but not of a city like Port Elizabeth). Moreover, contrary to the abolition proposal, it was pointed out that the Ward System was the more democratic, explaining that it would tax the energies of the candidates heavily to canvass the entire town if the present system were abolished. In an initial vote on the Council on the issue, the Councillors were divided:

FOR (abolishing the Ward System)

1. The Mayor, Mr. G.J. Krige
2. Dr. S.F.S. Armitage
3. W.J. Jenner
4. C.J. Oosthuizen
5. M.E.J. Scheepers
6. A.W. Poole
7. G.B. Hoare
8. M. Hanley
9. G.C. Mortimer

AGAINST

10. The Deputy-Mayor, Mrs. B.E. Rennie
11. Professor D. Hobart Houghton
12. Mr. H. Harvey
13. Professor R. Antonissen
14. Dr. F. van der Riet.

The Deputy-Mayor, Mrs. B.E. Rennie, maintained that if the Ward System is found to be outmoded, then a change should be made by a unanimous vote of Councillors.

Through the medium of the local press it was made known that public objections to the abolishment of the ward system and the re-determination of the number of councillors should be lodged in writing with the Provincial Secretary in Cape Town on or before 5th January, 1966.

At a meeting of the City Council on Wednesday, 26th May, 1965, the ward system of voting for Municipal Councillors was abolished by eight votes to five, subject to the approval of the Administrator of the Cape Province. Application also was made to the Administrator for 14 Councillors to represent the City of Grahamstown, instead of 15. With the Administrator's approval of these changes, they would come into effect at the next General Municipal Election in September, 1966.

On 24th August, 1965, it was announced that the Administrator of the Cape Province had resolved that the Grahamstown City Council may retain ten members, if the City Council still desired to abolish the Ward System of voting. The Administrator's resolve altered the complexion of the case, as the Council had decided formerly on 14 councillors. At the meeting on the 27th August, 1965, no decision was reached and the matter was referred back to the committee for further discussion.

By 28th September, 1965, a few of the opinions of ratepayers were ascertained and published:

"Electing 10 members to a City Council I am sure will stimulate more interest. The election will become a literal general election. Electing 10 candidates offers scope for the individual to see that, say, a business representative, a representative from one of our educational institutes, a professional man, and so on, is included in the individual's voting list. In other words, the individual surely gains fuller, say, in electing a suitable team for running the town".

Another disagreed:

"I am not in favour of a mass voting for 10 city councillors by the individual ratepayer. 'Mass voting' is the explanatory term of my objection. On a larger scale, but creating a not incomparable parallel, would be the gathering of, for the sake of argument, Port Elizabeth, Albany, East London, and a few other Parliamentary electoral districts together, to propose that, instead of electing one M.P. for each of the 10 electoral divisions concerned, the mass of voters could cast 10 votes for 10 individuals.

"What would happen? Surely the electorate concerned would suffer by not having a personal representative. Mass voting is not democratic. Why take a step backwards?"

Another letter states:

"I do not agree with the abolishment of the ward system. Grahamstown is not a highly sociable centre. In fact, it consists of a series of pronouncedly separate circles such as that of a university personnel, the legal fraternity, the medical fraternity, the business community, etc.

"One ratepayer will be incapable of voting for 10 people whom he or she knows thoroughly. It is obvious that without the personal touch of the ward system, ratepayers will fill up their forms with names of some individuals whom they scarcely know, just for the sake of handing in a completed form."

In a lighter vein:

"The abolishment of the ward system could lead to a lot of fun. Sweep-stakes could be arranged. Other racing form could be followed in that for those unfamiliar with more than one or two candidates, I suggest they vote with the usual practice of closing the eyes and pin stabbing a list.

"But enough of horse play. Who are the councillors who imagine electing 10 individuals will stimulate interest? I imagine just the reverse will be true."

/Another.....

Another letter, from "Newcomer", reads:

"I have been a ratepayer for just over a year and have not yet discovered in which ward my house is situated. Neither am I interested in the matter. I would be interested if your newspaper's last suggestion was adopted; but not on the grounds 'that it will awaken apathy', but 'that it will awaken interest'".

Subsequently the administrator informed the Grahamstown City Council that the ward system was to be retained in Grahamstown.

Water

Of the many matters that are brought before Council or for which Council is characteristically responsible, none is perhaps a more vital issue than that of the Water Question in Grahamstown.

For many years past the position of the water supply in Grahamstown had deteriorated, especially over the drought-stricken summer months. To remedy the enigma, the Settler's Dam was built, which, it was guaranteed, could ensure the town's water supply for 5 years. Yet water was not available in abundance - there was a distribution problem, the problem of how to supply certain parts of the town.

As late as January, 1965, the Military Camp still had been suffering from a water shortage. With a population of some 1,200 its daily consumption has been running at about 40,000 gallons a day. Apart from personal consumption, water is needed for the maintenance of sports and other fields which are part of the Camp. Water consumed at a general rate of .50c per thousand gallons, means that R7,500 is paid for water per year. A reason for the restriction of supply is that the camp is supplied through a 3 inch diameter pipeline fed from a gravity main through booster pumps installed in a pumphouse. This main, which also serves the golf course and the brickworks, is old and a recent test shows that internal incrustation has reduced its effective diameter to about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. At the Camp it delivers into an overhead storage tank of some 35,000 effective gallons capacity.

"It is possible to use up all this stored water, at peak demand, in little more than an hour and it takes seven hours to refill it so that the chief consumers, the trainees, have often good cause to complain of shortage. The allowance made per head of White population, for Grahamstown, by the City's consultants, is 60 gallons per day which suggests that, for all purposes, the Camp might take over 70,000 gallons a day even now, that the rate of delivery is far too slow and the storage capacity inadequate." (Grocott's Daily Mail, 26th January, 1965)

Under the new augmentation scheme which has now been adopted by the Council the Camp is to be supplied from a new gravity main running from a new treatment plant at Waainek. Its elevation is to be greater than the present one so that there will be sufficient pressure to serve the Camp tank. Initially it was decided to run a 4 inch main to the Camp, supplying as well the golf course, brickworks, the Riding Club, and the R.A.F.A. Club premises; in view of increasing demand, the consultants recommended a six inch main, which will be laid and come into service in two year's time. The asbestos cement pressure piping that is required is in high demand in the Republic and this delivery will be delayed until about May, 1966.

"Reporting on the need to augment the City's water supply, from the viewpoint of delivering the water already stored, in purified form, to the consumers, the Council's consultants considered alternatives, the first of providing for Grahamstown's needs up to 1980 and the second for those needs up to 1990. In their report, the consultants pointed favourably to the longer-term plan, particularly because it would provide 25.7 per cent greater capacity for only 10.4 per cent (R48,000) greater expenditure. It is this plan which the Council accepted and for which a loan of R508,000 was recently approved by the ratepayers." (Grocott's Daily Mail, 5th February, 1965)

The joint capacity of the Howieson's and Settler's Dams is 1,000 million gallons. The present two pumps can deliver 800,000 gallons per day; while the new ones will produce 2.3 million gallons a day eventually. At the outset, however, the duty of the new pumps will be reduced to 1.44 million gallons a day. A new 12 inch main will be introduced, while the old 8 inch main, it was recommended, should be taken up and after re-condition, used in the reticulation system:

"The new main will deliver into a splitting chamber, so that any required part of the flow can be diverted into the existing main leading to the present purification plant. The balance will be delivered to the present settling tank, and from there will pass through a new purification plant with a normal capacity of a million gallons a day, and a possible overload of 30 per cent. It is to be noted that the present purification plant has a normal capacity of $\frac{2}{3}$ million a day and that it has had to operate for considerable periods at one million gallons and has done it satisfactorily.

"Purified water will thus become available at a point 140 feet higher than at present, and this will enable supply to be gravitated to the Military Camp and to Kings Flats.

"As to cost, to deliver raw water at Waainek in the manner described is estimated at R233,250 and from the Waainek settling tank onwards, including purification plant service reservoir and main R204,250.

"The latter sum provides for a 4 inch main only to the Military Camp and as it has been decided to lay a 6 inch line for that supply, the total will be slightly increased - it could be adjusted through the contingency item which is R21,750.

"The consultants to the water Department further concluded that when the augmentation scheme becomes effective, in 1967 it will be necessary to charge 64 cents per thousand for the next seven years, with a possible reduction to 60 cents in 1974.

"This is, of course, the penalty to be paid for having to lift the greater part of our water requirements over 1,200 feet.

"The capital costs of the new works have to be paid however much or little they are used. A quite material factor too is the high cost of electricity, a matter which reacts in other ways in Grahamstown." (Grocott's Daily Mail, 5th February, 1965)

Shortly after the promulgation of these plans for the Water Augmentation scheme for Grahamstown, the town was threatened with possible water restrictions.

The general impression had been that having over a thousand million gallons of water in storage and with an expressed desire to sell as much water as possible, to keep the department on a level financial keel, the emphasis must be on consumption. Yet there was the threat of water restrictions. The reason behind this was that "a succession of no less than six days of torrid heat is something almost unique in our local weather records and it was scarcely surprising that on some of these days consumption soared above a million gallons, and averaged over 950,000 for the period.

"The result was that the service reservoir level, 16 ft. when full, sank steadily day by day until it was down to a mere five inches - the measure by which new restrictions was to be judged. At this level some of the high-level consumers could get little, if any, water.

"The full-load capacity (it is really an overload one) of the treatment plant is one million gallons over the 24 hours, and there was booster pump trouble at the "Slaaikraal" reservoirs which limited delivery, by gravity only, by about 150,000 gallons a day. All this explains the steady drop in the reservoir of purified and ready for use water." (Grocott's Daily Mail, 9th March, 1965)

In explaining the position, it was also warned that a similar situation could recur the following year 1966, as no benefit from the proposed augmentation scheme could be expected until about 1967.

In this case, in March, 1965, weather conditions changed and so rescued the situation: with cold weather the "drawing-off" was reduced to the region of 800,000 gallons a day and the reservoir level began to rise once more. On account of this weather change, the water Committee decided not to impose restrictions.

A while later the weather changed, and with that the City Council's earlier decision. Water restrictions were imposed. The water question evoked a controversial response from the public and became an issue. The local press summed up the position, in explanation:

"To begin with let it be remarked that our purification plant, on which available supplies depend, irrespective of crude water in storage, has for years past been compelled to operate under severe overloaded conditions, for consumptions equal to its overload capacity have by no means been unknown during the last ten or even more years. It should not have required much imagination to picture a situation where consumption at or near the overload capacity of the plant could occur, due to hot, dry weather, over a dangerous succession of days, and this is what has happened. Those who pay any heed to local conditions well know that hot, dry periods are by no means peculiar locally, in fact they are endemic.

"We believe the Council's water consultants issued a warning some 14 years ago that, irrespective of storage, the supply position was precarious. The bottleneck it would seem was the filtration plant, not a very costly item which could readily have been augmented over the intervening years. Despite warnings, nothing was done which could have impinged on last week's situation and it now appears that certain responsible councillors plead that the conditions causing the situation were unforeseeable. From this, we feel, the victims will beg very seriously to differ and we think the standpoint is justified. It is often rightly pointed out that whereas individuals all have a natural time limit a city or town council is a continuing body. There is a disposition in evidence to suggest that "new" councillors cannot be expected to be responsible for the shortcomings of their predecessors. With this we must emphatically disagree. It behoves any and every councillor, when put in a responsible position to acquaint himself fully with the background of his position. How otherwise can he function responsibly? Warnings issued, danger signs visible, should be caught up and taken into consideration by the responsibly minded councillor even though he be not prodded by the council's officials."

These criticisms sought to show that the water position could have been foreseen by Councillors, and that even though the natural conditions were unforeseen, the human element could have intervened in the years preceding the water crisis.

In a letter to the Press, one resident pointed out other contributive factors, namely,

"the failure of the pumps at Howieson's Poort, some failure at the filtration plant, which not only cannot cope with the city's demand for water, but which is more than 30 years old. Escom and the power station are not fool-proof; there is also the matter of the pipe-line from Howieson's Poort which is also 30 years old and which is in need of constant attention, corroded in places and in which some pipes are reduced in capacity through interior sedimentation. The recent week-end crisis, we were told, was partly due to the failure of the booster pump at Slaaikraal. If this pump can fail, so can others." (Grocott's Daily Mail, 19th March, 1965)

Moreover, this newspaper journalist stressed the importance of improving the water-reticulation system especially in its being needed for sewerage. He maintained that educational institutions would have to close down if this situation became grave.

Directly related to the water-shortage came a threat of milk supplies being cut, owing to general drought conditions and poor grazing. The suppliers of the local Grahamstown Farmer's Dairy had found their output cut by about half. To augment the regular supplies to customers, it had been necessary to "import" milk from Port Elizabeth.

"Some 500 gallons have had to be brought in daily from Port Elizabeth and as this supplementary supply has been arriving in the middle of the night this has involved much extra work, bottling having to be done in the small hours. The only cuts which have had to be made have been in the "extra" supplies to schools, but it has been possible to maintain normal supplies to the University halls and the schools generally.

"Unfortunately there are signs of a shortage developing in Port Elizabeth and it is feared that Grahamstown's supply from this source may not only diminish but may even dry up altogether. Such a development can well lead to drastic cuts all round.

"Even if, as is still hoped, useful rains come, it will take an appreciable time for conditions to improve and for cows to recover in condition." (Grocott's Daily Mail, 29th March, 1965)

Early in April, 1965, 11 Councillors, together with about 6 interested members of the public, arrived for a tour of inspection of Howieson's Poort and Settlers Dams.

At Settler's dam the pump station was visited, and provisions for the installation of a duplicate pumping set were noted. At Howieson's Poort dam the visitors inspected the pump chamber and found that the equipment was in good order. The City Engineer also pointed out the position of the new pumping station which is to be built below the dam during the next 18 months. Following this visit the Councillors were in favour of extending the inspection idea to include the Filtracion Plant, the Power Station and the Milner and Jameson reservoirs, in forthcoming visits.

By 5th November, 1965, Howieson's Poort Reservoir was overflowing, it was reported. So was the Jameson Reservoir, while the Milner Reservoir was an approximate foot from the top.

Despite the reassurance through this abundance of "raw water" storage, the difficulties of delivery had not been overcome. Yet, in the early summer months of January and February, 1966, no notice was given of water restrictions being imposed, or the water supply being precarious. Water restrictions probably were offset by varied summer weather conditions: Grahamstown, in this instance, contrary to the all-pervading drought in the Republic of South Africa, endured only brief spells of heat interspersed with sub-tropical rain.

A side issue entertained was the use of the water dams for recreation. The Grahamstown City Council was informed by its Water Consultant that no objections can be raised to the use of the town's new Settler's Dam for fishing, waterskiing and motor boating, provided the

engines do not exceed $7\frac{1}{2}$ horse power. The Council was also told that the Queenstown Municipality allows fishing, skiing and boating on its Bongolo Dam and while it licences all the boats as a safety precaution it leaves the control of the activities on the dam in the hands of the boating club. In order to utilize these facilities the problem of access to the dams rose. At the Monthly meeting of the Council, the Works Committee recommended that a sub-committee of the Grahamstown City Council should meet a sub-committee of the Albany Divisional Council to discuss a public access road to the dam for the purposes of recreation. On the 23rd April, 1965, it was intimated that the proposition was before the Divisional Council of Albany but in closed committee meeting.

The vital place of water in the life of a community was mentioned by Mr. Colin Bennett, M.P. (Albany), when he officially opened the 57th show of the Bathurst Agricultural Society. He maintained that water supplies and better communications were the key to the economic development of the Albany-Bathurst area. Mr. Bennett said that he had discussed water problems at Government level with senior officials of the Department of Water Affairs.

"The Minister has given me permission to state that the Department will proceed to undertake all the necessary investigation work in the region between the junction of the Little and Great Fish Rivers and the sea. The Department will collate all information already available or to become available with the object of considering the integration and the development of the region in one or other phase of the Orange River Project.

"I also had discussions with the Secretary for Water Affairs, regarding the planning of the future development of the region. While I cannot, of course, anticipate the department's decisions in any way, I do hope that the long-term development of the whole Bushmans River-Grahamstown-Fish River complex will be considered by the department in its future planning and that they will take into account not merely the needs of irrigators along the Fish, but also such matters as the salinity of boreholes along the Bushmans which makes it necessary to provide for stock water in that area, as well as water for human consumption in the fast developing resorts such as Kenton-on-Sea.

"The speedy provision of water for the Lower Fish Valley is a matter of the utmost urgency, and importance, as it is estimated that an additional 25,000 morgen of new ground can be brought under irrigation at the higher level.

"The area is virtually free from frost and, given water, can produce heavy crops of citrus, cotton, sultana grapes, tobacco, lucerne, wheat, mealies and vegetables, and, in conjunction with the natural veld, beef cattle, woolled sheep and Angora goats.

"Adequate provision of water is linked to the development of the whole district generally; specifically it is an advantage conducive to the establishment of industry in Grahamstown.

"With regard to the Tourist potential of Grahamstown and districts within the 1820 Settler sphere of influence, adequate water provision should be made in advance; tourism should be included when assessing the water needs of these places." (Grocott's Daily Mail)

Caravan Park vs. Sawmill

Grahamstown's Caravan Park, sited in convenient juxtaposition to the city, has been increasingly frequented by travellers. The park has brought in direct revenue in rentals and obviously indirect business revenue as well.

Towards the beginning of 1965, it was reported that there was the possibility that the Caravan Park might be affected by the siting of some new municipal buildings, including a sawmill. The matter was ventilated at an executive meeting of the Publicity Association.

The sawmill, together with offices for the Parks Department and a nursery for trees etc., were to be moved from their original localities, as the Provincial Administration was taking over the Botanical Gardens as part of the Nature Reserve in the 1820 Settler National Monument project. The City Council purchased part of the equipment necessary to continue the established business connections, and proposed moving the Sawmill to the new site.

The main standard items the Sawmill produced were box shooks for farmers, building timber, splitpoles, firewood, and sawdust for local butchers. In selecting the new site, certain locality factors had to be borne in mind such as accessibility for the delivery of heavy logs and of converted products, availability of sewerage services, water, electric power and light, and generally conditions of convenience and economy.

The possible repercussions on the Caravan Park of the siting of the sawmill were assessed.

"To begin with there is a heavy screen of trees between the two places. The municipal area, if we may so term it, will be shut off by a split-pole fence and the saw mill will be as far as possible from the caravaners. It will in fact be about as near to the bottom end of the caravan park as the old saw mill, whose noise can just be heard across the national road. It is not a particularly intrusive noise and will be heard only on working days during working hours. One ventures to predict that it will be less evident than that from the traffic which speeds up on the bend of the national road to get up the hill on its way out of town and which goes on round the clock. The only definite objection so far reported is that stormwater might wash sawdust down the stream which divides the two sites and deposit it in the lily pond at the bottom of the camp site. Seeing that sawdust is a saleable product it will certainly not be allowed to be spread abroad by such means." (Grocott's Daily Mail, 16th February, 1965)

The editorial of the local newspaper expressed the opinions that from the possible repercussions surveyed, the Caravan Park amenities would not be impaired by the sawmill. However, interested parties were invited to voice their apprehension before a final decision was taken on the matter.

Although the actual plans were passed by a unanimous Council vote in November of the preceeding year, ratepayers only arose to the occasion in March, 1965, with a volley of complaints and criticism vented through the press. It came about that 6 stately blue-gum trees had been deracinated for the proposed municipal sawmill; ratepayers on visiting

the site were disturbed by the prospect of the Caravan Park amenities being materially depreciated.

Councillors were accused in their unanimous vote of lacking imagination and of being too hasty. One ratepayer doubted whether the Councillors knew that the destruction of the trees would be part of the excavations for the sawmill site. Although this ex post facto protest was too late to save the trees, the Councillors were nevertheless urged to make an inspection tour in loco and make sure of what is involved.

Apart from defacing the landscape, specific objections to the sawmill siting were (Mr. R.W.H. Griffiths)

(1) Noise:

The sawmill is to be erected some 70 yards from the caravan park. Inspection has been made at the old site and the noise of the saw and the whine of logs as they are cut up is at a very high level and will definitely interfere with the peace and tranquility of the caravan site;

(2) Unsightly appearance:

The plant and machinery and resultant mess will definitely prove unsightly. This is by nature an untidy industry and, no matter how good the intentions, in a matter of months the place will be littered with bark and saw dust and waste. This will be washed into the river bed by storms and carried downwards.

(3) Dust:

There is the question of dust which cannot be prevented from blowing on to the caravan site. The splitpole fence to be erected around the vicinity of the sawmill and the pine trees to be planted on the border will be inadequate to keep out the noise and to prevent the dust from blowing in that direction. In any case, it was believed, the border of pine trees would take 10 years to grow.

Another critic reminded the Council that a few years ago a "tremendous fuss" had been made by citizens of Grahamstown over the proposed rental of ground to a commercial caravan company. It was alleged, then, that the advertisement would spoil the serene and sylvan setting which beautifies the entrance to the city. Consequently the caravan company built on a site at King William's Town which has been an asset in comparison with the unsightly and noisy sawmill.

Moreover, the Council was reprimanded for destroying the blue-gums without compunction, and yet had refused on past occasions to allow other unsightly and hazardous trees to be taken down.

One resident put the case in praise of the Park:

"The caravan park is one of our best amenities. It is praised for its situation and beauty by travellers from all over the Republic. To my own knowledge persons who intended staying overnight only, have been persuaded by this attraction to stay a couple of days in the town and have therefore spent money on provisions and entertainment. If they had been disturbed by the scream of logs being cut up by a noisy circular saw they certainly would have moved on." (Grocott's Daily Mail, 9th March, 1965)

Especially with the development of the 1820 Settler's National Monument it would be necessary to accommodate the tourists who will journey to visit the monument. The caravan park will be a natural choice as a stopover for some visitors. For this reason, it was felt that the future expansion of the park should not be jeopardized by the sawmill.

The recommendation thus was that the sawmill be relocated:

"There is a suitable site for a saw mill 200 yards upstream below the Grey Reservoir. The site needs little clearing or levelling and the cost of the installation of services would more than compensate for the destruction of one of our most attractive amenities. There is, however, no objection to the proposed administration block and the nursery opposite the caravan site." (Grocott's Daily Mail, 9th March, 1965)

As this issue was not very extensive in breadth according to the response from the Community, it did not yield much significance for leadership. In the main, only two persons, Mrs. Thelma Neville and Mr. R.W.H. Griffiths, through forcefully worded letters, went to issue with the Council. In this way the issue was illustrative of informal leadership matching the formal leadership of the City Council.

Height of Buildings

Among the smaller issues of community concern was that of the height of buildings. This arose with the plans to erect a 3-storey building opposite the cathedral: it was a case of a new building replacing an old one.

The overarching consideration was the protection of the Cathedral Church of St. Michael and St. George and the preservation of the 19th century-type architecture of the Church Square. It was feared that a 20th century "Tower of Babel" would distort the traditional architecture beyond aesthetic appreciation. Even before an artist's impression of the proposed building's elevation in the context of Church Square was scrutinized, the issue was taken up on building-face value of 3-storeys.

One person, fearing the possibility of the Cathedral being dwarfed or marred in view, took the conservative lead in the issue. This outstanding person, who occupied an authoritative occupational position, influenced others informally through meetings and discussions of appropriate bodies. In interviews, 9 people expressed the unanimous opinion of being against high buildings in Church Square blocking the Cathedral. These nine persons fell into the "influential" and "most

influential" leadership groups upon classification. And these persons were members of a voluntary association which was rated as "very influential" in the town. Through the leadership of the one person in particular and the backing of the other influentials the conservation-attitude prevailed and the plans were moderated. An underlying factor which was borne in mind in the matter was the value of the old-style buildings for Tourism, (and of course the concomitant revenue that tourists bring)

As a result of the successful leadership and the consequent modification of the plans as well as the expert advice "imported" from Port Elizabeth, the new building was satisfactory, for while stooping in lip-service to the archaic architecture of the Cathedral, it was simultaneously able to embrace a few of the functional lines of modern architecture.

By contrast, in the overall interview schedule administered 78.89% of the sample were in favour of industrial development being encouraged even at the cost of the traditional character of the town, while 21.11% felt that industry should be discouraged if it were going to cost the town its traditional character. Clearly, in the industrial dispute, the conservative attitude was in the minority. Yet on the question of the height of buildings it was the conservative attitude that prevailed. The discrepancy was probably due to the fact that overtly industry was not at stake, but merely an insurance company.

The height of buildings in Grahamstown was further investigated at a meeting of the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the City Council held on 25th March, 1965. There the opinion was expressed that the 32 foot limit applied generally to Grahamstown. This arose when the

"recommendation about the plans for the new Chemistry Block for Rhodes University were put forward.

"This was to the effect that the Town Planning scheme requirements be relaxed to allow for a building having a frontage height, on Artillery Road, of 43 ft. 6 ins., entailing three stories.

"The Committee felt that the University formed a unit on its own and it was admitted first that the University Library was at least as high as the proposed new building and further that the latter link up with other buildings higher up, e.g., the General Lecture Theatre and the Geology building.

"As regards heights, Cr. Mrs. Bayes said she was of the opinion that the restriction of 32 feet applied in Church Square only and that the old limit of 45 feet was still applicable elsewhere, and there seemed to be general agreement that this is the actual position. As to set-back, the Committee saw no reason to relax the planning requirements and the Council therefore agreed that the building should be set back the required distance along the University Street frontage. Its disposition as regards Artillery Road and Prince Alfred Street was satisfactory.

"In accepting the recommendation, the Council played safe by adding that the matter be referred to the Administrator if necessary. (Grocott's Daily Mail, 26th March, 1965)

Later (3rd August, 1965) it was proposed to make representations to the Provincial authorities for the amendment of the Town Planning Scheme to exceed the height for buildings in the "general residential" area from 32 feet to 60 feet or six storeys. But before these representations were made, Cr. D. Hobart Houghton, a leading protagonist

of industry for Grahamstown, recommended that the proposition be referred back. He thought that the "general residential" area was too general, as there were old buildings in Cross Street, Settler's Hill and Artificer's Square which should be preserved. These could become main attractions of tourists to Grahamstown, the latter being weighted as more important than future "sky-scraping" buildings.

At the beginning of February, 1966, following the vacancy in the council for Ward 3 on the death of Cr. G.C. Mortimer, the nominated candidate Mr. Gerald Reed, stated that he was resolutely opposed to building restrictions affecting buildings situated in Church Square. Mr. Reed referred to the 35 feet restriction for the Square and the 45 feet ban on buildings in the immediate vicinity. In an interview Mr. Reed said:

"that these restrictions not only hamper progress but have tended to reduce the value of properties in the central area. Furthermore there is a shortage of accommodation in Grahamstown which could immediately be alleviated if property owners wishing to do so were permitted to increase the height of their buildings for the purpose of providing more flats in the centre of the town." (Eastern Province Herald, 2nd February, 1966)

Mr. Reed's current stand against the progress of Grahamstown being hampered is apparently contradictory to the stand he took against industry coming to the town because of his fear of "smog".

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Nominally, government in the Republic of South Africa is organized along multi-party lines. Territorially, for General Election purposes the Republic of South Africa is subdivided into 160 constituencies. Political parties nominate candidates to represent each constituency according to their chances of success in the election campaign. Following the General Election one candidate per constituency is returned to Parliament (i.e., the House of Assembly) according to the political partisan bias of the voters. After the General Election of 1961, Parliamentary representatives by Province were:

Cape Province:	52
Transvaal	68
Orange Free State	14
Natal	16
Total	150

Under the provisions of the South West Africa Affairs Amendment Act, 1949, 6 members are elected to present the mandated territory of South West Africa.

Representation is limited to White South Africans only.

In terms of the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1957, the Colored people of the Republic of South Africa, on a separate Voters' Roll, have been allowed 4 representatives, for the areas of Boland, Karoo, Outeniqua, and (Cape) Peninsula.

This brings the total number of members of the House of Assembly to 160.

Bantu are not included in this voting frame of reference, but special provision has been made for their representation in the Government's policy of Bantustans (i.e., the separate development of Bantu Homelands). An example is the Transkei: Bantu citizens (Xhosa Nationals) of this Homeland vote for their own representatives in their own Parliament located at Umtata. On the other hand, the residue of White voters resident in the Transkei territories are represented in the House of Assembly of the Republican Parliament.

South Africa has enjoyed a Nationalist Party Government since 1948. At the time of writing, the current 5 year term of office for the Nationalist Government has drawn to a close; the 30th March, 1966, has been set as the date for the General Election. By mid-February the various newspapers in the country were publishing pre-election news according to their particular political partisan bias. The election campaign had been launched: the main Political Parties contesting seats were:

- The Nationalist Party
- The United Party

In addition a few minor political parties were also mentioned (apart from Independent Candidates, such as Mr. Martin Louw standing for Uitenhage):

The Progressive Party
 The Republican Party
 The South African Front
 The Conservative Nationalist Party
 The Liberal Party
 The Automation Party
 The National Union Party
 The Alliance
 The Labour Party (Kimberley)
 Die Blanke Werkers Unie.

During its 5 year term of office the Nationalist Government experienced critical opposition from the Left: Liberal Criticism voiced by the United Party, Progressive Party and Liberal Party (the latter informally).

Despite South Africa's seemingly isolated world position, international events affected the domestic South African political scene. The main incident was the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Mr. Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front Party and the ensuing Rhodesian crisis. This act followed the breakdown of Independence Negotiations between Britain and Rhodesia. In order to bring Rhodesia back within the legal terms of these negotiations, Mr. Harold Wilson, the Prime Minister of Britain, enacted certain economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Such sanctions aimed at the main industrial artery of Rhodesia, namely crude oil (petrol) supplies. For a time Rhodesia was isolated. But South Africans sharing the sentiments of the Rhodesians began to organize petrol relief for Rhodesia. Refined petrol supplies daily crossed the South African/Rhodesian border.

This neighborly event changed the complexion of Politics in the Republic of South Africa directly. The leader of the Nationalist Party-in-Government, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, beheld the situation with diplomatic caution. He opted for an attitude of neutrality on the part of the Government, namely that the Government would not interfere with privately organized schemes for transporting petrol to Rhodesia. This neutral permission on the part of the Government could, on the other hand, be interpreted as a disguised form of support. At first the attitude of the British Government towards these South African petrol donations was that they could not make an appreciable difference to the Rhodesian situation as they were in toto a fraction of Rhodesia's actual industrial needs. Later it was reported that Britain was growing suspicious and requested that the South African Government clarify its position.

Leaders of the United Party reprimanded the Nationalist Government for its neutrality in the Rhodesian issue and came out in full favor of supporting Rhodesia in its U.D.I. stand. The leader of the United Party Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, incipiently demanded that Dr. Verwoerd mediate in the dispute between Rhodesia and Britain. Dr. Verwoerd

cautiously declined. "Help Rhodesia" became a slogan of the United Party Election campaigning.

Another issue which came to the fore in the General Election, 1966, was the Bantustan policy of the Nationalist Government. The United Party through its leaders accused the Nationalist Government of partitioning the country and creating, eventually, unmanageable "black states" within the Republic. The United Party instead advocated "White Control over all South Africa". This appeared to have replaced its former nebulous race policy of White Leadership and Race Federation. In these instances it seemed that the United Party, having traded in its "liberal" approach for a "conservative" one, was moving towards the Right of the political continuum. In the electioneering it was vying with the Nationalist Party for its place at the Right.

Concurrently, significant events in the pre-election political development have been the formation of right-wing political parties. In recent months the South African Republican Party has been formed under the leadership of Professor Dr. C.P. van der Merwe, and the Conservative Nationalist Party. These parties appear to be located on the Extreme Right on the political continuum, according to policies which they advocate. The Republican Party especially is extremely critical of the Nationalist Government's Race Policy of Separate Development. The Republicans fear that the Government's policy towards the Africans is too "liberal": The organizer for the Republican Party in Pretoria West, Mr. Nic Arlow, stated:

"I believe that the Kaffir is a savage and is incapable of accepting Western political forms. It is our duty to our children and to the generations yet unborn to ensure for them a White future." (The Sunday Times, 27th February, 1966)

Moreover, the Republican Party feared the "stranglehold" which the Broederbond has on the Nationalist Government and the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa. On account of this belief, Dominee J.C. Kruger, minister of the Gereformeerde (Dopper) Kerk in Kempton Park, Transvaal, resigned his pulpit to contest the Kempton Park seat in the general election for the Republican Party. (The Sunday Times, 6th February, 1966)

In this way the Nationalist Government has begun to experience a new form of opposition on its Right. These two Nationalist-splinter parties are presently mainly concentrated in the Transvaal.

In Natal, The South African Front Party was recently formed, which, too, is critical of Nationalist policy in its turn. It also supports the Rhodesian issue, according to its party manifesto.

Despite the wide array of entrants and a somewhat blurred political scene, popular predictions (as given in the press) of the outcome of the March 30th General Election seemed agreed: a gain in seats for the Nationalist Party with increased majorities: the reduction of the United Party to the rôle of a minor party.

The pre-election situation in the House of Assembly on the 26th February, 1966, was:

Nationalist Party -	102 seats, plus 4 vacancies previously held by the Nationalist Party
United Party -	49 seats
Progressive Party -	1 seat
Total	<u>156</u>

The early election date was considered to be strategic in itself in that it would serve to neutralize the effect on Nationalist Party results of the as yet unorganized extreme right groups. To ensure the ineffectiveness of the Republican Party the Nationalist Government played a few "trump cards": in the first case the S.A.B.C. decided not to allow radio time to the political parties. This angered many election candidates: Mr. Piet Bekker, Republican Party candidate for Wonderboom, said

"The Nationalist Party is afraid to let the population know what other parties stand for. The parties should be allowed to voice their opinions over the radio." (The Sunday Tribune, 13th March, 1966).

This affected other opposition parties as well. A second triumph of the Nationalist Party over the Republican Party came through the regulation of the Nationalist Press. Apart from a refusal on the part of the Nationalist Press to allow the Republicans advertising space in their newspapers, the Nationalist Press launched an anti-Republican Party campaign. The Sunday Times hinted that this was done through a personal directive from the Prime Minister and Leader of the Nationalist Party, Dr. Verwoerd, who simultaneously was chairman of several Johannesburg Nationalist newspapers. Instances of the Nationalist anti-Republican campaign were:

"a report in which Professor G.F. van der Merwe, leader of the Republican Party, was accused of leaving the Republic in the lurch because he had resigned from the Nationalist Party, just after Dr. Verwoerd had announced the Republican referendum.

"The report tried to 'prove' that Professor van der Merwe's views were similar to those of the United Party. It also suggested a secret alliance between the United Party and the Republicans.

"Republican party meetings, which had been ignored in the past by the Nationalist press, were reported in a way to suggest that the party had no support." (The Sunday Times, 27th February, 1966).

It was estimated that this Nationalist Press blackout would cripple the Republican Party because its policy appealed in the main to readers of that Press, rather than the Sunday Times, which published reports concerning its pre-election progress.

Post 1966 General Election:

The suspected predictions of results were fulfilled. The Nationalist Party triumphed with increased majorities in most of its constituencies and with an increased number of representatives in Parliament.

The overall picture was:

	<u>Seats</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>(Adjusted votes)</u>
Nationalist Party	128	758,798	881,798 (17 seats uncontested)
United Party	37	486,030	534,030 (2 seats uncontested)
Progressive Party	1	39,717	
Front Party		1,520	
Republican Party		8,212	
Conservative National- ist Party		936	
Independent		5,800	

From this it can be seen that the United Party, as Parliamentary Opposition, had been reduced to an insignificant party, with less than a $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total number of members in the House. Despite general pre-election feelings regarding the elimination of the Progressive Party, its previous candidate, Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P. for Houghton, Transvaal, was returned. The Republican Party fared badly in total polling, for all of their candidates lost their deposits. The South African Front Party suffered a similar fate.

With the evident support of the electorate (White) the Nationalist Party has concentrated power in its hands and consolidated its previous invulnerable position in the House. With more than $\frac{5}{8}$ of the total number of seats in the House of Assembly, the Nationalist Party Government appears to be tending towards the absolute power of a one-party system. However, this tendency has not disturbed the Nationalist Government even prior to the election. On the 8th April, 1965, Minister Frank Waring appeared on a platform together with Mr. J.W. van Staden, M.P. for Malmesbury, and Mr. H.T. de Kock, M.P.C. for Malmesbury.

Mr. Van Staden referred to the United Party's creed that the Nationalist Government needs a strong opposition to stimulate it. He disagreed because the Nationalist Party did not need any stimulation: "Die Nasionale Party het geen prikkels nodig nie. Hy doen sy werk volgens die ideale wat hy het vir sy nense en sy land." (Die Burger, 9th April, 1965). Furthermore, the Nationalist Government has at present more opposition than any previous government in the form of world pressure. For this reason, apparently, it does not need internal opposition, and the speaker does not mind if the country becomes a one-party state:

"Mr. Van Staden het gesê hy gee nie om as die Nasionale Party geen opposisie het nie. Hy gee nie om as die land 'n eenparty staat word nie. Dit sal hom verenig teen die buitewêreld." (Die Burger, 9th April, 1965).

Mr. Pieter de Kock agreed also that in the Provincial Council there was no need for an opposition party.

"On the 10th April, 1965, Advocate B.J. Vorster, the Minister of Justice, addressed a large gathering of Nationalists in Ceres and stated that he was not averse to a one party state." (S.A. Press Digest, No. 15, April 15, 1965, pp. 159-160)

Contrary to these views of Government Representatives, a leading Nationalist Press newspaper, Die Burger (Cape Town), published an editorial on the debate on one party states. It held that increased consensus on the national identity of the South African nation did not imply the elimination of all other points of disagreement. New political divisions may develop, based on views of how such a nation could best perform its task:

But there must be opposition:

"Sonder opposisie is daar geen gesonde demokrasie nie. Gesonde opposisie beteken aan die een kant (a) die stel van gesonde alternatiewe beleid, en aan die ander kant, (b) doelgerigte administratiewe kritiek. Dit is wat gesoek word wanneer daar in Suid-Afrika om 'n sterker opposisie gevra word. So 'n opposisie sal noodwendig, uit die aard van die wese van die demokrasie, in Suid-Afrika ontstaan lank voordat die Nasionale Party so gegroei het dat Suid-Afrika 'n eenparty-staat geword het." (Die Burger, 12th April, 1965)

Especially in the face of a minor Opposition Party in Parliament like the United Party, it is here pointed out that with such a large proportion of Representatives in the House of Assembly the Nationalist Party-in-Government will develop oppositional strains within itself such as dissension in the handling of specific legislative issues. This may tend to be the case despite the function of the Nationalist Whip in the House. This kind of opposition may be regarded as intra-systemic in the sense that it is criticism of specific issues within the accepted unified policy of the Government.

Another form of opposition may spring from without the House of Assembly but within the Republic of South Africa through the Right-Wing Extremist Political Groups. Even though the Republican Party did not make headway in the General Election it may play a rôle of increasing prominence during the next five years, the Nationalist Government's term of office. During this time it is anticipated that the Nationalist Government will be faced with a new form of criticism, viz., opposition on their Right, unlike their earlier experience of "Leftist" opposition. If this becomes the case the Nationalist Government will have to contrive new means of coping with this opposition, as their legislative devices, such as the Suppression of Communism Act, the General Law Amendment Act, etc., by means of which Liberal opposition was eliminated, will be unsuitable.

GRAHAMSTOWN IN THE ALBANY CONSTITUENCY: REPRESENTATION IN THE PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL POLITY:

Grahamstown is the cardinal center of the Albany constituency. Traditionally Albany has been a United Party stronghold, the late Mr. M.T. Bowker, being returned to Parliament unopposed. With the rise of the Progressive Party in South African political development, a candidate was set up by this party in the 1961 General Election but defeated in favor of Mr. Bowker.

With the death of Mr. Bowker, the United Party elected Mr. Colin Bennett who at present is still Member of Parliament for Albany.

In Grahamstown, the following Political Parties are in organized existence:

The Nationalist Party (the Governing Party of the Republic of South Africa)

The United Party (the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly)

The Progressive Party (with only one representative in Parliament viz.,
the member for Houghton).

((The Liberal Party in Grahamstown and elsewhere in the Republic of South Africa has virtually disbanded.))

The National Party:

Despite the fact that Albany has been an unopposed United Party seat for many years, Nationalist enthusiasm has been such, that they have nominated a candidate to contest the seat in the 1966 General Election: Commandant A.J. Westaway, former Officer Commanding the First City Regiment and a Grahamstown business man. In a pre-election statement, Commandant Westaway said that he had received a "wonderful response". Even without canvassing he had been promised many votes in particular from the English-speaking section of the community.

Speaking from his personal experience, he had joined the Nationalist Party in 1961 after the declaration of the Republic, in order to be a true South African. In order to be a true South African, one must be loyal to the Government controlling the country.

"My own personal view is that if one is not loyal to the Government, then one must be against the Government. And should this be the case, then how can we claim to be true South Africans?"

In holding this view Commandant Westaway did not distinguish between loyalty to the office of Government and loyalty to the party holding Government office. His statement identified the two.

Commandant Westaway maintained that with "troubled world affairs", "the first duty of all who claim to be South Africans is to unite and support our Government who are endeavoring to do their best for the benefit of the people and country." He appealed to the voters of Albany to elect the candidate representing the party of their choice and the party who will be of the most beneficial assistance to the Albany constituency.

In a public statement distributed immediately before the March, 1966 General Election, Commandant Westaway provided a more detailed sketch. He was born in Grahamstown in 1914 and has lived there permanently except for a period of 5 years while serving in the South African Armed Forces as an Officer during World War II. Soldiering was one of his chief interests and he has had the honor of serving the First City Regiment for the past 32 years, having held every rank from riflemen to his ultimate appointment as the Commanding Officer on the 1st January, 1963. For the past 32 years he has also been associated with a local motor firm which was founded by his late Grandfather, when he settled in Grahamstown in 1883 having left Devon, England. He has served on various Motor Traders Association committees as chairman and was also appointed a member of the National Board and National Council of the Motor Traders Association.

Although not a trained and experienced politician, Commandant Westaway appealed to Albany voters to support the National Party and pledged his allegiance to "our great leader Dr. Verwoerd". He commended Dr. Verwoerd for having led South Africa to security and prosperity and for his success in saving White South Africa from positive destruction. For these reasons he urged voters to give Dr. Verwoerd their loyal support

so as to strengthen his hand to establish a united South Africa.

With regard to Albany, Commandant Westaway assigned himself the task of putting "Albany back on the map in every possible way." Lastly, he dedicated himself to the achievement of cooperation between English and Afrikaans speaking South Africans.

In the 1966 General Election, Commandant A.J. Westaway was defeated in favor of the United Party Candidate, Mr. Colin Bennett.

The United Party:

Through traditional favor the United Party has held the Albany seat in Parliament. Mr. T.B. Bowker, M.P., enjoyed a long Parliamentary career as representative for Albany for 28 years, from May, 1936, until his death in July, 1964. Mr. Bowker was a staunch upholder of the traditions of the 1820 British Settlers and did everything in his power to preserve their memory. Privately he had amassed a "priceless collection of Africana" which he bequeathed to the Albany Museum. Tributes were paid to him in Parliament by both the Prime Minister, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, and the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff. The Prime Minister depicted "Uncle Tom" as a man who fought his fight without hurting any feelings and without losing any friends. Sir de Villiers Graaff described him as a kindly gentleman whose main interests were farming and history.

Mr. T.B. Bowker having passed into history, and after the obituary, the United Party Arbitration Board sat in King William's Town to choose a new candidate for the Albany constituency. The Board, which was presided over by Mr. Gary Hughes, M.P., contained the following delegates from the constituency itself: Messrs. A.J. Visser and Bob Bonsor (Grahamstown), Stanley Butt (Kenton-on-Sea), John Long (Salen), Colin Purdon (Bathurst) and Mr. Lee Warren (Cellondale). The Divisional Council Vigilance Committee representatives were Messrs. Cull (Cradock), Hunt and Forrester (East London), Dugmore (Grahamstown) and Tainton (King William's Town).

Nominees for the vacancy were:

- Major John Lindsay, M.P.C. for the Transkeian Territories;
- Mr. Jack Wainwright, M.P.C. for Queenstown;
- Mr. Colin Bennett of Adelaide.

It had been Mr. Bowker's intention that Mr. Bennett succeed him as United Party Parliamentary candidate for Albany. The Arbitration Board selected Mr. Colin Bennett accordingly.

Mr. Colin Bennett, who is a descendant of an 1820 Settler, was born at Adelaide, educated at St. Andrew's College and as a Rhodes Scholar, at Oxford, where he took a Master's degree in agriculture. He interrupted his stay at the University to serve for five years as a bomber pilot with the South African Air Force during the last war and on coming down from Oxford settled down to farming in the Adelaide district. He has specialised in stud breeding of Aberdeen Angus cattle, Merino sheep and Boer goats

and is at present president for the third successive year of the Eastern Agricultural Union. He is also Vice-Chairman of the United Party Divisional Committee, in the Fort Beaufort constituency.

On a vacancy in a Parliamentary seat, a statutory period of 90 days is allowed for political parties to put up candidates to contest the seat. Both the Nationalist and Progressive Parties gave no indication of doing so within this period.

At a Nomination Court at the Magistrate's Court, Grahamstown, Mr. Colin Bennett of Adelaide was duly nominated on behalf of the United Party. This being the only nomination, the Registering Officer, Mr. S. van der Walt, declared Mr. Bennett the duly elected member for Albany. Mr. Bennett proceeded to Parliament.

A Grahamstown Press Editorial described the choice of Mr. Bennett by a "convincing majority" as giving satisfaction to all, except the immediate supporters of the other two United Party nominees.

Concurrently the same Arbitration Board sat to select a United Party candidate for the Provincial Council Elections. The only change in the constituent members of the Board was that Messrs. Cull and Tainton were replaced by Messrs. de Wet (Sterkstroom) and G. Warren. The aspirants for nomination were Mr. W. Deacon of Alexandria, Mr. D. Schutte of Peddie and Mr. George Randall, the well-known advocate of Grahamstown.

Mr. Deacon was selected; this decision was subject to review by the Candidates Committee of the United Party.

However, at a Nomination Court the only candidate put forward for membership of the Provincial Council (Albany Division) was Mr. William Henry D'Ewes Deacon, an Alexandria farmer. Mr. J.M. van Rooyen, Additional Magistrate, who presided, accordingly declared Mr. Deacon M.P.C. unopposed. The nomination of Mr. Deacon produced a negative reaction from the local press in Grahamstown. Unlike the favorable Editorial on Mr. Colin Bennett's nomination, Mr. Deacon's nomination was criticized. The gravamen of the dissatisfaction was that a farmer from Alexandria, which is outside the Albany constituency, should have been nominated for the Provincial Council elections. The Editorial expressed the opinion that a candidate should be expected to know something about the constituency which he is to represent, especially in matters such as Education, Hospital Services, and Local Government in its Municipal and Divisional aspects. The Editorial considered Mr. George Randall as perhaps the best known in the eastern portion of the Albany constituency where there are several thousand voters on the roll, while his successful work in the Provincial Council is quite well known throughout the Albany constituency. Moreover, Mr. Randall is a resident in the heart of Albany, viz., Grahamstown, and intends to remain so. In comparison with Mr. Randall, the other aspirants "are completely novices and comparatively unknown to the greater part of the electorate". The Editorial concluded that "the best man has not been chosen and those responsible have failed in their duty not only to the Party but to every person on the voters' roll, whether he be United Party, Progressive, Nationalist or whatnot!" (Grocott's Daily Mail, 15th October, 1964)

/Nevertheless.....

Nevertheless, Mr. W.H.D. Deacon after his election as M.P.C. said that his main interests would be in the development of roads, education and hospitals in the Albany area.

"He considered that the Eastern Cape had been neglected in the matter of communications and said he would press for the completion of the Port Elizabeth-East London coastal road and of communicating roads from it inland.

"Mr. Deacon declared himself opposed to the setting up of a series of high schools and hostels in the smaller centres, such institutions being so often half filled, poorly staffed and educationally inadequate.

"It was the policy of the United Party, he said, to re-introduce free hospitalisation, combined with a national insurance scheme which would involve a small increase in taxation.

"The party policy, he concluded, was one of unity for the people, unity of purpose and geographical unity for the whole country."
(Grocott's Mail, 1964.)

Mr. Deacon was educated at Kingswood College and prior to joining the South African Artillery he was a student at Rhodes University. Since the war he has farmed in the Alexandria district.

Following the filling of the vacancies, the "interregnum" ended, and Mr. Colin Bennett gave his first impressions of Parliament. (Grocott's Mail, 16th July, 1965) About this time Mr. Bennett spoke of the strain placed upon the Opposition as the ratio of Government members to Opposition members was roughly of the order of $2\frac{1}{2} : 1$. (In this he assumed that the United Party played an Oppositional rôle in Parliament) (Following the 1966 General Elections the Ratio has been enlarged : approximately 4 : 1) Mr. Bennett spoke of the burdensome task of Opposition members to scrutinize every action of the Government in the interests of the Public, while members on Government benches relied heavily on the guidance of Cabinet Ministers.

At this Parliamentary Session, 114 bills came before the House, of which 11 were either dropped in the Assembly or withdrawn altogether, to be reintroduced in an amended form. Mr. Bennett took this to be a sign of strong, coherent opposition. As illustrations he specified a few of these bills.

Thereafter Mr. Bennett recalled his own limited contribution to the proceedings of the House. He dealt with, inter alia,

- "The training of farm labour.
- "The Rhodes University Amendment Act.
- "The provision of incentives for industrial development in Grahamstown.
- "Monopolistic Trends in the Milling Industry.
- "Beef prices and the Beef Shortage.
- "The cost-price squeeze in agriculture.
- "Compensation for land taken for National Roads.
- "The handing over of Klipfontein Organic Products to a private-profit monopoly, and the possible effects of this on the price to housewives and farmers of insecticides.
- "The shortage of veterinary surgeons and the need for a second Veterinary Faculty.
- "Bank credit facilities for farmers and other small business men during the present credit squeeze.
- "The need for training of small holders who will be granted irrigation plots under the Orange River Project and the necessity of swelling their numbers by immigration."

Mr. Bennett concluded his impressions by mentioning that he also assisted his constituents by making representations on a variety of subjects to the Provincial and Central Government Authorities, such as:

- "Release of Peddie's Municipality's obligation to pay certain moneys into their Revolving Fund.
- "Control of vermin in the Bathurst Bush.
- "Grant of a certificate of permanent residence to a constituent in the East London area.
- "Assistance with application for pensions.
- "Building of a mole to provide shelter for fishing boats at Kenton-on-Sea.
- "Survey by the Department of Water Affairs of the area along the Fish River between Hunts Drift and the sea." (Grocott's Mail, 16th July, 1965)

In August, 1965, Mr. George Matanzima, Minister of Justice for the Transkei, and brother of Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima, claimed that the lower Transkei boundary should stretch beyond Alexandria. Mr. Matanzima justified this claim of the AmaXhosa people to this area by the fact that the Xhosa Prophetess, Nongquase, who had caused the large-scale cattle killing and "National Suicide of the AmaXhosa" in 1857,

had been buried in this district.

Mr. Bennett replied to this at a United Party Political Meeting in St. George's Hall, Grahamstown, at which Mr. Japie Basson, M.P., for Bezuidenhout, was guest speaker.

Mr. Bennett regarded Mr. Matanzima's remark as symptomatic of Black Imperialism and replied instead in terms of White Supremacy, viz., that "many of our ancestors paid in sweat, blood and tears for this area". Mr. Bennett, therefore, called upon Dr. H.F. Verwoerd to reassure Albany by furnishing a "very plainly worded declaration" defining the Ciskei boundary and the future of the Albany area. (Grocott's Daily Mail, 6th August, 1965)

At this same meeting Mr. Japie Basson, M.P., stated that the future of South Africa lay in federation. South Africa should "face the facts that the ideals of Union had failed and that the European element must share some of its powers. White domination in the modern world was no solution. Neither was integration."

Mr. Basson elaborated upon the United Party's policy:

"Decentralization of power along federal lines and the creation of a federal state with the highest form of autonomy, meant developing the Transkei and other Bantu territories. From this would emerge locally self-governing political units, some predominantly black, others predominantly white, and one predominantly white-brown. A federal 'umbrella' would recognize diversity yet create the essential overall unity.

"This", he maintained, "contrasted strongly with Dr. Verwoerd's policy of the 'complete balkanisation and disintegration of South Africa into a host of independent Republics'.

"Under Dr. Verwoerd, the Republic was heading for a 'most explosive collision with Western leadership'," Mr. Basson said. (Grocott's Daily Mail, 6th August, 1965)

The ephemeral nature and internal inconsistency of United Party Policy is brought into sharp relief when Mr. Basson's sketch of August, 1965, is contrasted with the United Party's official General Election policy a few months later. By February, 1966, it was observed that the United Party had abandoned its more or less "liberal" opposition and had assumed a conservative policy of the White Supremacist variety. For General Election purposes the United Party proclaimed "White Leadership over all South Africa." This position resembled its former advocacies in so far as it still attacked the Nationalist's so-called "balkanization of the Republic"; but contrary to its earlier qualifications, it came out in favor of White domination.

In retrospect, the United Party's policy of Race Federation was not totally unlike the "Apartheid" policy of the Nationalist Party for both policies at base recognized the distinctiveness of the races on biological and cultural grounds. In the later formulation of its policy the United Party no longer disguised its White Supremacist attitude.

On the 24th December, 1965, Mr. Bennett, in a Christmas message to the Albany Constituency, rehearsed a few of the problems which had been encountered during the year, and commented on events in the New Year:

"1966 will also bring the turmoil of a General Election to South Africa. It would be a dull and monotonous world, if we all agreed with each other, but when we differ, let us differ in a spirit of friendship towards one another as good South Africans. Let bitterness not divide us."

GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS IN THE ALBANY CONSTITUENCY - 1961 IN COMPARISON WITH 1966:

The 1961 General Election results for Albany were:

	<u>Votes</u>
Mr. T.B. Bowker (United Party)	6,069
Mr. B.S. Muir (Progressive Party)	1,175
United Party Majority	4,894
Spoilt Papers	64
% Poll	64.3

(Grocott's Daily Mail, October 19th, 1961)

The 1966 General Election results were:-

	<u>Votes</u>
Mr. Colin Bennett (United Party)	5,524
Commandant A.J. Westaway (Nationalist Party)	3,102
United Party Majority	2,422
Spoilt Papers	78
% Poll	78.8

(Grocott's Mail, 1st April, 1966)

Whereas in the 1961 General Election the United Party candidate was opposed by a Progressive Party candidate, who scored only a minimum number of votes, in the 1966 elections a National Party candidate opposed the United Party. In so far as the Voting Mechanism is an index of consenses or dissension in the political attitudes of citizens, the 1966 votes cast in the Albany constituency indicated a swing towards the National Party. And despite a higher percentage poll in 1966 than in 1961, the United Party's majority was considerably reduced. This occurred despite the shift in United Party policy. Against the background of the overall results, given above, the Albany results are in line with increased confidence in the National Party.

An added significance of the position of the United Party vis-à-vis the National Party in Albany was the fact that the United Party candidate proposed to speak in both Afrikaans and English while the Nationalist Party candidate spoke in English. Through the local press it was made known that this was the case.

Following the 1966 Election, Mr. Colin Bennett gave the following interpretation of the results of Albany against the background of the overall results of the country:

"The Government has been returned to power with the greatest majority ever enjoyed by any Government in South Africa.

"Power can very easily corrupt, and this majority places on the shoulders of the Government a responsibility to ensure that its policies are not sectional, but are directed towards finding positive solutions for problem facing our country.

.....

/There.....

"There is an even greater need than ever before for an alert and vigorous opposition which will keep the Government on its toes and ensure efficient administration, and avert the danger of South Africa slipping into a one party state system.

"This inevitably will result in the opposition members having to work harder, especially since our numbers have been reduced."

However, contrary to Mr. Bennett's expectations, the United Party as the official opposition in the House of Assembly can be seen as an "intra-systemic" opposition since the basis of its policies comes close in some cases, and is identical in other cases, to that of the Nationalist-Party-in-Government. As has been stated in the introductory section, even as an intra-systemic opposition the United Party has been considerably reduced in effectiveness since the 1966 General Elections.

GROUP AREAS

In the study of local government and community development, a major issue which arose was that of the proposals for the implementation of the Group Areas Act (1950), as amended, to the City of Grahamstown. The issue involved the participation of numerous leaders, representing the various ethnic group interests. Their participation will be examined and further correlated with responses to this issue in the questionnaire administered.

But first, as preparation, a brief theoretical overview of race relations is set out followed by a sketch of the historical background of Group Areas legislation in the Republic of South Africa.

Preparatory Theoretical Overview:

There are two rival approaches to the study of culture contact situations:

"The opposite theories are held in regard to the consequences of contact between races. One theory is that contact breeds friction. The second theory asserts that contact promotes harmony." (Kuper, Watts and Davies, 1958: "Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology", Jonathan Cape.)

In terms of the first, the customs of people of different races are described as incompatible, and in order to keep relations between the races harmonious, points of contact should be kept to a minimum. There are two views of this: the theory may mean that since conflict arises in race relations, the best method to prevent conflict is to have no inter-racial relationships; in a modified form it is held that races can live together in a country provided they are not together in situations where conflict is likely.

Where this principle is upheld in policy-making by governments, conditions develop that J.S. Furnivall first described as the Plural Society: ("Colonial Policy and Practice", 1948: The concept of "plural society", as a theoretical tool, has been subsequently refined by M.G. Smith: "Social and Cultural Pluralism" in Annals for the New York Academy of Sciences, Vol. 83, 1959-60, p.763-777): members of different and distinct social and cultural groups meet, "but only in the market place." Inter-racial relations are at a minimum, thereby reducing processes of acculturation or cultural assimilation, and thus preserving the separate identities of each cultural or ethnic group. Moreover, in such culture-contact situations, such as "in market place", each individual participating in an interactive relationship becomes representative of his socio-cultural or ethnic group: the classification applied in this case is "Categorical Relations". (Mitchell, J.D.: "Tribalism and the Plural Society" 19 :).

The second theory asserts that common interests develop from shared experience, and cultural symbols, and provide the basis for cooperation. Maintenance of societal integration by shared symbols has been elucidated by Lloyd Braithwaite in his study of stratification and cultural pluralism. (Braithwaite, L. : "Social Stratification and Cultural Pluralism" in Annals for the New York Academy of Sciences, Vol. 83, 1959-60 - 816-31.)

A single qualification is applicable to both approaches viz., that conflict is to a large extent dependent on the level of contact in terms of status. The Kuper, Watts and Davies study sees equal status contact as being conducive to harmony, and unequal status contact as being conducive to conflict, thus finding a modicum of compatibility between both theories.

At the level of Generalized Conceptual Action Theory, it can be argued that when the contingent expectancies of roles, and thus statuses, are shared by individuals participating in interactive relationships, conflict does not occur, whereas if the role expectancies differ such that there is a breakdown in mutual role-expectations, conflict is likely to occur. This latter theoretical elaboration employs an action frame of reference which was implied in the account of the two approaches by Kuper, Watts and Davies.

In reviewing the history of race relations in the Republic of South Africa, overt or covert adherence to one or other theories is noted. In the first instance, that inter-racial contact promotes friction and conflict, is the underlying justification of policies followed, esp., current "apartheid" legislation. The salient feature, apropos the development of Group Areas legislation, has been the land question which is directly linked to mode of economic livelihood. Much of the conflict in race relations, to be traced historically, has been at heart economic, but not without concomitant social and cultural factors.

Historical Background of Group Areas Legislation in the Republic of South Africa:

From the earliest times white men in South Africa have been beset with the problems of culture-race contact and this has for the most part been the central issue in the political and social history of this country.

The settlers of the 17th Century faced with the nomadic aboriginal Hottentots, physically inferior to the Bantu, without even the rudiments of an agricultural tradition, built a hedge to separate the races and what was synonymous at the time, the cultures. It was the white man himself, with his guns and more versatile economy, who first cleared the hedge and, under the weak government of the old Dutch East India Company, continued to cross hedges and rivers set up as boundaries by successive governors and governments until the turn of the last century.

It was with the coming of the English, and the French Revolution, that the Cape had its first Government capable of administering a race policy and thereby making such policy a live issue. The first British governors in S.A. were sent out by the Tory Government, then fighting Napoleon, and it was not until the conflagration in Europe was over that it concerned itself with the problems of its new colony. Despite this war the English had not lost sight of their newly emergent humanitarian ideals, and in 1807 the Slave Trade was abolished within the British Empire. Within a

few years the Colony was suffering from a labor shortage. The colonists saw the answer to the problem in making employment compulsory for the Hottentots (by this time a mixed 'race') and making ownership of land by them illegal, so leaving them no alternative livelihood. In direct opposition to this view were the views of the humanitarians, notably the missionaries Dr. Philip, Read and van der Kemp, and Andries (later Sir) Stokenström, who was to become Lieutenant Governor of the Eastern Cape of which Grahamstown was the hub until about 1865. These men believed that the claims of the colonists were unjust and as an alternative, though no solution to the labor problems, advocated the foundation of separate areas for the Hottentots where it was hoped they would become westernised and so be able to enter the money economy on less prejudicial terms. Dr. Philip later extended this idea to the creation of separate areas for the Bantu, whose land he wanted to see annexed by Britain and reserved for them. His approach was that the non-European peoples were not ready to be integrated into the 'European' society, but that they would ultimately be suitably equipped.

While the British Government was not immune, as we have seen, to humanitarian influences, its preoccupation during the 1820's was the rationalisation of the legal and administrative systems at home and abroad. This policy of rationalisation was not without its effect on the question of the Colored people of the Cape, for it provided new and more effective machinery for the administration of justice (circuit courts were introduced in 1811, and Magistrates replaced the Landdrosts and Heemraden in 1825) and it clarified the position of the Hottentot whose status though officially undefined in some cases, had become ambiguous through custom and its conflict with the ideas of the humanitarians.

In 1828 the most controversial ordinance in the history of the Colony came into operation: Ordinance 50. This ordinance gave "Hottentots and other free persons of color", who were British subjects, the right to own land in the Colony, for while they had never explicitly been denied this right by law, it had been denied them by custom. As these people had no land and had not the wherewithal to acquire land there followed in 1829 an allocation of land in the Kat River valley to the Hottentots. The author of this plan was Andries Stokenström. Ordinance 50 also established the equality of all before the law, and this law, the allotting of land to the Hottentots and their consequent measure of independence from the Cape labor market, together with the return of land conquered from the Kaffirs (A classificatory term used by whites for aboriginal natives of negroid stock; also formerly embodied in the title of the territory, British Kaffraria.) in the war of 1834-6 (through the application of the ideas of the humanitarians to the Kaffirs) led to the Great Trek of borderland colonists into the interior beyond British control, about 1836.

In the Cape the colonists had been against territorial segregation because they needed the labor and land, but after they had defeated the Zulu at Blood River, while still wanting land, they found themselves

embarrassed by the presence of vast numbers of Bantu in their midst, and laws were soon passed, both in the area north of the Vaal and in Natal, restricting the number of Bantu (Bantu is a linguistic classification of negroid peoples - including all aboriginal native tribes which are Bantu-speaking peoples.) allowed in 'European' areas to five per white family. The number of Bantu allowed to remain in these 'white' areas was commensurate with the number the white man thought necessary for his economic well-being - a principle which has perhaps not vanished from present-day policies. This provision can be seen in the rudimentary constitution of the area north of the Vaal called 'the 33 articles', while both the 1854 O.F.S. constitution, and the 1858 South African Republican constitution have specific clauses making ownership of land by non-Europeans illegal, though concessions were made to allied chiefs. While it was agreed by the Trekkers that non-Europeans were not to hold land in the 'white' areas (the simplest way of defining these as areas which whites wished to occupy, as they lacked surveyed borders), no provision was made for 'black' areas.

The people of the Cape were no less land hungry than the people in the Republics, but were on occasion under the sagacious eye of Great Britain. The Grahamstown Journal spoke out strongly in favor of annexation of land and settlement by Europeans, and if its influence on South African historians, esp. Theal and Cory, can be taken as an index of influence, it influenced the governors on the spot on occasion. (Le Cordeur: M.A. thesis: "R. Godlonton as the architect of frontier opinion", 1960). Ironically annexation meant that the frontier moved away from Grahamstown and with it the town's claim to be the "emporium of the east" and "the gateway to the interior" and so its transition from emporium to "city of saints" and educational center.

In the intervening years since the Great Trek, there had been attempts to nullify Ordinance 50 of 1828, but without much effect and by 1854 both Colored and Fingoes had been granted land in Grahamstown in reward for their services in war, while those that could afford land had purchased it. In Grahamstown non-Europeans owned land in African Street and other areas which have since been bought by Europeans. (Professor W.A. Maxwell's evidence at Group Areas Hearing, Grahamstown 1959.)

In 1851 the redoubtable Dr. Philip died, but his efforts had borne temporary fruits, for, the area across the Orange River had been annexed by Britain and there was an attempt to define the areas as 'white' and 'black' in the area north of the Orange but south of the Vaal, and to some extent in Natal.

One of the key dates in the history of South African race relations is 1854. In that year the British Government relinquished sovereignty over the Trans-Orange area and so the question of Black-White and White-Griqua borders was thrown open to culture conflict and consequent resort to arms. Though the Basuto more than held their own for several years,

they eventually lost much land and the Griquas almost all of theirs to the O.F.S. Boers. It was in the same year that two new constitutions were promulgated which reflect rather vividly the two main streams of thought regarding race relations in South Africa. In the "Grondwet" of the O.F.S. of that date it was clearly stated that non-Europeans would not be regarded as citizens of the country, that they would not be allowed to own land in it and that they would not be allowed to vote in it. In contrast to this constitution the Cape constitution of the same year specifically allowed ownership of land, and citizenship, and a vote to those educationally and economically qualified, to vote if they were resident, regardless of race. This tradition of Cape liberalism though today apparently on the wane, has not vanished yet and has probably been the main liberalizing factor in South African politics in this century.

By the mid 19th Century, there had been few Bantu in the Cape Colony but in the second half of the century the Cape annexed all the Bantu land up to the present border of Natal. The problem thus arose as to whether land should be opened up on a highest bidder basis as would be the method in a classical liberal economy, or whether some land should be reserved for certain groups. It was in 1854 that Sir George Grey, a man with definite views on this subject, became Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa.

Sir George Grey perceived that preservation of the Bantu lands would also preserve the culture based on that land, or at least to prolong its life. As a culture-bound Victorian, he decided that it was not worth preserving. His policy was to settle Europeans in a patchwork of communities, inbetween the Bantu in order to westernize them by example, and to the same end he established an educational fund. Farmers and the business men who thrived upon them were in favor of any policy which gave them more land, but regarding education they were reluctant as it was feared that this would alter the status-role relationship or the "proper master-servant relationship", similar to the Trekker attitude. This policy has a measure of ruthlessness and lacks the idea of cultural relativity; it is unlikely that a comparatively backward culture, as theirs was, could survive in the midst of the early western economic and christian influences. (Regarding the latter, reference is made to the polemical work: Majeke: "The Role of the missionaries in conquest", 1954) Their culture was based on cattle, and they had already lost much of their land which was a prerequisite for cultural survival; their awareness of their decline is manifest in the emergence of a Messianic cult amongst them in the 1850's - 'the Cattle Killing' and the National Suicide of the AmaXhosa in 1857. To remove men from a disintegrating society and integrate them into one which was not in such danger of disintegration can thus be seen as an act of philanthropy in the long run. It must be made clear that the allocation of lands specifically for the Bantu in the Cape in no way prohibited their buying land in the remainder of the Colony, while in the Boer Republics, they were not allowed to own land,

but no systematic attempt was made to reserve land for them.

In the 1870's Britain and her dependencies annexed Basutoland and Bechuanaland. After all land south of the Limpopo had been incorporated into the Empire (1910) the Boer leaders were confronted for the first time with the option of giving the non-European lands of his own, or integrating him into the country from which he could no longer be excluded. The system which had been followed in the Cape Colony was an admixture of the two, for there were reserved lands for the Bantu, but which did not carry the right to vote, and freehold land which did hold the right to vote. The rationale behind this was that people whose land had to be protected against their selling it to the detriment of themselves could not be regarded as equal to those who could acquire land in a competitive market. Bantu who held land on the open market were thus given full right to vote if the value of the land warranted it, while those who occupied land which was specifically reserved for them could not.

The Cape system was not acceptable to the Boer leaders of the ex-Republics for two main reasons. They were still, as in 1828, against non-Europeans of whatever description being regarded as their political equals and thus against their being allowed to vote, and they feared that their people, economically broken by the Anglo-Boer War, and ill-fitted for work in the cities, would have to compete with the non-Europeans on the labor market, where lower wages would be acceptable to the non-whites. They thus resolved that the non-whites would only be allowed into the 'white' areas on an unequal basis as they had their own land which whites were not allowed to buy. It was for this reason that they were against non-Europeans buying land or even leasing land in or even near the cities. The idea of separate areas for different races, at first but a justification for unequal rights in the industrial areas, developed in time into a full-blooded ideology whereby the idea of separate areas and separate cultures were seen as ends in themselves. It thus became policy to separate not only European from non-European, but Colored from Indian and both from Bantu, even when located outside their own areas, in the towns. As Europeans were not allowed to own land in the Bantu areas, so it was though, Bantu people should not be allowed to own land in the white areas, especially if there were to be any justification for their being regarded as migrants, and thus without rights (except insofar as the whites wished) in the 'white' areas.

This policy of separate areas and a racially based franchise was not acceptable to the Cape delegates and so a compromise was reached at the National Convention which met in 1909 to draw up a constitution for a united South Africa; (This Union came into being in 1910, as a result of the unification of the Transvaal, Cape of Good Hope, Orange Free State, and Natal. All the members of Parliament were white, but three of the one hundred and sixty-three members of the Lower House were elected by Africans, and four by Colored persons. Four members of the eighty-nine Senators of the Upper-House were elected by Africans.)

each colony was to have its own native policy, and the Cape franchise was entrenched in the constitution, by a stipulation that it could not be altered without the agreement of two thirds of the members of the upper and lower houses sitting together.

The policy of separate areas as outlined above was not systematically applied until the Nationalist Party came to power shortly after the second world war, in 1948, as most of the previous governments had drawn their support from a broader cross-section of the population.

The policy of separation can be seen developing gradually from the time of Union to the coming of power of the Nationalist Party and thereafter developing more quickly and systematically.

The first important Act regarding separate areas to be passed after Union was the Natives Land Act of 1913. "Very broadly speaking the object of the Act was to prevent the Native (Bantu) from acquiring more rights to land in the European areas, while arranging that he should be provided with new areas of his own. (Brooks: "The Color Problem of S.A.", Lovedale Press, 1933: 55). The act limited the purchase of land by Bantu to lands already in the hands of the Bantu people. Bantu could only buy land from Bantu, thus preventing the Bantu from acquiring more land except where the Governor General thought fit. The Act was temporarily inoperative in the Cape Province, however, as the economically qualified franchise was entrenched in the constitution, and it was held that since land ownership was a franchise qualification, the Act was not applicable in the Cape, until about 1936.

The Native Lands Act of 1913 remains a landmark for the Africans as it was an indication that they were to be confined to 8% of the land, most of which (about 90%) was tribally owned and therefore unavailable for purchase. This 8% of land was increased, in 1936, to 13% under the Native Trust and Land Act. In the same year the Bantu of the Cape lost the right to vote on the Common Roll. "One of the effects of this Native Lands Act was to send Africans in a never-ending stream to the cities, until today (1958) nearly 3,000,000 of them are city-dwellers, working in white homes, offices and factories. In many of these urban areas they were able to buy land, but the Natives Law Amendment Act of 1937 prohibited any further purchase, except in a few exceptional places like Sophiatown". (Paton, Alan: "The People Wept", p.5. Published by Mr. Alan Paton, 23 Lynton Road, Kloof, Natal.)

The Natives Land Act of 1923 (no. 21) had provided machinery for the segregation of Bantu from Europeans into locations and villages within the towns, but the amendment of 1937 had virtually debarred Africans from owning land in the urban areas (the 1913 Act had applied more specifically to rural areas). In 1926 General Hertzog's Land Act Amendment Bill had

placed certain restrictions on the rights of the Bantu in the Cape buying land. (Brooks, 1933:59)

Moreover, in the 1920's the Industrial Conciliation Act was passed, which in effect placed the Bantu on an unequal footing in the labor market. The significance of Industrial legislation in this context is that it needs separate areas in order to be justifiable and may be seen as a motive for separate areas.

The Group Areas Act of 1950, as amended by Act No. 29 of 1956 and consolidated as Act No. 77 of 1957, is thus no innovation; merely the culmination of the legislative process for compulsory segregation of the Bantu, Colored, and Asiatic peoples of South Africa from each other and, what is more important, all three from the Europeans. (The population in South Africa in 1960 as estimated by the Bureau of Census and Statistics was:-

Europeans	3,088,492
Africans	10,927,922
Colored	1,509,258
Asiatics	477,125
Total	16,002,797)

The Group Areas Act of 1950, one of the supreme instruments of this separation was seen by some of its opposers as "designed to separate urban residential area from urban residential area, so that members of one race would not even be able to see members of another, to control ownership and occupation and sale and lease in these areas, and to prevent even the transit of one race through the area of another except perhaps by train, which transit, being more or less sealed off, was considered the 'least objectionable'." (Paton, : 7-3).

The Act was further streamlined by the Natives Resettlement Act (1954), the Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act (1955), and the Group Areas Amendment Act (1956). Sophiatown, for instance, "is being razed to the ground, and its 60,000 inhabitants moved to Meadowlands, where they may no longer own land, although they may build and own houses It is the proclaimed policy of the Government to regard all African city-dwellers as temporary sojourners, to regard them as domiciled in the Native Reserves, to forbid them to own land in the urban areas, and eventually to reverse the stream so that it flows back to the reserves, which are to be rehabilitated and developed for this purpose." (Paton:6)

Accompanying legislation made improvements such as the following:-
 The Population Registration Act providing for the racial classification of every person;
 The Bantu Education Act "made possible a specific education for African children, and destroyed missionary schools, thereby reducing the contacts between white educator and black pupil." (Paton : 8)

The Native Laws Amendment Act enabled the prohibition of racial association with Africans in any club, school, hospital, or church.

The Group Areas Amendment Act of 1957, providing the machinery to forbid the use of premises in one Group Area by persons living in another.

The main procedure for the implementation of the Group Areas Act (1950) is through the Group Areas Board which sits as a quasi-judicial body and hears evidence and argument and thereafter decides upon its recommendation to the Minister. Proposals for Group Areas Zoning are communicated from town or city councils to the Board at Pretoria. Representatives of the Board at the hearings in the towns or cities concerned consider the proposals and objections presented through legal representatives.

The first proposal in terms of the Group Areas Act came from the small town of Lydenberg in the Transvaal in 1952. This Municipality's proposal was to move all Indians (160) to a site $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles out of town away from any main road. The Group Areas Board found this proposal too extreme and recommended that it be not entertained. Instead, after a revisit to Lydenberg in 1954, it recommended that all Indians be moved about a mile from the centre of the town.

A proposal by the Town Council of Klerksdorp was to move all 600 Indians to a site $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 miles away.

These proposals affected the Indians severely; since many were traders, removal from their places of business meant economic ruin as it was practically impossible to eke out an existence in the remote sites set aside for them. Mr. Alan Paton interpreted these Group Areas measures with regard to Indians as part of the overall scheme to expatriate Indians from South Africa.

Other proposals followed in rapid succession:

Ernelo, S.E. Transvaal in October, 1955.

Pretoria, the administrative capital of South Africa. The Minister proclaimed group areas on June 6th, 1958, based on the proposals of the City Council:

- "(1) All the colored people of Pretoria are to be removed from their present places of residence to the undeveloped area of Derdepoort, about 9 miles from the centre of the city.
- (2) All Indian people are to be moved to the undeveloped areas of Claudius, some 7 or 8 miles from the city. Over 200 Indian traders will have to leave the city, after periods varying from 3 to 7 years. The area to which they are being removed is remote and not accessible to their former customers.
- (3) The total number of Africans to be moved is not known. However, 50,000 are to be moved from Lady Selborne and 8,000 from Clarendon. In both these townships, Africans had been able to own land in freehold, but this right will be removed in the new areas.

- (4) It remains to add that the only white people who will have to move will be those few families living in the new Indian group areas of Claudius." (Paton 26-8).

Johannesburg, Transvaal, the largest city in South Africa. Under the Natives Resettlement Act (1954), the Government was granted powers to move all Africans from the Western areas. The Johannesburg City Council refused to cooperate except on certain conditions. The Government overcame this obstacle by creating the Natives Resettlement Board to carry out the removal.

"The Johannesburg City Council submitted proposals to the Group Areas Board for the zoning of the rest of the city. Though the Council accepted the principle of Group Areas, its proposals were characterized by a humanity absent from those of the great majority of Transvaal towns.

Paton describes the Johannesburg proclamation in these words:

"The first proclamation of Group Areas in Johannesburg came like a bombshell to non-white citizens, especially the coloured and Indian communities. But even many of the white citizens were shocked by it, especially the decision to move Indians twenty miles out of the city to Lenasia. Of all the Transvaal decisions (or awaited decisions) in regard to Indian traders, this is the most catastrophic, and vitually means disaster for 800 Indian traders whose shopping district has been one of the most colourful parts of Johannesburg. But it is not only traders who are affected; poorer Indian workers must pay 12/7d (R1.26c) a week in fares, and many of them must leave home at five in the morning, and do not get home until eleven at night." (Paton : 26-28)

Durban, Natal, large sea-port.

Group Areas legislation has been intended for the segregation of all ethnic groups - Bantu, Coloreds, Whites, Indians and other Asiatics - as previously mentioned. The logic of this segregation policy is still being pursued. A current case is that of Grahamstown.

G R A H A M S T O W N :

Introductory Background:

Grahamstown, once a commercial centre, has, relatively, not grown since 1870; but with the establishment and growth of schools and Rhodes University in its neighborhood, the city has become an educational centre. Of its population of 24,000 over 4,000 are students hailing from all over South Africa and surrounding areas. Residents hold that its main 'industry' is education. This is a mixed blessing for 47% of the municipal property is de-rated for educational and Governmental use. Attempts to attract industries have for the most part been frustrated because of the lack of suitable resources such as water and electricity.

Water and electricity resources have been improved by the construction of the new Settler's reservoir and the erection of electricity supply links; but the water problem has not been entirely solved owing to subsequent filtration and supply difficulties. Moreover, electricity charges remain relatively high.

Transport facilities are restricted as Grahamstown is on a branch railway line; there are further regulatory limitations on Road Transport as is cited in the chapter on Local Government. The only natural resource for industry is the presence of very good clay, but the utilization of the clay has been hampered through transport difficulties. These factors will receive fuller treatment in the section on the Economics of Grahamstown. So the City Council of Grahamstown is not economically well endowed. That this is so is evident in the evidence led at the Group Areas Hearings, (to be detailed below). Economic deprivation is a central factor underlying the Council's objections to the application of the Group Areas Act to the City of Grahamstown.

The town has been relatively free from racial strife since 1851-2. Segregation between the Bantu, Colored and European has evolved in time on tripartite radial lines, (Refer to Map X; this will become clear in the discussion of the Group Areas Hearings) though the areas occupied by these various races touch on rather ragged boundaries. The Indian group (190 in number) which, has only grown by 75 in the last 25 years, and the five Chinese families are not segregated. The Indians, who have lived in the town since the 19th century in many cases, live in the European area near or in the vicinity of their places of business. Most are engaged in trade with the Europeans: they own most of the laundries in the town and are also prominent as fruiterers. The Chinese trade with the Bantu, run the Bantu cinema, and the Bantu bus service. These groups have not in recent times competed for land in the town, for, as we have noted above, the Group Areas Act of 1950 prohibited the buying of land by one race from another. Thus the area of land owned by the sedentary population of Indians and Chinese has not changed in size since 1950.

Since 1826 the Coloreds have occupied the area known as the Hottentot Village; since 1856 they have possessed it in freehold. Part of this Hottentot freehold land was bought for use by the South African Railways in 1912 and those that left the area were housed in a new municipal location. The socio-economic effects of this move were studied by Professor J. Irving, professor of Sociology at Rhodes University; it was found that 50% of those moved were living on less than 1/- (.10c.) per head per day, and it was found that the move in breaking up neighborhood relations broke down social control. These facts were mentioned by Professor W.A. Maxwell in her evidence at the Group Areas Hearings.

The Bantu occupy three main areas: the Pingo Village which was granted them as a result of their valor in war in support of the Europeans in the 1850's, and where the land is held in freehold; an adjoining municipal location where houses are rented from the Municipality; and the Kingsflats location some distance from the town, which is also municipally owned. The national road to Kingwilliamstown and East London dissects the Pingo Village (See Map). The Pingo and adjacent locations house about 6,000 people, and are the areas in which the Municipal Beerhall, the Catherine Webb TB Hospital, and an Old Age Home are situated. The properties in the area are worth about R300,000.00c.

Similarly the Colored community has many institutions, including schools, churches (some over 100 years old), an orphanage and the use of sports fields, in the European part of the town.

As we have noted above, the Group Areas Act of 1950 empowered the Government to declare any area a Group Area for Colored, European, Bantu or Asian (which is further divisible into Chinese and Indian Areas). The intention being that in due course the various racial groups would live in distinct areas such, that property in one area might not be acquired by a member of another group. In the Transvaal the way this policy was administered set a precedent whereby Bantu were moved from their freehold property to their Group Area where the land was municipally held. It is also the policy of the Government in the implementation of the Group Areas Act that non-white areas be at least 500 yards from national roads, that there be Buffer Zones or natural barriers separating the racial groups, and that the peoples' institutions, places of work, and playing fields be so located that a group would not have to walk through the area of another to get to them.

Grahamstown is within the Albany Constituency, a traditionally safe seat for the United Party which supported the idea of separation to some extent. However, by the same tradition, Grahamstown, the reputed 1820 British Settler stronghold, opposed Afrikaner Nationalism and its policy of Group Areas. The initial opposition to the policy of Group Areas in the town occurred in 1950 when a protest meeting was held in the town against the Act as such. Since the Group Areas Board at that

time was primarily concerned with the large industrial areas, the implications of the Act bypassed Grahamstown for a number of years.

In 1955 the Group Areas Development Act was passed, as above cited. It reinforced the Group Areas Act (1950) thus making it more difficult to avoid its implications. At that stage the City Council became solicitous about the implementation of the Act(s) to Grahamstown.

On the 25th October, 1955, a Colored Rate Payer's meeting was held at which Mr. Cloete, a member of the Colored Advisory Board (from Bedford), spoke. He recommended that a Colored Representative Board be drawn up. This was done with the Revd. McMaster, the Congregationalist Church Minister, as Chairman, Mr. Heemro, the Congregationalist Church Choir master and school teacher, as Secretary, and Messrs. McKaiser, Plaaitjies, and Steenfeldt as members of the Committee. This Representative Board asked Mr. Heemro to draw up a sketch plan for the zoning of Colored Areas; the plan was accepted by his colleagues and sent to the Land Tenure Board in Pretoria. According to Mr. Heemro the Coloreds were, at that stage, in favor of Group Areas.

The Advent of Group Areas in Grahamstown and subsequent Events:

In January, 1956, the City Council was instructed by the Group Areas Board, Pretoria, to submit proposals for the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Grahamstown. The Council entertained the matter but could find no just means of zoning the Chinese. (Grocott's Daily Mail, May, 1957).

In December, 1956, the Council resolved that it did not approve any interference with the rights of Asiatics. Crs. Mr. Coats and Professor White drew up a plan and submitted it to the Board. But the Group Areas Board did not approve it.

A notice appeared in the local newspaper in the middle of May, 1957, to the effect that all objections to a plan on view in the City Hall would have to be lodged by the end of that month. For the first time Group Areas affected the public of Grahamstown. Up to this time the question had been one for the formal authorities of the City Council; the few people who took stands on the issue were Crs. White and Coats, and the members of the Colored Representative Board: Messrs. McMaster, Heemro, McKaiser, Plaaitjies, and Steenfeldt. In 1957, coincidentally there was a brief wave of optimism among liberals in South Africa, for there appeared to be a liberal revival all over the country. In this spirit academicians felt sufficiently confident of getting a hearing to attempt to lead a mass movement against the Group Areas Act being implemented in Grahamstown (this confidence has never recurred as there has been a general reactionary authoritarian movement to the right ever since).

Following the announcement in the paper, on the 14th May, 1957, the Colored Representative Board met to decide whether it should hold an open Ratepayers meeting to gauge the opinions of the Colored people on the implementation of the Act in Grahamstown. The Revd. McMaster, who

was hesitant and not in favor of a political meeting was overridden. The meeting was held and decided against the implementation of the Act. A suggested reason for this swing in opinion among the Coloreds is that they had by this time realised the socio-economic effects of slum clearance and movement to new and more expensive lodgings. (Professor Irving addressed the City Council on the plight of the Wylde Street evacuees in August 1957 though his study was only published in 1958)

On the 17th May a letter by Professor Rennie, at that time the local representative of the South African Institute of Race Relations, was published in the local paper advertising a meeting to be held in the City Hall - the leading speaker was to be Professor ex-cr. White, supported by Professor Irving and Mr. Ramjee, an Indian lawyer from Port Elizabeth who had fought cases for Indians affected by Group Areas legislation elsewhere and who was subsequently proscribed under 90 day detention. The Chairman was to be Professor Rennie, who was later to become Vice-Principal of Rhodes University. Professors Irving, White, and Rennie - members of the Joint Council for Europeans and Africans - organized the meeting. On the same day a letter by Professor W.A. Maxwell was prominently featured in the paper in which she outlined her objections to the plan then on view in the City Hall.

On the 20th May the local newspaper published a list of "leaders from all groups" who had signed a memorandum of protest to the Town Council. The list was headed by Professor Rennie and it is assumed that this was organized by him and his aforementioned compatriots.

The following signatures were appended to the Memorandum:

- (i) Professor Rennie
- (ii) Mr. Slater (Headmaster of Kingswood)
- (iii) B. Mahasela (vice-chairman of the Fingo Village Vigilance Committee)
- (iv) B. Borman (Vice-chairman of the Hebrew Community)
- (v) Mrs. Dr. Alty - (Chairlady of the N.C.W.)
- (vi) Mr. Slee (Chairman of the Joint Council for Europeans and Africans, and Lecturer in Politics)
- (vii) Sister Truda (Principal of T.C.)
- (viii) J. Chan Henry (Chairman of the Chinese Association)
- (ix) L. Dlepu (Templars Order)
- (x) Mr. Steinfeldt (Chairman of the Colored Representative Board)
- (xi) Patel (Chairman of the Indian School Board)
- (xii) Mrs. Liddle (Chairman of St. Johns Ambulance)
- (xiii) The Revd. Blomers (Warden of St. Pauls)
- (xiv) Professor J. Irving
- (xv) The Revd. McDowall (of the Presbyterian Church)
- (xvi) F. Naidoo (Chairman of the Indian Association)
- (xvii) The Revd. Moore (Methodist)
- (xviii) The Revd. Hodgson (Anglican Dean)
- (xix) Mr. Plaatzies (Colored Sports Association)
- (xx) Mrs. Webb (T.B. Hospital)

On the 21st May, 1957, Mrs. Dr. Alty, chairlady of the N.C.W., called a meeting of this Association to discuss Group Areas.

On the 22nd May, Grocott's Daily Mail reported that the town had never been so united over a cause before. The meeting advertised by Professor Rennie took place that evening.

On the 23rd May, Grocott's Daily Mail reported that the biggest meeting in the town's history had taken place. 350 people were reported to have attended. Professor White was the leading speaker supported by Professor Irving and Mr. Ramjee. Professor Rennie took the chair. The Revd. Moore's motion condemning Group Areas was seconded by Professor W.A. Maxwell and the Revd. Hodgson, the Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Michael and St. George (Church of the Province); the motion was carried with two dissentients. The Revd. McMaster (Congregationalist Colored Leader) put a motion regarding the suffering of the Wylde Street evacuees and the consequences of further evacuation. Grocott's Daily Mail reported that the motion was unanimously carried.

On the 24th May a letter in the paper from Professor Rennie announced the formation of a Group Areas Action Committee. This body came about through Messrs. Rennie, Irving, Naaidoo, and White. Its members were:

Chairman : Professor Rennie

Joint Secretaries: Mr. Naaidoo (Catholic)

The Revd. McMaster (Congregationalist)

Committee Members: Dean Hodgson (Anglican)

Professor Irving

The Revd. Kirkby (Methodist)

The Revd. Professor Hewson (Methodist)

F.J. Naaidoo

B. Patel

A. Heemro (Secretary, Colored Representative Board)

Steenveldt (Member, Colored Representative Board)

G.J. Plantjies (Chairman, Colored Sports Association)

A. Magoba (African)

B. Mahasela (African)

B.M. Foley

J. Deplu

J. Chan Henry

W. Chan Henry

J. Chan Junkin

L. Chan Junkin

The purpose of this Committee was to canalise all objections to the Group Areas plan through one body in order to make certain that complaints were sent to the correct place and in time. It also gave a single body access to all complaints thus giving it the power to

embody them in a comprehensive objection. It seemed that all groups were quite willing to work through this body. Hoemro vouched for the acceptance of this body by the Colored people, stating that he had never heard it criticised by them. They had, he said, put all their objections to the Group Areas plan before the Action Committee. Its members were chosen by the organisers on the basis of more or less institutionalised leadership in the various communities. Hoemro mentioned that he was surprised that McKaiser had not been invited to join it, as he felt that McKaiser was powerful among the Coloreds.

On the 29th May, 1957, the local newspaper reported that a deputation led by Professor White (Professor White had been a councillor but had resigned as a consequence of the proposal to place "Europeans only" signs on park benches in the Botanical Gardens) had addressed the City Council for half an hour. Also present were Professor Irving, Mr. F. Naaidoo, for the Indians, Mr. D. Mahasela and Mr. Steenveldt for the Africans and Coloreds respectively. The public gallery was full. Since the City Council in the past had already opposed the Group Areas plan on behalf of the ratepayers whom it represented, the probable purpose of this address was to reinforce the Council's stand through additional representation by the Action Committee of public objectors. At the end of the month Dean Hodgson condemned Group Areas in his Anglican Newsletter.

On the 4th June, as above cited, the Group Areas Amendment Bill was introduced into Parliament to cut out loopholes in the Act of 1950.

Once the City Council had adopted the cause of the objectors, the Action Committee lost its function and became disbanded. In retrospect its main purpose of channelising objections from the public and associations concerned to the Council had been fulfilled. It had succeeded to mustering up the support of the populace on the issue. Moreover it demonstrated the potential power of academicians - intellectuals from the University who could participate as leaders in Community Affairs - even though the issue had been espoused by the institutionalised authorities of the town.

Shortly afterwards, the Group Areas Board, Pretoria, in a letter to the City Council stated that their committee was "not taking further steps" regarding the implementation of the Act in Grahamstown. The *raison d'être* of the Action Committee thus disappeared; further it became clear that the Council, backed by ratepayers, was opposed to the implementation of the Group Areas Act. The Action Committee passed into obscurity and public enthusiasm waned. Thereafter the council was preoccupied again with the routine bureaucratic problems of small towns.

The routine was abruptly interrupted on the 30th January, 1959, when the local newspaper reported that the Council had been informed that a Government representative would visit the town to investigate the possibilities of implementation of the Group Areas Act (1950) as amended.

The representation would take the form of a Committee sitting as a quasi-judicial body to hear objections, as was the case in other instances aforementioned. Whereas the 1957 objections had been lodged via the central Action Committee which addressed the Council, the 1959 objectors chose legal representatives as did the City Council. Apart from legal representations, the question of leadership was only reflected in the choice of representatives for communal and sub-group interests such as the representatives of the Indian community et al.

The Committee of the Group Areas Board sat at Grahamstown on the 16th, 17th and 18th February, 1959, to consider proposals for Grahamstown. The Committee consisted of the following:

Mr. M.J. Gouws (Chairman)
 Mr. W.H.M. Steyn (Member)
 Mr. P.A. du Preez (Secretary)

The Appearances included the following:

Adv. Norman C. Addleson for the City Council of Grahamstown.

Adv. J.D. Cloete, who appeared for the Indian Community,
 the Chinese Community,
 the Colored Community,
 the Native Community, esp.

the Pingo Village Vigilance Committee, numerous European organizations and individuals, including the Anglican Church interests,

the Joint Council for European and Africans,
 the South African Institute for Race
 Relations,

the Methodist Church,
 the Grahamstown F.B. Care Society,
 the National Council for Women,
 the Training College,
 the Assumption Convent,

Mrs. K. Webb and other private persons.

Mr. K.S. Craig appeared for the Grahamstown Butter and Ice Factory,

Mr. Dold for Kingswood College,

Mr. F.H. Kaplan in person,

Mr. R.K. Kirby for the Moon Family and personally,

Mr. P.A. Kopke in person,

Dr. C.C. Kritzinger for Die Skakelkomitee van Albanie and the
 Dutch Reformed Church,

Mr. J.C. Muller for Die Skakelkomitee van Albanie,

Mr. T.M. Mullins for Property Owners,

Mr. B.B. Ramjee in person.

The Hearing commenced with an Open Address by the Chairman who called for cooperation in the matter, stating that when Group Areas are declared in Grahamstown citizens will probably realize "that it's a good thing to have Group Areas in Grahamstown." The Chairman sketched the procedure as follows:

/"First,....."

"First, the regional committee visits the local authority and, in consultation with the local authority, it draws up what we call a group survey map It shows at one glance where the various group concentrations are. We ask for the cooperation of the local authority. We explain the most important provisions of the act and we ask the local authority to cooperate with us and to furnish us with certain particulars. In that respect the City of Grahamstown was most cooperative.

"Secondly, we ask for proposals and we ask everybody who is interested in the town to furnish proposals for group areas. Of course, we can't allow too long a time; we must fix a date. The act lays down three weeks, but we usually give six weeks up to two months to give people a chance to lodge proposals.

"Then we coordinate the proposals and we reflect them on a map ... and we send that map to the town clerk and we ask him to let it lie there for inspection by the public and we invite objections to the proposals on the map. The act lays down ten days in which to submit objections, but we again give them about three weeks, sometimes a month up to six weeks.

"When those objections and representations have been lodged, then we hold a public inquiry. The act makes no provision for a public inquiry at all, but we hold that public inquiry in order to give those who have lodged objections and representations a chance to come forward and, either by means of oral evidence or otherwise, to state their case on the objections or representations which they have lodged. That is the stage we have now reached here in Grahamstown.

"After this public hearing the committee draws up a report and submits its recommendations to the board in Pretoria. The board in its turn submits its recommendations to the minister and it is then up to the minister to proclaim group areas. At the same time the minister is also obliged in terms of the act to consult the administrator of the province and the surveyor general is also to be consulted with regard to the drawing up of accurate boundaries."

Following this the Chairman remarked that when the Board invited proposals for the zoning of Grahamstown the only proposals received were from the City Council, the Colored Ratepayers' Association and two private individuals. No response was received from the civic, religious or educational organizations. However, on the publication of these proposals received there was an immediate reaction with "glaring headlines in the newspapers such as 'Flood of Protests at Grahamstown Zoning', 'More Oppose Group Act', 'Focal Point Group Areas Act Resistance', 'Congregation at Church Rises in Protest', 'Packed Hall Condemns Group Areas Act', 'Natives Oppose Areas Act' and so forth and so on - many more."

He said that these press reports gave the impression that the proposals had emanated from the Group Areas Board or the Eastern Cape Committee of the Group Areas Board. He corrected this erroneous impression by explaining that the Board had not submitted any proposals whatsoever and that the proposals had come from the sources cited. He added one

qualification namely that the Eastern Cape Committee had suggested a demarcated area for Indian occupation but this suggestion was countered by the authorities in Pretoria who advocated that this area be advertised as a border strip or buffer area. He further pointed out that the impression was also given that the Group Areas reflected in the Map was an accomplished fact. This is incorrect since the proposals were only being advertised for investigation not proclamation at this stage. The Chairman concluded his general remarks with the assurance that it is not the intention of the Minister and the Committee to interfere with religious and educational institutions... "even if these Coloured churches and schools will have to be removed, they will certainly remain there for years to come still; we will allow the Coloured people to worship in their churches and schools for years to come until they are in a position to build their own churches and schools in their own area."

Perusal of the Minutes of this Hearing indicate that more emphasis was placed on the financial implications if the Act were implemented, than at previous meetings.

Adv. Addleson put forward the City Council's submission "from a legal point of view that the committee is charged with a very wide range of enquiry and that there are provisions in the act which clearly indicate that the legislature did not contemplate a uniform application of the act to all towns; that there are certain circumstances where the mere restriction of occupation or acquisition will be sufficient and the municipality has approached the question of the desirability and expediency of zoning from that angle. It has attempted to consider the matter within the framework of government policy." Mr. Addleson further pointed out that there was a major difference between the plan submitted by the Council to the Board and that plan under present discussion. The Council's plan had no provisions for depriving the freehold properties in the Hottentot Location or in the Fingo Village, "it made no provision for the uprooting of the various groups and it is in that respect that the council finds itself in very great difficulty in attempting to put forward an acceptable plan both to the committee and which will yet do justice to the various races." He made clear that the Council in proposing a plan to cater for the future expansion of the three main groups, i.e., European, Native and Colored, could not envisage a plan which required the status quo to be altered. The Council could not be party to a scheme which would entail the drastic deracination of ethnic groups in Grahamstown. If the areas were zoned for racial groups contrary to natural development, the Council would be faced with colossal financial commitments involved in the provision of new housing and compensation costs. This it would not be able to meet; it would mean hardship to its ratepayers as well as those affected by the move. Moreover, such a scheme, if implemented, would bring racial tension and friction to Grahamstown which has been avoided thusfar in its history.

Adv. Cloete in his introductory appearance put forward a similar argument on behalf of the organizations and private individuals, above listed. "Our case will be that Grahamstown differs from other centres comparable in size in the Union. It has a concentration of institutions more particularly educational establishments of which there are no less than fourteen in this city and it has no major industries which, as we all know, is the usual source requiring the application of the Group Areas Act." So as not to disturb the tranquility and racial harmony of Grahamstown, "we will submit that we should not have the Group Areas Act applied at all in Grahamstown." From an economic point of view, Mr. Cloete stressed that the resources of the city were limited, that 47% of the municipal areas were derated, that is, that the burden of upkeep of the city fell to the lot of the remaining 53%. Grahamstown therefore has a finely balanced and precarious economy. The implementation of Group Areas would disrupt the community. Thereafter he specified particular difficulties on behalf of the churches and other institutions concerned.

Mr. Dold appeared for Kingswood College, a private school run under the authority of the Methodist Church of South Africa. His main objection was to Currie Street (Refer to Map appended) as a boundary between the European and Colored areas, for this would bring the College groups in juxtaposition with the Colored area. In the past the School has had a problem of Coloreds trespassing on the sports fields; with the proclamation of Currie Street as boundary, the problem is likely to increase.

Mr. Piek appearing on behalf of the Skakelkomitee proposed that a certain area be set aside for industrial purposes in the event of possible industrial development of Grahamstown.

Dr. Kritzinger, appearing on behalf of Die Skakelkomitee and the Dutch Reformed Church, stated that his approach would be based essentially on "the sociological aspect." He maintained that although the town had been free from racial strife there were recent indications to the contrary. He moreover contended from the point of view of the Church "that the intermingling of races, as is the case in Grahamstown today, has a serious effect on the members of our church; that it has a serious effect on the relationships between all the racial groups in this town." He objected to the fact that the "Coloured children have to walk all the way across from the present Coloured area, right through the town, to the other side, to come to school and similarly in the case of some churches." Contrary to the arguments of the previous counsels regarding the financial implications, Dr. Kritzinger contended "that the cost of applying the act here will not be as high as has been indicated." He pleaded that the Act be implemented and provision made for the Natives, Coloreds, Europeans, as well as for the Chinese and Indians.

Mr. Craig objected to the extension of the Colored zone (as proposed) to include the area up to Froude Street. This would dissect the Creamery and Egg Packing Plant which is located on both east and west sides of Froude Street.

Mr. Ranjee spoke on the general effect of moving the traders, stating that such a move would affect their insurance policies. They would probably be unable to obtain cover against fire risks and burglary risks in a remote and segregated area. Moreover, their present policies would lapse in contract on such a removal. After a few minor deliberations, the proceedings for the first day ended.

In the second and third days of the proceedings, the abovementioned representatives led evidence regarding their objections and elaborated upon these as contained in their summary addresses at the commencement. One of the main witnesses called by Adv. Cloete was Professor W.A. Maxwell, professor of History at Rhodes University, who gave historical, sociological and general evidence on Grahamstown, its economic problem of lack of industries, and yet its peaceful coexistence among the various racial groups: "Adv. Cloete: Now the tradition of Grahamstown is one of social harmony, mutual respect and tolerance?"

Professor W.A. Maxwell: That is correct. I have carefully read the Grahamstown Journal almost from cover to cover over the whole nineteenth century and I know of only one riot and that is when the Europeans attempted to turn out the Hottentots and didn't want to pay compensation. ... In 1851." Professor Maxwell further presented evidence on the poverty in Grahamstown which is related to the lack of employment which, in turn, is linked to the absence of industry. She strengthened her evidence with the information assembled by Professor J. Irving.

Adv. Addleson in expanding upon the earlier summary of the case for the council referred to a resolution, concerning objections to Group Areas made by responsible citizens and organizations, passed by the Council on the 28th May, 1957. Furthermore Mr. Addleson referred to the sworn evidence that had been adduced by previous counsel as indicating "that there is absolutely no necessity at all for any proclamation of group areas in Grahamstown." He also addressed the Committee on the legal implications of the Act pointing to its being inapposite to Grahamstown. Mr. Addleson maintained that because of their small numbers there was no need to set aside separate areas for the Chinese and Indians, but that the Council would make allowances for future expansion if the time came, and the need arose. He handed in a plan which reflected some of these suggestions for consideration. "The municipality does not like this plan, but, for the lack of a better one, it has put forward this suggestion if the committee feels that it should recommend to the board that future development be canalized on some lines. ... It is suggested that the committee could recommend to the board that this be proclaimed now as future areas in terms of Section 21. ... The only other comment I can make upon this plan, Mr. Chairman, is that it does provide as little upheaval

as possible, particularly in the Coloured community where the question of poverty is at its worst and where repercussions of removal will therefore be the greatest.

I must, however, conclude by earnestly requesting the board, in the light of the evidence, to hold that there is no need for any group areas at the moment and for the foreseeable future, but, if any zoning is required, it should be only for the future on the lines contained in this plan."

On the third day, 18th February, 1959, the proceedings commenced with Mr. Mullins objecting to the plan submitted to the Committee on behalf of the Municipality on the previous day. He contended that the plan was not that of the Municipality, that it had not been published in order to invite objections, and that it should not be entertained by the Committee. Mr. Addleson objected to the statement that the plan was not that of the Municipality. The Chairman interposed. Mr. Piek, and Dr. Kritzinger were summoned on behalf of the Skakelkomitee. They both put the case for the Skakelkomitee in favor of the proclamation of Group Areas. The latter handed in a plan of amended proposals. But on asking the Committee for opportunity to enlarge upon the plan was refused as the Chairman pointed out that this had been denied the representative of the Municipality. Instead Dr. Kritzinger spoke on the plan under consideration pointing out difficulties in terms of his amended plan. He summed up the case: "Now those are the specific proposals that the skakelkomitee is prepared to put before you for your consideration, Sir. ...

"I think we have been as fair as is humanly possible, within the framework of the act, and I think as proof of that I would like to summarise these figures I have quoted here about the various numbers of people potentially involved in moving, ... This series of plans and these proposals would involve moving five Chinese families, twenty-two Indian families, forty-two Coloured families, forty-nine Bantu families and forty-six European families."

After a concluding address on behalf of the objectors by Adv. Cloete, the Chairman announced that "as far as this committee is concerned, we seem to have come to the end of our deliberations."

The Group Areas issue in the 1959 hearings was still supported in its opposition by most groups in the town. Dr. Kritzinger, who spoke on behalf of the Skakelkomitee van Albanie, was in favor of Group Areas but not the plan as sponsored by the Group Areas Board in the joint projection, while Mr. Piek, who represented the same body seemed to be in favor of the plan in all but detail.

After the meeting the matter was put into abeyance once more. From about 1960 attitudes were changing among the Colored leaders.

Early in 1963 the Council was again approached and asked to propose group areas for Whites and Coloreds. This apparently indicating that the previous 1959 Committee had failed to reach a final settlement. It is surmised that the Council was approached by the planning committee on the

instigation of the Colored leader, McKaiser, or at least that the planning committee had taken heart in the fact that McKaiser was in favor by this time of their zoning proposals. The Council then appointed a committee to consider the matter and to consult representatives of the groups concerned. Significantly the Chairman of this Committee was Professor Hobart Houghton, professor of Economics at Rhodes University. It should also be borne in mind that he was at the time the local representative of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

After consultation with representatives of the Colored, Indian and Chinese groups the Council approved the demarcation of an area for Whites and Coloreds and supported the contention of the Indians and Chinese that it was not in their interests to set aside special zones for them and that owing to their small numbers there was no clear cause to do so. Notice to this effect was sent to the Regional Department of Community Development in Port Elizabeth on 26 October 1963. It was made clear in the Council dispatch that no changes were proposed for the Bantu areas. The Department in reply dated 25th June, 1963 stated specifically: "This Department is not concerned with proposals concerning the Native Group" (Grocott's Daily Mail, 1st October 1964)

About the 15th September, 1964, a proposal for zoning was received by the Town Clerk from the Department of Planning in Port Elizabeth. As far as areas for the Coloreds were concerned, this plan departed in minor respects only from that suggested by the Council in 1963, but the proposals also departed radically in specifying the whole Fingo Village and Municipal location to the south of the National Road to be zoned for Whites, Indians, and Whites or Indians.

Professor Hobart Houghton, Chairman of the City Council's 'Group Areas Committee', in open council in respect of these suggestions moved "that Council reaffirm its plan of last year for the zoning of Whites and Coloreds and that Council is resolutely opposed to any change in the present Bantu areas." The motion was seconded by the Deputy-Mayor, Councillor Mrs. B. Rennie, and carried with two dissentients, Councillors Oostuysen and Scheepers. (Grocott's Daily Mail, 1st October, 1964) Councillor Hobart Houghton called on Council to reject the new plan outright and described its implementation as "a blow to the prosperity and peace of our city unprecedented in recent times." Professor Hobart Houghton explained briefly "the magnitude of this iniquity": The proposals received would involve moving about one-third of our Bantu population from an area which they have occupied for over a century. It would involve replacing various social amenities such as six churches, five schools, the Municipal Recreation Hall, the Beer Hall, the Municipal Offices and Post Office, the Katherine Webb T.B. Hospital, Temba (the S.A.N.T.A. Settlement) inter alia. A total of 619 houses would have to be evacuated, housing 6,200 persons, many of whom would have to relinquish their freehold rights, which they have enjoyed since the 1850's; this disturbance and "all for no apparent purpose save to satisfy the crazy whim of an unimaginative and insensitive bureaucracy." He traced further financial implications

/together.....

together with pointing out that "harmonious relations will be disturbed and ill-will fostered to the general detriment." Mr. C.J. Oosthuysen, the Government supporter on the Council, argued that it would be a mistake to vote against moving the Bantu until the matter had been gone into in greater detail, for he pointed out that many of the houses were in fact in need of replacement, and because of their dilapidated condition would have to be evacuated. Councillor H.P.C. Harvey, who supported the motion, said that the Bantu had been consulted and Council was fully aware of their views, and feelings; regarding the opinion that the dwellings on each side of Raglan Road spoilt the approach to the city, he said that "it were better to move the road than six thousand people," if this were the case.

An article in Grocott's Daily Mail, entitled "The Economics of Planning" (30th September, 1964) examined the financial implications of the Department of Planning's proposals regarding the Bantu areas. There were approximately 6,000 people in the Municipal Location (269 erven) and the Fingo Village (350 erven). Owners in the Fingo Village would have to be compensated for about 150 houses worth approximately R2,000 each; the total being R300,000. All in all compensation in the Fingo Village might well total half a million rand or more. Moreover, the area contains various social amenities, as mentioned above by Professor Hobart Houghton, which would have to be replaced in another place. In concluding the calculations it stated: "we do not wish to be accused of sensationalism when we seriously suggest that the total outlay involved could not be less than a million rand and could be appreciably more." The bulk of this sum would have to be borne by the ratepayer. The article was concluded with a reminder that all objectors should lodge their objections to this "fantastic plan" by the 9th October, 1964, in Port Elizabeth, to be taken into consideration.

An Enquiry in Public by a Committee of the Group Areas Board, into the establishment of Group Areas in Grahamstown took place on the 22nd October, 1964. (Quotations and information taken from the Minutes of the Hearing) The Committee was constituted of Mr. H.C. van T. Barker (Chairman) and Mr. P.H. Torlage (Member). Mr. A.L. du Preez (Regional Under-Secretary, Department of Planning) and Mr. J.P.A. du Preez (Principal Administrative Officer, Department of Planning) were in attendance. The appearances were as follows:

Adv. N.C. Addleson, S.C. for the City Council of Grahamstown.

Adv. Kannemeyr for 12 members of the Indian Community,
The Chinese Community,
The Fingo Village Vigilance Committee,
Ben Mahlasela,
Grahamstown Child Welfare Society,
Bethlehem Home Board of Management,
St. Peters Home and The Good Shepherd School,
Grahamstown Tuberculosis Care Society,
South African National Tuberculosis
Association,

Roman Catholic Diocese of Port Elizabeth,
Grahamstown Methodist Church,
Anglican Diocese of Grahamstown.

Adv. Stewart for Kingswood College.

Mr. W.J. Olckers (Attorney) for White owners of property in
Currie Street.

Mr. M.W. Holland (M.P.) for Colored Advisory Board and the
Colored Community of Grahamstown.

Mr. R.H. Fischat (Member of Colored Advisory Board) for Colored
Community.

Mr. L.C. King for Union Congregational Church.

After the Chairman had opened the hearing with an address explaining the appointment, functions, terms of reference of the Committee and the procedure adopted, discussion of the proposed plan followed, beginning with the Colored zoning. Mr. Addleson on behalf of the Council stated that there was agreement on the areas K and B/K1 for Coloreds, but that the area B/K2 was the most contentious. (Vide Map) The Council's suggestion was that this area be white. Mr. Olckers suggested that the area B/K2 be made a buffer zone with certain modifications. Mr. Holland, appearing for the Coloreds, submitted that all three areas, K, B/K1, and B/K2, be declared for Coloreds. He pointed out that the Committee in considering the matter should remember that historically the lower end of Currie Street was included in the Hottentot Village. (According to a map dated 25th September, 1826, according to Mr. Holland) Mr. Holland urged the Committee to reach finality on the matter as the development of the Colored area is being obstructed: "Until group areas are declared, the Department of Housing cannot assist the local authority in the establishment of a housing scheme for Coloureds."

Mr. Mike Bossr (a member of the Colored Representative Board) pledged the Colored support of the Group Areas, and requested of the Committee that Group Areas be quickly proclaimed so that the Coloreds could develop. Mr. Fischat began his address with remarks about the destitution of the Coloreds: "I would like to blame the Council and people of Grahamstown for the bad conditions of Coloreds in Grahamstown. Very little has been done for them." On this Mr. Addleson objected to the Chair. The Chairman asked Mr. Fischat to contain himself to what is relevant. Mr. Fischat then stated that Colored teachers have money to buy property but are uncertain as to where they must purchase. Group Areas must be declared in Grahamstown.

Adv. Kannemeyr dealt specifically with the affected Bantu areas, especially the Pingo Village with some 6,000 people, some of whom are descendants of the original grantees (of freehold rights to the land). He stressed the financial difficulties of compensation and the cost of new housing schemes as well as the replacement of the affected institutions and amenities. With regard to area B/I set aside for Indians, Mr. Kannemeyr maintained that the Indian community in Grahamstown is too small

to be segregated - 161 souls, 27 families, owning properties municipally valued at R170,000. Consistent with the evidence led at the 1959 Hearing Mr. Kannemeyr stated that some Indians had been in Grahamstown since 1902 and 1907. Yet the official censuses depicted the population as having increased from 115 Asiatics in 1936 to 190 Asiatics in 1960: 75 in 25 years. Mr. Kannemeyr argued that the population is unlikely to increase for it was the tendency among young Indians to obtain a higher standard of education and then to move to other centres to seek employment, as Grahamstown lacked scope. Mr. Kannemeyr held that the area B/I was unsuitable for zoning for Indians as it would necessitate their being away from their places of business. The Indians own 5 laundries and 14 shops and cater mainly for European trade. Their White custom would not journey to area B/I to trade with them owing to its distance from the Central Business District.

Adv. Kannemeyr argued along similar lines for the Chinese community which numbered 5 families who own properties to the value of R41,830. None trade in the white area. They trade in the Colored area and in the Fingo Village. Of their 8 shops, 3 are situated in the B/I area. Although no area had been set aside for Chinese, they were against group areas being declared and their being placed in a precarious position in finding themselves as disqualified persons in a particular group area. Mr. Kannemeyr further pleaded that the services they render be taken into consideration and their merits respected.

Finally Mr. Kannemeyr referred to the written representations submitted by the various churches. Even though some of these Churches and Church institutions were situated in a European area, while they served the Colored Community, as for instance the Sole Memorial Church and the Bethlehem Home, it must be remembered that they were backed by historical traditions which could not be replaced in another area. Mr. Kannemeyr concluded his submission "that the finding of the Committee should be that no proclamation of group areas is necessary in Grahamstown." He referred to Section 5 of the Act which requires the Board to advise the Minister as to the desirability, or otherwise, of issuing any group areas proclamation.

The Bishop of the Anglican Church supported Adv. Kannemeyr's appearance on behalf of the church. He pointed out that the Church could not afford to finance new buildings elsewhere, mentioning specifically that the St. Phillips Sole Memorial Church is of historical significance and is a beautiful building which cannot be replaced for less than R40,000.

Adv. Addleson in his final appearance avoided repetition of what had been said by the previous speakers. He restricted himself not to sentiment, but to economic facts in presenting the case for the Council. As far as the Council was concerned the Board could recommend that zoning be applied to the Coloreds. The main dispute arises in connection with Bantu and European areas. The Council could not find one reason in favor

of the proposed zoning of B/I, part of the traditional Bantu area, for Europeans or Indians. Mr. Addleson made reference to evidence led at the 1959 Hearing and the report of that Committee that the status quo should remain.

He reminded the Committee that in January, 1963, the Council cooperated with the Department of Community Development regarding the proposal for the White and Colored groups. "... the Council decided to go ahead with proposed zoning of Coloureds and Europeans." But in the case of Indians and Chinese zoning was unsuitable. The Town Clerk then received a letter from the Department of Bantu Affairs, dated 30th July, 1964, concerning the Fingo Village. Financially this proposal cannot be afforded. Moreover, the Bantu themselves cannot afford to pay higher rent as in the new housing schemes - "they are paying much more than 20% of their income on rent. The Municipality is faced with transporting and settling down of 6,000 human beings. Unless there was an urgent reason, much less any reason at all, we cannot allow this situation to develop something to "tidy up" a plan or map."

The workers from the Fingo Village are a stable labor source; to disturb them would in turn affect labor in the City. To remove them to a region of Kings Flats would make them dependent upon municipal transport, which they cannot afford and neither the municipality which subsidises the Bus-service which runs at a loss. Above all the people of Grahamstown cannot afford to pay higher wages to their servants as they themselves are salaried employees. Mr. Addleson made mention also of factors like Bantu who own houses in the Fingo Village: "There will be compensation but will it compensate them for the loss of their homes." Finally Mr. Addleson argued that the burden of moving 6,000 people will fall on the Municipality, as it is doubted whether the Department of Bantu Administration and Development would take the responsibility.

Professor Hobart Houghton, professor of Economics at Rhodes University, and a member of the City Council, was called by Mr. Addleson to give evidence. Professor Hobart Houghton expressed his disagreement to Mr. Olckers' suggestion regarding Currie Street. Moreover, he held that owing to their small size, zoning of the Indians and Chinese would be unnecessary. And, "the rezoning of the Fingo Village would cause an economic disaster from which Grahamstown will take years to recover". ... "The proposals have not been motivated. No reasons for the zoning of the Fingo Village have been given. Nobody has asked for it and from financial, labour, urban planning, humanitarian and moral points of view" (speaking as a Councillor) he objected to it.

He had estimated that the provision of new houses for the 6,000 displaced Bantu from the Fingo Village would cost about R500,000, compensation for affected properties would amount to R480,000, other costs would be approximately R120,000. There is a large number of public buildings in the area, a list of which he handed in. The total cost of

the removal of the Fingo Village would therefore be about R1,000,000.

Professor Hobart Houghton referred further to the findings of the investigation into Wages and Economic Rent of Bantus conducted by Professor James Irving of the Department of Sociology of Rhodes University: more than 70% of the Bantu population of King's Flats spend more than 20% of their income on house rent and 15% spend more than half of their income on the payment of house rent. Twenty per cent is the maximum which is to be spent on house rents. The higher rentals paid lowered their living standards and resulted in an increase in malnutrition. So ironically, "the removal of Bantu from their shacks to the new housing scheme at King's Flats has caused hardship and poverty has increased." He went on to state that "Grahamstown really has a basic economic problem. The reasons are : few industries, few rateable properties, limited employment opportunities, and high cost of water and electricity." The Council was particularly anxious to attract industries to Grahamstown and negotiations were being conducted.

Professor W.A. Maxwell, professor of History at Rhodes University, stated that her report in the main agrees with the Evidence of Professor Hobart Houghton.

The Chairman closed the hearing in thanking the participants for their assistance and said that the Committee would do its best for the welfare of Grahamstown.

On the following day, Grocott's Daily Mail published a full statement on the transactions of the Hearing, headed, "Zoning proposals would have disastrous consequence", (dated 23rd October, 1964). The report accurately resembles the information contained in the Minutes, from which selections have been made above.

What emerged clearly in the 1964 Hearing is the swing of the Coloreds from previous antagonism towards the declaration of Group Areas to being in favor, as led by Mr. Holland, M.P., their representative from an outside area. To summarise, the interests involved in the 1964 meeting were as follows:

The Indian Community	financial	traditional
The Chinese Community	financial	
The Fingo Village Community	financial	traditional
The Child Welfare Society	financial	
The Methodist Church	financial	traditional
The Grahamstown T.D. Care Society	financial	
S.A.N.T.A.	financial	
Bethlehem Home	financial	traditional and staffing difficulties
St. Peters Home	financial	traditional and staffing difficulties
Good Shepherd School	financial	traditional and staffing difficulties
Kingswood College	financial	(expansion problems) and racial
Currie Street Residents	financial	traditional and racial

The Congregational Church	financial	traditional
The City Council	financial	traditional and humanitarian

The University is significantly absent as a represented institution; although it is financially the most important institution in the town. The University would in no immediate sense have been affected by the implementation of the Group Areas Act in the town. Its sole ground for objection to the Board's plan would have been humanitarian; its not being represented indicates the stress on financial and economic rather than humanitarian factors underlying this issue of Group Areas in Grahamstown. In 1957 when the University took the lead in the agitation the issue was for its leaders, at least, partly a humanitarian one. But prior to the 1959 Hearing the University lost control of the "movement" since the cause of objectors was taken over by the City Council or through independent legal representations to the quasi-judicial Group Areas Committee.

Apparently the 1964 Committee did not reach agreement on the proposed plan and subsequent objections, for the matter was once more taken up in 1965. On this occasion the disputatious area was the Fingo Village which became prominently featured in debate through the remaining months of 1965. On the 12th October, 1965, Grocott's Daily Mail reported that "the greater part of Grahamstown's Fingo Village has now been proposed as a Coloured area in terms of Section 20 of the Group Areas Act." This official notice was received by the City Council from the Department of Planning. The affected area embraced the Fingo Village except for a small portion on the City side of the Railway line; it also consisted of the existing buffer zone between Scott's Farm and the Bantu area, as well as the Scott's Farm area already planned for a Coloured township by the Grahamstown municipality. The report advised that interested parties must make representations in writing in this connection before the 22nd October. The Town Clerk's report dated 15th October, 1965 retraced the position taken by the Council regarding the Fingo Village:

"It will be recalled that on the 8th June, 1963, the Department of Community Development requested the City Council to submit proposals concerning the White and Coloured groups.

"The Council accordingly submitted proposals for the White and Coloured racial groups on the 26th October, 1963, as indicated on Plan H9 (d/d 24/6/63), and the plan was reaffirmed by the Council on the 30th September, 1964, i.e. after the department had put forward a plan marked A in which it proposed to set aside approx. one-half of the Fingo Village for the White group or alternatively, for the Indian group, while the other half of the Fingo Village and a large section of the proclaimed Bantu Location to the south of Raglan Road were proposed for the White group.

"As some 6,000 non-Whites would have been affected by these proposals, the City Council decided that it was resolutely opposed to any change in the present Bantu areas."

On 18th October, 1965, a special meeting of the City Council took place, the transactions of which were reported in the local paper the following day. The Department of Planning's recent proposal was found to be "wholly unacceptable". During the debate the present planned area for Northward Colored expansion was stressed as the most suitable.

Councillor Mrs. B. Rennie, the deputy Mayor, who was in the Chair, quoted engineering and expert advice regarding this. Councillor A.W. Poole drew attention to the Government undertaking given to the late Mr. Tom Bowker, M.P., for Albany, that the Fingo Village would not be taken from the Bantu. The Council's full rejection reasons of the proposal, to be sent to the Group Areas Board, were drafted by Councillors Hobart Houghton, R. Antonissen and Councillor A.W. Poole, who made acceptable amendments. The reasons are as follows: (Grocott's Mail, October 19, 1965)

"1. The City Council relies on the undertaking given in Parliament to the Member of Parliament, the late Mr. Tom Bowker, that the Fingo Village will not be taken from the Bantu.

"2. The proposed changes are quite unnecessary, and none of the racial groups in Grahamstown has requested it.

"3. The proposal to zone the Fingo Village and adjacent lands for Coloureds is quite unrealistic as the Coloured population does not warrant such an increase in area.

"4. Grahamstown has always experienced a large measure of racial zoning. Originally there were the three areas: the White town, the Hottentot Village and the Fingo Village, and the main racial areas have grown around these three. Each group has had access to the town centre without passing through the areas of another group as the demarcation has been radial from the centre.

"The present proposal will place the Coloured area between the Bantu area and the town.

"5. The displacement of the long-established Fingo Village by Coloureds is bound to inflame racial hatred between the two groups, and the fact that some 5,000 Bantu will have to pass through the Coloured area at least twice daily is likely to lead to serious trouble.

"6. The financial burden upon the Council and ratepayers of Grahamstown would be insupportable. In evidence before the Group Areas Board in October, 1964, this was estimated to be in the neighbourhood of R1,000,000, but more recent information received from East London leads to the belief that this figure was an under-estimate.

"7. The other objections stated by the City Council in 1964 at the meeting of the Group Areas Board in Grahamstown apply even more to the new proposal as to the earlier. There is little point in reiterating them as they are all on record. In conclusion, however, the City Council wishes to state its belief that whereas the basic purpose of the Group Areas Act is to remove causes of friction and tension between the different races, the present proposals for Grahamstown will have a strong contrary effect, and will tend to increase racial tension in the city, particularly between the Bantu and Coloureds.

"8. The City Council is at present engaged in providing additional housing for Coloureds on Scott's Farm, and should further extensions be warranted, very large additional areas are to be found to the North of the radial principle.

A letter from the Manager of Non-European Affairs, Mr. F. Freeman, quoting the decision of the Location Advisory Board, was also placed on record.

"This read:

"At a meeting of the Location Advisory Board held on the 15th inst., the question of Group Areas was discussed when the Board unanimously RESOLVED:

"We the representatives of the people in the Municipal Location have learned with dismay of the proposals of the Group Areas Board, to zone the greater portion of the Fingo Village as an additional group area for ownership and occupation by members of the Coloured group.

"We protest most emphatically against the proposal as it will mean the uprooting of thousands of our people and bring distress and misery to many.

"Furthermore, one must not lose sight of the fact that this area was given to the Fingos by the late Queen Victoria, and the inhabitants hold title to their properties and have invested their life savings in building and improving their homes:"

"Will you please advise the Group Areas Board of the Location Advisory Board's objection to zone the greater portion of the Fingo Village as an additional group area for ownership and occupation by members of the Coloured group."

Mr. Freeman stated that a similar resolution had been passed by the Fingo vigilance committee.

At the same council meeting Cr. Harvey said that the Department of Planning in implementing the Government's racial segregation policy, would find their job eased if they could view the expert advice of people on the spot. "Municipalities had a better detailed picture of their various communities than the nation-wide picture of the Department of Planning."

Representations against the Fingo Village proposal as a colored area were submitted to the Department of Planning before October 22nd.

Ten days later it was reported (Grocott's Mail, October 29, 1955) that the City Council had decided unanimously to contact the Department of Planning in Port Elizabeth concerning the costs of the possible moving of the Fingo Village. Councillor C.J. Oosthuysen had proposed the motion and it had been seconded by Councillor D. Hobart Houghton.

Cr. Oosthuysen made reference to the Council's previous meeting and the statement by Cr. Hobart Houghton to the effect "that local ratepayers would have to bear the heavy burdon of expenditure concerning the removal of the Fingo Village." Cr. Oosthuysen was definitely of the opinion that local ratepayers would have no costs whatsoever to bear. Cr. Oosthuysen suggested that this matter be officially clarified by the Department of Planning. Cr. Hobart Houghton agreed and added that the estimated figures for the removal of the Fingo Village given in open session before the Group Areas Board previously had not been challenged. He stated that the approximate figure had been based on a report from the East London's City Council concerning their approximate 3½ million rand paid in compensation over west bank location. The report had been submitted to the Council by the Manager of Non-European Affairs, Mr. F.A. Freeman. Cr. Hobart Houghton further added that he felt his figure to be an under-estimate.

The Mayor, Cr. G.J. Krige, reminded Council that its approach to the Department of Planning over costs did not alter Council's prior decision not to approve the zoning plan.

On November 9th, 1965, Grocott's Mail reported that the following letter had been received by the Town Clerk, from the Regional Representative of the Department of Planning, Port Elizabeth:

- "1. Your letter No. G.6/1/1297 dated 29th October, 1965, refers.
- "2. I have to inform you that the payment of compensation in respect of affected properties does not place a financial burden upon a local authority of ratepayers. The Community Development Act, 1955, provides for the payment of such compensation by the state.
- "3. When an area is proclaimed in terms of the Group Areas Act and the provisions of the Community Development Act, 1955 (Act No. 69 of 1955, as amended) are made applicable, properties owned by members of the

non-conforming groups ("disqualified persons") become "affected properties." These properties are then dealt with in terms of the provisions of sections 15 - 20 of the latter Act.

"4. I am not aware of any financial burden, apart from the usual expenditure incurred in township development, which will fall upon property owners and the municipality should the Fingo village or any portion thereof be proclaimed an area for the Coloured group. As you are no doubt aware loans for the establishment of housing schemes and the building of individual homes are also obtainable from the state.

"5. It is suggested that you approach the Regional Representative, Department of Community Development, Private Bag 6024, Port Elizabeth, should you require any further information on the application of the Community Development Act or in connection with the terms and conditions pertaining to the granting of housing loans."

With regard to the Coloreds the City Council had proposed that Scott's Farm be established as a Colored sub-economic housing scheme and that the Buffer Zone be removed from Scott's farm to "Q" Street in the Bantu residential area. The latter detail of the proposed scheme would involve the vacating of properties from "N" to "Q" Streets.

Objections to this proposal were received. The Location Advisory Board requested the Council to rescind. Its resolution to use "Scott's Farm" as a Colored Housing Site failing the retraction of the proposal they asked for the postponement of the scheme until the Department of Planning had declared group areas for all races in Grahamstown.

A petition was submitted by Mr. P. Ngxiki and signed by 108 petitioners.

"The inhabitants of M, O, P, and Q Streets in the lists herewith enclosed, object to that area being proclaimed a buffer zone because of the Council's decision to build on Scott's Farm for Coloreds."

Further objections were raised and forwarded by the Chief's Council. A letter was also received from the Honorary Secretary, Chief Vukile - Freddie Fobe, confirming the above requests.

On November 26, 1965, it was reported that Council had decided to hold in abeyance the establishment of a colored housing scheme on Scott's Farm, pending further information from the Department of Planning regarding the proclamation of Group Areas in Grahamstown.

The enigmatic group area proposals concerning the Fingo Village came into full prominence as the issue proceeded towards the next stage, namely, yet another group areas board committee meeting.

As a precursor, illuminating the Fingo Village problem, Professor W.A. Maxwell, in a letter to the Editor of Grocott's Mail, wrote a précis of the history of the Fingo Village:

"FINGO VILLIAGE HISTORY

"There seems to be some local doubt both about Fingo history and the Fingo village, together with the tradition that the land was granted by Queen Victoria in return for conspicuous gallantry in defence of the Cape's Eastern frontier. If the tradition were to conjure up a vision of a Royal visit and personal donation, it would be clearly wrong. But this image is not part of the tradition.

/ "During.....

"During the governorship of Sir Harry Smith the first attempts at planned village locations were made, together with schemes for prizes for the best kept gardens. The municipal commissioners of Graham's Town hit on the surviving pattern of racial development, European, Hottentot, Fingo. But the land they proposed to use was Crown land and it was Sir George Grey who secured the necessary grant. He was Governor and High Commissioner for Queen Victoria, and his appointment by Letters Patent made him, in simple language, like a proxy for the Queen. It was understandable that the grant of land and title in the village should have been construed at the time as a Royal grant of land, and very probably Mr. George Cyrus said as much. The naming of Victoria Road, Albert Road, as well as Grey Street, is further reminder of the association of ideas on which tradition was built. The Fingoes lived under colonial law; property in this freehold location passed and passes by European law of inheritance and testamentary disposition. It was the intention of those who fostered this village to give the

"The Fingo people were remnants of Natal tribes, who had been settled under European direction in the Eastern Cape. They were displaced refugees in an alien environment, but much encouraged because of their industry. In two frontier wars, that of 1846 and 1850 Fingo levies were among the first troops raised for the defence of the Eastern Cape. They covered the defences of Graham's Town. They served as scouts and they fought in engagement after engagement from the Amatolas to the coast. That they were skilled and intrepid fighters is proven by official dispatches and by casualty lists. There is abundant evidence of this. If then land had been granted as reward for meritorious military service, it would have been just recompense, for the Eastern Districts of the Colony were and therefore are indebted to them.

"Thus one may take the situation apart and establish that the Municipal Commissioners secured the Fingo grant as one of the early and interesting examples of socio-economic planning. Graham's Town began to develop as an aggregate of three interdependant villages. Even when the situation is anatomised, the grant of land in freehold was intended to be legally inviolate and socially constructive - hence the grants also made for schools and churches. But equally one may put the situation together in its totality, and understand how the cherished tradition grew up, bolstered by the indisputable war record of the Fingo people, and the then existing sense of gratitude in Graham's Town and elsewhere.

"In conclusion it may be pointed out that the grounds on which opposition to any re-zoning of the Fingo village were made, were reasoned and well supported by evidence, submitted in writing to the relevant commission. When the lives and well-being of people are at stake, as they may be if the Fingo village were to be broken up, after generations of security, it is more not less necessary, that what is true should be presented with understanding.

"There is the strongest possible case for the retention and rehabilitation of the Fingo village on grounds of justice, history, tradition, commonsense and social planning. The village has claim to be recognised as a national monument whose dilapidation should be halted by public effort. For those who took title deeds in the 1850's were those who mounted guards on the hills around, when the Municipal Commissioners were too poor to provide the great-coats for which the Fingo Volunteers applied."

On Thursday 2nd December, 1965, in the City Hall, a Group Areas Hearing was held, with Mr. M.C. Barker, vice-Chairman of the Group Areas Board (Pretoria), constituting a one-man committee to conduct an inquiry into the proposed zoning of the Fingo Village for future development of the Colored people. (This event was heralded in by the Eastern Province Herald the following day.)

At the hearing Mr. J.P.A. du Preez, an official of the Department of Planning, was Secretary to Mr. Barker. On calling representations,

the following appearances were made:

"Mr. Norman Addleson S.C., represented the Grahamstown City Council and Mr. Theal Stewart the Indian and Chinese communities, the Fingo Vigilance Committee, the Grahamstown Child Welfare Society, the T.B. Care Society and the churches owning properties in the Fingo location."

Private representatives were made for the Colored Community and the Location Advisory Board as well. Other observers at the meeting were:

"the Mayor and Deputy Mayor Mr. G.J. Krige and Mrs. B.E. Rennie and councillors D. Hobart Houghton, George Hoare and Martin Scheepers; The Town Clerk, Mr. S.M. Louw, the City Treasurer, Mr. A.D. Lofting and the Manager of the non-European Affairs Department, Mr. F.A. Freeman; Professor J.L. Rennie, Professor W.A. Maxwell, the Dean of Grahamstown, Mrs. M.D. McKerron, the Rev. A.J. Western, Father W.J. O'Dea, the Roman Catholic Parish Priest and representatives of communities."

The hearing commenced with Adv. Addleson (City Council) who stressed generally that the Council's opposition to the Board's proposed zoning was mainly on economic and municipal grounds. The zoning was inapposite to Grahamstown because the city was not an industrial centre as the Group Areas Act entailed. In this he made reference to the Council's reasons given at the last hearing, such as the evidence of Professor D. Hobart Houghton regarding the financial estimate for the displacement and replacement of the Fingo village.

In detail the City Council's submissions were as follows:

"A. - Introductory:

"1. For the reasons which follow, the Council has no option but to oppose the proposed zoning of portion of the Fingo village for the Coloured Group, although it is anxious to co-operate with the Board.

"2. This opposition is based solely on economic and municipal grounds and has no other motive.

"3. These submissions do not include opposition based on historical or humanitarian grounds. Those grounds are powerful enough, but will be covered by other objectors. Reference is made to the Council's minute contained in the letter of 19th October, 1965, to the Regional Representative of the Department of Planning.

"3. Grahamstown is not a prosperous industrial town and no startling development is envisaged. The economic position is such that it will cause very severe hardship to the non-Europeans and will impose an intolerable burden on the European community and the municipality.

"C. - The following facts were fully established without any contradiction, at the hearing before the Committee on 22nd October, 1964. The position has not changed at all since then:

"1. Zoning for present Coloured occupation and for expansion for the future, was fully accepted in principle.

"2. Adequate provision was made for this zoning.

"3. The interference with the Fingo village (which was then to be for Europeans or Indians) apparently arose out of a letter from the Bantu Affairs Department dated 30th July, 1964. There was and is no motivation for such re-zoning from a Group Areas point of view.

"4. The vast majority of non-Europeans in Grahamstown live on the bread-line or worse and cannot afford one cent's increase in their cost of living.

"5. The Council cannot make ends meet and cannot hope to afford the enormous expenditure which this move would involve.

"6. The existing situation is a satisfactory one and is the most convenient and economical, dividing the town into the three main racial groups.

"D. - Amplification of the above:

"1. Economic effect on the Bantu involved.

"(a) The Bantu in the Fingo location do not pay rent. Their rates average about R15 per annum. If they were moved to a new housing scheme

this would require them to pay a minimum rental of R40 per annum. Many are already suffering from malnutrition and a relief organisation (GADRA) has had to be formed to succour them. The additional rent would be an unsupportable burden.

"(b) Families share houses in the Fingo village. In a new housing scheme, these families would each have to pay rent for individual families. They have not got the income to do so.

"(c) From the Fingo village many of these Bantu can walk to work because they simply cannot afford to pay bus fare. If they were moved they would have to use transport and they have not got the money to pay for it.

"(d) Even if the objective basis of compensation payable to these Bantu is fair, the actual loss of a roof over their heads, calculated on the intrinsic value of such a house, will mean a severe financial loss. The houses represent years of savings and financial investment which can never be compensated on an objective basis.

"2. The economic effect on other Bantu involved.

"The zoning of the Fingo village as a Coloured area will involve the removal of other surrounding Bantu in order to create a buffer zone. Quite apart from the burden placed on the municipality (see below) this removal places a further strain on these additional Bantu in regard to cost of transport, etc.

"3. The implications for the Coloured Group:

"(a) In theory, the Coloured Group may support this re-zoning because the situation is more convenient for them. It is doubtful however whether they are unanimous even on this point.

"(b) In fact, however, it is extremely doubtful whether more than a handful of the Coloured Group could afford to buy houses in the Fingo village. Present statistics show that only about 50 Coloureds can afford to pay an economic rental but there is no evidence that even these could afford to buy or be granted loans by building societies.

"(c) The re-zoning of the Fingo village will vacate 299 erven owned by Bantu. Who could or would fill them in the foreseeable future?

"(d) The Coloured Group in Grahamstown is mainly a very poor one and cannot afford grandiose schemes of home ownership. It is not possible to envisage any form of employment which would be open to the 2,000 or more Coloureds who would fill the Fingo village. As it is, there is a considerable proportion of unemployed.

"(a) If the municipality has to house the displaced Bantu, it can only do so on an economic loan basis. This cannot be done in Grahamstown (see below).

"(b) The proposal goes far beyond the Fingo village. If it is rezoned the Department of Bantu Affairs will require a buffer area of a minimum of 300 yards surrounding the area. This will displace many more Bantu, who will have to be rehoused. The whole of the municipal location south of the village and a large part of it north of the village will have to go. The Bantu own substantial improvements in this area for which the municipality will have to compensate them. And the municipality itself still owes R6,000 on this location.

"(c) The implications involve the rehousing of about 6,000 people.

"The cost of moving them alone (based on recent costs in East London) is about R16 per family, which the municipality will have to bear.

"The removal of these people will require the provision of extra transport. The municipal bus service now runs at a loss of R5,000 per year. That loss will be more than doubled. The people themselves cannot pay more bus fares.

"If further housing has to be provided, the municipality will find difficulty in finding a site for a further 6,000.

"The poverty of the Bantu already places a heavy burden on the municipality which has to finance this deficit out of the general rate fund. This fund is comprised 95 per cent. of European rates and taxes and for this year amounted to R162,000 only. Out of that small amount, the following was the cost of the loss on Bantu amenities and services:

/Deficit.....

"Deficit on Bantu Revenue Fund.....	R15,697
Deficit on Fingo village	4,897
Loss on bus service.....	5,565
Loss on clinic	350
Sundry losses	1,000
	<hr/>
Total cost for this year	+ R27,000

"In addition, the water fund subsidised the Bantu supply to the extent of R12,950 for this year.

"From these figures it will be seen that an already-heavily burdened municipality simply cannot afford the additional expenditure involved.

"5. Further implications to municipal finances:

"(a) Unless the department takes over the buildings, the municipality will have to provide the following municipal building for wherever these Bantu are moved.

"These buildings are at present in the Fingo village.

	Municipal Valuation
"Beer hall, canteen and liquor store	R 7,484
Administrative offices, post office and workshop...	3,354
Location hall	5,008
Soup kitchen	848
Health clinic	6,202
	<hr/>
Total	+ R23,000

"The cost of replacement would be roughly R50,000.

"(b) New schools would have to be built. The lowest tender for a school for the present population for the new Joza location is R27,475. Its capacity would have to be doubled if another 5,000 were moved, or another school would have to be built. The municipality has R12,000 available for a school.

"(c) There are four churches catering for Bantu in the Fingo village. Their value is R20,830 based on municipal valuation. The creche is valued at R15,000.

"(d) The following buildings in "Z" Street would also have to be replaced following on re-zoning of a buffer zone.

	Valuation R
"Bantu Church of Christ	8,150
Bantu Presbyterian Church	3,000
Old Apostolic Church	6,345
Apostolic Faith Mission	2,985
Wesleyan Church	1,485
Full Gospel Church	885
Ethiopian Church (incomplete)	100
Bantu School buildings	7,800
Church of the Province School	1,785
African Congregational School	375
Bantu Independent School	375
Bantu Junior School	2,070
	<hr/>
Total	R35,355

"Therefore the total minimum value of buildings which would have to be replaced by this re-zoning is not less than R150,000, for which the municipality could not obtain loans.

"At the moment the municipality has to cut expenditure drastically to balance its budget.

"6. Social implications:

"(a) The replacement of Bantu by Coloured would cause deep bitterness and hatred. This would be worsened by the fact that many inhabitants have religious attachments to their erven by reason of certain tribal customs. The uneasy peace between Bantu and Coloured would not stand the strain. Under present conditions no trouble has occurred.

/"(b).....

"(b) The re-zoning would bring the Bantu daily through a Coloured area, to and from work. The implications are obvious. Many are forced to walk to work as it is.

"(c) The stable and reliable labourers found in the Fingo village would be broken up and impoverished. The employees would therefore suffer severely.

"(d) Malnutrition, already a serious problem, would increase as experience has shown it to do in the past, when "slum clearance" takes place.

"(e) The Coloureds have already their own churches and schools and can make no use of those which would have to be abandoned. They already have a fine modern school in their own area.

"(f) The effect of this scheme would be to give the Coloureds a wasted, unused area at enormous cost to the municipality, instead of developing new Coloured areas as and when they are needed and if they are ever needed.

"7. The need for re-zoning:

"There is no need whatsoever.

"(a) For any future development there is ample suitable land to the north of the present Coloured area (K and K1). It is suitable for building and European houses are being built nearby on identical geological strata.

"(b) Scott's Farm has already been set aside for additional logical development of the Coloured area and the necessary buffer areas have been created around it.

"(c) There is no need for accommodation for some 2,000 more Coloureds in any event. There is no work for them and there is unlikely to be any.

"(d) There is an undesirable tendency for unemployed Coloureds to drift into Grahamstown from outlying areas. This should not be encouraged and the town cannot afford to become a residential suburb for workers in Port Elizabeth and elsewhere.

"(e) It has already been shown that there is effective zoning in Grahamstown.

SUMMARY

"1 - The municipality tenders to lead evidence on any of the facts which are set out above, if the committee desires it.

"2 - The municipality earnestly and humbly request the Board not to recommend the proposed zoning of the Fingo village and asks the Board to find that there is no need whatsoever for such zoning but that, on the contrary, it would impose intolerable hardship on the Bantu, the Europeans and the municipality and cause unnecessary racial friction." (Grocott's Mail, December 3 and 7, 1965)

Advocate T. Stewart submitted the following memorandum to the Board on behalf of the Fingo village Vigilance Committee:

"The basis of our strong objection to the recent proposals of the Planning Committee emanates from varied and very significant sources viz:

A - HISTORICAL BASIS

"We have it handed down from father to son in the Fingo village that this part of Grahamstown was specially set aside for permanent occupation on freehold by descendants of those Fingoes whose forebears were an important wing of the military defenders of the early frontiers of the Eastern Cape, in particular the Settler town of Grahamstown. The legal arrangements and governmental assurances from time to time for the preservation of the permanence of individual freehold tenure of erven in this area we will not enter into as part of the statement. We can only point out to your committee however that we hold title deeds to freehold allotments here, these, until recently, under European law and custom.

"Tradition has it again that the early western boundary between the town of Grahamstown and the Fingo Village was the first stream lower down and that area between the first stream and the second was no man's land or buffer area. Recently an old man born and bred in Grahamstown here related the following story to one of us. In the olden days drink was indulged in freely near Market Square. One day a faction fight took place. The police came along to arrest the African combatants. Both sides fled across the spruit only to continue the fight in Orsmond Terrace on the Fingo Village side of the stream. There the police would not interfere. A headman system of administration was in vogue and it was the

business of the headman to quell this fight.

"In time, however, the boundary was shifted from the spruit to some insignificant arbitrary line called Orsmond Street which to the early African was completely meaningless and altogether quite insignificant. He continued to recognise the spruit below the Fingo Village as the boundary. The area above the village was to the inhabitants their natural grazing land. So they believed.

"The encroachment from the town side as far as Orsmond Street and the extension of the municipal location into the grazing area were two very significant moves which made the residents of Fingo Village suspicious of European ways and led to a great deal of agitation between the village residents and the local authority.

"Then recently the Group Areas Board started making its own proposals about the area. First it was proposed to zone the area below the railway line as an industrial area, then a buffer area with sports as bus depot, petrol dumps, etc.

"Then quite recently the whole area covered by the village and municipal location was proposed for European and Indian occupation.

"In every case we have lodged very strong objection. Today the area of the Fingo Location above the railway line is proposed for Coloured occupation. This is additional area to be set aside for their future occupation. We are not aware of any present Coloured congestion in the Hottentot Village and Coloured location which demands immediate relief. And even if there were, we feel the Coloured area could be extended northwards and away from the Bantu area. What had been a clearly separated area for the Coloureds will, according to the present proposals of the Planning Committee, now stretch out and become sandwiched between the remaining part of Fingo Village below the railway line and the municipal locations to the East and North. This cannot breed healthy race relations between Coloured and Bantu.

"We object to these proposals on historical grounds therefore and on the grounds of healthy race relations, of good neighbourliness, and human justice. To us this would be a perfect case of robbing Paul to pay Peter.

THE BASIS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

"The right to own a house of your own, something you can call your very own as of right, is basic and fundamental. Nothing can substitute for that when it comes to healthy pride and family stability. Ownership of home, we value no less than life itself. We ask that nothing should be done which will deprive us of this fundamental right.

SECURITY

"And following upon this right of home ownership is the question of security. The feeling that one lives in ones own castle where one can retire at leisure at the end of the day without interference, satisfied that nothing and nobody can just come in to make unreasonable demands.

"This security under freehold ownership is sacred and satisfying. We would not voluntarily exchange it for anything else.

FINANCIAL LOSS

"We feel quite convinced that to be uprooted from our present holdings will be a financial loss, and to re-establish ourselves elsewhere a real hardship. Even if the Government were to propose to compensate us the compensation price could never equal the value we attach to our private home. It is all a question of sentiment, sentiment which has been built over the years in small ways and big ways. A tree planted there and nurtured tenderly in the course of the years of a life time.

"And money too has depreciated considerably over the years. What it was in the 19 tens is not what it is in the 19 sixties.

LOSS OF FREEHOLD RIGHTS

"The threatened loss of freehold rights vitiates the whole question of our mass removal from the Fingo Village and our present holdings. We hear nothing of our possible re-establishment elsewhere on the present basis. Once we are uprooted from Fingo Village we will lose the right to freehold. We will be permanent tenants to the municipality, paying rents not rates, and thereby ceasing to be citizens of our city. We value this right of citizenship.

CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS

"There are other things we stand to suffer and to lose by this removal. We built a secondary school in Grahamstown here, this from funds collected from door-to-door. We have a special pride in this achievement. We would not like to see this school, and even others for that matter, flattened down to clear the ground as the Coloureds are being established in Pingo Village. We would not even like to have to be crossing through the Coloured area to get our children to schools.

"We have built churches, places of worship; some of them dignified and imposing. These are sacred places and sanctuaries to us in times of stress and sorrow. Some are hardly finished and complete to design. If broken down or used for other purposes it will be most distressing to us to see such desecration.

"These proposals by the Planning Committee are bound to have a most disturbing effect upon the whole Bantu community of Grahamstown. We urge most earnestly that nothing be done to implement proposals which to us are quite unnecessary and likely instead to cause resentment and ill-will where formally there was contentment and racial harmony."
(Grocott's Mail, December 10, 1965)

Professor Winifred A. Maxwell's memorandum was also presented to the Group Areas Board via Adv. T. Stewart. Professor Maxwell's Pingo Village memorandum was as follows:

"THE DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING in taking over the work of the Group Areas Board, is guided by laws already passed; also by ministerial statements in the House of Assembly, and also by the broad rules of town planning generally regarded as valid by sociologists. These take into account the traditional local bonds of society, and in a realistic way, the economic and social facts of the whole area to be planned, or, in South Africa, zoned.

"Rules applicable to a well developed industrial area are not considered suitable for a small city where the economic pattern is characterised by a low wage structure and a high incidence of casual labour and unemployment. There are at present no major industries and there is no immediate prospect of economic development such as would offset a sharp increase in municipal expenditure, or an increase in local transport costs.

"Since a very high percentage of property in Grahamstown is de-rated, the civic income is small in relation to the total urban area. Grahamstown depends mainly on its position as a centre for education, for the legal profession and as a potential Tourist centre because of its associations with the 1820 Settler Tradition. It has hitherto been known as a quiet and humane place in which to live. This explains the characteristic and traditional expansion of European Housing in the western and southern areas of the City, the Coloured areas to the North and the Bantu to the East. This tripartite development is older than the status of the City of Grahamstown itself and is a natural development along established lines.

"The central feature of the plans now proposed for inspection, is the break up of the Pingo Village, or, to use the term used by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, PINGO TOWN.* Against this proposal there are important objections which must necessarily be raised.

"A. HISTORICAL AND SENTIMENTAL.

"It is well-known that ten years after the Municipal Commissioners were first elected for Grahamstown in 1837, the future city comprised three villages: (1) European; (2) Hottentot; (3) Pingo. Land for the Pingo Village was duly surveyed in substantial erven, and title deeds issued. Succession was and is in European Law of inheritance and testamentary disposition. (See Spruit, on Map). The erven were of a size sufficient for a garden.

"There is a strong tradition, which remains non-proven, that the grant of land was made in gratitude for military services in the wars of 1846 and 1850. There is documentary proof that the Pingo people had

a distinguished military record in both wars. In 1846-7 the municipal treasury was so bankrupt that it could not provide great coats for the Fingoes who mounted guard on the hill posts in mid-winter. The Fingo people served wherever war raged in the Eastern Districts of the Cape, usually under local Volunteers like L. Meurant and in association with Commandos and Red Coats. The Blue Books, which include reports made by professional and usually hard-bitten soldiers, leave no doubt as to the indebtedness of the whole frontier zone to the Fingo forces. In 1851, out of 509 mustered for the defence of Grahamstown, 303 were "Fingoes".

"It has been likewise and separately established that title deeds were issued in the 1850's, during the governorship of Sir George Grey. There are two further significant pointers both to the age of the settlement, and to a measure of regard once shown for it. They are:

- "1. Old Maps in the Government Surveyor's Office, Cape Town, prove that the original boundary ran to the spruit which shows on the old plans of the City. Thus both the railway and the modern main road cut through a pre-existing community, legally residing there.
- "2. Old maps of the City show that the streets at present known by letters of the alphabet, were either called after prominent Settlers, like Godlonton, Powell, Wood, Shaw, or after Crimean War figures, Cathcart, Raglan, Queen Victoria, and Albert. With skilled planning, a little help and some imagination, Fingo Town could become a model; in its way it is a memorial of Settler times.

"B. SOCIO-ECONOMIC.

"A sense of security makes for a sense of community, and vice versa. Despite poverty (for which there is as much evidence in the new locations as in the Fingo Village) it was this evidence of community which led the Minister in 1956 to state in the House of Assembly that its racial nature would be left unchanged.* It was stated at the last hearing by the Managing Director of the Grahamstown Potteries that labour recruited from the Fingo Village was the most satisfactory and showed the lowest rate of absenteeism.

"It was on the City side of the railway line that the more substantial African properties were to be found; homes of teachers and nurses who have had municipal lighting provided. In this area, in addition, there are:

- "1. A bus stand. (Victoria Road).
- "2. The Tuberculosis Hospital and Extension. This is ideally placed for European supervision. It has done much in serving the Bantu, to reduce the incidence of T.B. from which no racial group is immune.
- "3. Armstrong Square. It is used for sports and play by St. Philip's School.
- "4. Homes for African Aged, founded by the Municipality when a loan was available at the normal rate of half per cent.
- "5. Off Turpin Street are erven bequeathed to the Church of the Province for service among the Bantu.

"Rumours in the last few months have led to a sharp fall in property prices in this village; property holders in the Fingo Village have begun to lose heart.

* Hansard, 1963. No. 14 Co. 5113.

* Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Hansard, 1963, No. 14.

"In the main part of the village there live roughly 6,000 people, mainly Bantu. Owners of erven have put their life savings into purchasing the security of a house and garden of their own, with security for their children, and near to the cemetery where their dead are buried. The average selling price of a stand in village was R1,000, and it required little imagination to see the effort which has gone into the purchase when one takes into account the local wage structure and the competition to acquire a home there. There is nothing which could compensate for either the investment or the security to which municipal valuation is no index. Schools, churches, clinic, Kupugani, child welfare, creche library, the few amenities at present provided would all suffer, and a City whose local charities are strained to breaking point could never make the loss good.

"It would be a very terrible thing indeed to break up the village which is in any case between two other locations. Nowhere else would the holders or erven be given freehold: nowhere else would the inhabitants be in walking distance of their work: nowhere else would there be the access to the cemetery ("a partnership between the living and the dead"). For the Fingo Village erven holders, the present proposals offer unmitigated disaster. To move any other group into the Fingo Village would not only look like an act of planned disinheritance, it would serve no good end for any of the racial groups involved with the cemetery and compost works in measurable proximity!

"While it is true that many properties are ramshackle, it is also true that many other are not ramshackle. Often what prohibits timely repairs is the initial cost of paint and roofing, etc., for which the erven-holders, despite the low wage structure, must compete in the ordinary retail market. The basic point at issue is not the quality of the dwellings, but the existence of homes and the amenities of Fingo Town. Even if R1,000 were to be paid for compensation, the evicted would be very much worse off in every way.

"(a) R1,000 placed in the Post Office, would bring annual interest at 3 per cent. or R30 per annum. Even if invested with more skill in a building society, the return would not be higher than R60. At present there is no family house however small whose rent that would cover,

"(b) Even if one imagines such houses, too small in practice to be a family centre for the aged as well as the wage earners, they would be far removed from the City and the institutions, in which most of those who have steady jobs do work. It is traditional amongst the Bantu that the family cares for the aged, and it is the aged who care for the young children whilst their parents are at work. Increased transport costs will increase the burden on the ratepayers and the workers concerned.

"(c) The avowed object of planning is human advancement. To break up the Fingo Town in the present socio-economic structure of Grahamstown would be harmful; its psychological repercussions are impossible to calculate in advance.

"But above all it would present the City with the problem of re-housing some 6,000 Bantu, moving them beyond the fringe of new settlements whose minimum rents have already led in many cases to an increase of under-nourishment, illness and poverty. To insert a Coloured group between the other established Bantu locations would upset the existing radial pattern and would run counter to the established principles of Government planning. This would hit back on each and all of the racial groups; and it is impossible to see that any good could come of it, least of all to any sector of the population domiciled in Grahamstown. Far better to improve what is, than add to misery, poverty and social dislocation and frustration. Only if large industrial under-takings were placed to the E, and E.E.E. of Grahamstown would there be a case for shifting TANTJIE location. If Tanttjie location as in the plan, is left, and likewise the Hottentot Village marked K. on the present proposals, the entire Fingo Village should in any case remain as it has always been, a characteristic and historic zone of racial settlement, recognised as such.

"A mere fraction of the sum involved in such a monstrous transfer of people and property rights as is proposed in the provisional suggestions could both rehabilitate the existing village, and be assigned to other housing schemes. The present proposals would have a detrimental effect upon the city as a whole with a consequent increase of rates if any honest attempt were made to provide equivalent amenities in a new area of settlement. Only the actual title holders would receive compensation. It has been established in 1957 that the Coloureds who had been displaced and compensated suffered in most cases a sharp decline in their standard of living.

"What is needed, and can be done with the anticipated forbearance and exercise of discretion of the DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING is to encourage the articulation of the City growth along lines clearly discernible in its history and present economy." (Crocott's Mail, December 14, 17, 1965.)

Following Adv. Stewart's appearance and the submission of the memoranda, private representations were made. The first Colored representative made reference to the written objections submitted and emphasized that the area Northwards of the present Colored locality, which the Council has proposed for future development and expansion, is unsuitable for building houses for it is too stony. The Chairman asked for information about this point; the Council representative replied that the area has not more stony ground than other European areas at the same radius and, moreover, this would not unduly hamper building operations.

Mr. R.H. Fischat (Colored representative) emotionally and vehemently reinforced the Coloreds' acceptance of the proposed zoning of the Fingo Village for Coloreds. He blamed the City Council and Whites for the backwardness of the Coloreds.

Thereupon Adv. Addleson (City Council) objected through the chair. The Chairman took cognizance of the objection.

Mr. B.P. Zondani, a representative of Chief Vukile Freddie Fobe, raised the question about Fingo freehold land rights. He pointed out that while the Fingo wish to adhere to Government policy of separate development, they were unwilling to relinquish their freehold rights.

Mr. Peter Ngciki, representing the Location Advisory Board presented a protest against the Fingo zoning, reiterating the traditional and historical aspects and the housing and land problems.

After a few further minor facts were gathered, the Chairman thanked the assembly for its help in conducting the proceedings. The information collected would be taken to Pretoria, the matter now resting with the Board and the Minister. Adv. Addleson thanked the Committee for the courtesy with which the hearing was carried out.

The hearing closed with an invitation to all interested parties to accompany the Chairman on an inspection tour of the localities concerned.

CHAPTER SEVENEDUCATION

Grahamstown has a university, a teachers' training college, three English-medium high schools for girls, four for boys, one co-educational Afrikaans medium high school and several primary schools for the European population. One primary school is co-educational and dual-medium. Of the English schools, five are private schools. All the high schools have hostels for boarders and have primary schools attached to them.

Brief historical sketch of some of the schoolsVictoria Girls' High School

The school was established in the 1890's, the exact date being unknown. It began as a very small school in the home of Miss Mingay. Soon the school was so large that it was decided to move it to the Oddfellows Hall, and by this time Miss Glennie had joined the teaching staff. When the school was invited by the educational authorities to amalgamate with the Victoria Boys' High School the joint school was housed where Graeme College now is.

Miss Glennie trained pupil teachers in the original school until the Teachers' Training College opened in 1894, when she became a lecturer at the new College. During the first three decades of the 20th century the school grew rapidly and during the 1920's it was decided to split into two schools, one for boys and one for girls. Subsequently two other divisions took place resulting in the establishment of the Oatlands Preparatory School and the Victoria Girls' Junior School. These schools are all still in existence.

Graeme College

Graeme was originally the Victoria Boys' High School referred to above. When in the 1920's the then joint co-educational school was divided the name of the boys' school was changed to Graeme College. The school had been regarded as the "poor school" by many people, probably because of the presence of private schools such as Kingswood College and St. Andrew's College, and it was thought that a change of name would remove this stigma. The name "Graeme" was chosen in honour of Colonel Graham after whom Grahamstown is named. The school authorities

traced the history of Graham's family and discovered that the original spelling of his name was "Graeme" and accordingly they used this original spelling in the name of the school.

Today both the Victoria Girls' High School and Graeme College are overcrowded. Graeme College has an average of 350 boys in the high school, and the growth of the school is approximately 100 pupils in five years. Plans are afoot for a new school for Graeme College and 600 pupils will be catered for. The Victoria Girls' High School is anxiously awaiting the completion of this school as the girls will then be able to expand into the premises at present occupied by the boys and thus solve their accommodation problem.

Both are boarding schools with government and private hostels. The Private Hostels, accommodating between 28 and 35 scholars, accept children from everywhere. The Government hostel is for 120 boys and they are mostly from the serving area including Port Alfred where the school goes up to Standard VIII only. There are 20 boys from Port Elizabeth on the waiting list and 32 at the school already.

Hoërskool P.J. Olivier

The history of this new school is discussed under the section on the growth of the Afrikaans community. Entwined as it is with church affairs and with the cultural life of a minority group it is fitting to see it in its total cultural setting rather than to extract it from its context.

The private schools are completely independent of the government and all are attached to churches. The degree of church control varies, however.

Kingswood College

Towards the end of the nineteenth century three Methodist laymen had the idea of establishing a Methodist school in the town, and in 1895 the School was constituted. It constructed its first buildings on the present site just before the Boer War.

Kingswood College seriously regrets not having a "sister school" as the other schools have. St. Andrew's College has the Diocesan School for Girls and St. Aidan's has the Convent. The Wesley High School for Girls was closed during the depression and was never re-established. Many Methodist educationalists decry the lack of a girls' school in Grahamstown as many families

want to send their boys and girls to schools in the same town and unless they send the girls to the Diocesan School for Girls, which is an Anglican School, they have to send them to another town. Since the private schools all have three term years and the government schools four terms it is impractical to send a son to Kingswood and a daughter to Victoria Girls' High School because of the difference in holidays. Today Kingswood is flourishing, having extended its premises, both in the administration section and in its hostel accommodation. Bequests and support from the Old Kingswoodians is strong. Though Kingswood is a Methodist school there is no restriction regarding the admission of boys of other denominations.

School Government

St. Andrew's College

St. Andrew's is governed by a Council drawn from all over the country. All the members are Old Andreans and members retire in rotation. Although St. Andrew's is an Anglican School the church has no control whatsoever over the running of the school.

Diocesan School for Girls

The Diocesan School for Girls Council is similar to that of St. Andrew's, having no direct control by the Anglican Church, but support from past students is not as strong nor as widely spread throughout the country as it is at the brother school. The Diocesan School for Girls fell on hard times during the depression, and nearly had to face closing down. Fortunately, unlike the Wesley Girls' High School, Diocesan School for Girls weathered the storm and today is a flourishing boarding school. Until recently the authorities at Diocesan School for Girls insisted that all the girls should attend the Anglican church. Now, however, this rule has been relaxed and girls may attend the church of their own denomination.

St. Aidan's College and the Convent

St. Aidan's is a Jesuit institution. Until recently all boys had to be Roman Catholics, but today boys of all denominations are admitted, at the discretion of the Rector and his advisors. St. Aidan's has no college council. The Rector is entirely responsible for the school and is aided in this task by four priests in the college who are appointed as consultors. Any matter that the Rector feels is beyond his authority he refers to his Superior in Salisbury, Rhodesia, where there is a larger Jesuit college. The Convent is run

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by the Roman Catholic sisters and also has no elected governing council.

Kingswood College

This school is governed by Kingswood College council which is in no way dominated by the church. In fact since an amendment to the Trust Deed non-Methodists may be members of the Council. However, the President of the Methodist Conference is ex officio the Chairman of the Council, and the church has representatives on the Council. The Old Kingswoodians have representatives, too. The rest of the Council are elected members who are drawn from all over the country. There is no Parent Teachers' Association or school committee in the sense of the government school committees, and the School Board has no jurisdiction over the school. The same applies, of course, to the other private schools. The Head of Kingswood College belongs to the Headmasters' Conference and there is considerable co-operation between this school and the other private schools. Kingswood College has never been financed by the church, other than on a loan basis.

The Government Schools

These three schools fall under the School Board and each has a school committee. The constitution of these bodies is discussed below.

The School Board

The three government high schools and the various government primary schools fall under the control of the local School Board, which has oversight of the government schools in the town and the surrounding country districts. The School Board consists of members elected by the ratepayers (proportional representation of each Ward), one member appointed by the Divisional Council, one appointed by the Municipal Council and another by the Administrator of the Province. Within the School Board are four committees: the Finance Committee, the General Purposes Committee, the Building Committee and the Hostels Tender Committee. The Board and the Finance and General Purposes Committee meet regularly, the other two committees meeting when necessary.

Functions of the School Board

(i) The School Board controls all matters pertaining to school buildings and grounds, i.e. hire of buildings, repairs, renovations, etc. The Board decides on extensions and development plans.

/(ii).....

- (ii) The Board also attends to the adequate staffing of schools, though only indirectly to the actual choice of teachers. Grahamstown appears to be suffering from a shortage of teachers of Afrikaans, Science, Latin, Music and teachers of Special Classes, but the School Board is apparently unable to do anything about the situation. This shortage is "quite usual" according to informants.
- (iii) It is the Board's responsibility to ensure that there is adequate provision for classes in Domestic Science, Wood-work, Art and for retarded children.
- (iv) The Board arranges for scholars to attend exhibitions and lectures at the Museum.
- (v) Indigent children are helped with boarding and books, these cases being investigated and brought before the Board for approval.
- (vi) All the material needs for the everyday running of the school are the responsibility of the School Board and the Board arranges for equipment to be available when required.
- (vii) Medical aid to indigent pupils is supplied by the School Board after due investigation of each case.

In short the School Board is responsible for the schooling of every child in the area over which it has jurisdiction, including those children whose parents wish to educate them individually by private tuition. In such cases the School Board investigates the qualifications of the tutor and either gives or withholds its approval.

There has always been close co-operation between the School Board and the various school committees.

The School Committees

In every government school the parents of the children are given the opportunity of electing a school committee. The School Board arranges the elections every third year and the committee members usually retire in rotation. The School Committee performs several services for the school, the most important being the following:

- (i) The committee bears in mind the interests of the school, suggesting improvements to the School Board, which in turn submits them to the Education Department for consideration.
- (ii) The nomination of teachers is in their hands. The name of the selected applicant is submitted to the School Board for their confirmation. This gives the parents a certain voice in the appointment of the teachers.
- (iii) The supervision of the fabric of the school is also under the eye of the school committee. Inadequate rubbish-disposal facilities, etc. are remedied by the committee.

(iv). An important function of the School Committee is that of fund-raising. The Education Department will not supply certain facilities, e.g. swimming baths, unless the school raises funds towards the cost. Usually the government gives aid on a rand-for-rand basis. The school committee organises fêtes and other occasions and approaches business houses for assistance, etc.

(v) All representations made by parents - whether requests or complaints about material facilities or the quality of teaching - are heard by the school committee. If the School Committee is not competent to deal with the problem it is referred to the School Board.

(vi) The Committee, finally, can arrange the distribution of school hours, provided they keep to the specified number of hours per week. A request from a parent that the lunch-break of one school be changed caused quite a controversy in Grahamstown recently.

The P.T.A. (Parent-Teacher Association)

Most of the Grahamstown government schools have a Parent-Teacher Association. Many of the schools are boarding schools and more than one head is a little concerned lest the Parent-Teacher Association, representing local scholars only, become so powerful that the interests of local scholars will be considered to the exclusion of the boarders. Another fears that an over-strong Parent-Teacher Association could "make things difficult for the staff of the school". Investigators in the United States (Hollingshead: Elmtown's Youth) found that such a fear was justified in certain schools they investigated. Influential parents could secure their own child's interests by intimidating teachers. This position has not arisen in Grahamstown, fortunately. Another informant expressed the view that the Parent-Teacher Association at his school was a "puppet body" that endorsed whatever the Head recommended while giving the impression of parental participation in school affairs.

The private schools have no government support at all, and being independent have various forms of school government. Unlike the government schools with their local school committees the Councils of the private schools have members from all parts of the country. In one case all the councillors are past students of the school. St. Aidan's College and the Convent School are part of an international organisation and have no school council at all.

Several of these schools have been supported by certain mining houses in the building and equipping of science blocks and their expansion and development has been supported by planned schemes by past students, parents, etc. A "federation" of private schools was planned in order to sponsor the development of all the private schools under a combined scheme, but the Roman Catholic and Methodist schools could not see their way clear to joining this for various administrative reasons, leaving the two Anglican schools to work together in a highly successful fund-raising scheme. Subsequently, the Methodist school launched its own scheme, which was equally successful. These events indicate clearly that the private schools are far from being locally oriented. One argument put up against the establishment of the new Afrikaans medium school was that the community did not need more facilities for Afrikaans speaking scholars, and that the school would have to bring in pupils from outside in order to fill its desks. This, however, is precisely Grahamstown's tradition. All the high schools and most of the primary schools have boarding establishments and boarders are an integral part of schools in Grahamstown.

The principal of one school said that he was not very happy about having a strong Parent-Teacher Association as only the local parents were represented on it, which would be detrimental to the interests of the boarders and hence to the school as a whole.

Co-operation among private schools has not been limited to financial arrangements, but includes such schemes as combined post-matriculation classes, where the groups of students have been small enough, and refresher courses for teachers of Mathematics, etc.

The initiative for these activities lay with the Grahamstown schools themselves, being unrelated to suggestions from any outside body.

The above discussion indicates that while the government schools fall nearer the "localised" pole of the local-cosmopolitan continuum, and the private schools nearer the cosmopolitan pole, neither are extreme, all showing both local and cosmopolitan elements. The government primary day-schools, however, unrelated to a high school, tend to have a completely local orientation.

Events and Issues

Equipped with the above background we are now in a position to analyse events and issues in the Grahamstown educational world which have given rise to the operation of leadership. Some events were issues, other not, but even where no-one took sides for or against a proposition, each event had an initiator, perhaps a power behind the scenes, and it is in an attempt to trace

the way in which such power operates in this particular town that we have undertaken this study.

During the last five years there have been one or two very important events and issues, the rest being of minor importance and affecting a very limited section of the community, or merely affecting one school or college.

Expansion of Schools, their control and inter-cooperation

An issue related to the establishment of the Afrikaans medium high school is the clamouring of other schools, both Government and private, for extension of playing fields, classroom space, equipment, etc. Considerable resentment built up in school circles about the amount of capital expended on the new Afrikaans school when existing schools declared that they could not get enough funds granted to them by the Department of Education adequately to maintain the existing buildings. After a struggle over many years the government-sponsored, English medium boys' high school has been granted a new site and plans are afoot to rehouse the whole school. However, this has taken years to achieve and the new school will not be ready until 1969. The administrators of the girls' high school which is to move into the buildings vacated by the boys are constantly appeased in their appeal for immediate financial aid with the promise that soon they will be able to expand into the additional premises. At the same time it is maintained that the new Afrikaans medium school has been extravagantly supplied with all its needs, save for adequate playing fields, which will be under construction shortly.

There appears to have been little active leadership operating in this issue. The attitude of school committees, etc. appears to have been that the government controls the finance and, therefore, the local people are helpless in the matter. Fund-raising campaigns have been organised for extra amenities for existing schools, e.g. for swimming pools, which the education department does not supply, and these have been well-supported by parents and friends.

An event of major importance in the Afrikaans community concerned the principalship of the Afrikaans school. This issue did not really affect the English schools, except for the fact that during the term of office of this principal there was no co-operation between the English and Afrikaans schools even to the extent of the Afrikaans school refusing to allow inter-school rugby or to permit students of the Training College to conduct practice teaching at the school.

People who are active in School affairs

Grahamstown appears to have roughly three kinds of people who are interested in school affairs. The first group is that active band of individuals who take a strong interest in all kinds of community activities. One will find their names on church committees, welfare organisation committees, sometimes on political party membership lists and on the local school committee. These people usually have a wide knowledge of community affairs and a genuine, "non-partisan" interest in education. They are very useful members of any school committee and Grahamstown has a few such outstanding people.

The second group consists of parents of school children. These people usually rise to positions of influence through the Parent-Teacher Association, which they only join when their children reach school-going age, and they become "partisans" in the running of the local school. Frequently such people are too busy with a growing family to take a very active part until the children are in the high school. By then the parents are well-established in the community and in their professional life, giving stability to the school committee.

The third type of person active in school affairs is the one with a specialised interest in education and the welfare of the child as such. In an educational centre such as Grahamstown we find people such as professors of education, ministers of religion, etc. on school committees and college councils, and, of course, the ubiquitous "old boy" who is particularly interested in the welfare of the particular school itself, rather than "education in general" or in an individual child. (This latter group is spread all over the country and is particularly important to the private school.)

Especially in the case of private schools where the Council members retire in rotation and are not publicly elected there is a tendency for the council to approach people whose professional advice and interest may be valuable to the school. Typical of this is the prediction that a certain judge will eventually be appointed chairman of one of the private school councils because "they have wanted him for some time". While there is a fair spread of professions represented on the school committees and councils it may be significant that lawyers have been extremely well-represented on the council of one private school. Grahamstown is a seat of the Supreme Court and we have many lawyers in the city, but their numbers do not correspond proportionately to their representation on this school council.

The final source of formal school leaders is by appointment to advisory committees by the Department of Education. The

teachers' training college is the only institution having an advisory committee as well as an advisory board. This is a recent innovation whereby training colleges are required to set up such a council to control the appointment of members of the lecturing staff. The college appoints the chairman and three members, the Department of Education appointing the remaining three members. In this way certain community members are appointed to the committee by an authority outside the community.

The teachers' training college is in an anomalous position, being neither a school nor a university. Possibly for this reason the college tends to fall between the two categories and is frequently left out when educational matters are discussed in the town. When the schools and university are approached in connection with any matter people tend to remember the training college as an afterthought or else to forget about it altogether. The principal was quite puzzled as to why this should be so. A non-training college informant regards the training college as "keeping itself to itself" and not taking part in local educational circles. For this reason, he maintains, the college is not approached when any plans are afoot.

It should be recorded, however, that the training college maintains excellent relations with all the schools at the professional level; all the schools, including the Afrikaans-medium schools, accepting training college students for teaching practice, etc.

The Parent and the School

We have briefly alluded to the fact that Grahamstown schools seem to have been exempted from the big-city tension of community emphasis on vocational training at the expense of the functions of training the "cultured man" and of character-building, etc. While this may be a function of Grahamstown's overwhelming number of schools and colleges with the consequent concentration of educationalists in the town, it could also be an indication of apathy on the part of the local parents with regard to school affairs. As the chairman of one private school council put it, "for several years now we've sought a suitable man to take over the chair. We simply can't find one." There was an "up-and-coming young businessman" who had potential leadership, but he was "very young and inexperienced". Recently at a school committee election too few parents arrived to form a quorum and in terms of the constitution the new committee was appointed by the School Board. There were one or two letters to the editor of the local newspaper about this, but the appointment of the new committee

was quite constitutionally done and inevitable under the circumstances, and no action was taken by the parents. This incident may not, however, necessarily be significant as an indication of community apathy at all. As another informant put it, an organisation that is very strong and active can be in the position of having no quorum for various reasons from time to time. He quoted a certain very active welfare organisation that on two occasions in the 20 years of its existence to date had had no quorum at its annual general meeting. It went on functioning efficiently and the following year was well supported at its meeting. This informant dismisses the non-support of parents at the school committee election as irrelevant as a measure of parental interest in the school.

Social Stratification and the School

One aspect of parental interest in school life is, however, the fact that there are an overwhelming number of "white-collar" professional people on the school committees. While Grahamstown is an educational centre with a proportionately larger share of white collar workers than the average town, the government schools, at least, should on the average show leadership participation by more "blue-collar" workers than they do. That blue-collar workers are prepared to be active in community affairs is shown by their participation on church councils, etc. This activity is, perhaps, in a more circumscribed sphere than activity in public education, but it does indicate a discrimination on socio-economic lines. This is another point of cleavage between government and private schools.

While one private school accepts all boys of a certain religious belief regardless of parental income, it will not accept boys of other religious groups unless their families can afford "the standard of the school". This is reasonable as they specifically cater for "their own". Another private school accepts pupils who will "enhance the standing of the school by their presence". No details of criteria of selection were given, but high academic performance and family social standing were indicated as relevant to this. (footnote: there is a discussion proceeding among teachers about the value of schools for those of high academic ability in the same way as special schools cater for those of sub-normal intelligence. It is not, therefore, intended as a disparagement against the school under discussion that it does not accept low-grade ability students as such).

Government schools, however, are in an entirely different position. Dependant on "tax-payers' money" they must cater for

every child who is in need of education. Thus they do not refuse admittance to any child, regardless of social or academic standing. While some members of the private schools are conscious of a social distinction among schools most government school teachers are not conscious of a serious difference. Historically one school changed its name on a re-organisation of the school, to avoid the stigma of being the "poor school" but that was many years ago and today all the schools enjoy more or less comparable social standing, especially at the high school level.

Some informants claimed that the new Afrikaans medium school was planned to be the "the Eton of Afrikaans medium schools in South Africa", but it has turned out to be "just ordinary after all". The calibre of the staff sometimes seems to determine the classification of the school, as illustrated by the remark, "Now the school has a new head it has regained its old prestige."

"The Old School Tie"

Tradition is important to Grahamstonians and to "Old Boys and Girls" throughout the country. Boys and girls are sent to school here from towns with perfectly adequate school facilities. Being near to an industrially booming city, old established Grahamstown schools have benefitted from the increased number of middle-class parents anxious to send their children to a "good school" as boarders. Traditionally all the Grahamstown schools are "good schools", and all have benefitted from this influx. The opinion was expressed, however, that the days of Grahamstown's fame as an educational centre are numbered: that as other towns and cities establish schools with comparable reputations for scholarship, etc. the "old school tie" tradition will die out. Further, as adequate school and university facilities become available in the nearby city of Port Elizabeth fewer people will send their children to Grahamstown.

The above developments give us a few pointers regarding community leadership, even though there have been very few issues in educational circles in Grahamstown.

Unlike in the United States, where local taxes support local education and the parent of a child at a private school is likely to clamour for less expenditure on the public school system, South African public education funds come from the provincial or national budget and expenditure is felt less directly by the parent. Thus cutting down expenditure on local schools in order to keep down the taxes does not take place here. The clamouring has rather been to increase government expenditure on the schools.

While the average private-school child comes from a home in a higher socio-economic bracket than the average government-school child this fact does not cause a cleavage in the community or among the school children. Possible reasons for this are that so many children at both government and private schools are boarders, whose parents are outside the community, that direct comparisons with children of other schools takes place less than if all the parents lived in the community. Boarders, in any case, are usually of at least a middle-class social background which raises the overall socio-economic level of the government school. In addition, all the high schools except the new Afrikaans medium high school were established before 1900, which gives the government schools an aura of old-established prestige comparable to that of the private schools with their wealthier students. Finally each school committee is entirely separate from the others and while the government schools fall under the School Board, parents and other community members tend to show interest purely in one school. Leadership in school circles is thus fragmented, until one reaches the level of the School Board, or else, in the case of the private schools, it is not locally oriented. This brings us to our next point, dealing with government control over local education.

Government control over Education

We saw above that the government controls the expenditure of the state schools in Grahamstown. While parents, past students and friends raise funds for special projects like the construction of a swimming pool, the day-to-day equipment of schools, teachers' salaries, etc. is an Education Department affair.

Similarly, while parents have a voice on the School Committee, the School Board, co-ordinating the work of all government schools, is not independent of government control. This permits considerable influence to be wielded in education by Board members who do not directly represent the interests of the townsfolk, since the School Board can overrule any school committee decision. The teachers' training college, too, as a college training teachers for government as well as private schools, has a statutory advisory committee controlling selection of teaching staff. This body consists of a chairman and three members nominated by the College Advisory Board, the other three members being nominated by the Department of Education.

Local helplessness with regard to school affairs is shown by the local frustration over what was regarded as excessive government expenditure on the new Afrikaans-medium school and on the excessive delay in providing adequate extensions of facilities

for the existing government schools. No community action was taken over this matter, however, indicating a possible lack of leadership in the community or a realisation of the hopelessness of the cause in the face of determined Education Department policy. The sporadic interest taken by community members, who are active only when a threatening issue arises, adds to the lack of cohesive organisation in such a situation.

Direct versus Indirect Influence of School Leaders

Dahl (p. 163) found that only a small number of people have direct influence i.e. initiating and vetoing proposals for policies. These persons have sub-leaders and followers. Talcoft Parsons' theoretical schema of differentiation of roles by sub-division and re-subdivision into specialisation in a hierarchy of control is relevant here.

However, while it is clear that the school committees and councils are the official few who are apparently the only ones with direct influence we must not overlook the possibility of unofficial leaders who act behind the scenes. Further, in Grahamstown schools the people with direct influence do not appear to have sub-leaders and followers as both Dahl and Parsons envisage (with the exception of one school, see below). Once appointed to a school council or elected to a school committee the individual is more or less left to carry on the work alone. While he could draw on others for occasional help he does not stand in such a relationship that he can call on certain persons for regular support. When an issue relevant to the interests of one person arises he will be drawn into the situation; when an issue arises in which he is not interested, he will withdraw.

An exception to this in Grahamstown is the case of the Afrikaans medium high school committee where certain committee members had strong "followings" among parents and others not on the committee. In the controversy about the headmastership of the school each side called on these followers to support it and they did so most effectively.

Specialisation of Influence

It appears that school leaders in Grahamstown do not enjoy influence throughout the educational community. Most school leaders have influence only in one school, in fact. An exception to this are the members of the School Board, which co-ordinates and controls the activity of all the government schools in the Albany District, a region including the surrounding farming region as well as the small city of Grahamstown.

Further, school leaders do not appear to be active in other sectors of public life. There are, of course, some exceptions, as we saw above in discussing the types of people who become leaders in school affairs. These, however, are few. (Dahl: 169)

Grahamstown seems to follow Dahl's findings, too, with the notable and interesting exception that legal people seem to be disproportionately represented on the school council of one of the private schools.

Lack of strong influence in the educational world as a whole naturally pre-supposes that most educational leaders have little community-wide influence and this indeed seems to be the case. We have been discussing the school educationalists so far, and must remember that the university is in a different position. University personnel have specialised in more varied fields than has the school teacher and for various reasons may have a different attitude to community projects and problems. His leadership potential is thus of a different form.

At the university level, however, we find some of the same problems which we found in the schools, for instance the need for specialised and broad education and the tension between these two aspects of the work of school or university. Reviewing now the position of the university in the community, its functions and services we come to an analysis of the requirements of modern society.

Brief Historical Sketch of Rhodes University

The history of higher education in the Eastern Districts of the Cape Province goes back as far as 1855, when St. Andrew's College was founded at Grahamstown. St. Andrew's College offered both junior and advanced courses, and prepared students for degree examinations, which after 1873 were conducted by a central examining board, the University of the Cape of Good Hope.

Its College Department, established in 1878, which was later to become the nucleus of Rhodes University College, carried on university work for nearly 30 years.

An attempt to establish a university college in Grahamstown was made in 1895, but was unsuccessful mainly owing to the lack of funds. In 1903, however, the movement was revived and received fresh impetus from the prospect of very considerable financial support from the Rhodes Trustees, from the citizens of Grahamstown and public bodies in the Eastern Province, and from the Directors of De Beers Consolidated Mines. This movement, which received the generous co-operation of the Council of St. Andrew's College, led to the foundation, by Act of Parliament on the 31st May, 1904,

of a university college named after Cecil John Rhodes, the statesman whose munificent provision for higher education made its establishment possible.

In 1918, Rhodes University College entered on a new phase in its development when it became a constituent college of the University of South Africa.

The Commission on the University of South Africa, in its report issued in 1947, made a strong recommendation that the College should be granted full university status and that the necessary legislation should be proceeded with as soon as possible. The Rhodes University Act, by which the new University was to be constituted at a date to be fixed by the Minister of Education, received the Governor-General's assent on the 5th April, 1949. In terms of this Act, the South African Native College at Fort Hare was to become affiliated to Rhodes University and its syllabuses, courses of study, and the conduct of its examinations were to be subject to the control of the University Senate.

The Minister sanctioned the inauguration of the independent Rhodes University on the 10th March, 1951, and the new University started its life in a much sounder financial position than seemed likely when the Act was passed by Parliament.

The remarkable expansion of this institution has been accompanied by a consistent improvement in the facilities for study and research. The buildings provide excellent classroom accommodation and the science laboratories are well equipped with standard apparatus. The University Library has grown at a remarkable rate and now has 135,000 volumes. A very significant indication of the development of Rhodes University as a centre for research has been the Leather Industries Research Institute which, originally a research section of the Department of Chemistry, acquired a separate building in 1942, and the South African Wool Textile Research Institute, founded in 1953 and associated with the University until 1964, when it passed to the control of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. A third research institute, the Institute of Social and Economic Research, was established at the end of 1954 to co-ordinate and extend the investigations of several University departments into the social and economic problems of the Eastern Cape, Border and Transkei areas. This institute is an integral part of the University. In 1964 a fourth institute, the Institute for the Study of English in Africa, was founded. The two latter institutes are integral parts of the University.

The residential system at Grahamstown is remarkable both in its organisation and in the extent of the accommodation provided. The proportion of students living in residence has risen steadily, from 74 per cent. in 1935 to 79 per cent. in 1940, and finally to approximately 90 per cent. in 1946, and has remained at, or even exceeded this level since then.

Of the 1,408 full-time students at the University in 1965, 735, or about half, were from the Cape Province, 386 from the rest of the Republic, and South-West Africa, and 287 were from beyond the borders of the Republic.

Following strong representations for the provision of University facilities in Port Elizabeth, the Minister of Education, Arts and Science appointed a Commission of Enquiry in 1958. As a result of the Commission's report approval in principle was given in 1959 to the institution by the University of tuition in Port Elizabeth for certain degrees and diplomas.

In view of the decision to establish an independent University of Port Elizabeth from the beginning of 1965, it was decided to close the Division at the end of 1964.

From 1951 to 1959 the University College of Fort Hare, near Alice, about 60 miles from Grahamstown, was affiliated to Rhodes University which controlled its syllabuses, courses of study and examinations, and awarded degrees to its students.

The University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act (No. 64 of 1959) provided for the transfer of the College to the control of the Department of Bantu Education and the ending of its affiliation to Rhodes University from the beginning of 1960.

University Government

The University consists of the Chancellor, the Principal (who is also the Vice-Chancellor), the Vice-Principal (who is also the Pro-Vice-Chancellor), the Council, the Senate, the Convocation, the professors, lecturers and other teachers and the students.

The Chancellor, elected by the Council, is the Head of the University and as such is empowered, in the name of the University, to confer all degrees. For this purpose, a Congregation of the University is held at least once every year under the presidency of the Chancellor.

The Principal and Vice-Chancellor is the chief academic and administrative officer of the University and is ex officio a member of the Council and the Chairman of the Senate.

The Council, which elects its own Chairman, is the governing body of the University, administers its affairs and property, and is empowered, in consultation with, or upon the recommendation of, the Senate, as the case may be, to frame statutes and regulations and to make all appointments to the staff. The Council consists of 22 members, as follows:- The Principal, four members appointed by the State President, four members elected by the Senate, two members elected by Convocation, two members elected by donors, a representative of each of the Municipalities of Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and

East London, one representative elected jointly by the Municipalities of King William's Town and Queenstown, one representative elected jointly by the Municipalities of Uitenhage and Walmer, one representative of schools in the Eastern Province, one representative of associated institutions (i.e. at present the Leather Industries Research Institute), and two members co-opted in terms of Section 7 (1) (m) of the Rhodes University Act.

The Senate is entrusted with the control and superintendence of the discipline and instruction within the University. It consists of the Principal, the heads of all departments, the research professors, the Librarian, two representatives appointed by the Council, and two members appointed by the lecturers. Certain other officers of the University may be specially appointed as Members of Senate from time to time.

The University is divided into seven Faculties, namely, Arts, Science, Education, Commerce, Divinity, Law, and Social Science, for each of which there is a Board which acts as a committee of the Senate in respect of all matters affecting that Faculty. The Chairman of the Board is the Dean of the Faculty.

Convocation, which elects its own President, consists of all graduates of the University, including persons who, while students of Rhodes University College, obtained degrees of the University of South Africa and who, within the prescribed time, elected to join the Convocation of Rhodes University, together with the Principal, Librarian, Registrar and all permanent full-time teaching staff of the University. Convocation is required to meet at least once a year, elects two members of Council, and may discuss and express its opinion on any matter relating to the University.

The Registrar of the University is the Secretary of Council, Senate and Convocation.

The Role of Universities in Contemporary Society

There is a basic distinction between the functions of high schools and universities, the culture-preserving and transmitting function of the school tending to foster in the young a passive attitude towards society, while universities not only preserve but also innovate and change culture, re-examining and criticising society. (Clark, Educating the Expert Society: 27)

Focal Functions of Institutions of Higher Learning

The many functions of a university teacher focus on the informational function, the research function, the character-developing function and the community service function.

Character-development in the sense of the inculcation of certain moral, social, religious and political values has become a very controversial issue in South African universities. A brief review of the situation will enable us to interpret the function of Rhodes University.

Weber points out that in many universities "the cultivated man" rather than the "specialist" has been the end sought by education. Oxford and Cambridge are continuing in this tradition to a very large extent, and reference has often been made to Rhodes University as modelled on them. Rhodes University, often prides itself in being "exclusive". This exclusiveness may refer to different criteria: social class, academic, political, language group, and may be practised at different levels: in admissions, in residence, in lecture rooms, in extra-mural activities.

In respect of this function of character-development we find a clear bifurcation between Afrikaans and English universities in South Africa. At the English universities there is more emphasis on the inculcation of more universalistic and cosmopolitan values, while Afrikaans universities tend to emphasise the more parochial "volks" values.

This distinction coincides with the general distinction between "liberal" and "conservative" approaches which receive more attention below and elsewhere in this study. Analysis of the function of character-development involves reference to the ideological orientation of the university teachers and administrators and to the place of the university in the community.

Professor Thom, Rector of the University of Stellenbosch, claimed that character-development is a primary function of the university. Several persons and two South African journals criticised this view, claiming that the university should only concern itself with the development of the intellect.

Professor Thom finds support for his view in the famous Robbins Report on British Education which postulated teaching "in such a way as to produce .. cultivated men and women" (quoted by Thom p.17)

Thom couples this function of character-development with the principle of "volksgebondenheid" (p.17) His interpretation of "character-development" was criticised violently by the English-language newspapers.

Rhodes University does not fulfil the functions of a "volks-universiteit" in the sense that Stellenbosch does. Its whole origin and development has been different. The academic atmosphere has always been more liberal and cosmopolitan, not grounded in and bound to local traditions and ideologies.

At the official opening of the University of Stellenbosch in 1965 the Rector outlined two aspects of the relation between the university and society: first the service motive (rather taken for granted) and secondly the university as mirror-image of society. South African universities reflect the nature of the various ethnic groups in South Africa. This has come about through historical development and by legislation. But we also find within the same university various beliefs and ideologies reflecting the heterogeneous character of the society from which they come.

Universities tend to place differential emphasis on different characteristics of the communities from which they are drawn. Thus analyses of the nature of character-building and community service functions of a university will tell us much about the relation between that university and the respective population groups in society.

If universities are true to their functions as institutions for the discovery and promotion of new knowledge and insight as well as the perpetuation of existing, conventional knowledge, one can expect a measure of discrepancy and tension between universities as innovators and the stable society which usually tends toward the conservative.

The break between the university and its local public is clearly reflected in different conceptions of the kinds of knowledge that ought to be pursued and taught. Pinner introduces a distinction between "consensual" and "dissensual" knowledge. (Sanford: 943)

The public expects the university teacher to confirm its conventional beliefs, (i.e. teach "consensual" knowledge) not to challenge or contradict them. Dissensual knowledge appears to threaten human institutions and accustomed behaviour.

Education means openness to change, enabling the student to make rational choices by the use of information, insight and sensitivity. (Sanford: 960) The automatic resistance of the public to the proponent of nonconventional belief can be active or passive, (Sanford: 941) taking the form of overt rejection or misunderstanding, selective perception and gross distortion of the teacher's message.

Rhodes lecturers in the social sciences have on different occasions complained that students seem to grasp certain phenomena on a theoretical level, but completely fail to understand its practical implications. This applies specifically to interpretations which are unconventional, inconvenient or unpopular.

Professor Thom's outline of the three major characteristics of the University of Stellenbosch indicate clearly that this university is serving the Afrikaans community which is different from the English community as regards social habits, educational require-

ments, religious and political views. (p.10)

Like the Afrikaans community, the University of Stellenbosch is conservative, has a religious character and is patriotic.

Professor Thom emphasises that universities should realise that they are part of the general society and that their interests are closely integrated with those of society. He uses the word "volksgebondenheid" to describe this relationship. (p.15)

Professor Thom admits that in heterogeneous South Africa nationalism and patriotism, or attachment to any specific "volk" can still lead to violent disagreements. Nevertheless we have to encourage at all our universities this element of "volksgebondenheid". However, Professor Thom does not define what he means by "volk" or nation. (pp. 15-17)

One can best understand this attitude if one recognises the current trend in nationalist and government circles to interpret the concepts "South Africa", "our country", "our traditional policy" in terms of Nationalist perspective.

This attitude is most conspicuous in foreign relations. Any South African, or even foreigner, who criticises the present Nationalist government and its policies is labelled "anti-South Africa" or "against his own country". This attitude accounts for the criticism by the English language newspapers of Professor Thom's views on character-building discussed above. This whole matter receives further attention in the discussion of liberal and conservative views discussed elsewhere.

Universities in present-day society have become more and more dependent upon state funds. (Sloman p.77-8) British universities enjoy an exceptional degree of autonomy. It is obvious that the present South African political set-up is not conducive to great university autonomy.

Rhodes University has not in the eyes of a large section of the community, and the South African society in general, "earned" its autonomy by "public responsibility". This is clearly demonstrated in the many public utterances of government officials and even prominent Afrikaans leaders from other universities.

On February 18th, 1966, the press reported that the Minister of Education, Arts and Science, Senator J. de Klerk, had warned the University of Cape Town that, with or without legislation, the government would put an end to the "unbridled liberalistic Students' Council", which was being supported by the University Council. The Students' Representative Council has threatened to force the Association of Conservative Students to accept non-Whites as members. The minister regarded this action as "diametrically opposed to the declared policy of the Government and an attack on the convictions and individual liberty of members of a minority

group". (Dispatch, February 18th, 1966) By supporting this action the University Council "failed to live up to the expectations of the minister". In a similar way Rhodes University too has "failed to live up to the expectations of the Minister". Various actions taken by staff and students from time to time indicate that Rhodes University is seen as a "liberal deviant" in a predominantly conservative community.

The following events illustrate the different orientations of the university and the community. In 1963 (see Grocott's Daily Mail, 16th September, 1963) a poster demonstration was held by staff and students, protesting against the banning of lecturers and a statement expressing concern at the banning of some lecturers was signed by half the staff of Rhodes University (including 18 Senate members). In 1965 the university authorities and the Students' Representative Council of Rhodes University investigated the banning of another lecturer and the students held a special meeting of protest. A few months before this the mixed audiences ban precipitated another demonstration. As the City Council would not permit a protest march a vigil and fast was held by staff and students on the steps of the University library.

The most recent demonstration was that of the silent procession of staff members and students of Rhodes University, led by the Chairman of the Students' Representative Council in objection to the banning without trial of Mr. Ian Robertson, the President of NUSAS. This was held on the 27th May, 1966.

Following the City Council debate on whether or not to allow the Rhodes students to hold the demonstration march, the Council debated whether or not to allow the Black Sash to hold a half hour stand in the High Street in objection to the banning of individuals or organisations without trial. Both motions were carried and the demonstrations took place. The point of interest is that the voting in the Council in support of the Black Sash demonstration was similar to that in support of the students' march, i.e. eight against four (Grocott's Mail, Friday, May 27th, 1966).

Further "liberal deviant" behaviour on the part of Rhodes University has been the invitation to Mrs. Suzman - the only Progressive Party M.P. to be returned in the last general election - to address the university on the Day of Affirmation of Human and Academic Freedom. (Grocott's Mail, 3rd May, 1966, and the student newspaper, "Rhodeo" of the 29th April, 1966)

Some members of the local community have openly spoken against these demonstrations, particularly in letters to the editor of the local newspapers. Typical of this is the following, from "Citizen", Grahamstown:

/It.....

"It is time that the minority of students and Black Sash women began to realise what little impression they make on the majority, as shown by the last election". (Grocott's Mail, 24th May, 1966).

In similar vein a Nationalist M.P. of the Eastern Province challenged the local United Party M.P. publicly to repudiate the "rebels of Rhodes University" who refused to honour the State President when he received an honorary doctorate from the university in 1962.

The contrast between the "liberal" university and the "conservative" community is so much more striking, and also ironic, in the light of the fact that communities dominated by educational institutions of high school level are traditionally conservative. Although Rhodes University is regarded as the most conservative of the English universities in South Africa, in terms of its environment it is more of a "liberal deviant" than the others. The Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand and Natal are located in large, urban, industrialised communities with predominant progressive and liberal attitudes.

The "swing to the right" observed in the community is indicated in the chapter on National Government.

CHAPTER EIGHTRELIGION

Grahamstown is known as the "City of Saints". Some people trace this to an incident from frontier days when an army requisition for a certain carpenter's tool read, "No vice in Grahamstown", but this is only legendary, and other people maintain that Grahamstown owes its title to the large number of churches, chapels and places of worship found in this small country town, of approximately 6,000 voters.

Fourteen Christian groups and one Hebrew Congregation meet in seventeen places of public worship in the European area of Grahamstown. A very rough estimate of the active congregations yields 1,740 Anglicans, 125 Baptists, 700 Dutch Reformed, 450 Methodists, 250 Presbyterians, 500 Roman Catholics and 180 members of Pentecostal church groups. Some of these churches, (e.g. Dutch Reformed, Roman Catholic and Anglican) include students in their membership, while others (e.g. Methodists) do not, which makes these figures very unreliable as a true reflection of local church membership.

Formal Structure of the Churches.

Anglican Church: Grahamstown is the seat of the Bishop, who, with the Diocesan Synod, representing each Parish, is in charge of the 41,000 square mile Diocese. The Diocesan Synod is responsible to the Provincial Synod, held every five years. The power structure is monolithic, the local congregation having little say in pronouncements of policy or decision-making. Orientation tends to be Diocesan rather than parochial.

Baptist Church: Each Baptist Congregation is completely autonomous in all local affairs and is federated to the Baptist Union. Laymen are strongly represented on the Church Council, and the Council is very locally oriented, though financial support is given to external missionary work.

Dutch Reformed Church: The Kerkraad (church council) is the governing body of the local congregation and consists of ministers, ouderlinge (elders) and diakens (deacons). The minister, has the same status as any other elder. The local congregation is largely autonomous, but in voluntary association delegates some of its powers to the Circuit (of about ten congregations), which in turn delegates some of its powers to the Synod. The Synod deals with

/doctrine,.....

doctrine, church order and training of ministers. The Kerkraad can disassociate itself from a decision by the Synod. Thus laymen have a strong voice in local Dutch Reformed Church government. The congregation is likely to be less cosmopolitan than, say, the Anglican or Roman Catholic churches, and to have a greater voice in policy-making.

Methodist Church: The local church is closely linked with others in a hierarchical system from congregational society through circuit meeting and district Synod to national Conference. At all levels laymen are strongly represented, and while this congregation is not as locally oriented as the Baptists, local laymen have more influence in pronouncements of policy, etc. than have the Anglicans.

Presbyterian Church: Organisation is roughly similar to the Methodist Church. The spiritual leaders are "The Session", while the Board of Management looks after the fabric and finances of the church. Clergy can never outvote the laymen in the Presbyterian Church. The local congregation falls immediately under one of seven Presbyteries (without the intervening "circuit" control of Methodists or Dutch Reformed Church) Delegates to the national General Assembly, (held annually), are appointed by these Presbyteries.

Roman Catholic Church: The Pope nominates permanent Bishops who preside over a large Diocese (the whole Eastern Cape in our case) with the help of a consultative synod of the chief clergy, superiors of religious Orders, etc. and of a board of advisors appointed by each Bishop himself. The Diocese is divided into deaneries, consisting of several parishes each. The priest of each parish has no legislative powers. He may appoint a lay council to help him administer church buildings and property. The local congregation has no voice in church government at all. The congregations tend to be locally oriented but the clergy are cosmopolitan.

Small Church Groups: Some of the small church groups, e.g. Apostolic Faith Mission, have a national organisation delegating authority to local bodies in a similar way to the Methodists and Presbyterians, while others, e.g. Full Gospel Church of God, are more like the autonomous Baptist Congregation, with a loose federation of independent congregations. At the opposite extreme the tiny congregation of the Church of Christ is completely

/independent.....

independent of all other groups. Small Church Groups include the Apostolic Faith Mission, The Full Gospel Church of God, the Assemblies of Christ, the First Church of Christ, Scientist, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Church of Christ and Jehovah's Witnesses. The Salvation Army was disbanded about five years ago.

Church leaders and the Community

Church leaders are not community-wide leaders: Though combined church activities are increasing the churches do not stand together on everyday community issues and there is no laymen's organisation where members of all churches can meet to discuss such issues. The Ministers' Fraternal, established in 1963, is an effective body in this regard and helped create a church pressure group in the issue over the Group Areas Act, but such issues are few and rare. Most ministers are too busy with their official work to devote much time to other community affairs.

Church leaders are bound by community attitudes: In the Dutch Reformed and Baptist congregations the lay people have a very strong voice in choosing their minister. The Methodists have a degree of choice, subject to the national Conference, while the Roman Catholic appointments are made outside the local congregation. The Anglican Bishop appoints priests, subject to ratification by the local congregation. Thus the calibre of lay leaders is very important. Presbyterian leaders complain that the congregation "just baulks" at new ideas, yet the official leaders can introduce no innovations without full support from the laymen. No leadership emerges against an issue - the people just will not discuss it. Despite their congregational church government Baptists appear to regard their minister as their leader, as do most of the small church groups. Anglicans and Roman Catholics have a more authoritarian formal leadership structure but many of their members (possibly those with high academic training) do not accept the official viewpoint on all matters.

Issues Within Each Church

The above discussion reveals in each church a "liberal-conservative" polarisation of opinion in two directions: one within the church itself, the other in relation to other churches. Certain churches, as groups, are more liberal in racial policy, in orientation to the universal rather than the parochial church, in toleration of change and innovation, than are others. Within each church there is a spectrum of opinion ranging from the closed

"gathered church" group (e.g. Methodists who rejected the opening of the "Laymen's League" to adherents as well as full members, and the Baptist "saved" group), to the open group prepared to include everyone who is interested.

Two further points of polarisation are the economic and educational poles. Many poorer people feel unwelcome in the middle-class-oriented "established churches" and have turned to the small church groups, which, on the whole, are visibly of a lower income group. The lower income and education of the average elderly citizen, especially in a university-dominated town, is another source of polarisation in most of the churches. Grahamstown has many elderly people. (See Dr. H.L. Watts' study of the elderly population of Grahamstown).

Apart from the Dutch Reformed Church, which has faced serious internal issues in recent years, Grahamstown has seen no issues which have rent church life. The appointment of the Rev. Seth Mokitimi to the Presidency of the Methodist Conference was opposed by a few, especially rural, members, but this event did not become an issue.

Issues Among the Christian Churches

The issues dividing the churches and preventing their community-wide influence are mainly differences in interpretation of Scripture, church doctrine and organisation, relations to churches abroad (especially the attitudes to the World Council of Churches) and relations to interdenominational organisations such as the Christian Institute of Southern Africa and the Christian Council of Southern Africa. Linked with attitudes to the last three are various attitudes to politics and communism. Differences in church doctrine and organisation include differing attitudes to the non-white member.

Interpretation of Scripture, Doctrine, etc.

In Grahamstown the various church groups hold views ranging from the pentecostal "standing four-square on Scripture", denying the validity of church tradition and the Church Fathers, etc. to those of the Roman Catholics' emphasis of both tradition and the Church Fathers in addition to Scripture. Next to "friendliness" differences of opinion on this issue is the reason most frequently given by Grahamstown small church group members for their membership of their group, and for their breakaway from the "established" churches.

Attitudes to Non-Whites

Anglican Church: Since the 1950 Statement of the Provincial Synod the Anglican Church has stressed the undivided nature of the Church of the Province, and non-white clergymen have been appointed to positions of authority within the church, regardless of race. Freedom of worship is officially practised, though as an eminent Anglican, Professor P.B. Hinchliff of Rhodes University said in "Pro Veritate" "But when I look at my own church I find it difficult to believe that we are really living up to the ideal which we preach".

Baptist Church: Joint worship is not specifically mentioned by the Baptist Church, which merely states that "fellowship in the church knows no barriers, for all are one in Christ Jesus". However, the Bantu Baptist Church is a separate institution from the Baptist Union, having its own Assembly, and since 1964 excluding white ministers from eligibility for the position of Moderator of the Bantu Baptist Church Assembly. Separate development with close co-operation sums up the racial policies of the Baptist Church.

Dutch Reformed Church: The three Dutch Reformed Churches have varied in their attitudes to the non-White member, but in all cases strictly separate development has been advocated.

Methodist Church: Like the Anglican Church, the Methodist Church of South Africa is integrated, all racial groups sitting in one national Conference and all being eligible for election to any office in the church. Grahamstown lay people, with a few exceptions in the rural districts, accepted the Rev. Seth Mokitini as President of the Conference with equanimity. All racial groups are welcome to worship together, though for language, residential and economic reasons in practice they mainly worship apart.

Presbyterian Church: The quotation "Language and residence have led to the formation of separate congregations, but members of all races meet together in Presbytery and General Assembly" sums up the Presbyterian Church's attitude to the racial issue. However, the peculiar historical development of the Presbyterian Church has resulted in the growth of three Presbyterian Churches - the integrated Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa and the two African churches, the Tsonga Presbyterian Church and the Bantu Presbyterian Church, which are segregated. Negotiations for amalgamation of these three churches have been proceeding for several years, but many European lay people fear "swamping by

Bantu", although this has not happened in their own "section" of the church which already has a Bantu majority membership. The strong influence of laymen in the Presbyterian Church Organisation is shown here as the local Session "baulks" at bringing this issue forward for discussion, though no stand has been taken against it.

Roman Catholic Church: The Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of Southern Africa, gathered in Plenary Session of the Bishops' Conference in 1957 sums up the Roman Catholic attitude to the racial question: "The practice of segregation, though officially not recognised in our churches, characterises nevertheless many of our church societies". The 1960 Pastoral Letter was more positive in a straightforward call to integration. Some local Roman Catholic members indicate that there is no racial segregation in the Roman Catholic Church at all, though for convenience each racial group has its own church. Another informant disagrees, declaring that the average missionary wishes to keep the non-whites inarticulate "so they would not step out of line", and that there is no contact with the coloured community in any of the parish organisations.

Small Church Groups: The largest of these, the Apostolic Faith Mission, believes in complete racial segregation on account of the race policy of the country and the differences between the racial groups, but they do not exclude joint worship "when the occasion demands it". The non-white churches are controlled by the white "mother-church". The Full Gospel Church of God has a similar policy. The Church of Christ is very new and small and has not yet had to face the racial issue.

Ecumenism

In Grahamstown this term has several meanings. The first is ecumenism as the linking up of the various Christian churches as regiments in one army - Christ's army. The second view is the formation of a "super-church" that does not really believe in anything - other than one God. Some fear the standardisation of a form of service that will not really satisfy anybody, while others stand for organic unity of all the Christian churches. The third view-point involves race relations. This applies to the Presbyterian Church in particular. Many Presbyterians feel sympathetic towards uniting with the Anglicans, but "balk" at negotiations for merger with the non-European Presbyterian Churches. Other Presbyterians feel they cannot proceed with conversations with the Anglicans until they can speak "with one Presbyterian Voice".

These three interpretations of ecumenism are reflected not only among the churches, but within them, too, for instance, to some Methodists race relations is part of the ecumenical movement, although this is not a "talking point" at official levels.

It seems that in Grahamstown the "gathered church" and "church universal" or "conservative" and "liberal" split lie behind all three interpretations of ecumenism. This was clearly shown at the Lenten Ecumenical Meeting held in Grahamstown in 1965.

Quite apart from views and activities designed to unite the churches there have been attempts at federation. Two results of this have been the establishment of the Joint Theological Faculty at Rhodes University, with Livingstone House (a hostel for theological students of several denominations) and the establishment of the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice, sixty miles away.

As one informant put it, "The Presbyterians will talk to anyone who is willing to talk" and this church is officially "talking" with the Anglicans, who are, in turn talking also to the Methodists. The Anglicans are "strongly keen" as one Methodist official put it, while some of the Methodists are a bit hesitant. The Dutch Reformed Church "isn't talking officially to anybody". The Baptists point out that their first responsibility is to "the household of faith", though some more cosmopolitan members feel that there is too much concern with the local household of faith. Roman Catholics are in favour of the ecumenical movement but the Bishops have not been specific enough and lay people have not taken any initiative. Roman Catholics "are confused in their orientation to other churches". The Apostolic Faith Mission believes in co-operation and will combine with other churches in functions such as the Women's World Day of Prayer, but otherwise keep to themselves. Their Government subsidy for welfare work obliges them to keep to their own denomination, though they will help in cases of extreme need when they can, even if the family concerned is non-European.

We have concentrated on events since 1959, but the first time the local community realised the churches were beginning to work together was in 1948 when the joint Theological Faculty was established at Rhodes University. The Annual University Service, rotating round the four largest churches, Anglican, Dutch Reformed, Methodist and Presbyterian, began shortly after, with the full support of the local churches. Until a year or two ago combined services were held every night during Holy Week by the Methodists, Baptists and Dutch Reformed churches, culminating in a broadcast service on Good Friday. The Baptists eventually withdrew, however, and the scheme collapsed. In 1964 a series of combined services were held between Anglicans and Methodists and similar combined services were held by Anglicans and Presbyterians.

Though joint action has been taken on specific "emergency" issues arising from time to time, e.g. the Group Areas issue and the establishment of G.A.D.R.A., there has been little incentive for working together at the everyday level. The inability of the Roman Catholic and Methodist schools to join with the Anglican schools in the United Schools Trust is indicative of this, though as one eminent informant put it, "If the scheme had come now, with the interest in ecumenism that is now evident, perhaps we should have been able to join in."

At the lay level there is still little inter-denominational contact, either for worship or joint social action. With the exception of the joint Anglican-Presbyterian services towards the end of 1964, which was initiated by Presbyterian laymen and taken up by the ministers of the two churches, joint action of all kinds has come from official or clerical levels.

The Baptists, while not joining other groups for fellowship or worship, have invited preachers from other denominations to preach in their church. Here again, clerical initiative lay behind the move, and only those "standing four-square on Scripture" were invited. Invited preachers included preachers from the Church of England in South Africa, (Christ Church), Methodist, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches, and the Salvation Army.

The Roman Catholic attitude is similar to some respects to the Baptists'. While not joining with any other group they have non-Catholic members in their Kolbe Society - an academic discussion group meeting to hear talks by speakers of various denominations explaining different points of view on doctrine, etc. Though not representative of the citizenry, it is still indicative of Roman Catholic laymen's embryonic interest in other church groups.

Other highlights of church co-operation have been the presence at the Anglican Teachers' Training College Founders' Day service of ministers of all denominations, including Dutch Reformed and Roman Catholic, the attendance of Protestant ministers at Requiem Mass for President Kennedy, the Dean of the Anglican Cathedral being the speaker at the Jubilee of the Roman Catholic priest, and the Demonstration of Christian Unity organised on Whit Sunday in 1964 and 1965 by the interdenominational Rhodes University Council of Christian Societies. This Demonstration was supported by all denominations except the Baptists and Dutch Reformed. All language and colour groups took part in this demonstration.

At the lay level very successful and well-supported discussion groups were held weekly during Lent by the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches. These meetings revealed the awakening interest of lay members in other churches and also showed

the lack of knowledge about his own church's beliefs on the part of the average lay member.

Roman Catholics and some Presbyterians regard the ecumenical movement as a movement of clergy so far, and it is true that the initiative for most of the ecumenical activities has come from the clergy. Even the Rhodes University Council of Christian Societies has a core of theological students. The Ministers' Fraternal, the third and most successful attempt to run such a group in the seventeen years of one minister's experience in the town, has the makings of the nucleus needed for sustained ecumenical activity between "highlights" such as the Group Areas issue. The Baptists withdrew after the first meeting when Roman Catholics were present, but apart from them all the larger church groups, including the Dutch Reformed Church, are represented. The Baptists keep in touch, however, through the Methodist minister, who is the secretary of the Fraternal. The Fraternal will combine on any civic matter on which they feel they can act together. An example of this was the memorial service for Sir Winston Churchill held in the Cathedral, and, of course, the Group Areas Act issue and other such major events. All the churches show the "liberal" "conservative" split in that some are "gathered church" and others "church universal", and the matter of lay leadership could develop into a source of tension.

Save in the small church groups which have "come apart from the world", where integration is strong and where the links with a national body, if present at all, are tenuous, a pattern seems to be emerging showing that in all the denominations there is a cleavage between the conservative and liberal groups. In most cases the clergy and more informed laymen are more liberally-inclined while the average man-in-the-pew tends to be more conservative in his outlook. Even the very locally-oriented Baptists have a certain amount of tension within the "saved" group regarding attitudes to the "unsaved". The tension between the "gathered church" and "church universal" was very clear in the Methodists' controversy about the open or closed nature of the Laymen's League.

The Churches and Politics

Many people regard religion as one "compartment" in their lives, apart from life generally, while others regard their religion as permeating the whole of life. More than one church leader decried this "compartmentalisation", and one illustrated it by pointing to the fact that his congregation members fail to support organisations such as the Christian Council of Southern Africa and the Christian Institute because "they are shy of involvement in politics". Such people regard politics as beyond the scope of the church. Another churchman declared that the church has

not encroached on politics, but politics has encroached on the domain of the church. Others believe the present government to be part of God's plan for the whole world and as we are still free to worship we cannot say there has been political interference in the churches. Another informant feels the church as an institution should not be politically active in the sense of "fiery sermons", but that church members as individuals should be politically active in such issues as investigating the implications of the Group Areas Act. Roman Catholics are more anxious about government interference in what they regard as the church's domain, e.g. the Immorality Act. Another Roman Catholic feels his churchmen are evading the "church and politics" issue by concentrating on the two current issues of ecumenism and the liturgy. Yet other Roman Catholic feels "the church is a tolerated minority group and as such it must not get mixed up in anything that is so highly controversial". This last remark may well reflect the point of view of many members of other churches, each of which, as an individual group, is a minority group. If the churches find a common platform it is possible that this "defeatist" attitude may change.

The Churches and Communism

One local minister feels that communism is a threat to Christianity in that communism is now almost another faith - in materialism, a trust in man - and that it is thereby anti-Christian. It appears that most South Africans fear communism less as an anti-Christian faith than as a danger to the social way of life of the community. This basic confusion, in the eyes of one informant, has caused the attack on the World Council of Churches. Most informants related communism to the race question, but felt that communism was not an issue locally. This view applies specially to the lay people. Ministers are concerned less with attitudes to communism than with attitudes to Christianity, and decry the fact that to most of the people Christianity appears to be a matter of form only. The Communist Party is the only political party rejected by the local Roman Catholic informants, for the same reason as above. Local Anglican officials have been outspoken in refuting accusations of communism levelled at the Anglican Church. Small church group leaders are mainly concerned with "preaching the full Gospel", which is itself the ultimate solution to such problems as communism, and have not considered communism in particular as a threat to Christianity.

Social Stratification in the Church

Few church members were conscious of social stratification, while most had some opinion regarding ecumenism, race relations, etc. Of those who were aware of social distinctions some accounted for it in terms of the age and education structure of the town, with its many low-income aged people and its dominant upper-income education-ists. As we have already seen, many small church group people joined their groups because of the friendliness found in the small group compared with the non-acceptance of the poor in the established churches. This phenomenon is found in all congregations, including the Dutch Reformed Church and Roman Catholic Church. Some Roman Catholic informants blamed the parish priest for neglecting the poor of his parish. It would be interesting to know how neglectful the active Roman Catholic members are themselves in this regard.

Conclusion

The findings of the whole investigation of leadership patterns in Grahamstown indicate that very few individuals, if any, can be said to have a community-wide influence. Some are well-known throughout the community, but their actual influence is sectional, covering (say) their professional sphere of operations, or some voluntary body. This is epitomised in the expression of the wife of an influential Anglican who said to her husband, "You live in a Diocesan vacuum". The other church leaders, clerical and lay, are no exception to this. As far as the Christian churches of Grahamstown are concerned, at least, we cannot say they uphold the view of C. Wright Mills that a "Power Elite" rules this community.

METHODOLOGYDefinition of Leadership

We defined as leaders those people who have most influence in the development of the community. Leadership, in the more theoretical sense, refers to the situation in which one party performs actions or makes, legitimizes, and executes decisions which have consequences, intended or unintended, on the social chances, thinking or action of some other party. Leadership involves a leader (influencer) who controls or affects (influences) a follower (influencee) in a communication process.

Our approach is basically the same as that of Charles Freeman (1957 : 319-322)

"The conceptual frame of reference of the theory of action has been used in this study, with some modifications. An attempt has been made to see, for various community actions, how a group by process of interaction sets goals and allocates means within limiting conditions, in accordance with its orientation to a situation, over a period of time.

"Within this frame of reference, leadership has been viewed, not as an isolated trait of individuals, but as a complex process of group action. Leadership may be defined as the process by which an individual influences a group, of which he is a member, in the making of decisions." (p.319)

"Decision making is the determination of goals, or means of action (including roles, persons, facilities, rewards, and punishments). Leadership, thus, has a function in two aspects of group action: the setting of goals and the allocation of means." (p.320)

Identification of Leaders

Most studies of community leadership have used one of three techniques (or a combination or modification of the three) to identify community leaders: the decision making or event-analysis approach, the positional or formal leadership approach, and the reputational approach.

In a paper read in 1963 Laskin and Phillett argued in favour of the use of the positional method in small communities:

"The methodology would be based on the theory that small town leadership is formally located and that important community decisions are made, and carried out, through the lines of action developed in the network of local voluntary organizations." (1963:5)

In 1964, however, these same authors reported a reversal of their earlier conclusions. Subsequent research has proved that, even in small communities, the positional and reputational techniques did not identify the same people as leaders. (p.6)

Linton C. Freeman, et al ("Locating Leaders", A.S.R., 1963) came to the conclusion that "leadership is not a homogeneous category and that the type of leader uncovered "seems in large part to be a function of the mode of study. The several traditional indexes allow

us to locate one or another of three basic types of 'leaders'." (p.797)

1. The Institutional leaders who enjoy the reputation for top leadership and who are identified by studies of reputation, position or organizational participation.
2. The Effectors who are active workers in the actual process of community decision making and who are identified by studying participation in decision making.
3. The Activists who are active - and often hold office - in voluntary organizations, community service organizations, etc. They participate less in decision making than the Effectors and lack the positional stature to be Institutional Leaders.

In an attempt to overcome these problems we have worked toward the integration and coordination of various methods in order to identify general community leaders of all types.

Decision Making Approach

The decision making approach to the identification of community leaders is based on the assumption that active participation in decision making is leadership. This approach involves tracing the actions of leaders in regard to decision making and policy formation within the context of specific issues. The tracing may be done by gathering data from extensive interviews, from attendance at committee meetings, from reports, speeches, and newspaper accounts.

This approach is also known as the "event or issue analysis" approach.

This approach is regarded by many as the most realistic since it measures actual, overt power rather than potential power. It is, however, severely handicapped by the lengthy period required for useful analysis. Dahl's assistant, for example, spent a year's internship in the New Haven city hall in "highly strategic locations." (Who Governs, p. vi). For this reason these studies are often restricted to a small number of decisions. "and they usually fail to present convincing evidence on the questions of intent and amount of impact." (Linton C. Freeman, "Locating Leaders", : 793)

Linton C. Freeman and associates (Local Community Leadership, 1960) chose the event analysis method to study community leadership and to identify the leaders, i.e. "those who participate in the process of making decisions." (p. 7)

The researchers then set about selecting a "set of community problems or issues which would provide a point of entry into a pool (or pools) of participants in the leadership process." (p. 7) They employed eight criteria for the selection of issues representative of the community in general. An initial list of 250 issues was then reduced to 39 which met two basic criteria:

1. they were representative of the widest possible range of content;
2. they were maximally important in terms of the perceptions of the informants.

The next step in the research process required the determination of the positional leaders or formal authorities for each of the set of 39 issues.

The number of authorities responsible for making each of these decisions ranged from 2 to 57; the mean was 21.9 authorities per decision. (Linton G. Freeman, 1960, : 14)

Charles Freeman (1957 : 320-321) calculated decision making scores on the basis of data abstracted from intensive interviews concerning 41 community actions which were innovations for the acting group.

Each of the 813 decisions making up the 41 actions was reduced to a monetary figure on the basis of the expected cost of carrying it out. The expected cost of any decision included:

1. cash expenditure;
2. money equivalent of donated materials;
3. man-hours of volunteer work.

Decision making scores took into account:

1. Six items of behaviour in decision making

<u>Item</u>	
Took any part in decision.	1
If decision was considered on only one occasion,..... took part on that occasion.	1
If decision was considered more than once, took part more than once.	1
Made proposal.	1
Was member of informal group which decided.	1
Decided alone.	2

2. Expected cost of decisions in which the person took part:

Under \$ 10	1
\$10 - \$99	2
\$100 or more	3

The decision making or event analysis approach is time-consuming and was not used as the principal method for identifying leaders in the present study. Furthermore, for reasons enumerated elsewhere, we found that many areas of community activity were permeated with political implications of a very controversial nature. In many cases it was decided not to probe too deeply into controversial issues for fear of embarrassing and estranging potential informants.

Our analysis of events and issues therefore formed a supplementary part of the analysis and was done as a check on the principal methods of formal and reputational analyses.

The main events of the community over the past number of years are discussed in the preceding chapters. These reports analysed in detail the roles that various people played in these issues. In the questionnaire administered to 90 community leaders questions were asked

about their attitudes toward these issues. These attitudes are analysed in Chapter Ten.

These issues included group areas, school conflict, industrial development, local welfare, politics, Rhodes University political protest movements, and several issues in local government.

Positional Approach

It has been argued that the formal technique of leader identification is the quickest, most efficient, and the most reliable method.

It involves the selection of persons holding important offices in the formal voluntary associations in the community. It can be easily standardized.

Vidich and Bensman, in their study of a small community found that the relatively small corps of important leaders occupy "a great many of the available positions" in the town's most important associations.

Laskin and Phillett conclude that "There seem to be evidence that, in the small town, leadership and community action are manifested mainly through voluntary associations." (1963, p.4)

Their theory is "that small town leadership is formally located and that important community decisions are made, and carried out, through the lines of action developed in the network of local voluntary organizations." (p.5)

The positional approach consists of the use of extensive lists of formal positions or offices to help define leadership. Those individuals holding the greatest number and most important offices in the community are considered to be the most influential leaders. Each office-holder is given a total score consisting of a sum of scores for all offices he holds. Top leaders are those with the highest scores.

In establishing the scoring system two factors are considered: the relative influence rating of the organization, and the relative weight of the office or position within the organization.

Scoring of respective positions within the organization is usually based on an arbitrarily weighted system. Charles Freeman ("Decision Makers" Social Forces, 1957 : 320) assigned the following weights:

<u>Position</u>	<u>Weight</u>
President	4
Other officer	3
Chairman of Committee	2
Other Committee Member	1

James E. White ("Theory and Method" : 1950) devised an index of formal leadership, termed Total Office Score, using the following arbitrarily weighted scoring system:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Chair offices | 5 points |
| 2. Board offices | 4 points |
| 3. Major Committee Chairmanships | 3 points |
| 4. Minor Committee Chairmanships | 2 points |

The second consideration in assigning formal leadership scores is the influence rating of organizations. Laskin and Phillitt ("An Integrative Analysis," undated) took into account "the degree to which decisions of the officers might be expected to affect persons or groups outside of the organization itself." (p. 5) Their scoring system is given in Table 1 below:

Scores Assigned for Offices in Different Types
of Organizations

Type of Organization	Chairman President or Head	Vice-President Secretary Treasurer	Other Executive Offices	Minor Offices
1. Organizations with important effects on non-members e.g. Town Council, Board of Trade School Board, Church Board	6	5	4	3
2. Organizations with Moderate effects on non-members e.g. Community service, professional and labour associations, fraternal lodges	5	4	3	2
3. Organizations with little or no effect on non-members e.g. athletic, social and recreational groups	4	3	2	1

In rating associations according to influence, we argued more or less like Laskin and Phillitt. We took into account the scope of the association's impact on the community. Our preliminary classification was then submitted to members of the community whose suggestions were taken into account in refining the rating.

Linton C. Freeman and associates ("Locating Leaders", A.S.R., 28: 795) merely selected in consultation with local experts the "largest" or "top" organizations in Syracuse. "The heads of these organizations might be expected to have formal control over much of the institutional system of the community." (p. 796)

In the present study the following scores were assigned to office holders:

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| president and vice-president | 3 |
| chairman and vice-chairman | 3 |
| secretary | 3 |

/treasurer.....

treasurer	2
member of dagbestuur (steering committee)	2
ordinary executive member	1
Some special cases were:	
circuit steward	3
mayor	3
dominee in Kerkraad	3
patron, padre	1
past president	1

All voluntary associations in the community were classified in terms of influence in the community. We took into consideration the general impact the association had on the development of the community over the past five years; to what extent it influenced, shaped or prevented certain developments, or events. Fourteen associations were classified as very influential and were assigned a score of three each; twenty eight were classified as influential and received a score of two; the rest were regarded as not influential and were assigned a score of one.

The total Formal Leadership Score (F.L.S.) of a leader then consisted of the sum total for a period of five years (1961 to 1965 both inclusive) of the score of his position multiplied by the score of the association.

In order to understand formal leadership, or leadership in voluntary associations, we have analysed voluntary associations in detail. These analyses are presented in Chapter Ten.

The Reputational Method

The conventional reputational method for the study of community power has been criticized by Wolfinger (1962) and others as "seriously deficient as a technique for the study of a local political system." He writes about the reputational method: "It requires a factual assumption that is obviously false; its findings are often invalidated, and never confirmed; and its product conveys very little useful information about a local political system.... In this time neither Hunter nor any of his legion of champions and imitators has produced a validation of the reputational method....." In a recent article Linton C. Freeman, et al., (1963) observes that much of the recent literature on community leadership has been critical.

Reservations about this method amount to the following:

- (a) because of its subjective nature it cannot be replicated as a reliable research tool; (Rogers in Swanson, 1962)
- (b) because of its vague and ambiguous definition of influence it cannot be accepted as a valid measurement of influence;
- (c) the method fails to yield usable data on the nature of the power structure.

After comparing the reputational method with others, Laskin and Phillitt conclude that it has the greatest potential.

"In order to make it a reliable methodological tool, however, a number of things must be done. First of all, the many dimensions of community influence (including such qualities as decision making, holding of important positions, getting things done, having opinions which carry weight, being of a particular sex, age level, occupational class, religious group, and so forth) must be methodically studied and clarified. Next, these various dimensions must be evaluated in terms of the nature of different types of community, or, put into different words, the differences in the process of leadership in different kinds of communities must be examined. A standard "leadership inventory" must be designed, so that the results of research in different communities can be compared. At present, with each researcher asking the particular question which suits his fancy, of the particular respondent cohort which he happens to choose, it is next to impossible to state that we do indeed have any real body of reputational leadership research. Finally, having made this technique more or less reliable, the contributions of the other leadership research techniques, including the positional and the issue approach, and a few others, must be assessed with regard to their ability to validate the basic reputational method." (1964 : 9)

Though this statement on the need for the improvement of the reputational method was made in 1964, we modestly suggest that the C.I. Technique which was developed in 1960 and reapplied in 1965, meets most of these demands.

In the present paper a modified version of the conventional method and a special technique are presented. This is an attempt to standardize the reputational method. It is submitted that the approach described in this method, the way informants were selected, and the design of the technique, overcame the major criticisms against the reputational method, and that the method described below yielded reliable data.

The technique was developed while the author conducted research in Esterhazy, a small community in south eastern Saskatchewan, Canada, during the year 1959-60. A modified version of this method was subsequently applied in the analysis of leadership patterns in the community of Grahamstown.

In Saskatchewan the author first employed the conventional reputational method for identifying leaders by asking twelve raters to rate a list of possible leaders on a scale of influence. During the rating process the researcher realized that he could not accept uncritically the judgement of some raters. In an attempt to have representatives from all social strata some informants were included who did not meet

the necessary standards of objectivity and reliability. Competent, objective informants were sparsely distributed through the community and were not well represented in all social, economic, or educational strata.

This was not a public opinion poll in which we attempted to average out different views on leaders regardless of the validity of these perceptions. Unless some additional mechanism was employed to assure maximum reliability and validity of the ratings the reputational method cannot claim to be much different from a public opinion poll. And we were not trying to get at public images of leaders, or reputations for power, but at objective assessments of actual leadership.

While collecting data from the people identified in the conventional reputational method (first applied) as top influentials, it became apparent to the researcher that there was not sufficient demonstration in the case of some leaders of actual influence. It appeared that some could be appropriately classified as highly respected, potential leaders. In the analysis of relevant issues it also became evident that there were a few influential leaders in the community who were left out.

On further discussion with some of the raters they readily agreed with these impressions of the researcher, explaining that some activities and incidents in the community escaped their minds. Had they had the opportunity to first discuss it with another knowledgeable (even with the researcher who was well acquainted with the community), they would have rated some names differently.

We have, subsequently, modified the approach, selected the informants on another basis, and devised a specific technique in an effort to overcome the more serious defects of the conventional reputational method.

In the following discussion we will indicate that the definition employed in the studies in Esterhazy and in Grahamstown was clear and unambiguous and that we measured actual influence and not merely reputations for power. In the steps described below reliable key informants cooperated with the research worker in a structured interview in which leaders were identified, rated, and analyzed in terms of certain variables specified in the Cooperating-Informant Technique.

A Modified Approach

Definition

Wolfinger (1960 : 639) criticizes the Hunter and other studies for employing ambiguous definitions of influence. For this reason, he claims, there is no proof that the researcher and respondent shared the same definition of power.

We should not confuse power and status or popularity, and we should make sure to include the exercise of power by unpopular people. This problem was illustrated in the present study when the researcher noted the tendency among informants to overemphasize high status, respect, popularity, and potential influence. Subsequently the phenomena of illegitimate power, blackmail, cheating, etc. were included in the definition presented to the informants (see the instructions to the informants in the Coöperating-Informant Technique).

Because of the intimate contact and extended intelligent communication between researcher and respondent described below, it appears probable that they shared the same definition of influence in the present study and that the perceptions of informants were intelligent and useful.

D'Antonio and Erickson (June, 1962 : 371) commented favorably on the intelligent perceptions of their informants. Wolfinger almost went to a nihilistic position of denying the possibility of doing any research based on what people report about their impressions. If we took Wolfinger seriously, both sociologists and anthropologists might have to give up studying real life situations and retire to laboratories.

The Measurement of Actual Influence

Wolfinger and Ehrlich both assert that a measure of potential power tells us "nothing or very little about the objective structure of power and decision making in the local community." (Ehrlich, 1961:927) In the Saskatchewan study it was found that the conventional reputational method yielded mainly a measure of potential influence. The Coöperating-Informant Technique was subsequently developed in an attempt to get at actual influence.

However, we should not draw the line between potential and actual influence too sharply. If influence is potential it may be actualized at any moment. The researcher is not interested in a single moment in community history. If he limits his attention to actual influence in a given period, he will overlook important leaders who happen not to be doing anything during that period. Yet, throughout the period, people in the community do not cease from walking around with him in mind as an influential person. Whose advice will be sought and who will be pushed into office next time depends to a great extent on these images in people's minds.

By asking informants to indicate "who have had the most influence over a period of five years" we have tried to overcome the potential danger of limiting our inquiry only to the immediate present situation.

In the New Haven Community Leadership Study Polsby (1959 : 798) followed up his first step, of constructing a "leadership pool", with

lengthy interviews with many persons named on the lists, in the course of which key decisions in each issue-area were identified. We had less emphasis on decision making, which was regarded as only one component of leadership. In Polsby's study, as in most others, investigation of leaders is made after the ratings have been done. In the present study such interviews were conducted with leaders, but even the rating process itself was actually based on such investigation and analysis.

Inquiries into a person's sphere of activity, his position, and his characteristics are made systematically and concurrently. The informant has to justify his ratings by demonstrating actual influence. Subsequent direct, personal interviews with leaders, in the tradition of the other studies mentioned were conducted and yielded data with which those provided by the key informants were correlated.

The Use of Key Informants

Wolfinger, Key (1950) and others have noted the unreliability of private citizens as informants. Criticisms amount, inter alia, to the following: private citizens, as laymen, are not scientifically oriented, and cannot discuss social phenomena objectively, especially those in which they are personally involved. Thus influentials themselves would be unreliable sources of information on leadership in the community.

Another objection raised by critics is that there is evidence that the researcher and the informants used in the reputational method did not share the same concepts of influence.

It is submitted that in the present approach the reliability of informants has been established, the concept of influence was clearly and unambiguously defined, and the researcher and informants shared the same definition of influence.

Trenblay (1957) has noted that in most communities there are "natural observers" with particular skills as informants, who have been life-long students of the human scene. They make accurate observations and intelligent inferences about the behaviour of their fellow-men or themselves. Since they do not always find people with whom they can exchange these "academic" interests, the interview with the social scientists affords them considerable satisfaction. That this is especially true for Saskatchewan has been noted by Lipset in the preface to Agrarian Socialism. (1959) He asserts that he encountered in Saskatchewan a greater concentration of lay social scientists than any other place he has visited.

This naturally applies to the Grahamstown community which is one of the principal educational centres in the country.

Role of Research Worker

It has been a canon of social research that the researcher should play a minimum role in the process of data collection during interviewing. However, it is not realized that the researcher can distort reality in still greater measure when he sits down to analyze and interpret the data after they have been collected. If his personal orientation, (including values and prejudices) is going to enter into the final report anyway, there is little reason why he should not be allowed to raise his views in the presence of community members in a situation which is ideal for discussion and enlightenment.

It was found that the participation of the researcher contributed toward more objective and systematic procedures. Furthermore, the participation of the researcher, a participant observer in the community, himself familiar with all the leaders and their characteristics, served as a valuable check on the decisions of the informants. Agger and Goldrich (A.S.R., 23, p. 385) found that there was considerable consensus on the rating of community influentials between respondents and participant observers. We feel it is unfortunate that this almost complete separation of the roles of researcher as "scientist" and of informant as "layman" is carried to such an extreme in all facets of research. How many of the great contributions in sociology did not originate from ideas, opinions, or hunches suggested by "laymen"?

A Structured Interview

Because of its standardized nature, data gathered in a structured interview can be used for comparative purposes and can be made of greater scientific use. Trenblay (1957) spelled out a "key informant technique" from the viewpoint of its planning and its place in a structured, yet flexible, research design for data gathering.

Trenblay's interviews with his key informants were conducted according to a structured program with restricted framework of questions with highly-focused objectives.

"It is structured in the sense that the interviewer, familiar with the type of material sought from the informant, has a framework of questions in mind. This framework, which gives an idea of the type of material sought and which limits the universe to be studied, is told to the key informant at the beginning of the interview in order to give him some orientation. If the informant's conversation is irrelevant to the topic or if he veers repeatedly from the main focus of the interview, the research worker interjects comments or questions intended to bring him back, but without forcing him to adopt a predetermined pattern of conversation.... A salient feature of the informant-researcher interaction is that the former is encouraged to bring out all the /facts.....

facts pertinent to the researcher's interest.

The interview process develops the informant's skills to recall facts and situations, stimulates his memory, and facilitates the expression of these recollections.
(1957 : 690)

These were the basic principles underlying the Coöperating-Informant (C.I.) Technique. The researcher convened pairs of key informants at a time for such a structured interview. The main purpose of the interview was, first, to rate influentials and then to describe and analyze them. It was explained to the informants that the whole process would be a joint venture of researcher and both informants. Since agreement of at least two people was required for all decisions, each proponent had to defend his views in cases where there were differences of opinion. This sometimes led to long discussions in which all sides of the issue were thoroughly explored and analyzed, thus ensuring more considered opinion and description. Through give-and-take discussion key informants and the researcher further enlighten each other. After sharing their knowledge, and considering pros and cons, they work out ratings together. Not only an adding process is taking place, but a correcting process occurs as well. Informant A's ignorance does not get averaged out with informant B's knowledge, as would be the case in calculating statistical averages of ratings in the conventional method. Rather B's knowledge is imparted to A, and the final rating is a well-discussed, well-founded rating.

Obviously, dominant and persistent personalities may influence decisions unduly, but this is a general problem in all scientific research and reporting, and is not particular to this situation.

In order to provide valid descriptions and evaluations, a comprehensive body of knowledge as a wider framework is a prerequisite. Such knowledge enhances the chances of valid comparative analysis, which is especially relevant in ratings and identification of characteristics as described below. The raters are asked to decide on the leaders' characteristics relative to others on the list. For instance, if a leader is popular they should not simply check popularity, but they should compare his degree of popularity with those of the other leaders and only check popularity if he is one of the most popular leaders among the top group. Such a comparative analysis assures the elimination of superfluous data which are obvious and salient but of little value relative to others.

The Coöperating-Informant Technique

The C.I. Technique consisted of the following steps: Rating of leaders in terms of influence, and classification of leaders in

/ terms.....

terms of:

1. Spheres of leadership
2. Means by which leadership roles or positions were gained
3. Channels through which leadership is exercised
4. Types of leadership
5. Visibility of leaders
6. Leaders' orientations toward local and larger social structures
7. Characteristics of leaders
8. Causes of leadership

The instructions to the informants read as follows : "You are provided with the names of leaders in Grahamstown community, and you are asked first to rate them and then to describe and classify them in terms of the framework provided. You are provided with a categorized classification scheme in which you have to check off the appropriate boxes."

a) Rating

From the names of leaders provided pick the top thirty on the basis of their actual influence on the development of the community in general. Judge them according to their influence during approximately the past five years. In the views of some people their influence may be "bad" or "good", "progressive" or "detrimental". Some may even have held back the development of the community. We are not concerned with these value judgments. If a "bad" man's influence is stronger than that of a "good" man, he must be rated higher than the "good" man. Then write the names of the top fifty and the fifty following on the chart provided in order from most to least influence. This order is not of utmost importance. We can not always definitely decide which of two or three leaders has more or most influence in the community in general.

b) Spheres of leadership and institutional affiliation

In what sphere of community life does he/she have the most or strongest influence? Some people have considerable influence in more than one sphere of community life. In such cases write an A in the column of the sphere in which he has most influence, B in the second most, and so on, but make sure to check additional spheres only for those who have a real wide influence in the community. Most of the leaders are limited to mainly one sphere. A list of recent issues has been provided to refresh your memories about activities within the various spheres. Within each sphere of most influence iden-

/tified.....

tified by the letters A, B, etc., also identify the appropriate institution with which the leader is affiliated in the leadership process, and through which he exercised most of his influence.

1. Community Service
Include such groups as Red Cross, Rotary, Round Table
2. Culture
Activities concerned with the general cultural development of the community (excluding the field of formal education).
Such groups as the Music Society, Afrikaanse Leeskring, N.C.W.
3. Commerce
Activities concerned with commercial development in the community.
Owning or managing a shop.
Such groups as Chamber of Commerce
Most influence in this sphere may be exercised by individuals in their different occupations rather than in community organizations.
4. Other Economic
Activities concerned with economic development not falling within the field of commerce. Owning or managing a factory, a farm, or organizing a labour union.
Labour union.
Industrial development
Farming.
5. Education
Activities concerned with formal education, such as teaching, administration, policy formulation, etc.
School Committees, School Board, Rhodes University Council
6. Local Government
Activities concerned with local government and administration like in the Town Council.
7. National Government (Political, Legislative, Executive, Judicial, Defence, Police)
Parties and other associations seeking to influence public policies and legislation. They operate on a local or constituency-wide basis.

8. Health and Welfare
 Concerned with the field of private or public health and welfare of especially the underprivileged part of the community. Hospitals, clinics, Welfare organizations, Cripple Care, Kupugani, GADRA, Freemason's B.C.E.S.I.
9. Recreation, Sports and Entertainment, Social
 Activities concerned with the above, excluding those of primarily a cultural and educational nature. Athletics, rugby, variety concerts, gun club, dancing, car club homing society
10. Religion: English Churches
11. Religion: Afrikaans Churches
12. Non-European
- c) Means by which leadership roles or positions were gained.
 Leaders get into positions of authority, influence or power by various ways and means. Some are elected or appointed to positions of authority which give them influence over others, while others gain influence in the community by independently establishing themselves (doctor, lawyer, merchant). Some gain influence by working themselves up into powerful occupations, and others by getting into influential or powerful positions in organizations. Use letters to check, as above, but note that the columns are divided into a) for occupations and b) for associations. (See Dahl: 97 - vocational and avocational).
1. Elected by whole or significant part of community to a position of authority.
 a) in his occupation
 b) in the executive of an organization
2. Appointed by a local body or a person to a position of authority in
 a) occupation
 b) any honorary non-occupational position for which no reward is received
3. Appointed by an authority outside the local community to
 a) occupation
 b) any other position

4. Achieved leadership role or position by independantly establishing himself by means of individual characteristics, endowments (viz. strong personality, financial power, superior knowledge, etc.)
- a) in independent profession (doctor, lawyer)
 - b) non-occupational activities (social life, recreation, community development, etc.)

d) Channels through which leadership is exercised

A leader brings his influence to bear on the community through different means or channels in the communication process. A leader's influence can be spread through an organization or association with which he is associated or in which he has power; or he may exert pressure and force support through means of financial power over other people; he may have influence by being popular or respected; or he may influence the community by getting things done all by himself without even getting support from the public. Write an A in the category you think most appropriate for each leader. Write B, C, etc., if you think there are more categories which are also very appropriate.

1. Through voluntary associations in which the leader has a strong position or upon which he exerts pressure to elicit preferred action or following.
2. By having financial power which gives him control over economic affairs, over the economic development of the community, and consequently over related aspects of behaviour, actions and life-chances of people concerned. He forces support.
3. By having professional authority through means of which he can order people around, or make decisions which influence the development of the community. He demands support.
4. By being popular he gets people behind him to get things done or to put schemes through.
5. By being respected by the community he elicits the required support for his viewpoint from the larger community.
6. By individual action, efforts, by doing it himself, he gets things done regardless of the support of the people; for instance by negotiating with the relevant authorities outside the community he may contribute to the establishment of certain institutions (like a library) which have a significant impact on the community.

c) Types of Leadership

We have distinguished four types of leadership. Check off the appropriate ones as in the cases above.

Formal Control:

1. Legitimate. Control by means of holding a legally recognized and sanctioned office to control the behavior of others, exercised within the jurisdiction of that office, i.e., as prescribed by the rules and regulations defining the scope, functions, and limits of that office, and the measure of control to be exercised. (e.g. The manager directing his employees at the mine; the lawyer directing his clerical staff).
2. Illegitimate. Control which is exercised by means of an office, but which is not justified by the rules and regulations defining the limits of the jurisdiction of that office, and which is not sanctioned by the larger system of which this office is a part. It is illegitimate if it is against the interest of the relevant group, or if it is exercised in spheres not falling within the jurisdiction of that office. (e.g. The manager abusing his authority at the plant, or the manager meddling in community affairs).

Informal Control:

1. Legitimate--Influence Persuasion. Influence refers to leadership which is exercised without apparent authority or force, and which is being accepted freely by the follower. It is leadership by means of superior personal characteristics and competence, which is accepted by the follower out of his own free will. (e.g. opinion leadership).
2. Illegitimate--Coercion. Coercion refers to informal, personal control over others exercised in interpersonal communication without formal authority by means which are not sanctioned or justified by any shared set of values of the group as a whole. (e.g. blackmail and exertion of economic pressure to elicit "favorable" political response).

f) Visibility of Leaders

Do not use letters by ordinary checks (✓) for the appropriate box. Check one only.

1. Works behind the scenes, on the face-to-face, person-to-person level; not necessarily clandestinely, but not in public; does not appear on public platform at open meetings but influences people in private communications.

2. Public personality who expounds his views in public by addressing public gatherings of people, airs his views through mass media such as the newspaper; by distributing pamphlets, by utilizing campaign assistants to spread the word or order.
3. Unclassifiable.
- g) Leaders' Orientations toward Local and Larger Social Structure
Check off like in f) above.

1. Localites: Those whose interests and activities are confined largely to the local community. (parochial)
2. Cosmopolites: Those whose interests and activities lie largely outside the local community. (ecumenical)
3. Mixed

The distinction made on the basis of orientation is based on that made by Merton. The definitions applied in the present study had to be modified because of different procedures in research and methods and techniques used in the present study, and also because of difference in community structure. Whereas Merton's study was conducted in a large urban center, the present study covered a smaller community.

In an attempt to define the two types distinguished above, we will discuss the various characteristics which distinguish between the two types in the local community:

- (a) Preoccupation.
The localite largely confines his interest to the local community. He devotes little time or energy to the "Great Society". He is preoccupied with local problems.
The cosmopolitan, being classified as a local leader, naturally has interests in the local community, but he is also oriented significantly to the outside world, and is, more than the localite, aware of his links with the outside world, and the part that he plays in that world.
- (b) Structure of social relations
The local leader is typically concerned with knowing as many people as possible. His decisive interest is in personal contacts which enable him to establish himself when he needs political, business, or other support. (Merton: 396-7) He has a marked interest in establishing frequent contacts with many people.

The cosmopolitan leaders are less interested in meeting as many people as possible. For then it is not how many people they know but the kind of people they know that counts.

"If the local influentials are quantitativists, the cosmopolitans are qualitativists in this regard." (Merton: 397)

- (c) Avenues to interpersonal influence (paths to success, leadership)
 The local leaders' influence rests on elaborate network of personal relationships. The influence of local leaders rests not so much on what they know but on whom they know. Influence stems from reciprocities with others in the community. The cosmopolitan leader is well equipped with the prestige and skills associated with his business, his profession, or his "worldly" experience. His credentials are found in the prestige and authority of his attainments in the larger social structure. Leadership stems from what they know, regardless of whom they know, and with whom they reciprocate.
- (d) Patterns of utilizing leadership-role
 The local leaders lead because they understand. They are sought out for advice by the followers because of their intimate acquaintance with and appreciation of intangible but affectively significant details. There is a close social relationship between leader and follower.
 Cosmopolitans lead because they know. They are sought out for advice because of their specialized skills and experience. Leadership typically entails social distance between leader and follower.

Notes on Tests for Reliability of the Technique

a. Internal consistency. One could expect some consistency of leader description within the various categories of the instrument (the C.I. Technique). One could for instance expect that a leader checked for type one leadership, "legitimate authority", would be checked for "high occupational status" or "position of authority" among the categories of characteristics; that a leader in the sphere of religion would be checked for "good character." In other words, distinctions among, and classifications within, certain dimensions of leadership should be consistent in all aspects of the instrument.

b. Agreement of different panels. Such a structured interview not only systematizes data collection in the current project, but, thereby also dictates the steps for subsequent research operations whereby reliability can be established, or comparisons can be made.

The instrument can be tested for reliability by using different panels to rate and describe the same community leaders. A high level of statistical significance cannot be expected with the instrument in its present crude stage. Much more refinement and operational definition is necessary.

Naturally, there is the problem of spurious reliability which may result when the same researcher participates in subsequent sittings with other informants in attempts to establish reliability, but this cannot outweigh the advantages of this system over the more subjectivistic approach in the conventional method.

Notes on Possible Extensions of C.I.T.

The researchers gave attention to the possible inclusion of another aspect of leadership in the C.I. technique, namely scope of leadership. Scope of leadership is a significant factor in the evaluation of a leader's impact on the community and it has received much attention from researchers. Thus far there has not been offered a reliable technique to measure scope of influence.

Though we did not apply our new ideas systematically in the present study, we would like to suggest possible categories for future exploration.

We distinguished between three levels of scope of leadership : the first refers to scope beyond the boundaries of the local community; the second to the scope beyond the boundaries of subcultural groups in the community; and the third to the scope across various spheres of leadership activity. The latter level is the one usually referred to in studies of community leadership.

The data needed for an analysis of scope of leadership in terms of spheres of activity have been collected in the relevant question in the C.I. Technique described above. On the basis of this information we may classify leaders as being:

- a) Comprehensive, i.e. having significant impact in three or more spheres. Leadership is multidimensional;
- b) limited, i.e. having significant impact in two spheres;
- c) focussed (or narrow), i.e. having impact in one sphere only. Leadership is unidimensional.

The scope of leadership across subcultural groups in the Community of Grahamstown has special reference to the language groups. We suggest the following classification:

1. Community Wise i.e. the person covers a large overall section of the community by virtue of the fact that he is a town Councillor, or a business man with interests in the wider community. Here we see the contrast between "town

/and.....

and "town" people. Few people at the University (a significant, but not appreciably large enough section of the community) have interests outside the confines of their learning, similarly few towns-people take an active interest in the University.

2. Language Wise i.e. the people who are older and who do penetrate both the language groups in the community, and are accepted.
3. English Speaking Community only.
4. Section of English Community.
5. Afrikaans Speaking Community only.
6. Section of Afrikaans Community.
7. Non-European Community.

With regard to scope of leadership beyond the local community, we suggest the following classification:

1. Significant, Much - (Cosmopolites)
2. Less Significant, Somewhat, Less, (Mixed)
3. None (Localites)

CHAPTER TENANALYSIS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONSDefinition of a Voluntary Association

Not all associations in the community readily fit into any definition of voluntary associations. Richard Laskin (Voluntary Organizations in a Saskatchewan town, p.11) reports that defining a voluntary association was not so easy as one might expect.

"Non-voluntary organizations often have voluntary aspects, and voluntary associations may have features that are not voluntary. Let us think of voluntary associations, then, as those organizations having a primarily voluntary character.

To the extent that a private group is voluntarily joined, formally organized, and maintained by part-time, unpaid activities - it is a voluntary association." (p.11)

Laskin's definition rules out business and other organizations whereby people make a living. His definition includes a condition that it must be "voluntarily joined" which logically excludes governmental organizations and activities like the Town Council. He includes the Town Council, however. While Town Councillors in Saskatchewan towns receive a small remuneration which is based on the number of Council meetings they attend, Councillors in Grahamstown receive no remuneration.

Laskin's definition also rules out informal friendship circles which are voluntary but not formally organized, and groups into which people are born, like the family. Laskin suggests that the church belongs to the latter category and should also be excluded. The church and church related associations were included in the Grahamstown study because church membership certainly is not merely ascribed; there is not only theoretically, but also in actual fact, sufficient evidence of free and voluntary choice.

We find the Laskin definition applicable in our study:

"A voluntary association is any private group, voluntarily and more or less formally organized, joined and maintained by members pursuing a common interest, usually by means of part-time unpaid activities." (p.11)

Voluntary Associations seen in a wider context

Studies of voluntary associations customarily consisted of analysis of the characteristics of the participants and especially the formal office-holders. Gordon and Babchuk (1959) proposed a theory of voluntary associations in the form of a typology utilizing the three criteria of accessibility of membership, status defining capacity of the association, and the function of the organization for the participant defined as instrumental or expressive.

The studies of Gordon and Babchuk, (1959) of Bell and Force (1956) and others help us to see voluntary associations in their interrelationship

with the larger community or society. This wider perspective facilitates interpretation.

It is apparent that the understanding of local associations can best be achieved when seen in a wider network. This approach also enables comparison with associations in other communities and provides the groundwork for generalizations.

This more macroscopic approach is especially important in the study of leadership, which is the main focus of the present study. In the analysis of formal leadership the basic framework for leadership activity is provided by the associations.

It will be demonstrated in this report that local leadership in Grahamstown can best be understood when seen in terms of national trends in South Africa. Almost every major event in Grahamstown and the decisions taken to cope with these events have been deeply, if not predominantly, shaped by events or decisions originating outside the community.

Hunter writes (in R. Young, p. 347):

"We need more empirical study conducted upon a societal level - national level - to fit the community concept into some perspective and to see what role individual communities and groups within communities play in the societal scheme of affairs."

Hunter suggests that links between community and society may be picked up in research on community power structure. Many community leaders operate on a national level and have a knowledge of other national figures. (pp. 347-8).

Also Warren writes (Typology, 1956, p. 338)

"Many aspects of community living are determined in whole or in part by decisions made outside the community by policies and procedures of state or national organizations, by state and federal law, and by developments in the national economy."

Warren discusses this relationship in terms of extra-communal controls over local associations and in terms of types of affiliation of local units with the larger association. The latter classification was applied in this study in more detail as described below.

Warren (1956) developed a typology of extra-communal controls over local associations:

- Informal Controls which operate to limit local autonomy
1. Control through cultural patterns which prevail in the larger culture. An example is the pattern of predominantly individual ownership of small economic enterprises, like stores, farms, etc.. "Similarly, other aspects of behaviour and social structure reflect the larger culture not so much through formal controls, as through folkways, mores, fashions, fads, and so forth." (p.340).

2. Pressures through the informal group structure.
An example is the decision of a local grocer to patronize one wholesale establishment rather than another for purely personal reasons of family, friendship, or politics.
3. Competition or the concept of the market.
Competition of local stores with those in surrounding communities played an important role in setting local retail prices, which were kept low to retain trade by local people.

Formal Controls (Warren : 340)

- (a) Extra-Communal governmental controls limiting autonomy of local community units.
 1. Regulations by the governmental units' own basic law and administrative pronouncements.- education laws.
 2. Regulation by other laws which apply to local units, governmental or nongovernmental. - general laws governing sanitation, working conditions.
 - (b) Extra-communal non-governmental controls limiting autonomy of local community units. - chartering requirements maintained by state or national organizations which have chartered branches in the community.
- Both (a) and (b) can be further divided topically into the relevant spheres of activity: control over membership, policies, finances, etc.

Hunter (in R. Young, Approaches p. 346) has given us some leads in the study of links between local and national units. We find that these links can be analysed in terms of the following aspects:

1. Local Problem - Solving: dependent - independent
Communities standing alone cannot solve all the problems that face them. Some problems transcend community abilities and have to be tackled by regional or national groups.
(see Floyd Hunter, "Studying Associations and Organization Structures", in Roland Young, editor, Approaches to the Study of Politics, p. 346).

Housing is a classical example of such a problem.

2. Nature of Communication: orders - information
Local organizations are linked to larger nation-wide organizations in various links that serve as channels for communication. These may be organizational links, ties between individuals, conference groups, propaganda

groups. Such links may be channels of control or authority or merely of communication on an equalitarian level.

"And in a very real sense national groups and community groups are extensions of and complementary to each other. The larger national associations and corporations are structural parts of communities operating at a level where change within them presages and reflects social change because many of them are society-wide in scope. Communities have a responsibility of making known to the larger organizations in society their particular needs and desires..." (Hunter in Roland Young, p. 347).

3. Flow of Communication: predominantly from the national office - predominantly to the national office.
4. Local Policy-Formulation: subservient - autonomous
Local organizations may range in policy autonomy from being completely autonomous to being completely bound to a regionally or nationally determined policy.
5. Community impact on national policy: non -significant
In democratic systems decisions taken on a community level may have a significant impact on national policy formulation. A single community decision may be raised in a national conference and may be carried by the national body. Another possibility is that a decision taken at one branch of an association may "snowball" in such a great number of branches that its impact will be felt in its accumulative effect. Such a decision of local origin may thus be incorporated in the national policy.
A good example of the latter appears to be the local S.A.A.U.W. decision with regard to the 90 day detention clause.

Type of Affiliation

Types of affiliation of local units with regional (county) (state) provincial or national groups can serve as a "readily available avenue for tracing relationships between the community and the larger social system." (Warren : 340)

Warren suggests that:

"A typology of such affiliational relationships should be applicable not only to churches and voluntary associations, but also to stores, industries, governmental units, public school

system, and so on through the institutional structure."

(Warren : 340)

Warren suggests the following typology:

1. The independent unit.
It is not affiliated, though it may have loose ties with other organizations (independent grocer with wholesaler)
2. The affiliate
 - (a) The autonomous unit which is loosely affiliated for purposes such as sharing information or certain types of service, but which is otherwise largely independent.
 - (b) The unit with a large measure of autonomy whose existence nevertheless presupposes affiliation.
3. The Branch.
Its existence depends on its being "chartered" by a larger organization, whose programs and policies it follows with relatively little local community control. Red Cross, Catholic Church.

Warren classified all local community units in terms of this distinction, including industries, government units, commercial concerns etc

TYPOLGY OF DAIRYVILLE LOCAL COMMUNITY UNITS

Area of Activity	Independent	Affiliate		Branch
		a Part of Independent federation	b Association of affilia- ted units	
Industries	5			
Stores	9	4		2
Service trades	3	3		2
Governmental Units				2
Churches		1	1	4
Schools				1
Voluntary Associations	3	5	2	15

Warren observed : (341)

"Village and town governments were by definition affiliated, as was the central school. But it is interesting that all the churches were affiliated, taking more or less stringent regulation from outside the community, while local industries were completely independent of outside affiliation, were locally owned, and represented in this respect high community autonomy. Similarly, the stores and service trades were preponderantly non-affiliated, while the voluntary associations were almost completely affiliated." (341)

/This.....

This finding casts doubt on the popular assumption that churches and voluntary associations represent democratic grass roots control. While interviewees in Dairyville claimed that local units would often disregard formal control of the national body and go their own way, there was much evidence that local people lacked interest in and knowledge of avenues of redress, should they feel they had a complaint or grievance with respect to organizations controlled from outside the community.

A number of associations in Grahamstown is listed below, classified in terms of type of affiliation with a larger national unit:

The Independent Unit

These associations run on their own as they wish. Not one has a National body to which it is accountable.

GADRA

Publicity Association

1820 Settler Monument Committee

Kingswood College Council

Old Andreans

D.S.G. Council

St. Andrew's College Council

Minister's Fraternal

Rhodes University Council

Rhodes University lecturer's Association

In the case of the Library for the Blind the National headquarters is local, thus, the local body is quite independent.

The Autonomous Affiliate

For example in the Grahamstown community in the case of the following associations, they both belong to the Municipal Association but they are able to act as they wish with regard to local affairs, for example:

The Municipal Council

The Divisional Council

The sports associations are loosely affiliated with larger bodies, but the individual clubs are quite free to act as they wish. e.g. Golf Club and Bowling Club.

The Dependent Affiliate

Albany Museum Board of Trustees
 East Cape Bar Society
 School Board
 School Committees
 Kerkraad
 Presbyterian Session
 Methodist Quarterly Meeting
 S.C.A.
 Bantu Advisory Board
 Thomas Baines Nature Reserve
 Anglican Diocesan Chapter
 Rhodes University Senate
 Training College Advisory Board
 Livingstone House Committee
 St. Paul's College Council

The Branch

Examples:

National Council of Women
 S.A.B.C. Advisory Board
 B.C.E.S.L.
 Free Masons
 Lions International
 Rotary
 Moths
 National Party
 United Party
 Round Table

The classification of voluntary associations in Grahamstown through which leaders wielded most influence is summarized in the following table indicating the number of reputational leaders involved in each case:

Type of Affiliation	Number of Associations	Number of Leaders		Total
		English	Afrikaans	
Independent	9	11	2	13
Autonomous Affiliate	4	9	2	11
Dependent Affiliate	16	23	13	36
Chartered Branch	10	21	3	24
Total	39	64	20	84

Influence Rating of Voluntary Associations

The Grahamstown Directory for 1965 lists 125 associations classified under the following headings:

1. Church and Cultural Societies: (12)
Only societies attached to the churches, listed in the Directory not the churches themselves, were included under this heading in our survey.
Under the following headings all the societies were included and the figure represents the number of societies in each case.
2. Cultural Societies: (20)
3. Farming and Nature Conservation Societies: (12)
4. Sport: (23)
5. Welfare: (35)
6. Miscellaneous: (11)
7. Schools: (12)

The Government and Private Schools in Grahamstown with School Committees, or Councils were included here, not all the other primary, and domestic schools in and around Grahamstown.

This list is not complete, but it does give one an idea of the number of associations in the community. A tentative list of all associations to which leaders in Grahamstown belonged contained the names of 215 associations. Not all of these associations had branches in the community.

Since the study of voluntary associations in Grahamstown was only part of the present project we had to be selective and for this purpose classified all associations in terms of influence rating in the community.

Fourteen associations were classed as very influential and 30 as influential, and these were then analysed in more detail. For comparative purposes we have made a fairly superficial analysis of all associations listed in the Directory.

LIST OF VERY INFLUENTIAL AND INFLUENTIAL ASSOCIATIONS

<u>VERY INFLUENTIAL</u>	<u>INFLUENTIAL</u>
Grahamstown Municipal Council	Albany Club
Grahamstown Divisional Council	St. Andrew's College Council/Hostel
Rhodes University Council	Kingswood College Council/Hostel
Rhodes University Senate	V.G.H.S. School Committee/Hostel
School Board	Graeme College School Committee/Hostel
United Party	D.S.G. School Council/Hostel
National Party	P.J. Olivier School Committee/Hostel
Grahamstown Publicity Association	S.A. Legion of B.C.E.S.L.
Chamber of Commerce	Kupugani

VERY INFLUENTIAL

Child Welfare Society
 GADRA
 Lions International
 Rotary and
 Round Table

INFLUENTIAL

Presbyterian Church Session
 Sub-Deacon Anglican Church
 Diocesan Chapter (Bishop's Advisory
 Board)
 Ministers' Fraternal
 D.R.C. Kerkraad
 Methodist Church Quarterly Meeting
 1820 Settlers Monument Committee
 National Council of Women
 Grahamstown Club
 Albany Museum Board of Trustees
 Progressive Party
 United Schools Trust
 SANTA
 Grahamstown and District War Memorial
 Association
 MOTHS
 Free Masons
 Training College Advisory Board
 Bantu Advisory Board
 Air Forces Club
 Settlers' Club
 Hebrew Congregation

In a schedule administered to 90 reputational leaders in the community the leaders were asked to mention the association through which they wielded most influence in the community. This information yielded a list of 38 associations of which 12 were very influential, 17 were influential, and 9 were not influential.

These associations are listed in the following table indicating the influence rating of each association and the influence rating of the leader involved (i.e. the respondent in the schedule)

LIST OF 38 ASSOCIATIONS THROUGH WHICH 84 LEADERS WIELDED MOST INFLUENCE

CLASSIFIED IN CATEGORIES OF INFLUENCE RATING

ASSOCIATION	LEADER			ASSOCIATION	LEADER			ASSOCIATION	LEADER		
RATING	RATING			RATING	RATING			RATING	RATING		
VERY INFLUENTIAL	MI	VI	I	INFLUENTIAL	MI	VI	I	NOT INFLUENTIAL	MI	VI	I
Rhodes University Council	1			Kingswood College Council		2		Rhodes University Lecturers Association			1
Rhodes University Senate	3	1	2	Training College Advisory Board	1			Old Andreans			1
School Board	1	2		School Committee: Graeme College			2	S.C.A.			1
Grahamstown City Council	4	3	1	P.J. Olivier Skool			1	Livingstone House Committee			1
Divisional Council	1			Kerkraad		5	2	S.A.B.C. Advisory Board			1
National Party	1			Anglican/Diocesan Chapter	2			East Cape Bar Society			1
United Party		1	2	Presbyterian Session		1	1	Thomas Baines Nature Reserve			1
Publicity Association	1	2		Minister's Fraternal			1	Golf Club			1
Lions		1	1	Methodist Quarterly Meeting	1	1	1	Bowling Club		1	
Rotary		3	4	D.S.G. Council			1	St. Paul's College Council			1
Round Table		1	1	Albany Museum Board of Trustees				TOTAL		1	9
G.A.D.R.A.	2			1820 Settler Monument	1	2		TOTAL OF LEADERS		10	
TOTAL	14	14	11	National Council of Women			2				
TOTAL OF LEADERS		39		Bantu Advisory Board		1					
				S.A. Legion B.C.E.S.L.			2				
				Free Masons			3				
				Moths			1				
				TOTAL	5	13	17				
				TOTAL OF LEADERS		35					

In six cases interviewees mentioned no society through which they wielded influence, in some cases because they were not members of any societies, and in other cases, because they felt they just belonged to the society and had no influence in it.

The classification of these six leaders is as follows:

Most influential	1
Very influential	2
Influential	3

INFLUENCE RATING OF 84 LEADERS RELATED TO THE
INFLUENCE RATING OF 38 ASSOCIATIONS THROUGH WHICH THEY
WIELDED MOST INFLUENCE.

ASSOCIATIONS	LEADERS			TOTALS
	Most Influential	Very Influential	Influential	
Very Influential	14	14	11	39 (12)*
Influential	5	13	17	35 (17)*
Not Influential	-	1	9	10 (10)*
TOTALS	19	28	37	84 (39)*

* Number of associations involved.

Spheres of Activity

Voluntary associations were divided into 10 categories in terms of spheres of activity. (Cf. Richard Iaskin).

1. Community Services:

Include associations designed to improve, beautify or otherwise develop or benefit the community as a whole - for example:

Rotary	Publicity Association
Round Table	Lions International

2. Culture:

Activities concerned with the general cultural development and stimulation of the community, excluding the field of formal

/education,

education, and including the following groups:

Albany Museum Board of Trustees, and Advisory Board.

1820 Settler Monument Committee.

S.A.B.C. Advisory Board

National Council of Women.

*Afrikaanse Leeskring.

*Music Society.

*Hebrew Congregation

3. Economics:

This was divided into 2 categories:

(a) Commercial - activities concerned with commercial development and expansion in the community, such as owning or managing shops.

Chamber of Commerce.

(b) Other - activities concerned with economic development, but not mentioned in the above category - that of commerce.

Labour unions.

*Industrial Development Corporation.

4. Education:

All groups that are mainly concerned with formal education, such as teaching, administration, and policy formation. For example:

Rhodes University Council

Rhodes University Senate

Rhodes University Lecturer's
Association

School Board

Kingswood College Council

*St. Andrew's College Council

Training College Governing Board

Training College Advisory Board

The various Governmental School Committees

St. Paul's College Council

D.S.G. Council

Livingstone House Committee

/5.

5. Government: Local:

All activities concerned with local government and administration. For example:

City Council

Divisional Council.

6. Government: National:

Parties and associations seeking to influence public policies and legislation. All that is not connected with the local government. For example:

Political parties: United Party

National Party

Progressive Party

East Cape Bar Society

7. Health and Welfare:

Those activities concerned with the field of private, or public health and welfare, and especially of the underprivileged part of the European community. For example:

Moths

Library for the Blind

B.C.E.S.L.

Free Masons

*Child Welfare

*Cripple Care

8. Recreation, Sports, Entertainment and Social:

All activities that are concerned with recreation, sports, entertainment and any other social activity, particularly of the European community. This excludes formal education or any type of welfare organization.

e.g. Golf Club

Bowling Club

Thomas Baines Nature Reserve

*Tennis Clubs

*Car Club

*Pistol Club

*Bridge Club

*Homing Club

*Air Force Club

*Settlers' Club

9. Religion:(a) English

Organizations pertaining to religious activities. This excludes the church organization, but includes associations such as:

The Diocesan Chapter
 Presbyterian Church Session
 Methodist Quarterly Meeting
 The Minister's Fraternal
 Students Christian Association (S.C.A.)
 *The Mother's Union

(b) Afrikaans

The same as above, and examples are:

Kerkraad
 Kerkeugvereniging

10. Non-European:

Those activities related primarily to the non-European section of the community. The number of various spheres are combined as they all concern non-Europeans mainly. For example: Under health and welfare there are:

Kupugani
 G.A.D.R.A.
 S.A.N.T.A.

Under sports there is:

The Coloured Sports Association.

A Typology of Voluntary Associations based on Interest and Membership

In a study of voluntary associations Bell and Force ("Social Structure and Participation," S.F., 34, pp. 345-350), distinguished three main types of associations:

- (a) general interest
- (b) special-stratum interest
- (c) special-individual interest

Many associations might be placed in more than one of these categories. Bell and Force attempted to classify associations by the dominant interest of each formal association.

General Interest:

Organizations which are manifestly devoted to the improvement of the "general good" through civic betterment of one kind or another.

Chamber of Commerce,
 Service Clubs: Rotary, Kiwani
 Church connected groups
 Fraternal organizations or lodges (Bell and Force, 348)

Special-stratum interest:

Those which serve the interests of a particular social stratum.

"These groups directly serve interests of groups of individuals who occupy similar statuses in the social structure; that is, the associations are devoted to the interests of some particular social statuses and are composed of individuals occupying these statuses." (p. 348)

- Labour unions - serve special interests of people occupying certain occupational statuses.

"When the labor union wins a wage increase or a retirement benefit it does so not for a specific individual but for a social category." (p. 348)

Parent-teachers associations
 Neighborhood improvement associations
 Nationality improvement
 Professional improvement
 Political improvement
 Business improvement

Special-Individual Interest:

It is special in that its purpose concerns only some members of the society rather than the society at large. It is individual in that the interest served for the members does not derive directly from some similar social status of the members. (348)

Hobby Clubs

Welfare and charitable associations - their goals generally concerned some specific type of charity such as in the case of the Guild for Crippled Children.

"In each of these instances, as in most of the others, the organization was designed to be an instrument for the improvement of some particular social segment of the society or some particular object in the society, rather than of the improvement of the general welfare." (348. Bell and Force)

Bell and Force found in San Francisco that

"The most typical kind of association ... is not only one which serves some special interest, but one in which the association is deliberately composed of persons occupying similar social statuses, and the activities of the organization are typically oriented toward benefiting all persons occupying this status. This suggests that the associational behaviour of urbanites is to a large extent the manifestation of their awareness of a similarity of status with other persons and their recognition of a similar state in the society." (S.F., 34, p. 349).

They also found that

".... men living in the high economic status neighborhoods had relatively more memberships in the general interest type of associations than those living in low economic status neighborhoods. On the other hand, stratum interest seems to be more important in the associational behaviour of low economic status men than in that of high economic status men." (S.F., 34, p.350)

The application of the Bell-Force scheme to local associations yielded several problems in classification. The first problem is the lack of distinction between stratum in a socially invidious sense and stratum in a more general sense. For example, their use of the concept "the status of the war veteran" suggests that status is used in a much more general sense than the first alternative suggested above.

The second problem relates to the nature of the membership of the association, whether it is selective or representative of the community. This distinction immediately tells us much in terms of the background of members, the social standing, accessibility, etc.

We have, consequently, developed a two-fold classification of associations:

Firstly, we classify associations in terms of the group whose interests they serve. They may be devoted to the interests of

- (a) the general community
- (b) a particular stratum
- (c) a particular section or social segment.

- (a) Interest of the general community:

Associations which are manifestly devoted to the entertainment or improvement of the general good through civic betterment of one kind or another.

- (b) Stratum-Interest:

Associations which are devoted to the improvement of a group which is composed predominantly of members of a certain social stratum, generally referred to as a social class.

- (c) Section interest:

Associations which are devoted to the entertainment or improvement of a certain section of the population of which the members are not predominantly from any social class.

Secondly, associations are classified in terms of membership. Selective membership refers to instances where membership is restricted to certain members of the community who meet certain standards of

education, occupation competence, social standing, religious conviction, experience and background.

Representative membership refers to instances where membership is theoretically unqualified, i.e. members do not need to meet formally certain criteria or formally subscribe to certain convictions.

LIST OF 39 *ASSOCIATIONS CLASSIFIED IN TERMS OF
MEMBERSHIP-INTEREST TYPOLOGY

INTEREST	MEMBERSHIP	
	SELECTIVE	REPRESENTATIVE
General Community	S.A.B.C. Advisory Boards Rotary Lions International Round Table Albany Museum Boards of Trustees 1820 Settler's Monument Committee Thomas Baines Nature Reserve	National Party United Party Publicity Association National Council of Women City Council Divisional Council
Social Stratum	Bantu Advisory Board East Cape Bar Society	G.A.D.R.A.
Social Section	R.U. Council R.U. Senate R.U. Lecturer's Association Kingswood College Council Old Andreans Training College Advisory Board St. Paul's College Council Kerkraad Anglican: Diocesan Chapter Presbyterian Session Methodist Quarterly Meeting Ministers Fraternal Livingstone House Committee D.S.G. Council B.C.E.S.L. Moths.	School Board School Committees: P.J. Olivier School Graeme College S.C.A. Free Masons Library for the Blind Golf Club Bowling Club

* Associations mentioned by leaders through which they wielded most influence.

Cross Classifications yields the following six categories:

1. General interest : selective membership
2. General interest : representative membership
3. Stratum interest : selective membership
4. Stratum interest : representative membership
5. Section interest : selective membership
6. Section interest : representative membership

INVOLVEMENT OF 84 AFRIKAANS AND ENGLISH SPEAKING LEADERS IN
ASSOCIATIONS CLASSIFIED IN TERMS OF INTEREST-MEMBERSHIP
TPOLOGY

INTEREST	MEMBERSHIP								TOTALS			
	SELECTIVE				REPRESENTATIVE							
	Eng.	Afrik.	Tot.* Leaders	Tot.** Assoc.	Eng.	Afrik.	Tot.* Leaders	Tot.** Assoc.	Eng.	Afrik.	Tot.* Leaders	Tot.** Assoc.
GENERAL	11	2	13	7	13	5	18	6	24	7	31	13
RATUM	2	-	2	2	2	-	2	1	4	-	4	3
CTION	28	9	37	16	8	4	12	7	36	13	49	23
TOTALS	41	11	52	25	23	9	32	14	64	20	84	39

* Number of leaders

** Number of Associations

Obtained from List of Associations mentioned by leaders through which they wielded most influence

Function for the Participant

Laskin (1961, "Voluntary Organisation" pp. 23-25) developed seven categories which he calls "types of organisations". These categories actually refer to the nature of the predominant activity of the association and we have adapted the following seven categories from his classification:

1. Entertainment of Members: These organisations are designed to provide individual members with the means for physical, emotional and aesthetic enjoyment, e.g. the Golf Club and the Bowling Club.
2. Development of the Organisation: These organisations are designed to maintain or strengthen the internal organisation of the group or its affiliates or auxiliaries, e.g. Albany Museum Board of Trustees, 1820 Settler Monument Committee.
3. Development of Members: These organisations contribute towards the spiritual, educational, intellectual or moral improvement of the members, e.g. Rhodes University Council, Rhodes University Senate, Rhodes University Lecturers' Association, School Board, Kingswood College Council, Old Andreans, Training College Advisory Board, School Committee, St. Paul's College Council, Kerkraad, Anglican Diocesan Chapter, Presbyterian Session, Methodist Quarterly Meeting,

/Ministers'.....

Ministers' Fraternal, S.C.A., Livingstone House Committee,
D.S.G. Council, S.A.E.C. Advisory Board, East Cape Bar Society.

4. Services for Members: These organisations look after their members materially or service wise, and extend as far as members' families as well. e.g. B.C.E.S.L., Free Masons, Moths.
5. Community Improvement: These organisations strive to improve, beautify or otherwise develop or benefit the community as a whole, or some broad category of persons in the community, e.g. the Grahamstown City Council, the Divisional Council, National Council of Women, Bantu Advisory Board, Rotary, Publicity Association, Lions, Round Table, Thomas Baines Nature Reserve.
6. Welfare of Needy Non-members: Assistance to local or non-local people in need - for instance, amelioration of personal or family misfortune, or provision of relief or gifts to the underprivileged. Such organisations are: The Library for the Blind, Kupugani, G.A.D.R.A.
7. Power and Public Influence: Organisations designed to affect public opinion or the policies of decision making agencies such as petitions to legislative bodies, letters to newspapers, or attempts at local propaganda, e.g. political parties - National Party and United Party.

The largest concentration of leaders in the case of both Afrikaans and English speaking sections is in associations concerned with the development of members (40) and community improvement (27).

In the case of the Afrikaans speaking leaders there is a larger proportion of them involved in the development of members than English speaking leaders.

This is evidence of the trend in the Afrikaans community to be turned inwards more than the English community.

Albany Museum Board of Trustees, S.A.B.C. Advisory Board
 1820 Settler Monument Committee, National Council of Women,
 City Council, Divisional Council, Bantu Advisory Board, .
 National Party, United Party, East Cape Bar Society, Pub-
 licity Association, Thomas Baines Nature Reserve, B.C.E.S.L.,
 G.A.D.R.A.

Instrumental-Expressive: Standing between these two poles
 are the groups that incorporate both functions. Members
 identify with the organisation both for the fellowship it
 provides and for the special objectives it seeks. (28)

"American Legion is an example. On the national
 level it officially endorses certain legislative
 programs for which it presses, and at the local
 level it functions primarily as a club for convivial
 activities".

Grahamstown examples: Rotary, Lions, Round Table, Free
 Masons, Old Andreans, Ministers' Fraternal, S.C.A.,
 (See also his Diagram and Hypotheses pp. 28-29)

The highest number of leaders wield most influence through
 associations which are classified as instrumental. Against 64
 leaders in this category there are only 3 in the expressive group.

All associations listed in the Grahamstown Directory of 1965
 were classified in terms of this distinction.

TOTAL NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS IN GRAHAMSTOWN COMPARED
WITH INVOLVEMENT OF LEADERS IN TERMS OF FUNCTION FOR
THE PARTICIPANT

Function for the Participant	Number of Associations	Number of Leaders
Expressive.	39	3
Expressive-Instrumental	10	17
Instrumental	76	64
Total	125	84

It is obvious that the 84 reputational leaders are over-
 represented in the instrumental type of associations. This is to
 be expected in the case of people who are rated as having most influence
 in the community. In terms of our definition of instrumental, these
 leaders seek either to maintain certain conditions or status quo, or
 they seek to bring about change in terms of their commitment to certain
 goals.

Degree of Accessibility: Low and High

Gordon and Babchuck divides organisations into two classes, those with high and those with low accessibility. (p. 25)

On the one end of the continuum are organisations with almost completely unqualified membership, seeking very large numbers. Some such groups may have some gross ascriptive attribute such as age or sex, as the Boy Scouts and the Y.M.C.A.

A somewhat more selective organisation is the League of Women Voters which is predominantly an organisation for college women.

Associations of low accessibility are of two major types. First, those whose membership is limited by the highly selective criterion of achievement or talent or both. For example, most professional societies. Active membership in the American Sociological Society is a Ph.D or its equivalent.

Second, there are those groups whose membership is qualified by formally ascriptive qualities, limited through a device such as kinship. Ascription may be related to social class, ethnicity, or race, which operate informally to limit membership.

We have distinguished the following five degrees of accessibility which allow for a more refined discrimination than the scheme suggested by Gordon and Babchuck:

1. Very Low: Limited, restricted number of members by virtue of certain occupations, or by being elected by small group or organisation. e.g. Rhodes University Council, Kingswood College Council, Training College Advisory Board, St. Paul's College Council, Ministers' Fraternal, Livingstone House Committee, D.S.G. Council, Albany Museum Board of Trustees, 1820 Settler Monument Committee, S.A.B.C. Advisory Board, Bantu Advisory Board, East Cape Bar Society, Thomas Baines Nature Reserve.
2. Low: achieved or ascribed qualities required: educational qualifications or kinship, past activity. e.g. Rhodes University Senate, Rhodes University Lecturers' Association, Old Andrians, Kerkraad, Anglican Diocesan Chapter, Presbyterian Session, Methodist Quarterly Meeting, Free Masons, B.C.E.S.L., Moths, Rotary, Lions, Round Table.
3. Medium: Becomes a member by being elected by community at large. e.g. School Board, School Committee (P.J. Olivier School, Graeme College), City Council, Divisional Council.

4. High: Open for membership to those who ascribe to or abide by certain rules and regulations - in writing, verbally or in actual practice, e.g. church denominations, S.C.A.
5. Very High: Open for anybody to take out membership - adherence to certain ideals, goals, etc. may be nominally required, but is not enforced. e.g. political parties - National Party, United Party, National Council of Women, Publicity Association, G.A.D.R.A., Golf Club, Bowling Club.

From the table one sees that 54 of the 84 leaders belong to associations with a "low" degree of accessibility - (in "low" is included both categories, low and very low).

The greatest concentration in the English group is around the very low category, while the Afrikaners are concentrated in the low category. In the Afrikaners group the dispersion is wide and there is no notable concentration around any one group.

Degree of Accessibility	Number of Associations	Number of Leaders		Total
		English	Afrikaans	
Very Low	13	15	1	16
Low	13	29	10	39
Medium	5	10	5	15
High	1	-	1	1
Very High	7	10	3	13
Total	39	64	20	84

CHAPTER ELEVENPATTERNS OF LEADERSHIP

Current literature on community leadership often reflects a controversy over the nature of the power structure. Some social scientists claim to find a concentration of power in a small "power elite", while others claim to find that power is diffused among individuals who do not act in concert.

David Rogers (Swanson, editor, 1962 : 31-48) attempted to construct ideal types of community power structure in a monolithic - pluralistic continuum. He argued that the types of power structure depended on the social and structural conditions of the community.

A good example of a monolithic power structure is the single family or small elite group that prevails on most major issues. The archetype is the small, one-industry town with an old, middle-class, small-business stratum dominating the community. Power elites may also consist of religious or educational elites (Cf. Pope, Millhands and Preachers)

Monolithic power structures are formed where there is fusion of the political, the economic and the social status orders, i.e. there is considerable status congruence. Such a phenomenon was well illustrated in the case of the earlier Esterhazy community of Saskatchewan. The well-to-do not only possessed the greatest wealth and economic power, but were also the most respected and had a virtual monopoly of political power.

Peter H. Rossi (1960 : 398) developed a further distinction among monolithic structures: the pyramidal and the caucus rule. In the pyramidal type the lines of power tend to have their ultimate source in one man or a very small number of men. Decision making tends to be highly centralized, with lower echelons mainly carrying out major policy decisions made by the small group at the apex. examples are Middletown and Regional City.

In the Caucus Rule type "lines of power tend to end in a relatively large group of men who make decisions through consensus. Decision making tends to be a matter of manufacturing consent among the 'cozy few' who make up the caucus. Typical power structure in the small town or dormitory suburb." Examples are Springdale and Mediana.

Pluralistic power structures are more often found in more industrialized and complex communities. Pluralism is encouraged by urbanization and the bureaucratization of economic, political, and other institutional orders. In the paternalistic, ersatz-Gemeinschaft there are not such clearly separated and distinct functional institutional structures.

The complexity and heterogeneity of modern society require structural and functional differentiation. These structural divisions provide avenues for new and different types of elites to arise in specialized areas in which they may prevail, though they may not dominate the total community.

In complex societies there is a broadening of the economic resource base which mitigates the domination by one kind of industry.

Furthermore, the development of professional, bureaucratic leadership and authority, recruited on the basis of universalistic rather than particularistic criteria encourages impartiality and discourages nepotism and factionalism.

In all three respects outlined above, Grahamstown meets the conditions for pluralism.

In a step toward the operationalization of these two ideal-typical polar types, Bonjean and Olson (1964 : 291-295) defined the two types in more detail:

On the one extreme there is the Covert Power Elite, (p. 291) identified by the following characteristics:

1. leaders do not hold formal positions
2. they are not recognized by the community at large as key decision makers
3. they are active in a wide range of decision areas
4. they work together in a group.

The logical opposite is legitimate Pluralism, (p. 292) identified by the following characteristics:

1. leaders hold formal positions in associations
2. leaders are recognized by the community
3. leaders are concerned only with those decisions related to their official activities
4. leaders do not have intimate primary relationships among themselves and do not act in concert.

Bonjean and Olson described four characteristics of leaders which appear to identify these two ideal-type leadership structures:

1. Legitimacy

A measure of the leadership structure's legitimacy is simply the proportion of leaders who hold formal positions in associations. (See my refinement in dissertation)

2. Visibility

Leaders who hold political or associational offices are visible, but leaders who do not hold positions of authority may or may not be covert. Visibility can be measured by reputation.

"Visibility may be roughly measured if the nominations and rankings of a panel of judges (or better, the leaders themselves) are compared with the nominations

/and.....

and rankings of a sample of the general public or some other segment of the community. Comparing the rankings by sets of informants yields three possible types of leaders: visible (those recognized by both the judges and the general public), concealed (those recognized by the judges but not by the general public), and symbolic (those recognized by the general public but not by the judges)."

(Bonjean and Olson, 1964 : 293)

See Bonjean in Soc. & Soc. Res., 49 (pp. 69-75)

See Phillett, M.A. Thesis.

3. Scope of Influence

General or issue leaders.

4. Measures of Cohesiveness

(Bonjean and Olson : 294)

1. Cohesiveness could be measured by the degree to which leaders nominate one another.

"Indeed, one sociometric statistic, the ratio of interest, purports to measure this group characteristic in precisely such a manner." 294

(See also Moreno, ed., The Sociometry Reader, 1960, 19-51)

2. Interaction patterns reveal degree of cohesiveness. Respondents can be asked with whom they have worked and in regard to which issues.
3. Answers to a set of public opinion questions will indicate degrees of cohesiveness.
(Scoble)
4. Identification with cliques on certain decisions.
(Scoble, in Janowitz, Con. Pol. Syst. 117-145.)
5. Acquaintanceship scale to identify unitary, bifactional, multifactional, and amorphous patterns.
(Schultze, "Bifurcation", p. 51.)

The social structure of the community of Grahamstown offers a wide diversity of elements which reflects the heterogeneous character of South African Society. Even a cursory review of the community would

reveal wide discrepancies in racial identity, language, social status, occupations, educational achievement and political views.

From the outset it was decided to exclude African leadership from the scope of the present study.

In the initial plans it was envisaged to include the Cape Coloured leadership in the project. The Cape Coloureds are culturally similar to the Whites and are on a much higher socio-economic level than the Africans. However, it soon became apparent that because of the very strict and rigid patterns of segregation that have not only evolved naturally, but are also enforced legally, one could not deal with White and Coloured leadership as an integrated whole.

Though we have given the necessary attention to Coloured leadership where it entered the arena of community decision making, and have interviewed the more prominent Coloured leaders, it was decided not to deal with Coloured leadership in any detail and no Coloured leaders were included in our panel of leaders who were subjected to detailed analysis.

The completeness of the segregation between White and Non-White in community leadership was conspicuous in the analysis of formal leadership where no non-White leaders scored sufficient marks to qualify for inclusion, even though some associations were aimed exclusively at the benefit of non-whites.

It is interesting to note that though we have excluded non-White leadership from our study, almost every event and issue analysed was partly or predominantly influenced or determined by the basic political set up in the country where the racial controversy is paramount.

Though we have analysed only White leadership it was apparent that the White group in itself was quite heterogeneous and one could expect this heterogeneity to be reflected in the leadership structure.

Our hypothesis, in fact, stated that leadership in Grahamstown would be pluralistic in three respects: in the first place, leaders would represent different sections of the society, viz. language groups, occupational sectors, political parties, etc.; in the second place we hypothesized that leaders do not act in concert in all or the majority of controversial community issues, in the third place, we hypothesize that leaders are heterogeneous in terms of their ideological orientations.

Community Representation

A test of the first part of the hypothesis lies in an analysis of the socio-economic characteristics of all leaders. For the present analysis we will limit ourselves to a scrutiny of the 90 reputational leaders. The following table summarizes the relevant characteristics:

/Table.....

TABLE 1

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF 90 REPUTATIONAL LEADERS

Sex :	Male	83	
	Female	7	
Age:	Under 30	0	
	30 - 39	15	
	40 - 49	27	
	50 - 59	28	
	60+	20	
Ethnic Groups:			
	English	68	
	Afrikaans	19	
	Jewish	2	
	Other	1	
Language:	English	70	
	Afrikaans	15	
	Both	4	
	Other	1	
Education:			
	University	60	
	College	9	
	High School	19	
	Primary School	2	
Occupational Status:			
	1.	28	
	2.	38	
	3.	6	
	4.	12	
	5.	4	
	6.	2	
<u>Situs:</u>			
1.	Business:		
	Finance & Records	3	
	Manufacturing	3	
	Transportation	1	
	Building & Maintenance	0	
	Commerce	11	
	Agriculture	<u>4</u>	22

	Brought Forward....	22	
2.	Legal authority		11
3.	Education and Research:		
	Schools & colleges	17	
	Rhodes University	<u>18</u>	35
4.	Religion		7
5.	Health		1
6.	Communication		3
7.	Public Administration		<u>11</u>
	Total		<u>90</u>

Sector:

1.	Business		18
2.	Education		
	Rhodes University		23
	Schools		18
3.	Professional		20
4.	Communication		3
5.	Agricultural		4
6.	Other		<u>4</u>
	Total		<u>90</u>

Church Denomination:

	Anglican		38
	Dutch Reformed		17
	Roman Catholic		5
	Methodist		10
	Presbyterian		8
	Baptist		2
	Jewish		2
	None		<u>8</u>
	Total		<u>90</u>

Event Analysis and Decision Making

The hypothesis stating that leaders do not act in concert can be tested by an analysis of decision making in all major events and issues, and by an analysis of the personal views of leaders on various relevant issues.

The analysis of events and issues clearly demonstrated the plurality of leadership. Leaders did not act consistently in concert on major issues.

The analysis of leaders' views as given in the schedule shows a great diversity of opinion on all major issues.

Opinions of 90 reputational leaders on Rhodes University politics
and policies

To find out the opinions of the 90 reputational leaders on Rhodes University politics, two questions were asked:

"Should Rhodes University staff be outspoken in expressing political opinions or not?" and "What do you think of the political influence of the more politically outspoken section of the Rhodes University staff"?

Analysis of replies to these two questions reveals a split among the leaders:

"Should Rhodes University staff be outspoken in expressing political opinions or not?"

The 90 leaders are very clearly divided into 2 camps on this issue, very few being uncertain. There is no difference in their views when the data is analysed according to language : slightly over half of each language group is in favour of Rhodes University staff expressing their political views (see table 2) When we study table 3 however we find that the occupational situs of the leaders does seem to affect their views in this matter. While leaders engaged in Finance and Records, and Manufacturing, follow the polarising trend described, leaders in Public Administration, Legal Authority and especially in Commerce, tend to be against Rhodes University staff expressing their political views. Groups tending to favour Rhodes University staff expressing their political views include leaders in Schools, the University, religion, and, rather unexpectedly, agriculture, all 3 leaders in are in favour - perhaps this is a bias resulting from the Nature of their work.

Rhodes University is regarded as a "liberal deviant" by a conservative community, as we have discussed elsewhere. We may thus expect leaders in the public administration and legal authority to be conservative in this matter and we find they are. Usually school - dominated communities tend to be conservative, but here we find the school leaders very much in favour of Rhodes University staff being outspoken. Usually farmers are conservative too, but as we only have 4 farmers in the group the fact that 3 are in favour of Rhodes University staff being outspoken is unlikely to be statistically significant. The University and religious leaders follow the expected trend. The only really unexpected result is the school leaders' views, and it may be significant that they have 2 "no answers" and a don't know - more than any other category - possibly indicating a certain lack of confidence among some school leaders regarding the expression of liberal views.

Should Rhodes University staff be outspoken in expressing political opinions or not?

Of the total number of reputational leaders, 51 said "yes", 33 "No", 3 "Don't know" and 3 "no answer". Analysing these views in terms of different criteria, the following tables emerge:-

Table 2.

Leaders opinion as to whether or not Rhodes University Staff should be outspoken in expressing political opinions according to language group

Should express Political Views	English	Afrikaans	Total
Yes	40	11	51
No	24	9	33
Don't know	3	0	3
No answer	3	0	3
	70	20	90

Table 3.

Opinions of 90 reputational leaders on whether or not Rhodes University staff should be outspoken in expressing political opinions according to occupational situs.

Should Express Political Views	TOTAL	Finance and Records	Manufacturing	Transportation	Commerce	Agriculture	Legal Authority	Schools	Rhodes University	Religion	Health	Communication	Public Admin.
Yes	51	2	2	1	3	3	5	10	12	5	1	3	4
No	33	1	1	1	8	1	6	4	6	1	1	1	5
Don't Know	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
No answer	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1

"What do you think of the political influence of the more politically outspoken section of the Rhodes University staff?"

Here again we find polarisation between "promotes the interest of the country" and "Does not promote the interest of the country" (Table 4), but between the 2 a considerable number feel the political influence is "of no consequence". Analysis by language (Table 5) shows the same split in the ranks of the English-speaking (with slight emphasis on "promotes") with a few "of no consequence" replies. Half the Afrikaans-speaking feel it "does not promote", a very few feel it does, and a quarter feel it is "of no consequence".

Comparing percentages, we find almost twice as many Afrikaans

as English speaking leaders feel the political influence is "of no consequence". This may be indicative of the political confidence of a ruling group.

Occupational situs, (Table 6) reveals a split in Commerce, the expected conservative "does not promote" in Agriculture (compare with Table 3 above) a strong "doesn't promote" opinion among legal authority leaders (with an almost equally strong "of no consequence" view) a split in Education, Schools and colleges, with a strong "promotes" opinion from the University. Religious leaders are spread through all the categories, including don't know and no answer, indicating, possibly, a general uncertainty, while leaders in public administration feel strongly that the political influence "doesn't promote".

From these two questions, we may conclude that in general the 90 reputational leaders are split in their opinions of Rhodes University politics.

Table 4.

"What do you think of the political influence of the more politically outspoken section of the Rhodes University staff?"

The 90 reputational leaders gave the following replies:

Promotes interest of country	31
Of no consequence	16
Does not promote interest of country	34
Don't know	5
No answer	6

Analysing replies to this question in terms of language differences, we find the following table:-

Table 5.

Views of 90 reputational leaders on the political influence of the more politically outspoken section of the Rhodes University staff, according to language.

View	English	Afrikaans	Total
Promotes interest of country	28	3	31
No consequence	11	5	16
Does not promote interest of country	24	10	34
Don't know	2	1	3
No answer	5	1	6
	70	20	90

Table 6.

Analysis in terms of occupational situs yields the following table:

VIEW	TOTAL	Finance and Records	Manufacturing	Transportation	Commerce	Agriculture	Legal Authority	Schools	Rhodes University	Religion	Health	Communication	Public Admin.
Approve	31	1	1	1	4	-	2	7	9	2	-	1	3
Disapprove	16	-	1	-	2	1	4	2	3	1	1	-	1
Disapprove conditionally	34	2	1	-	5	3	5	6	4	1	-	1	6
Don't know	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-
No answer	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	1	1
Total	90	3	3	1	11	4	11	17	18	7	1	3	11

In order to evaluate leaders' opinions on Rhodes University policies, two further questions were asked:

"How do you feel about the Indian students attending Rhodes University?" and

"How would you feel about the admission of Africans to Rhodes University?"

An overwhelming majority of the 90 leaders approve (or approve conditionally) of the Indian students attending Rhodes University. (Table 7) Analysed according to language however we find the English-speaking overwhelmingly in favour and the Afrikaans-speaking very neatly split on the issue. (Table 8) In terms of occupational situs, (Table 9) leaders in Finance and Records Manufacturing, Transportation, Commerce, Agriculture, the University, Religion, Health and Communication are all entirely in favour, (with the exception of one "disapprove" in Agriculture and one "disapprove conditionally" in the University and in Religion) Two-thirds of leaders in Legal Authority are in favour, and one third against Indian students, while School leaders and leaders in Public Administration are strongly in favour but show a few against. Legal authority, schools and public administration, by the nature of their work, may be expected to be conservative, and we find that they are more conservative than the other occupational groups. Even so, they are on the whole in favour of the Indian students attending Rhodes University and this question is hardly an issue. Analysis by religious affiliation (Table 10) shows us that the group of leaders against the Indian students attending Rhodes University are, with the exception of one Presbyterian and two Anglicans, all Dutch Reformed Church members. Does this indicate church influence, or is it indicating a language difference?

The position regarding the African students is quite different. Nearly two-thirds approve, but one-third disapproves (Table 11). Language analysis shows over three-quarters of Afrikaans-speaking leaders against, while a fifth of the English-speaking disapproves, too (Table 12) Analysis by occupational situs (Table 13) shows Finance and Records, Manufacturing, Agriculture and Public Administration split on this, Commerce and Schools tending to favour the presence of African students, the University and Religion being strongly in favour of African students, and Legal authority strongly against. All these views are as expected - especially Legal Authority, which we may expect to uphold the present segregation policy - but the split view in Public Administration is interesting, as this group is usually very conservative. With the exception of odd opinions here and there the only church groups showing leaders' opinions against Africans attending Rhodes University are the Anglican and Dutch Reformed Church groups (Table 14). Almost three-quarters of the leaders belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church are against the admission of African students, while considerably less than one-third of the Anglicans are against it.

It would thus appear that occupational situs has an influence on opinions in this question, and either language or religious affiliation, too. Since the Dutch Reformed Church corresponds almost exactly with the Afrikaans-speaking group it is impossible here to separate these two variables. If the question of the admission of Africans to Rhodes University were to be raised in practice this would probably become a very controversial issue.

We can conclude that the 90 reputational leaders approve of Rhodes University policies with regard to these questions, but that should the issue of the admission of Africans be actually raised the University would find strong support from its own members and the church leaders and a degree of antagonism from most of the other groups.

Table 7.

Feelings of 90 reputational leaders about the Indian Students attending Rhodes University

Approve	59
Approve conditionally	14
Indifferent	3
Disapprove conditionally	4
Disapprove	7
Don't know	2
No answer	<u>1</u>
	<u>90</u>

Analysing their feelings in terms of language yields the following table:-

Table 8.
Feelings of 90 reputational leaders about the Indian Students attending Rhodes University in terms of language spoken.

Feelings	English	Afrikaans	Total
Approve	53	6	59
Approve conditionally	11	3	14
Indifferent	2	1	3
Disapprove conditionally	0	4	4
Disapprove	1	6	7
Don't know	2	0	2
No answer	1	0	1
Total	70	20	90

Table 9.
Feelings of 90 reputational leaders about the Indian Students attending Rhodes University analysed in terms of their occupational situs.

Feelings	Finance and Records	Manufacturing	Transportation	Commerce	Agriculture	Legal Authority	Schools	Rhodes University	Religion	Health	Communication	Pub. Admin.	TOTAL
Approve	3	1	1	9	2	3	11	15	6	-	3	5	59
Approve conditionally	1	2	-	2	1	3	2	1	-	1	-	2	14
Indifferent	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	3
Disapprove conditionally	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	4
Disapprove	-	-	-	-	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	7
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	3	3	1	11	4	11	17	18	7	1	3	11	90

/Feelings.....

Table 10.

194.

Feelings of 90 reputational leaders about the Indian Students attending Rhodes University analysed in terms of their religious affiliation.

FEELINGS	Denomination								TOTAL
	Anglican	Dutch Reformed Church	Roman Catholic	Methodist	Presbyterian	Baptist	Jewish	None	
Approve	29	4	3	8	7	2	1	5	59
Approve conditionally	7	2	1	2	-	-	-	2	14
Indifferent	0	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	3
Disapprove conditionally	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Disapprove	2	6	-	-	1	-	-	-	9
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	38	17	5	10	8	2	1	8	90

Table 11.

In analysing the feelings of the 90 reputational leaders about African Students attending Rhodes University the following results emerged:

Approve	40
Approve conditionally	16
Indifferent	2
Disapprove conditionally	1
Disapprove	29
Don't know	0
No answer	2
Total	<u>90</u>

Table 12.

Feelings of 90 reputational leaders about African Students attending Rhodes University, analysed in terms of their language group.

Feelings	English	Afrikaans	Total
Approve	36	4	40
Approve conditionally	16	0	16
Indifferent	2	0	2
Disapprove conditionally	0	1	1
Disapprove	14	15	29
Don't know	0	0	0
No answer	2	0	2
Total	70	20	90

/Feelings.....

Table 13.

Feelings of 90 reputational leaders about African Students attending Rhodes University, analysed in terms of their occupational status.

FEELINGS	Finance and Records	Manufacturing	Transportation	Commerce	Agriculture	Legal authority	Schools	Rhodes University	Religion	Health	Communication	Pub. Admin.	TOTAL
Approve	1	-	1	5	1	1	7	11	6	-	3	4	40
Approve conditionally	1	2	-	3	1	1	3	4	-	-	-	1	15
Indifferent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Disapprove conditionally	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Disapprove	1	1	-	3	2	8	5	1	1	1	-	6	29
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	3	3	1	11	4	11	17	18	7	1	3	11	90

Table 14.

Feelings of 90 reputational leaders about African Students attending Rhodes University analysed in terms of their religious affiliation.

FEELINGS	Denomination								TOTAL
	Anglican	Dutch Reformed Church	Roman Catholic	Methodist	Presbyterian	Baptist	Jewish	None	
Approve	19	1	3	5	5	1	1	5	40
Approve conditionally	6	2	1	4	2	-	-	1	16
Indifferent	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Disapprove conditionally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Disapprove	11	14	1	1	1	1	-	-	29
No answer	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Total	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

The question of industrial development in Grahamstown has been an issue, though our results indicate that leaders against it are heavily outnumbered by those in favour. (Table 15) In order to gauge feeling on this matter we asked the question,

"Do you think industrial development should be encouraged in Grahamstown, even if it may be at the cost of the traditional character of the town?"

Analysis of replies to this question in terms of language groups (Table 16) shows that both groups strongly support industrial development leaving a little less than one third of the English-speaking group against it. These people are not against industrial development itself so much as that they fear the loss of the traditional character of the town. We do not know how many of these leaders are of 1820 Settler stock but we hypothesize that Grahamstown's stress on the "Settler City" has influenced the views of some of the English-speaking leaders.

Analysis according to occupational status reveals an interesting result. All groups except small Business and Farmers (see Table 17) are strongly in favour of industrial development. These 2 groups are equally split for and against. As we only have 4 farmers in the group, this may be a chance result, but that half the small businessmen are against industry is interesting. We can hypothesize that their reasons differ from the "1820 Settler type" above, in that they fear swamping by big firms should industry come to Grahamstown. Occupational status (Table 18) endorses this conclusion. Even the usually conservative public administration and legal authority leaders are in favour of industrial development, while the leaders in commerce are split. A further differentiation of occupations - occupational sector (Table 19) - reveals that while a few leaders in the University and the professions are against industrial development, the highest proportion comes from the Business Sector. (It should be noted, however, that whereas the previous tables show an equal split in commerce and small business, the business sector as a whole shows two-thirds in favour of industrial development).

Economic Issue

Table 15. Attitude of leaders towards the question, "Do you think industrial development should be encouraged in Grahamstown even if it may be at the cost of the traditional character of the town?"

Industrial Development	Total
Yes, definitely	51
Yes	20
Undecided	0
No	18
No, definitely	1
Total	90

Table 16.

Attitude of leaders towards the question, "Do you think industrial development should be encouraged in Grahamstown even if it may be at the cost of the traditional character of the town?" in terms of language.

Industrial Development	English	Afrikaans	Total
Yes, definitely	33	15	51
Yes	14	6	20
Undecided	0	0	0
No	17	1	18
No, definitely	1	0	1
Total	70	20	90

Table 17.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders towards the question, "Do you think industrial development should be encouraged in Grahamstown, even if it may be at the cost of the traditional character of the town?" in terms of their occupational status.

Industrial development should be encouraged	Occupational Status						TOTAL
	Higher Professional	Management and Tsp	Middle Professional	Lower Professional & Mid Management	Small Business	Farmers		Administrators
Yes, definitely	13	26	3	5	2	2	51
Yes	9	0	2	1	-	-	20
Undecided	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No	6	3	1	0	2	-	18
No, definitely	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total	28	30	6	12	4	2	90

Table 18.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders towards the question, "Do you think industrial development should be encouraged in Grahamstown even if it may be at the cost of the traditional character of the town?" in terms of their occupational status.

Industrial development should be encouraged	Occupational Status												TOTAL	
	Records	Finance and	ing	Manu- action	Trans- port-	Commer-	Agriculture	Legal Authority	Schools	Univer- sity	Rhodes	Relig- ion		Health	Communi- cation	Pub. Adm
Yes, definitely	-	3	-	1	6	2	4	13	11	7	-	1	4	51
Yes	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	5	1	1	1	4	20
Undecided	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
No	1	1	1	1	5	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	3	18
No, definitely	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	3	3	1	11	4	11	17	18	7	1	3	11	90	

Table 19.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders towards the question, "Do you think industrial development should be encouraged in Grahamstown even if it may be at the cost of the traditional character of the town?" in terms of their occupational sector.

Industrial development should be encouraged	Occupational Sector							TOTAL
	Business	University	Other Education	Professional	Commerce	Agriculture	Other	
Yes, definitely	9	12	14	11	1	2	2	51
Yes	3	7	2	5	2	-	1	20
Indecided	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No	5	4	1	4	-	2	4	18
No, definitely	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total	18	23	18	20	3	4	4	90

Opinions of 90 reputational leaders on certain aspects of party politics.

To enable us to gauge opinion on this issue we asked two questions of the 90 reputational leaders:-

"What do you imagine is the role of the Broederbond in the Afrikaans community of Grahamstown?" and

"Who would you prefer as United Party member for the Provincial Council for the Albany Constituency?"

Analysing the first of these two questions we find a third of the leaders "Don't know", (Table 19) These represent a little over one third of the English-speaking and a quarter of the Afrikaans-speaking leaders. Roughly 40% of each language group regards the Broederbond as powerful or influential (Table 20), the figures for the English-speaking being slightly higher than for the Afrikaans group. More Afrikaans than English-speaking leaders regard the Broederbond as not influential, while more English than Afrikaans-speaking regard it as of no consequence. On the whole, both groups tend to regard it as influential but we must not forget the high "don't know" group - especially among the English-speaking leaders.

Party Politics

Table 19 Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the question, "What do you imagine is the role of the Broederbond in the Afrikaans community of Grahamstown?"

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Total</u>
Powerful	13
Influential	26
Not influential	10
No consequence	9
Don't know	29
No answer	<u>3</u>
	90

Analysing the above attitudes in terms of language:
Table 20.

Attitude	English	Afrikaans	Total
Powerful	11	2	13
Influential	20	6	26
Not influential	6	4	10
No consequence	3	1	9
Don't know	24	5	29
No answer	1	2	3
Total	70	20	90

Table 21.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the question, "What do you imagine is the role of the Broederbond in the Afrikaans community of Grahamstown?" in terms of religious affiliation.

Attitude	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	Dutch Reformed Church	Roman Catholic	Methodist	Presbyterian	Baptist	Jewish	None	
Powerful	9	7	1	2	5	1	2	3	29
Influential	24	9	3	8	3	2	1	4	53
Not Influential	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No consequence	5	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	7
Don't know	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

The question of the Member for the Provincial Council for Albany presented leaders with problems, as analysis of their views clearly indicates (Table 22). A quarter gave no answer to this question, a sixth were undecided, one in ten wanted someone else, leaving a third in favour of the man who was not chosen and a sixth in favour of the chosen man. This was clearly a controversial issue. Half the Afrikaans-speaking leaders and over a third of the English-speaking were undecided or gave no answer, and otherwise the language differences were not significant (Table 23).

Table 22.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the question,
"Who would you prefer as United Party Member for the Provincial
Council for the Albany Constituency?"

<u>In favour of:-</u>	<u>Total</u>
Deacon	14
Randall	31
Someone else	8
Undecided	15
No answer	22
	<hr/>
	90

Table 23.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question, in
terms of language.

In favour of	English	Afrikaans	Total
Deacon	12	2	14
Randall	25	6	31
Someone else	6	2	8
Undecided	12	3	15
No answer	15	7	22
Total	70	20	90

Social Welfare

There is considerable unemployment in Grahamstown, which particularly affects the non-White groups. A few years ago Professor Irving of the Rhodes University Sociology Department undertook an investigation of poverty in Grahamstown and the conditions revealed shocked the populace. The Grahamstown Area Distress Relief Association, (G.A.D.R.A.) was established to give relief, but this association is quite aware that it cannot remedy the situation; it merely alleviates the sufferings of some people. Citizens are divided on the issue of poor relief, some feeling that self-help should be advocated rather than charity. Others feel that without industry the unemployment position will not improve and therefore charity becomes essential. In order to test the opinions of our 90 reputational leaders on the issue of social welfare, the following two questions were asked:-

"Would you approve of the official removal of young newspaper boys from our streets?" and

"How do you feel about the welfare activities among Africans in Grahamstown?"

Analysing opinions on the first of these questions it was found that a quarter approved of the removal of the boys, another quarter approved with regret, a handful was indifferent, a quarter disapproved because removal of the boys was unnecessary, and one in six disapproved strongly. There is thus a clear split in the views of leaders on this issue with a slight tendency towards approval of removing the boys (Table 24). There is little difference between views according to language, except that in the "approving" group Afrikaans leaders tend to "approve" rather than to "approve with regret", as the English-speaking do, and they have very few in the "disapprove strongly" category, while the English-speaking have almost as many disapproving strongly as "disapprove" (Table 25). According to religious affiliation, (Table 26) all groups are split between approve, approve with regret and disapprove, except the Anglicans. This church has almost a third who approve, almost a third who approve with regret and almost a third who disapprove because it is not necessary.

Attitudes of leaders to Welfare activities among Africans shows an overwhelming vote in favour of such activities being very much needed (Table 27). The Afrikaans-speaking leaders are split between "necessary" and "very much needed", and the English-speaking feel the activities are very much needed, too. The only opposition is from one tenth of the group - all of whom are English-speaking. (Table 28)

Comparison of these two questions is interesting. Though many people condemn welfare as charity, the 90 leaders feel such charity is very necessary. When newspaper boys attempt self-help, however, there is a split and many of the leaders are against them. Analysis of this question in terms of religious affiliation shows the churches to be very much in favour of the welfare activities among Africans in Grahamstown (Table 29).

Social Welfare

Table 24. Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the question, "Would you approve of the official removal of young newspaper boys from our streets?"

Attitude	Total
Approve	22
Approve with regret	23
Indifferent	6
Disapprove - not necessary	23
Disapprove strongly	15
No answer	1
Total	90

Table 25.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question, in terms of language:-

Attitude	English	Afrikaans	Total
Approve	16	6	22
Approve with regret	20	3	23
Indifferent	4	2	6
Disapprove - not necessary	16	7	23
Disapprove strongly	13	2	15
No answer	1	-	1
Total	70	20	90

Table 26.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question, in terms of religious affiliation:-

Attitude	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	Dutch Reformed Church	Roman Catholic	Methodist	Presbyterian	Baptist	Jewish	None	
Approve	11	6	1	1	1	-	-	2	22
Approve with regret	10	1	2	3	3	1	1	2	23
Indifferent	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	5
Disapprove - not necessary	10	6	-	1	3	1	-	2	23
Disapprove strongly	6	2	1	4	1	-	-	1	15
No answer	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

Table 27.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the question, "How do you feel about the welfare activities among Africans in Grahamstown?"

Attitude	Total
Opposed	8
Not necessary	1
Indifferent	0
Necessary	14
Very much needed	67
No answer	0
Total	90

Table 28.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in terms of language.

Attitude	English	Afrikaans	Total
Opposed	8	0	8
Not necessary	1	0	1
Indifferent	0	0	0
Necessary	4	10	14
Very much needed	57	10	67
No answer	-	-	-
Total	70	20	90

Table 29.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in terms of religious affiliation:-

Attitude	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	Dutch Reformed Church	Roman Catholic	Methodist	Presbyterian	Baptist	Jewish	None	
Opposed	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Not necessary	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Indifferent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Necessary	4	9	1	1	2	1	1	2	20
Very much needed	32	8	4	9	6	1	2	6	62
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

Applied Politics

To bring political ideals down to everyday behaviour and to obtain opinions on a practical issue we asked the 90 reputational leaders, "Do you approve or disapprove of the discussion of race relations at meetings of such organisations as the National Council of Women and the Afrikaanse Leeskring?" An overwhelming majority approved of such discussion in both associations, but analysis according to language indicates that a smaller percentage of Afrikaans-speaking leaders approve. (Table 31) It is interesting to see that the English-speaking leaders hold the same opinion regarding both groups, but two Afrikaners approve for the National Council of Women and not for the Leeskring. The Afrikaners are also quite definite in their views, while 3 English-speaking leaders are undecided, don't know and give no answer, respectively.

Table 30.

Applied Politics

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the question,
"Do you approve or disapprove of the discussion of race relations
at meetings of such organisations as the National Council of Women
and the Afrikaanse Leeskring?"

Attitude N.C.W.	Total	Attitude Leeskring	Total
Approve	70	Approve	68
Undecided	1	Undecided	1
Disapprove	17	Disapprove	19
Don't know	1	Don't know	1
No answer	1	No answer	1
Total	90	Total	90

Table 31.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in
terms of language:-

Attitude N.C.W.	English	Afrikaans	Total	Attitude Leeskring	English	Afrikaans	Total
Approve	56	14	70	Approve	56	12	68
Undecided	1	0	1	Undecided	1	0	1
Disapprove	11	6	17	Disapprove	11	8	19
Don't know	1	0	1	Don't know	1	0	1
No answer	1	0	1	No answer	1	0	1
Total	70	20	90	Total	70	20	90

Opinions on the application of the Group Areas Act also falls under the heading of Applied Politics, but attitudes here show a distinct split between the languages, unlike the position in the question just analysed. While two-thirds of the leaders say "No" to the question (table 33) "Do you think the South African government should insist that group areas be declared in Grahamstown?" all but seven are English-speaking. Analysis by language reveals that two-thirds of the Afrikaans-speaking leaders are in favour of group areas, and a third against, with no-one undecided, while only one in seven of the English-speaking are in favour, over five in seven against, with a few "undecided" and "no answer" cases. Analysis by religious affiliation shows a language bias, of course in that the Dutch Reformed Church leaders are clearly in favour of Group Areas, while all the other groups, except the Methodists, are against. (Table 34 The Methodists are split - half voting against Group Areas, one undecided and the rest (almost half) in favour. This last point is interesting in the light of the discussion of the churches and race relations in the

chapter on religion.

Group Areas

Table 32. Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the question:-

"Do you think the South African government should insist that group areas be declared in Grahamstown?"

Attitude	Total
Yes	25
Undecided	3
No	61
Don't know	0
No answer	1
Total	90

Table 33.

Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the above question, in terms of language.

Attitude	English	Afrikaans	Total
Yes	12	13	25
Undecided	3	0	3
No	54	7	61
Don't know	0	0	0
No answer	1	0	1
Total	70	20	90

Table 34.

Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the above question, in terms of religious affiliation:-

Attitude	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	Dutch Reformed Church	Roman Catholic	Methodist	Presbyterian	Baptist	Jewish	None	
Yes	5	13	-	4	1	-	-	2	25
Undecided	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	3
No	32	4	5	5	7	2	1	5	61
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No answer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

An interesting issue was that concerning the establishment of the Hoërskool P.J. Olivier. This has been mentioned in the chapter dealing with education, and to find out what the 90 reputational leaders were thinking about this issue we asked the question, "What do you think was the predominant motive to establish the P.J. Olivier School in the Grahamstown community?" (Table 35) indicates a half-half split between "Political" and "Cultural" with more than a tenth of the leaders replying "Other", "Don't know" or "no answer". The analysis by language is most interesting, and sheds a little light on the political confidence of the Afrikaans-speaking leaders and the political fear and uncertainty of the English-speaking. Over three quarters of the Afrikaans-speaking leaders replied "Cultural", and the rest i.e. less than one quarter, "political". No-one at all chose either "Other", "Don't know" or "no answer". The English-speaking, however, show one in seven in the "other", "don't know" and "no answer" categories, exactly half in "Political" and one third in "Cultural". (Table 36)

Table 35.

Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the question, "What do you think was the predominant motive to establish the P.J. Olivier School in the Grahamstown community?"

Attitude	Total
Political	39
Cultural	39
Other	5
Don't know	6
No answer	1
Total	90

Table 36.

Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in terms of language.

Attitude	English	Afrikaans	Total
Political	35	4	39
Cultural	23	16	39
Other	5	0	5
Don't know	6	0	6
No answer	1	0	1
Total	70	20	90

IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATIONS

Leaders of different background, occupations and interests may be drawn together by a common ideological orientation which serves as an integrative device to interlock leaders into a power elite.

"... if individuals are conceived of as representatives of belief systems, and their actions are viewed as involving the implementation of values (Bell, 1958), then one can look for the operation of these factors as they may function to integrate specialized leadership groups into one larger system or to produce conflict among various aspirants for power." (Stone in Swanson, 1962 : 78)

Stone continues to demonstrate that while the leaders of Service City were specialists whose leadership activities did not overlap their actions were ordered and integrated by the unifying ideology of social free enterprise.

In an analysis of leadership patterns in Esterhazy, Saskatchewan it was found that local businessmen and American industrial executives who, under normal conditions did not form a united group, were united in their support for free enterprise as opposed to socialism.

"... one could have predicted quite different alignments during the strike. Differences between mine management and the community led to several disagreements in the beginning, but affinity in ideological orientation ... brought the two factions together in their joint struggle against socialism." (van der Merwe, 1964 : 275)

Maegels, "is concerned with consensus, and with the regulative principles through which a variety of disparate persons come to produce the regularities among their acts that are not explicable on the basis either of their biological constitutions or of purely economic considerations." (in Parsons, Theories : 190)

The interlock rating system is "an elaboration of the positional method which can objectively indicate those among the formal leaders who have potentially real high community influence This system attempts

to rate the potential influence of positional leaders (and organizations) in terms of the degree to which the multiple officerships of leaders produce 'interlocks' between different organizations. An interlock exists when two individuals, each holding at least two officer positions, hold at least one each in the same organization. Interlocks, it is suggested, act as direct or indirect lines of communication and/or influence within the network of community organizations." (Jaskin and Phillett, 1963 : 7)

If interlock patterns or organizational affiliations are confined mostly within ethnic groups, or economic strata, or religious groups, they fail to tie these groups to one another. Many communities do lack these ties and fail to integrate the community as a whole. New England towns are like this: "the immigration waves deposited in these communities people who differed so much from the old Yankees that few ties sprung up between them." (James S. Coleman, 1957 : 22)

Religion plays such an important role in the ideological orientation of people that we felt a measure of "religiousness" might help us in our evaluation of certain issues, especially in ecumenism, which is discussed in the chapter on religion, and in racial affairs - such an integral aspect of the Christian ethic.

Accordingly we asked a series of questions, the first dealing with degree of participation in religious activity, the second and third dealing with orientation towards other church groups and the fourth dealing with joint worship by different racial groups.

The measure of degree of participation revealed that just over half the leaders attend church regularly. About a tenth "often attend or support", a quarter "sometimes" and the rest - one in nine, never. Thus most of the leaders have some contact with their church, but only half are really regular churchmen. Most of the Afrikaans-speaking leaders are "regulars" and the rest are "often" or "sometimes" in attendance. None say "never" (See Table 38) This is a far higher proportion than the English-speaking where a little less than half are regular, a handful say "often", almost a third say "sometimes" and one in seven, never. It is interesting to query whether the strong support of their church by the Afrikaans-speaking leaders is related very closely to their cultural identity. Statistics of church followings in Grahamstown indicate that only half the European population is affiliated to churches, yet the Afrikaans-speaking leaders are all fairly, if not very, active in church affairs. Analysis by church affiliation shows a third of the Anglicans in the "sometimes" group, with just over half in the "regular" and "often" groups. Table 39.

The numbers of "never" and "sometimes" is possibly a remnant of the days when the Anglican Church was the "established" church and anyone who was not, by conviction, "something else" was Anglican. All the other churches are strongly supported by the 90 leaders, except the Presbyterian Church, where half are regular and half "sometimes" and "never". Possibly the previously "official" nature of the Church of Scotland affects this church in the same way as we hypothesise the Anglican Church to have been affected.

Table 37.
"Religiousness" of the 90 reputational leaders, as measured by their degree of participation in religious activity and church services.

Participation	Total
Never attend or support	10
Sometimes attend or support	22
Often attend or support	7
Regularly attend	49
No answer	2
Total	90

Table 38.

"Religiousness" of the 90 reputational leaders, (measured by degree of participation in religious activity and church services) according to language.

Participation	English	Afrikaans	Total
Never attend or support	10	0	10
Sometimes attend or support	20	2	22
Often attend or support	5	2	7
Regularly attend or support	33	16	49
No answer	2	0	2
Total	70	20	90

/"Religiousness".....

Table 39.

"Religiousness" of the 90 reputational leaders, according to church affiliation.

Participation	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	Dutch Reformed Church	Roman Catholic	Methodist	Presbyterian	Baptist	Jewish	None	
Never attend or support	4	-	-	-	2	-	-	4	10
Sometimes attend or support	13	1	-	2	2	1	1	2	22
Often attend or support	2	2	1	1	-	-	1	-	7
Regularly attend or support	19	14	4	7	4	1	-	-	49
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Total	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

The question dealing with joint services with other Christian churches read as follows:

"If your church engaged in joint services and other activities with Christian Churches of other denominations, would you approve or disapprove?" Overwhelming support for "joint services" etc. was found (Table 40). Leaders are certainly not divided on this issue. The language groups follow the same pattern. (41) (It should be noted that the 5 "no answers" are of no church affiliation and should thus be ignored) (Table 42). Analysis by religious affiliation shows leaders in all denominations approve either very strongly or approve (Table 43). The only groups showing any hesitation at all are the Dutch Reformed Church, Roman Catholic and Baptist, who have a few leaders who "approve conditionally". An odd Anglican disapproves. Since the Roman Catholic and Baptist churches have been conservative and the Dutch Reformed Church is enmeshed in the whole cultural life of the Afrikaans-speaking people this result was anticipated. The interesting point is that so many of the leaders from all the churches are so willing to co-operate with other church groups.

Ecumenism.

Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the question, "If your church engaged in joint services and other activities with Christian Churches of other denominations would you approve or disapprove?"

Table 40.

Attitude	Total
Approve strongly	52
Approve	24
Approve conditionally	8
Disapprove	1
Disapprove strongly	0
No answer	5
Total	90

Table 41.

Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the above question, in terms of language:-

Attitude	English	Afrikaans	Total
Approve strongly	41	11	52
Approve	19	5	24
Approve conditionally	4	4	8
Disapprove	1	0	1
Disapprove strongly	0	0	0
No answer	5	0	5
Total	70	20	90

Table 42.

Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in terms of religious affiliation:-

Attitude	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	Dutch Reformed Church	Roman Catholic	Methodist	Presbyterian	Baptist	Jewish	None	
Approve strongly	22	9	2	9	7	1	1	1	52
Approve	15	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	24
Approve conditionally	-	4	2	1	1	1	1	-	8
Disapprove	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Disapprove strongly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5
Total	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

In analysing the attitudes of leaders to the more drastic question,

"Would you approve of top level negotiations between your church and the following churches concerning a possible merger?" it was found that about a tenth of the leaders were undecided about such negotiations with the Roman Catholic Church, over half approved and a quarter disapproved. (The rest were themselves Roman Catholics, to whom the question did not apply). There is a clear difference of opinion in this question. Over two-thirds approve of such negotiations with Afrikaans churches, but this includes most of the Dutch Reformed Church leaders as they have in mind the "other" Afrikaans churches since only six say "not applicable". About a tenth of the leaders disapprove. Slightly fewer approve of possible merger with Baptists than Afrikaans churches, a few more disapprove, and a few more are uncertain. "Other Protestant" is approved of at the same level as "Afrikaans Churches", with fewer "not applicables". Thus we can rank the churches on an approval - disapproval continuum from Afrikaans and Other Protestant, though Baptist to Roman Catholic, bearing in mind that while this remains an issue, the majority are in favour of negotiations for merger. (Table 44)

In terms of language we find some expected differences, however. Regarding the Roman Catholic Church, half the Afrikaans-speaking leaders disapprove and some are undecided, while more than half the English-speaking approve. Attitude to Afrikaans churches analysed by language is pointless since most of the Afrikaners approve anyway, as we saw above. The attitudes to the Baptists is the same as above, as also to "Other Protestants". Thus nothing unexpected emerges from the analysis by language. (Table 45)

Analysis by church affiliation, too, shows the same pattern as by language: half the Dutch Reformed Church leaders disapprove of merger with the Roman Catholic and everybody else is on the whole in favour of merging with everybody else save for a small dissident percentage. Regarding the Roman Catholic church however, we should point out the Presbyterians who are equally divided, plus almost a third undecided, and the Roman Catholic attitude to everybody else, which is slightly over half approve and slightly under half disapprove, with no uncertainty. The hesitation of the Presbyterians regarding the Roman Catholic's is true to historical tradition, and the lack of co-operation in the Afrikaans group is seen less as a culturally-determined phenomenon than as a theologically-determined one, since the Dutch Reformed Church and Presbyterian churches, while culturally different are theologically similar. (Table 46)

(44) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the question "Would you approve of top level negotiations between your Church and the following churches concerning a possible merger?" Catholic, Afrikaans, Baptist, Other Protestant? 215.

Attitude	R. Cath.	Afrikaans	Baptist	Other Protestant
Approve	50	66	59	67
Disapprove	22	12	17	14
Undecided	8	2	5	3
No Answer	2	4	4	3
Not Applicable	8	* 6	5	3
TOTAL	90	90	90	90

* Though 17 leaders were members of the D.R.C. it must be borne in mind that there are 3 Dutch Reformed Churches. These 6 are clearly thinking of the total Afrikaans Church group in their choice of "not applicable", while the other 11 are thinking of Possible merger with "Other Afrikaans" churches.

(45) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in terms of language

Attitude to R.C. Church	English	Afrikaans	Total
Approve	44	6	50
Disapprove	12	10	22
Undecided	5	3	8
No Answer	2	0	2
Not Applicable	7	1	8
TOTAL	70	20	90

Attitude to Afrik Chs.	English	Afrikaans	Total
Approve	50	16	66
Disapprove	12	0	12
Undecided	2	0	2
No Answer	3	1	4
Not Applic.	3	3	6
TOTAL	70	20	90

Attitude to Baptist	English	Afrikaans	Total
Approve	46	13	59
Disapprove	12	5	17
Undecided	3	2	5
No Answer	4	0	4
Not Applicable	5	0	5
TOTAL	70	20	90

Attitude to Other Prot.	English	Afrikaans	Total
Approve	55	12	67
Disapprove	8	6	14
Undecided	1	2	3
No Answer	3	0	3
Not Applicable	3	0	3
TOTAL	70	20	90

(46) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in terms of religious affiliation

Attitude to R.C. Church	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	D.R.C.	R.C.	Meth.	Presby.	Bapt.	Jewish	None	
Approve	28	5	-	9	3	1	1	3	50
Disapprove	5	10	-	1	3	1	1	1	22
Undecided	4	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	8
No Answer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Not Applicable	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	3	8
TOTAL	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

Attitude to Afrikaans Churches	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	D.R.C.	R.C.	Meth.	Presby.	Bapt.	Jewish	None	
Approve	28	13	3	9	7	2	1	3	66
Disapprove	7	-	2	1	-	-	1	1	12
Undecided	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
No Answer	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	4
Not Applicable	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	6
TOTAL	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

Attitude to Baptist Church	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	D.R.C.	R.C.	Meth.	Presby.	Bapt.	Jewish	None	
Approve	27	10	3	9	6	-	1	3	59
Disapprove	6	5	2	1	1	-	1	1	17
Undecided	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
No Answer	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	4
Not Applicable	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	5
TOTAL	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

Attitude to Other Prot.	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	D.R.C.	R.C.	Meth.	Presby.	Bapt.	Jewish	None	
Approve	32	9	3	10	7	1	1	4	67
Disapprove	4	6	2	-	-	1	1	-	14
Undecided	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
No Answer	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	3
Not Applicable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
TOTAL	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

Turning now to the racial issue, as a measure of the strength of the Christian ideology in relation to social behaviour, we asked the question "do you think that in a church equally accessible to all races from a residential angle, all races should be permitted to worship together?" Two thirds of the 90 reputational leaders said "yes" under a third said "no", with about 7% "don't know" and "no answer" (table 47).

A clear language split is evident: an overwhelming majority of English-speaking leaders are in favour of joint worship being permitted; while over half the Afrikaans-speaking are against it. Religious affiliation endorses this, all save a few Anglicans and a few "none" being in favour and well over half the D.R.C. being against joint worship being permitted. Correlation with language groups endorses this finding, of course. This issue is more latent than evident, since the residential distribution ensures that few non-Europeans wish to worship in churches in European areas. (Tables 48 and 49)

(47) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the question "do you think that in a church equally accessible to all races from a residential angle, all races should be permitted to worship together?"

Attitude	Total
Yes	61
No	23
Don't Know	2
No Answer	4
TOTAL	90

(48) Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in terms of language:-

Attitude	English	Afrikaans	Total
Yes	53	8	61
No	12	11	23
Don't Know	2	0	2
No Answer	3	1	4
TOTAL	70	20	90

/(49)

(49) Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in terms of religious affiliation

Attitude	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	D.R.C.	R.C.	Meth.	Presby.	Bapt.	Jewish	None	
Yes	30	5	4	8	7	2	2	3	61
No	6	11	1	1	1	-	-	3	23
Don't Know	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
No Answer	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	4
TOTAL	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

On analysis of leaders' replies to questions on political issues a clear ideological split emerges. To the question "Among which of the following groups in town would you feel most at home", almost equal numbers of leaders chose "Progressive" and "Conservative". If we add "Liberal" to Progressive and rightist to conservative, however, over half the total number of leaders fall into the Progressive and liberal group and quite a bit below half into the conservative and rightist group. (table 50). Interestingly, the same split occurs in an analysis by language: half the Afrikaans-speaking leaders falling into the progressive and liberal groups and just under half into the conservative camp. No Afrikaans chose "rightist" at all. Analysis by religious affiliation, too, shows the same pattern. (Tables 51 and 52)

POLITICAL

(50) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the question "Among which of the following groups in town would you feel most at home?"

Most at home with:-	TOTAL
Leftist	0
Liberal (<u>not</u> Party)	12
Progressive (<u>not</u> Party)	36
Conservative	33
Rightist	4
Don't Know	2
No Answer	3
TOTAL	90

(51) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the above question, in terms of language.

Most at home with:-	English	Afrikaans	TOTAL
Leftist	0	0	0
Liberal (<u>not</u> Party)	9	3	12
Progressive (<u>not</u> Party)	29	7	36
Conservative	25	8	33
Rightist	4	0	4
Don't Know	2	0	2
No Answer	1	2	3
TOTAL	70	20	90

(52) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in terms of religious affiliation.

Most at home with	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	D.R.C.	R.C.	Meth.	Presby.	Bapt.	Jewish	None	
Leftist	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Liberal (<u>not</u> Party)	4	2	1	1	-	-	-	4	12
Progressive (<u>not</u> Party)	16	5	1	6	4	1	2	2	37
Conservative	14	8	3	3	3	-	-	2	33
Rightist	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Don't Know	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
No Answer	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
TOTAL	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

Regarding participation in political affairs, over a quarter of the 90 leaders have no affiliation or activity, and a third have only nominal membership. Thus well over half are not active in party politics at all. Only one in six is active in organisation, functions, etc., though a few more than this attend meetings (table 53) while not being actively participant in any other way. It has been said that the English-speaking people are more concerned with business than politics and that the Afrikaner is left to the political field in S.A. In fact, analysis in terms of language, reveals a slightly higher percentage of Afrikaans-speaking leaders with no affiliation than English-speaking. However less Afrikaners merely attend political meetings, less have a nominal membership only and considerably more are active participators. This may indicate

a degree of apathy among the English-speaking, but it seems that even the Afrikaners are not very politically active in Grahamstown. (table 53) It is interesting to see that the only leaders active in participation in organisation, etc. are Anglicans and D.R.C., plus an odd R.C. (Table 54)

(53) Participation of 90 reputational leaders in political affairs, in terms of language.

Participation	English	Afrikaners	TOTAL
No affiliation or activity	19	7	26
Nominal membership only	23	6	29
Attend Political Meetings	18	1	19
Active Participation in organisation, functions, etc.	10	5	15
No Answer	0	1	1
TOTAL	70	20	90

(54) Participation of 90 reputational leaders in political affairs, in terms of religious affiliation.

Participation	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	D.R.C.	R.C.	Meth.	Pres.	Bapt.	Jewish	None	
No affiliation or activity	5	5	3	4	4	1	1	2	25
Nominal membership only	16	5	1	2	2	-	1	2	29
Attend political meetings	11	1	-	4	2	1	-	-	19
Active participation in organisation, functions, etc.	6	5	1	-	-	-	-	4	16
No answer	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

Political party preference among the 90 reputational leaders is split, with a Progressive Party choice far higher than that Party's representation in Parliament. A third supports the United Party, a mere sixth supports the National Party (the same percentage has no party preference) and over a quarter supports the Progressive Party. If we were to add Liberals to Progressives, we should have as strong a group as the United Party supporters i.e. one third. This is an interesting result and it would be enlightening to know the views of non-leaders in this issue, for comparison. In terms of language, the English-speaking are split between U.P. and Progressive, U.P. having a few more than the Progressives, and one in seven having no

party preference. Only 3 in 70 are National Party supporters. Just over half the Afrikaans are pro-national party, the rest being scattered evenly over the rest of the possible choices (tables 55 & 56). Religious affiliation endorses these findings, but it is interesting to note that while there is a slight advantage to the U.P. against the Progressives in most churches, in the non-church group half are Progressives the rest being "sprinkled" through the other possible choices. Unless we hypothesize that the non-church group by breaking from the traditional practice of church attendance, have shown themselves less bound by traditional beliefs than the rest, we cannot account for the emphasis on the Progressive Party found in this group. (Table 57)

(55) Political Party preference of 90 reputational leaders.

Preference for:-	TOTAL
United Party	31
National Party	14
Progressive Party	25
Liberal Party	4
Other Party	-
No Party Preference	13
Don't Know	-
No Answer	3
TOTAL	90

(56) Political Party Preference of 90 reputational leaders in terms of language

Preference for:-	English	Afrikaans	TOTAL
United Party	28	3	31
National Party	3	11	14
Progressive Party	23	2	25
Liberal Party	3	1	4
Other	-	-	-
No Party Preference	11	2	13
Don't Know	-	-	-
No Answer	2	1	3
TOTAL	70	20	90

(57) Political Party Preference of 90 reputational leaders in terms of religious affiliation.

Preference for:-	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	D.R.C.	R.C.	Meth.	Pres.	Bapt.	Jewish	None	
United Party	20	2	1	5	1	1	-	1	31
National Party	-	11	-	-	1	1	-	1	14
Progressive Party	14	-	2	3	2	-	-	4	25
Liberal Party	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	4
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No Party Preference	3	2	2	1	3	-	1	1	13
Don't Know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No Answer	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	3
TOTAL	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

An interesting question was "What do you imagine is the role of the Broederbond in the S.A. Government?" Naturally many leaders said "Don't Know" to this, especially English-speaking leaders (tables 58 & 59) but over a third said "Powerful" and almost a third said "influential". This is an important result, and may indicate distrust of the present government's methods of ruling the country. Analysis by language confirms the above, but with only one fifth of the Afrikaners regarding the Broederbond as powerful. About a third, however, said it was influential, and none that it is of no consequence. Anglicans and Methodists, and "none", apart from the "don't know" group, tend to think the Broederbond is powerful, while the D.R.C. and Presbyterian leaders stress influential more than powerful. This slight distinction is not important enough to create a division of opinion, however. Most of the 90 leaders grant the Broederbond considerable influence in the S.A. government. (Table 60)

(58) Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the question "What do you imagine is the role of the Broederbond in the S.A. government?"

Attitude	TOTAL
Powerful	34
Influential	26
Not influential	5
Of no consequence	1
Don't Know	21
No Answer	3
TOTAL	90

(59) Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question, in terms of language.

Attitude	English	Afrikaans	TOTAL
Powerful	30	4	34
Influential	19	7	26
Not Influential	2	3	5
Of No Consequence	1	-	1
Don't Know	17	4	21
No Answer	1	2	3
TOTAL	70	20	90

(60) Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question, in terms of religious affiliation.

Attitude	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	D.R.C.	R.C.	Meth.	Pres.	Bapt.	Jewish	None	
Powerful	18	4	2	5	1	-	-	4	34
Influential	7	5	2	3	4	-	2	3	26
Not Influential	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	5
Of No Consequence	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Don't Know	9	4	-	2	3	2	-	1	21
No Answer	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
TOTAL	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

Well over 2/3 of the 90 leaders replied, "No", to the question, "do you think that Christian Brotherhood is a dangerous concept in a multi-racial country like S.A.?" About a quarter said "yes", or "yes conditionally". This is a difficult question to analyse, since the concept "Christian Brotherhood" has different meanings for different people. To some it signifies generosity to the poor and to welfare societies, etc, while to others the concept means total identification with all the needs of one's brother. It is even uncertain who one's brother is. Analysis by percentages shows that more Afrikaans than English-speaking leaders feel Christian Brotherhood is dangerous, but in both groups the majority feels it is not. Analysis by church affiliation confirms this and it is interesting to note that the Presbyterian church has the highest proportion of "yes" replies among the English-speaking churches. Possibly the theological definition of "Christian Brotherhood" is having a bearing on the views of both the Presbyterian groups, - i.e.

the D.R.C. and the Presbyterian Church. However any reference to possible interference of the church in politics is here refuted as "not dangerous", by most of the 90 reputational leaders. (Tables 61, 62 and 63)

(61) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the question: "Do you think that Christian Brotherhood is a dangerous concept in a multi-racial country like S.A.?"

Attitude	TOTAL
Yes	6
Yes conditionally	14
Undecided	1
No	66
No Answer	3
TOTAL	90

(62) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the above question, according to language.

Attitude	English	Afrikaans	TOTAL
Yes	3	3	6
Yes conditionally	9	5	14
Undecided	1	-	1
No	54	12	66
No Answer	3	-	3
TOTAL	70	20	90

(63) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in terms of religious affiliation.

Attitude	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	D.R.C.	R.C.	Meth.	Pres.	Bapt.	Jewish	None	
Yes	-	3	-	1	2	-	-	-	6
Yes Conditionally	3	5	1	1	1	1	-	2	14
Undecided	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
No	33	9	3	8	5	1	1	6	66
No Answer	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	3
TOTAL	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

A question which produced interesting results is "I have here a list of people, who, in some countries, control the political situation. If you had to choose among them, which of these would you prefer to have such power in South Africa?" Intellectuals, surprisingly, scored the highest points, followed by professional politicians and business. This result may reflect the orientation of an educational centre, but since the University is regarded as a "liberal deviant" (see Chapter on Education) this may not be so. (Table 64)

Analysed according to language we find the Afrikaans-speaking leaders still stress intellectuals, followed by business and social aristocracy. This last choice is interesting in the light of the social and political domination of the white group in S.A., and the Afrikaner's dislike of the English "upper-class-ness", of former years. Of course, all our leaders are themselves an elite group. This may explain in part their tolerance for social aristocracy. The English-speaking leaders chose professional politicians, followed by business and intellectuals. Many leaders felt that professional politicians at least "know the ropes" and that this group would be the least objectionable among a poor choice. (Table 65)

(64) Choices of 90 reputational leaders in the following question: "I have here a list of people who, in some countries control the political situation. If you had to choose among them, which of these would you prefer to have such power in South Africa?"

Choice	TOTAL
Military	2
Labour	2
Business	18
Intellectuals	20
Social Aristocracy	8
Professionals	16
Prof. Politicians	18
Civil Servants	-
Don't Know	1
No Answer	5
TOTAL	90

(65) Choices of 90 reputational leaders in the above question, in terms of language.

Choice	English	Afrikaans	TOTAL
Military	2	0	2
Labour	2	0	2
Business	14	4	18
Intellectuals	14	6	20
Social Aristocracy	4	4	8
Professionals	13	3	16
Prof. Politicians	15	2	18
Civil Servants	-	-	-
Don't Know	1	-	1
No Answer	4	1	5
TOTAL	70	20	90

Two questions were asked, in different parts of the schedule, to test the tolerance of the leaders for opposing political views. We asked, "should a person who expresses radical leftist (e.g. very liberal) views be allowed to teach at a South African University?" and "should a person who expresses radical rightist views (e.g. McCarthyism) be allowed to teach at a South African University?" (Tables 66, 67, 68 and 69)

The leaders were neatly split on the first question (table 66) analysed by language, they were still split, but the English-speaking had two more who were tolerant than were not, and the Afrikaans-speaking had two more who were less tolerant than who were. The low "don't know" and "no answer" groups were Afrikaans-speaking. (67) Regarding persons with rightist views being allowed to teach we found two-thirds said "yes" and one-third "no", indicating in the group as a whole greater tolerance of rightist than of leftist university teachers. Analysed by language, however, we find the Afrikaans group split, only two of those who said "no" to leftists saying "yes" to rightists. The rest, it seems, either said "no" to both or "yes" to both. The English-speaking are very much in favour of permitting rightists to teach. It would seem that those tolerating leftists, tolerate both leftists and rightists, while many of those tolerating rightists do not tolerate leftists. This is an unexpected result. Possibly the political confidence of the Afrikaner permits him to afford tolerance of this kind, while the English-speaking leaders, against whom accusations of "liberalism" etc. are constantly being levelled, feels threatened in his role as a "good South African" and makes a double effort to be accepted as a good South African by stressing his dislike of "liberalism". This reaction does to a degree bear out our

contention in the education chapter that Rhodes University is regarded as a "liberal deviant". To "correct" Rhodes, leftists would have to be eliminated, but rightists not.

- (66) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the question, "should a person who expresses radical leftist (e.g. very liberal) views be allowed to teach at a South African University?"

Attitude	TOTAL
Yes	44
No	44
Don't Know	1
No Answer	1
TOTAL	90

- (67) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the above question, in terms of language.

Attitude	English	Afrikaans	TOTAL
Yes	36	8	44
No	34	10	44
Don't Know	-	1	1
No Answer	-	1	1
TOTAL	70	20	90

- (68) Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the question "should a person who expresses radical rightist views (e.g. McCarthyism) be allowed to teach at a South African University?"

Attitude	TOTAL
Yes	63
No	23
Don't Know	3
No Answer	1
TOTAL	90

(69) Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question, in terms of language.

Attitude	English	Afrikaans	TOTAL
Yes	53	10	63
No	15	8	23
Don't Know	2	1	3
No Answer	-	1	1
TOTAL	70	20	90

The question, "Which of the groups on this list do you think are most likely to incline towards communism?" shows interesting results, too. (Table 70) Despite their keenness for intellectuals to control the government in the "forced-choice government" question, the 90 reputational leaders feel that next to labourers, intellectuals are most likely to incline towards communism. Students follow some way behind. In terms of language, however, we find that the Afrikaans group stresses labourers as so prone with students, intellectuals and journalists following behind. Only two leaders, both Afrikaans-speaking, put "none". The choice of intellectuals as possibly inclining towards communism is yet a further endorsement of the fear of R.U. as a "liberal deviant". Again, perhaps the politically-secure Afrikaans-speaking leader does not feel the need, as the English-speaking leader may do, to be true to the expected pattern of choice. (Table 71)

In terms of religious affiliation, most groups are split between labourers and intellectuals, with emphasis on labourers. Only the Anglican and D.R.C. churches lay any stress on students. (Table 72)

(70) Opinions of 90 reputational leaders on the question, "Which of the groups on this list do you think are most likely to incline towards communism?"

Groups Likely to Incline to Communism	TOTAL
Artisans	6
Farmers	-
Journalists	4
Labourers	28
Intellectuals	22
Politicians	8
Students	17
Professionals	-
None	2
Don't Know	2
No Answer	1
TOTAL	90

(71) Opinion of 90 reputational leaders on the above question in terms of language.

Groups Likely to incline to Communism	English	Afrikaans	TOTAL
Artisans	6	-	6
Farmers	-	-	-
Journalists	1	3	4
Labourers	22	6	28
Intellectuals	18	4	22
Politicians	8	0	8
Students	13	4	17
Professionals	-	-	-
None	-	2	2
Don't Know	1	-	2
No Answer	1	-	1
TOTAL	70	20	90

(72) Opinions of 90 reputational leaders on the above question in terms of religious affiliation.

Groups likely to incline to Communism	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	D.R.C.	R.C.	Meth.	Pres.	Bapt.	Jewish	None	
Artisans	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	6
Farmers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Journalists	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Labourers	17	4	1	5	5	1	1	3	35
Intellectuals	5	3	3	3	3	-	-	2	19
Politicians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Students	9	4	-	-	-	1	1	2	17
Professionals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
None	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Don't Know	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
No Answer	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
TOTAL	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

We asked one question related to the economic sphere to test leaders' reactions to current economic practice. This read: "Do you think the business practice of employing a man for as little money as he is willing to accept is quite fair?" An overwhelming number of leaders said "No". (Table 73)

Analysis by language revealed that three quarters of both groups answered "No". This issue was not one on which sides were taken. Possibly the poverty position in Grahamstown has affected the views of leaders in this matter. Analysis by religious affiliation shows an overwhelming "No" with a few Anglicans, D.R.C. and Methodists choosing "yes" "yes conditionally" and undecided. No one refused to answer this question: clearly a issue about which people have talked and come to a clear opinion. (Tables 74 and 75)

ECONOMICS

- (73) Attitudes of 90 reputational leaders to the question, "Do you think the business practice of employing a man for as little money as he is willing to accept is quite fair?"

Attitude	TOTAL
Yes	6
Yes Conditionally	11
Undecided	2
No	71
No Answer	-
TOTAL	90

- (74) Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in terms of language.

Attitude	English	Afrikaans	TOTAL
Yes	4	2	6
Yes Conditionally	8	3	11
Undecided	2	-	2
No	56	15	71
No Answer	-	-	-
TOTAL	70	20	90

(75) Attitude of 90 reputational leaders to the above question in terms of religious affiliation.

Attitude	Religious Affiliation								TOTAL
	Anglican	D.R.C.	R.C.	Meth.	Pres.	Bapt.	Jewish	Hone	
Yes	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Yes Conditionally	4	3	-	2	1	-	-	1	11
Undecided	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
No	29	13	5	7	6	2	2	7	71
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	38	17	5	10	8	2	2	8	90

CONCLUSION

In Chapter One we outlined the main purpose of the study to be the analysis of the leadership structure (or power structure) of the Grahamstown community, with an attempt to determine to what extent this structure is monolithic or pluralistic.

Analysis of leadership and of main events in various facets of community life has indicated very clearly that the leadership structure of the Grahamstown community is pluralistic.

Our findings also indicate a tendency towards polarisation of political orientation and the development of a basic split in ideological orientation with regard to certain selected problems. Our results, however, were not conclusive, (as indicated in Chapter One) and we shall, therefore develop them in the form of hypotheses for further study. We will, however, sketch the necessary background to present the grounds for our argument.

The discussions of leadership in the chapters on economics, politics, education and religion revealed that there were many issues on which the leadership was divided. The greatest measure of unity was experienced in the Group Areas issue where the community and its leaders originally took a very united stand. This unity, however, has since withered away and there are several outspoken leaders at present who tend to favour its implementation, and others who do not oppose it actively.

This tendency to yield to pressure from outside is typical of the general trend in the community which we have described as the swing to the right. This trend is partly due to the development of conservative views on racial politics in South Africa, but can also be attributed to pressure from government. Nationalist propaganda increasingly condemn all opposition as promoting the interests of the enemies of South Africa and as playing into the hands of Communists. Fear of ostracism or victimization compel former opponents of apartheid to acquiesce.

The issue of Group Areas in Grahamstown is also a good example of lack of local community autonomy. In the chapter on Voluntary Associations we have referred to a distinction in terms of degree of local autonomy.

It is generally accepted that prevailance on any community issue is an indication of superior influence or power in a community. Though a minority of leaders in Grahamstown are in favour of group areas (and by no means the more popular ones) it

is likely that it will be proclaimed. Their prevalence will not be a reflection of their personal leadership, but will demonstrate the lack of local autonomy in deciding on this issue.

Attitudes toward group areas must be seen in the light of national racial politics. The resistance of the community can be attributed primarily to its traditional anti-apartheid politics. About 6 or 7 years ago, when the community was still united in its ideological and political orientation, it took a united stand on group areas. Now that these ideological foundations have been shaken, its opposition to group areas has slackened.

In none of the other issues discussed is there a clear pattern of a group of leaders who share the same interests or political orientation, acting in concert on certain issues. An analysis of issues such as ward system of voting, water supply, caravan park vs. sawmill, height of buildings, and the development of industry in Grahamstown, shows divided leadership.

We have tried to measure the ideological orientations of leaders in terms of their attitudes toward certain ideological questions such as the ecumenical movement among the churches, co-operation with persons of differing political views, and economic issues such as a just wage. We have argued that the earlier united stand on group areas was due to a common "liberal" ideological orientation. We have also argued that there was a marked growth of a "conservative" ideology and a dwindling of the "liberal" ideology.

It does appear, however, that the decline of the liberal ideology is much more evident among the rank-and-file in the community and among some sections of the leaders. At the same time this ideology seems to be reinforced among a section of the leadership, especially among the more educated leaders. The fact that the Liberal Party has disbanded and the Progressive Party is running at a loss while 25 of the 90 reputational leaders are admitted supporters of the Progressive Party and 4 of the Liberal Party, is evidence of this.

It is also our impression that there is developing in the community not only a bifurcation in terms of ideological orientation, but actually a polarization. This polarization is seen as a basic split between conservatism and liberalism. Our earlier discussions outlined the basic similarities between the National and United Parties. Both parties can be seen as representing the conservative ideology. It is argued that the United Party is progressively moving to the right and will, in conceivable time, constitute the Right Wing opposition to the Nationalist Government. Both the National and United Parties are moving further and further from the two left-wing or liberal parties, Progressive and Liberal.

Apart from this political polarization, there appears to develop a basic split in terms of ideological orientation. Apart from supporters of these two liberal political parties there is a growing core of liberal sentiment among a section of the population including people of various shades of political affiliations. We have tried to measure this phenomenon in terms of conservative - liberal attitudes, political confidence - alienation and apprehension. Though our results are not conclusive we have clear indications that this phenomenon merits further investigation.

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22. Even if you are already a member suppose membership in the associations I am going to name was open to you, how would you feel about such membership:

	UNITED PARTY	NATIONAL PARTY	PROGRESSIVE PARTY	ROTARY OR LEESKRING	CAR HOMING CLUB	CHAMBER OF COMMERCE	LABOUR UNION
	Col.19	Col.19	Col.20	Col.20	Col.21	Col.21	Col.22
Eager To Join	1	7	1	7	1	7	1
Inclined to Join	2	8	2	8	2	8	2
Indifferent	3	9	3	9	3	9	3
Not Inclined to Join	4	0	4	0	4	0	4
Def. Not Join	5	X	5	X	5	X	5
No Answer	6	Y	6	Y	6	Y	6

23. Are you a member of any religious denomination? IF SO: of which?		Col.23	27. Do you think that in a church equally accessible to all races from a residential angle, all races should be permitted to worship together?		Col.27
Anglican		1	Yes		1
D.R.C. & Other Afrik		2	No		2
Catholic		3	D.K.		3
Methodist		4	No. Ans.		4
Presbyterian		5			
Baptist		6			
Jewish		7			
Sects		8			
Others		9			
None		0			

24. What would you say your degree of participation in religious activity and church services is?		Col.24	28. What do you think of the Academic Standard of Rhodes University?		Col.27
Never Attend or Support		1	Maintains High Standard		5
Sometimes Attend Or Support		2	Fair Standard		6
Often Attend or Support		3	Mediocre Stan.		7
Reg. Attend or Support		4	Low Standard		8
No Answer		5	Don't Know		9
			No Answer		0

25. If your Church engaged in joint services & other activities with Christian Churches of other denominations in Grahamstown would you approve or disapprove?		Col.24	29. How do you feel about the role of Rhodes University in the Grahams-town community with regard to community affairs?		Col.28
Approve Strongly		6	Contributes Signif		1
Approve		7	Contributes		2
Approve, Cond.		8	Does Not Contrib.		3
Disapprove		9	Don't Know		4
Disapprove Strongly		0	No Answer		5
No Answer		X			

30. Should Rhodes Univ. Staff be outspoken in expressing their political opinions or not?		Col.28	31. What do you think of the political influence of the more politically outspoken section of the Rhodes University Staff?		Col.29
Yes - Outspoken		6	Promotes Interest of Country		1
No - Not Outspoken		7	Is Of No Political Consequence		2
Don't Know		8	Doesn't Promote Interest of Country		3
No Answer		9	Don't Know		4
			No Answer		5

26. Would you approve of top level negotiations between your Church and the following churches concerning a possible merger?	Catholic	Afrik.	Baptist	Other Prot.		Col.29
	Col.25	Col.25	Col.26	Col.26		
Approve	1	6	1	6		
Disapprove	2	7	2	7		
Undecided	3	8	3	8		
No Answer	4	9	4	9		
N/Applc.	5	0	5	0		

32. How do you feel about the Indian Students attending Rhodes University?		Col.29
Approve		6
Approve Cond.		7
Indifferent		8
Disapprove Cond.		9
Disapprove		0
Don't Know		X
No Answer		Y

		Col.30			Col.34
33. How would you feel about the admission of Africans to Rhodes University?	Approve	1	39. (FROM Q.38).		
	Approve Cond.	2	No Social Class Awareness		1
	Indifferent	3	Awareness but No Personal Fit		2
	Disapprove Cond.	4	Fit Into Upper Class		3
	Disapprove	5	Fit Into Upper Middle		4
	No Answer	6	Fit Into Lower Middle		5
			Fit Into Lower Class		6
			No Answer		7
34. Do you think industrial development should be encouraged in Grahamstown even if it may be at the cost of the traditional character of the town?	Yes Definitely	7	40. With which of the following leaders do you often mix socially? Please name the first five in order of frequency of contacts.		Col.35
	Yes	8	NAME		
	Undecided	9	RATING		
	No	0	.....		1
	No Definitely Not	X	.....		2
	No Answer	Y	.....		3
			.....		4
			.....		5
35. Do you think S. African politics have in recent years penetrated more walks of life than in the past?	Yes	1	41. Would you expose corruption, if it existed within a group to which you belong or with which you are closely associated, even if it meant damaging your party or cause within the larger community?		Col.36
	Undecided	2	Yes		1
	No	3	Yes, Cond.		2
	Don't Know	4	Undecided		3
	No Answer	5	Undecided Cond.		4
			Don't Know		5
			No Answer		6
36. Do you approve or disapprove of the discussion of political matters at meetings of such organizations as the N.C.W. and the Afrikaanse Leeskring?	N.C.W. Col.32	L.K. Col.32			
	Approve	1	42. Participation in political affairs.		
	Undecided	2	No Affiliation or Activity		7
	Disapprove	3	Nominal Membership Only		8
	Don't Know	4	Attend Political Meetings		9
	No Answer	5	Active Participation in Organization, Functions, Etc.		0
			No Answer		X
37. Among which of the following groups in town would you feel most at home? (CIRCLE) and least at home? (MARK WITH GROSS)	Leftist	1			
	Liberal (NOT PARTY)	2			
	Progressive (NOT PARTY)	3			
	Conservative	4			
	Rightist	5			
	Don't Know	6			
	No Answer	7			
38. Do you think you fit into any social bracket in the Community? What would you call that group or section of the community? Please describe it.					
.....					
.....					
.....					
.....					
.....					
.....					

Fieldworker Then To Complete 39 At Top Of Right Hand Column.

Col.37

Col.42

3. Political Party Preference:	United Party	1
	National Party	2
	Progressive Party	3
	Liberal Party	4
	Other	5
	No Party Preference	6
	Don't Know	7
	No Answer	8

Col.38

44. Do you feel you have an intelligent grasp of the set up and workings of the South African Government how the Cabinet and various govt. departments function?	Yes- Good Grasp	1
	Yes- Reasonable	2
	Undecided	3
	Only Vague	4
	No Knowledge At All	5
	No Answer	6

45. Do you feel that your opinion counts anywhere in the higher ranks of any political party in S.A.?	Yes- Great Deal	7
	Yes- Only Slightly	8
	Undecided	9
	No- Not At All	0
	No Answer	X

Col.39

46. Do you feel that voting is the only means whereby you can have a say in the governmental running of things?	Yes	1
	Undecided	2
	No	3
	No Answer	4

47. Do you feel that your vote counts in determining the outcome of political elections in S.A.?	Yes	5
	Undecided	6
	No	7
	No Answer	8

Col.40

48. Would you approve of the official removal of young newspaper boys from our streets?	Approve	1
	Approve - But Regret its Necessary	2
	Indifferent	3
	Disapprove - It's not Really Necessary	4
	Disapprove Strongly	5
	No Answer	6

49. How do you feel about the welfare activities among Africans in Grahamstown?	Opposed	7
	Not Necessary	8
	Indifferent	9
	Necessary	0
	Very Much Needed	X
	NO Answer	Y

Col.41

50. What do you imagine is the role of the Broederbond in the Afrikaans community of Grahamstown?	Powerful	1
	Influential	2
	Not Influential	3
	Of No Consequence	4
	Don't Know	5
	No Answer	6

51. What do you imagine is the role of the Broederbond in the S.A. Govt?	Powerful	1
	Influential	2
	Not Influential	3
	Of No Consequence	4
	Don't Know	5
	No Answer	6

52. Do you think it is a good thing for any Government whether Nationalist, United Party or Progressive to control at least two-thirds of the seats in Parliament?	Yes	7
	Yes, Cond	8
	Undecided	9
	No	0
	No Answer	X

Col.43

53. Would you like to see the present S.A. Government controlling at least two-thirds of the seats in Parliament?	Yes	1
	Yes Cond.	2
	Undecided	3
	No	4
	No Answer	5

54. Do you approve of the fact that a Cabinet Minister of the S.A. government has the power to detain or restrict a S.A. citizen without a public charge and trial?	Yes	6
	Yes Cond.	7
	Undecided	8
	No	9
	No Answer	0

Col.44

55. Would you approve of lecturers at a S.A. University objecting to an Honorary Degree being conferred on the State President Mr. Swart?	Approve	1
	Approve Cond.	2
	Undecided	3
	Disapprove	4
	No Answer	5

56. Do you think any State has the right to forbid marriages between persons of different races?	Yes	6
	Yes Cond.	7
	Undecided	8
	No	9
	No Answer	0

Col.45

57. Do you think the business practice of employing a man for as little money as he is willing to accept is quite fair?	Yes	1
	Yes Cond.	2
	Undecided	3
	No	4
	No Answer	5

		Col.46
58. Do you think that Christian Brotherhood is a dangerous concept in a multi-racial country like S.A.?	Yes	1
	Yes Cond	2
	Undecided	3
	No	4
	No Answer	5

59. If a law of the state violates the Christian conscience, do you think this law must be obeyed?	Yes	6
	Yes Cond.	7
	Undecided	8
	No	9
	No Answer	0

		Col.47
60. Do you approve that a Cabinet Minister of the Ghanaian Government has the power to detain a citizen of Ghana without a public charge and trial?	Yes	1
	Yes Cond.	2
	Undecided	3
	No	4
	No Answer	5

61. Do you think there are signs of conflict and tension in the Grahamstown Community? I have a list of groups (SHOW LIST) - and I'd like you to tell me between which groups you think there is most tension. Please rate them in order of amount of tension from most to least.	Yes	1
	Yes Cond.	2
	Undecided	3
	No	4
	No Answer	5

		Col.48
Between Owners and Workers		1
Between Afrikaans and English speaking		2
Between Town and Gown (University)		3
Between Nationalists and United Party		4
Between Liberals and Conservatives		5
Between Intellectuals and Other People		6
Between Town Council and Chamber of Commerce		7
Between Whites and Non-Whites		8
Between Upper and Lower Classes		9
Among Afrikaans Speaking		0
Among English Speaking		X
No Answer/None		Y

62. Is South Africa characterized by more or less racial tension and/or conflict than:	ZAMBIA?	U.K.?	U.S.A.?	
	Col.49	Col.49	Col.49	
	MORE IN S.A.	1	5	9
	SAME IN S.A.	2	6	0
	LESS IN S.A.	3	7	X
DON'T KNOW	4	8	Y	

		Col.50
63. How do you feel about Government control over University activities?	Approve	1
	Approve Cond.	2
	Disapprove	3
	Don't Know	4

64. I have here a list of people (SHOW LIST) who, in some countries, control the political situation. If you had to choose among them, which of these would you prefer to have such power in South Africa? Please rate the first few of your choice in order of preference.

		Col.51
Military		1
Labour		2
Business		3
Intellectuals		4
Social Aristocracy		5
Professionals		6
Prof. Politicians		7
Civil Servants		8
Don't Know		9
No Answer		0

65. Do you think the S.A. government should insist that group areas be declared in Grahamstown?	Yes	1
	Undecided	2
	No	3
	Don't Know	4
	No Answer	5

66. What motives do you think dominated the drive to establish the P.J. Olivier School in the Grahamstown community?	Political	6
	Cultural	7
	Other	8
	Don't Know	9
	No Answer	0

		Col.53
67. Who would you prefer as United Party Member for the Provincial Council for the Albany Constituency?	Deacon	1
	Randall	2
	Someone else	3
	Undecided	4
	No Answer	5

68. Do you ever find yourself wondering if, because of your politics or something political you said or did, you might be a subject of gossip in the community?	Yes	6
	No	7
	Don't Know	8
	No Answer	9

		Col.54
69. Have you ever wondered whether some political opinion you have expressed might affect your job security or promotion?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't Know	3
	No Answer	4



C.I. TECHNIQUE:

Col.60

		Col.55
70. Should a person who expresses radical leftist (e.g. very liberal) views be allowed to teach at a South African University?	Yes No Don't Know No Answer	1 2 3 4
71. Do you occasionally go out of your way to make statements or tell anecdotes in order to bring home the point, directly or indirectly, that you have no extreme leftist or rightist leanings?	Yes No Don't Know No Answer	5 6 7 8
72. Do you find yourself being careful now and then not to bring up certain political topics in order to avoid embarrassing people in your company?	Yes No Don't Know No Answer	1 2 3 4
73. Should a person who expresses radical rightist views (e.g. McCarthyism) be allowed to teach at a South African University?	Yes No Don't Know No Answer	5 6 7 8
74. Which of the groups on this list (SHOW LIST) do you think are most likely to incline towards communism?	Artisans Farmers Journalists Labourers Intellectuals Politicians Students Professionals None Don't Know No Answer	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 X
75. X Score		Col.58 1 2 3 4 5 6
76. Y Score		Col.59 1 2 3 4 5 6

77. Influence Rating:	Most Influential Very Influential Influential Not Influential	1 2 3 4	Col.60
78. Sphere of Leadership:	Con. Service Culture... Economic. Commerce Economic. Other Education Government: Local Government: National Health & Welfare Rec. Sports & Entert. Religion. English Religion: Afrikaans Non-European	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 X Y	Col.61
79. Means:	Elected Appointed by local body Appointed by authority outside local community Achieved role by independently establishing himself.	a) b) a) b) a) b) a) b)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Col.62
80. Channels:	Voluntary Assocs. Financial Power Professional Authority Popularity Respected Indiv. Action, efforts	1 2 3 4 5 6	Col.63
81. Types:	Formal: Legitimate Formal: Illegitimate Informal: Legitimate Informal: Illegitimate	1 2 3 4	Col.64
82. Visibility:	Face to Face Public personality Unclassifiable	1 2 3	Col.65
83. Orientation:	Localites Cosmopolites Mixed	1 2 3	Col.66