An Assessment of some Prominent Issues relating to Community Development in the Sparks Estate — Sydenham Community.

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AN ASSESSMENT OF SOME PROMINENT ISSUES RELATING TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE SPARKS ESTATE - SYDENHAM COMMUNITY

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PREFACE

The report which follows is a provisional document aimed at high-lighting some of the more prominent needs for community development existing in an area of Durban called Sparks Estate - Sydenham.   This community comprises South Africans who in terms of South African racial legislation are classified as "Coloured" (people of mixed descent). In terms of the so-called "Group Areas" legislation which accompanies racial classification, members of different races are formally obliged to reside in appropriate Group Areas.   In the area of Greater Durban there are five such Group Areas for the "Coloured" community; one being the area under discussion.

As a consequence of these legislative provisions, the Sparks Estate - Sydenham area has become a clearly identifiable, spatially-defined, residential neighbourhood, even though the character of much of its housing would otherwise link it with neighbouring White and Indian suburbs.

More broadly, another consequence of Group Areas legislation is that a very serious shortage of residential space exists for Black communities and the community under discussion in particular.   Quite apart from myriad other negative effects of racial legislation and discrimination, the shortage of residential accommodation alone has created great problems for the Sparks Estate community, as will become apparent in later discussion.   The community with which this study is concerned, therefore, is one which is both a distinct and bounded neighbourhood and an area with substantial social problems.

These considerations, however, were in themselves not decisive in prompting our interest in the area.   The immediate impetus for this study came from an organisation called St. Philomena's.

St. Philomena's, prior to 1976, was a home for "Coloured" children

situated in the "White" area of Malvern, in the south of the city. As
a consequence of the Group Areas Act, this organisation has had to move
to Sparks Estate, where it has established Anchor Village, a new children's
home and community centre. Mother Genevieve and her colleagues in
St. Philomena's and on the management committee have long conceived the
aim of becoming even more closely integrated into the surrounding
communities than they have been. With this aim in mind, Anchor Village
has been designed as a potential resource centre for surrounding
residents.

A twin purpose is envisaged; firstly of providing the children in
the care of the village with social access to normal community life, and
secondly (and equally importantly), of serving as a focus of meaningful
social and spiritual life for the surrounding "Coloured" area initially,
and later hopefully for a broader segment of Durban's population.

Against this background of aims, St. Philomena's realised the need
for a comprehensive study of the surrounding community, in order to achieve
a full understanding of the people and their aspirations and problems.
To this end, the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of
Natal was approached to assist in the conducting of a comprehensive
study.

The German Bishops' Fund, Miserior, (Bischöfliches Hilfswerk) has
generously provided St. Philomena's with the funding for the project,
which commenced in May of 1976.

The intentions in conducting the study were twofold. Firstly, the
results are to provide basic information and insights necessary for St.
Philomena's to tailor its community programme to the surrounding needs and
interests. Secondly, the reports are intended as documents for use by
the community itself in its own ongoing attempts to deal with problems

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and difficulties and to better defend its interests within the wider
urban context.

Therefore, the report, although containing only a selected range
of findings available at this stage, will hopefully form the initial
basis for a community programme to be formulated and guided by members
of the community, under the auspices of St. Philomena's.

The authors see their role very clearly as providing technical input -
very definitely not a prescriptive role. The essential feature of any
programme arising out of this and subsequent reports is that it should
be evolved within a community context, with the research-based informa-
tion and suggestions merely servicing the community endeavour.

We would like to extend most heartfelt thanks to Mother Genevieve,
the Committee and Staff of St. Philomena's, Ms. Mary Sampson, Mr. Henry
Africa, the sponsoring body, Miserior, and the staff of the project for
their guidance, inspiration and concrete assistance on the project. The
staff of the project was essentially the interviewers, whose timeless
enthusiasm made the study a success: the late Mr. A.J. Pavitt, Mr. B.
Sibilant, Mr. B. Martin, Mr. B. Pavitt, Mr. R.E. Daniels, Mrs. J. Abel,
Ms. J. Africa, Mr. Herbert Africa, Mr. E. Buckly, Mr. C. Clifford, Mrs.
E.C. Diederichs, Mr. D. Duchesne, Mr. L. Fabre, Mrs. M.C.D. Fynn, Mr.
R.P. Gulston, Ms. A. Grice, Ms. C. Hornsby, Mr. R. Joseph, Mr. N. Lewis,
Ms. J. Mulqueeny, Mr. A. Paules, Ms. M. Samuels, Mr. A.J. Smith, Mr. O.
Tichman, Mr. B. van der Merwe, and Mr. da Costa, for the photographs.
Mr. A.J. Pavitt spent many hours interviewing members of the community.
His passing is sadly felt by the project team and the people of Sparks
Estate, to whom he had devoted a lifetime of service and friendship.

We trust that this report will be but a first step towards the

development of a resource centre and programme of community activity
which could serve as an encouragement for community action in many other
settings in Durban and elsewhere.

Lawrence Schlemmer
Margaret Victor
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C O N T E N T S

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L I S T O F T A B L E S

CHAPTER I

BRIEF PERSPECTIVES ON URBAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development is a broad, indeed a vague term, designating a potentially bewildering variety of activities. A witness to the looseness of the term is the official name of that government department (Dept. of Community Development) which is responsible not only for public housing and certain aspects of urban planning, but also for the administration of racial "Group Areas" and racial segregation in urban residence. This has entailed an ongoing process of removals of people (mainly Coloured and Indian people) from long-established residential locations to "appropriate" Group Areas.

The term, community development, however, also has a less morally compromised connotation, in the sense that it has come to be used generally to denote a range of endeavours carried out in a community context aimed at improving the collective circumstances of people suffering various forms of material, social or civic disadvantage. While there might be general agreement as to the broad aim stated above, a variety of interpretations is placed on the term when considering the techniques and approaches to be adopted.

A perusal of the literature given in the bibliography at the end of this report will reveal that at least the following emphases can be distinguished among the range of activities subsumed under the term community development:

Community Development as Manipulation of the Institutional Environment

This interpretation of the term often coincides with what is called community organisation by social workers. It is sometimes referred to as

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social planning.   Broadly it involves attempts to get public and private
authorities and organisations in the fields of welfare and planning to
modify their operations so as to benefit client communities.[1]   It may
also involve exercises in improving communication between communities and
the various bodies which affect their circumstances.   In a more action-
oriented form, it may lead to legal action on behalf of communities and
even strenuous lobbying within the political arena.

Community Development as Group Work among Clients with Individually Identified Social Problems

This is a type of approach normally the prerogative of the Social Work
profession.   It is therapeutically oriented and it can vary between an
emphasis on "deviance" as a problem (i.e. the concern with conventionally
classified social pathological phenomena) and an emphasis on problems
experienced collectively by disadvantaged communities which need not be
"social pathologies" in the conventional sense.   The major focus, here, is
perhaps on the need for client groups to modify their own responses to their
environment so as to make their behaviour more appropriate vis-à-vis
broader social demands and expectations.

Community Development as Self-help Oriented Grass-Roots Organisation

This meaning of the term comes closer to the fashionable usage which
has emerged in recent years.   Great emphasis is placed on allowing community
groups to formulate their own objectives, usually within specific areas

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1) The term community is used in a broad descriptive sense only.   We do
    not assume a self-conscious and self-identified aggregate of people.

of interest like child-care, public health, home-craft, recreation, etc.
The community worker takes the stance of a resource person, intervening
to a lesser or greater extent when the community requests it.

Community Development as Mobilisation for Community Action

In progressive church-based community development programmes in the
U.S.A. and elsewhere, this approach to community development has come to
be regarded as somewhat of a model. Based largely on the work of Saul
Alinsky (see bibliography), a fairly basic assumption is that disadvantaged
communities tend to be characterised by a degree of what is loosely termed
"alienation". A major goal of any programme is to assist the community
in moving away from a state of alienation and apathy towards activism and
a self-conscious definition of interests and social-political goals. In
this approach the community development consultant keeps as low a profile
as possible, confining intervention to that which is only just necessary
to facilitate group mobilisation and the collective definition of goals.
The establishment of community co-operatives, community action groups and
even the organisation of planned public demonstrations and confrontations
with the authorities or with private enterprise,are fairly typical of the
approach.

The last approach mentioned has gained considerable popularity in
recent years and in the United States is to some extent accepted as a desir-
able model of intervention by some social workers. It is very clearly action-
orientated and also assumes that communities are fairly easily able to release
constructive collective energies, achieve a sense of coherence and solidarity,
and develop bargaining power within the political arena. This approach
involves only limited preliminary research, often amounting to no more than
unstructured excursions into the field by community workers to gain an
empathic understanding of the conditions and consciousness in the community.
Prescriptions for initial action are more often than not fairly bold and
straightforward; the selection of one or two modest grass-roots projects

through which the community can achieve an initial success is regarded as
sufficient to overcome the social inertia so often found in poor or dis-
advantaged communities.   Also, emphasis is placed on finding the potential
or actual leaders in the community and assisting them to fulfil their role
in community mobilisation.   The concept of "conscientisation" often has a
prominent place in this approach.   Through literacy programmes and other
techniques, communities are encouraged to develop a collective definition
of their economic and political status which will facilitate action aimed
at improving their collective circumstances.

Towards a Progressive Eclectic Approach to Community Development

The previous approach has its obvious merits but it also raises certain
problems, particularly within a South African context.   Firstly it tends
to be what is called "contest" or confrontation-oriented and lays little
emphasis on the possibility of forming coalitions or alliances with
sympathetic outside agencies or groups which might have useful influence.
A policy of confrontation with the avoidance of any compromises carries very
obvious dangers in the local political context, in which local leaders
constantly stand in danger of being branded as agitators or subversives.
The previous approach also takes relatively little account of the possibil-
ity of divisions and cleavages within the client community or its leader-
ship and the careful and patient work necessary to bridge such divisions.
It also tends to pursue the goal of mobilisation through community action,
whereas under certain constraining circumstances, a broadly based mobili-
sation for self-help may have to precede more overt activity (the
constraints can be material, social or political).

The approach previously outlined does take account of the state of
consciousness in the client community by identifying "alienation" or apathy
where it exists.   The prescriptions for countering the community inertia,
however, may be rather too simple and superficial to be successful in
situations where a community's response to disadvantage and discrimination

over a long period of time has resulted in a variety of negative adjustments which may be extremely deeply entrenched. A community may be more than merely "alienated" (this term itself as used in the literature, is rather too vague to be useful); the family life of a community may have become distorted in various ways; the need for recuperation after exposure to frustration in the work situation can produce "escape-oriented" recreational tastes which are difficult to alter; the denial of human dignity and/or frustrations in daily life can lead to a highly emotive and pietistic religious commitment which emphasises the transcendent rather than present rewards and responsibilities ("pie in the sky"); high levels of repressed aggression can, for example, produce marital disharmony on a wide scale or harsh child-rearing practices which cause reactive behaviour among young people leading to serious generation gaps in the community; parents' status anxieties may lead them to over-emphasise respectability, conformity and individualistic achievement which in turn may result in overly compliant behaviour, etc., etc. These in our view, are the types of problems to which community development must address itself if it is to avoid being shortlived and superficial.

If these observations are valid, then an approach to community development must to some extent combine "therapeutic" and "action-oriented" approaches. Where any crippling "pathologies" exist in a neighbourhood, these must be attended to if fuller, longer-term participation in community affairs is desired. Where authority structures in a society or city have become heavily control-oriented and pervasively bureaucratised, some action directed at those organisations constraining and limiting a community is obviously necessary to give the community social space to breathe and grow. Also, where a community is more or less completely excluded from formal political participation, some forms of association with sympathetic groups possessing some power or access to decision-making would make sense. Finally, in a community which is not a completely homogeneous "slum" community (Sparks Estate is far from being a slum) the identification of major needs requires more than brief informal interaction

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with selected members of the neighbourhood.   Different groups and strata
may have different needs and priorities, and more careful, disciplined
investigation is required before an equitable balance can be achieved in
any programme.

    As a consequence of these considerations, we have opted for an
approach to community development which is perhaps more complex than any
single model outlined above.   While it is not our task to formulate the
eventual programme, we have had to make these assumptions at this stage
in order to do justice to our tasks of providing the initial research input.

    Stated very broadly, the approach to community development tentatively
envisaged at this very initial stage of the programme involves the following
assumptions and objectives:

    (a) Because the community involved is not characterised by all-pervasive
         poverty or social disorganisation, a purely "welfare-oriented"
         approach is inappropriate.   Since there are, however, not insub-
         stantial pockets of poverty and social dislocation in the area,
         some emphasis on the provision of additional welfare facilities and
         assistance is called for.   Close liaison with social workers,
         welfare agencies and churches operating in the area is envisaged.
         The sponsoring organisation, St. Philomena's, has hitherto
         functioned effectively in certain fields of welfare, and an expansion
         of this role is envisaged.

    Because "welfare needs" are not predominant in the area, however,
this emphasis has to be balanced by other approaches, as suggested ear-
lier in this chapter.

    (b) The research which forms the basis of this report, has been formu-
         lated with three broad objectives in mind.

         Firstly, there was the research goal of identifying the pockets of

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severe material and welfare needs which were bound to exist, and
of analysing the type of programmes, facilities and resources
which would be required to assist in combating these problems.

Secondly, the research programme has been viewed to some extent
as an "initiatory" exercise, the aim being to utilise the findings
of the study in order to provide groups in the community with
"feedback" on their own situation and collective consciousness,
and thereby hopefully offering a basis upon which some groups could
commence planning their own strategies. As the community develop-
ment programme proceeds, evaluation studies are planned in order
to identify changes in the needs of the community, provide feedback
on the impact of various activities and so to assist groups in
the community in redefining their goals.

Thirdly, the study has been planned to uncover social processes and
patterns of interaction in the community which will either assist in
developing a community programme or which may impede community
action.   For example, we have included an examination of community
leadership as viewed from the grass-roots, as well as a study among
leaders themselves.   We have also, for example, attempted to iden-
tify possible cleavages or sources of tension in the area of which
any programme should take account.   More broadly, we have tried to
define the styles of group consciousness existing in different parts
of the community focusing particularly on how people define their
situation, their morale, sense of solidarity, perceptions of
collective strength and weakness, awareness of and support for
various local-level leaders, and a variety of other characteristics
likely either to facilitate or operate against a broadly based
community programme.

We have included also various questions designed to provide a
priority-ranking on problems and needs in the area as perceived by

the people, as well as probes into social interests and activity preferences. These results will hopefully provide guidelines as to the content of community programmes.

(c) In South Africa - a society with very powerful latent conflicts - any community programme for change launched by Black people has to take full account of the potential for counter-action by the State, and be cognisant of the present inflexibility of formal bodies controlling planning and the distribution of resources at the community level. Community programmes which, to use community development nomenclature, are "confrontation"-oriented are likely to encounter massive resistance from external authorities. Furthermore, even community members at large, who have jobs to keep and other social responsibilities (i.e. something to lose), are likely to be wise enough to hesitate in supporting movements which are likely to meet with official retaliation (even though they will privately endorse the aims involved).

Nevertheless, it has to be recognised that in very large measure, the problems and the quality of life in communities such as the one under discussion result from the institutionalisation and formal, legal entrenchment of racial discrimination. A community programme which fails to take account of the effects, both direct and indirect, of institutional racism at the community level will be at best irrelevant and at worst palliative or counter-productive. Working towards a change in the distribution of local level resources, amenities and life-opportunities for both groups and individuals must be part of the goals of any community programme which is to command the respect of the population involved. The problems of formulating an effective approach in local situations in South Africa are forbidding. Yet these problems have to be faced.

Many of the techniques used in community development in the United States based on the so-called power strategy (contest or

confrontation models) involve highly hazardous and inappropriate
operations for a South African situation: demonstrations, marches,
boycotts with a great deal of publicity, public denigration and
ridicule of groups or organisations defined as adversaries, the
encouragement of tight in-group solidarity as well as of polarisation
between the community and adversary groups, threats and demonstrations
of power, the focusing of community hostility on the authorities and
mobilisation through action, and so on.

We would argue that any programme based on these techniques would
be short-lived and worse still, in failing, however heroically, it
would ultimately demotivate participants and prolong the despair of
rank and file community members.

We recognise that one of the potential sources of great strength
and community energy in the area lies in a growing collective ethnic
pride among Blacks (Black Consciousness) and that this must by
definition involve if not polarisation between Black and White, at
least a clear differentiation of interests. We have also been
influenced, however, by frequent reassurances by some of the most
prominent Black Consciousness spokesmen and women, that the movement
does not aim at Black domination or racism in reverse. We would
suggest merely as a framework within which this report should be viewed
therefore, that the further development of community pride and
collective self-esteem is not inconsistent with the utilisation of
sympathetic agencies in the wider metropolis to facilitate the
achievement of community goals. Nor is it, perhaps, inconsistent
with attempts by Blacks to seek reconciliation with Whites, but on
terms laid down and defined by Black communities themselves. The
framework of thinking on community development for this report, there-
fore, involves strategic co-operation with influential agencies and
groups in the city as a fairly fundamental goal.

We have already indicated certain serious problems in the use of
demonstrations as a technique. A variant of this strategy is what
we might call that of the "demonstration effect". If a high

degree of social mobilisation can be achieved, and if this mobilisation
can be demonstrated in ways perceived to be benign, when approaches
to authorities are made the effect of really large-scale and visible
support within the community will lend power and weight to representations
(Black spokesmen are perenially seen by the authorities as representing
militant minorities only).   Social mobilisation therefore, can be an
effective strategy in itself.

Social mobilisation, however, requires a fairly widespread view
that goals can be achieved or that participation in a community programme
can bring rewards, both social and personal.   In Black communities in
South Africa, a very understandable degree of pessimism or even cynicism
exists about the possibility of peacefully achieving meaningful social
goals.   There may be widespread apathy or hopelessness even among groups
not living in poverty.   Furthermore, in the Sparks Estate community in
particular, the "intermediate" ethnic status between that of Whites and
Africans may have produced ambivalent consciousness, resulting in deep-
seated uncertainty about collective social roles.   For these reasons,
we would suggest that the goal of social mobilisation may be problematic -
certainly not as easy as some United States community developers would
suggest.   A systematic approach to this task, based on community needs,
perceptions and interests is called for.

What is also perhaps called for, is the employment of a range of
techniques which some of the power-strategists deliberately avoid.
These techniques are usually called "normative" or "re-educative"
techniques and embrace all sorts of ways of stimulating community interest
and of changing attitudes which undermine unity or morale.   They must to
some extent also involve attending to the so-called "service needs" of
the people (i.e. attending to practical problems and welfare needs where
they exist - which would hopefully increase confidence in the programme).

(d)   At this stage it may also be suggested that community development
programmes should include a great deal of Adult Education (or
Continuing Education as it is sometimes called) and also youth
development.   This is suggested for a variety of reasons.
Firstly, race inequality has inevitably meant an inequality of
access to the best formal education in the society.   Secondly,
more privileged groups have the means to enjoy the kind of expe-
riences which stimulate and develop personal resources (this may
include anything from regular trips abroad to expensive books,
magazines, entertainment in racially exclusive facilities, etc.).
Thirdly, effective mobilisation in a community often requires that the
people become aware of creative alternatives to their current
situations and lifestyles, and educational programmes can have a
certain "inspirational" role in this regard.   At the very
least the type of input suggested would lead to an enrichment of ideas
and hopefully even of the quality of community life.   Fourthly,
certain of the programmes mentioned above can help to combat
specific problems which may undermine the energies of any community -
problems of family life, problems of dealing with the authorities
and with complicated legislation, problems in the field of labour
regulations, etc.

(e)   Some comments on the issue of leadership may be necessary.   When
groups are excluded from effective civic participation, leaders
have particular problems in establishing their credibility and
legitimacy, both in the eyes of their own communities and in the eyes
of the politically dominant group.   Furthermore, the relative lack
of participation in organisations for people in higher status occupa-
tions (professional organisations, business organisations, the philan-
thropic organisations of the wealthy classes, etc.) means that the
development of intermediate levels of leadership is hampered.   These
problems may to some extent exist within the Sparks Estate community.
Leadership training may be required (training for any political
leadership, however, would be outside the scope of a possible
programme).   The development of organisations to complement existing

associations, within which a variety of different kinds of local
community leaders could emerge, with credibility and visibility
in the area, would seem to be a possible goal of the programme.

(f)   The Coloured community of Sparks Estate - Sydenham is predominantly
a lower-middle class artisan and salaried white-collar group.   It
may be free of large-scale serious poverty but has hitherto not
generated investment resources or a business infrastructure on any
meaningful scale.   This, of course, may be good in the sense that
the wide inequalities existing, say, in the Indian community, have
not emerged. However, the lack of ownership of resources reduces the
amount of influence and bargaining power which the community has in
the wider metropolitan setting.   Furthermore, the lack of a business
infrastructure also means that there is a large scale outflow of
money into neighbouring White or Indian communities.   One of the
tasks of any comprehensive community development programme should be
to utilise existing skills or develop new skills in such a way as
to facilitate the emergence of internal commercial and light-industrial
development.   This must also involve capital accumulation; which is
possible in Sparks Estate since many households have the capacity to
save and invest on a small but meaningful scale.

We do not necessarily see the need for the emergence of an entre-
peneurial class distinct from the rest of the community.   What we
consider to be a possibility, however, is the mobilisation of community
financial resources to provide at least an investment fund to provide
share capital for a range of enterprises at moderate scale.   If some
of the enterprises can take the form of community co-operatives, so
much the better.

CHAPTER II

THE COLOURED PEOPLE OF DURBAN AND THE
SPARKS ESTATE COMMUNITY

South Africa is often called a "race society". Both sympathisers and critics of the present order often refer to South Africa loosely as a plural society, implying that great differences in culture and lifestyle exist in the population. The emphasis on ethnicity, however, tends to obscure some of the realities of the situation.

Whites, who form some 17,5% of the population, and who by virtue of their predominant position of power, enjoy highest racial or ethnic status, are not a homogeneous group in term of culture or even racial origin. (Whites include people of Northern European origin, and darker Southern European origin. Furthermore, analyses of early baptismal documents and the distribution of blood-groupings suggest a 5-10% "non-White" genetic heritage.)

Africans (70% of the population) and people of Asian origin (3%) are, obviously, racially distinct. This, however, does not imply any automatic co-incidental cultural distinctiveness, since there are substantial proportions of "Westernised" and urbanised people in both groups.

Our major interest in this study is with so-called Coloured people (9,4% of the S.A. population) and the reasons for this digression into broad comments about South Africa's population will become clear as the implications of our findings are presented in subsequent chapters. In a similar society in which race had not become an institutionalised and statutory basis of population classification, the so-called Coloured people would be part of a continuum linking Whites and people of darker pigmentation. As in Carribean or South American societies, people of intermediate pigmentation

are not a distinctive ethnic group.   In recent years many less-conservative
Afrikaners have come to call Coloured people who speak Afrikaans "Brown
Afrikaners").[1]   Under different circumstances we could quite validly refer
to the people we are discussing as English-speaking South Africans living
in Durban who happen to have a somewhat darker pigmentation than some others
living in Durban.   In fact, under different political conditions, we
might hopefully have been able to overlook the aspect of pigmentation
altogether - which means that no distinctive group would have been there
for study.   Under present circumstances, however, it is decreed that the
Coloured people of Durban are a distinctive group and for this reason alone,
we will time and again refer to the "Coloured community".

This statutory classification must not be seen as implying any domi-
nant "ethnic" characteristics.   Some claim that such characteristics
exist in the Coloured Community in the Cape - a confusion arising from
taking a rural and working-class sub-group dialect and speech pattern as
representing an element of ethnic culture.   In Durban, however, this issue
is of lesser significance.   There is very little in the way of a characte-
ristic pronunciation or speech pattern; in fact there is nothing which is
consistently characteristic of a "Coloured group" in Durban.   There is
great heterogeneity in the community.   While the majority are English-
speaking Catholics, there are Muslims of Malay origin; there are darker-
skinned Afrikaners; there are St. Helenans and Mauritians who had they
emigrated to France would blend perfectly well with many people in the South.[2]
And, of course, there is great socio-economic variation.   We are studying
a "community" which exists by virtue of a long series of political decisions,
and this has to be kept very clearly in mind as the report proceeds.

Prior to the 1950's, racial classification as applied to Coloured people
was arbitrary in a legal sense and based on origin, appearance and way of

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1)   In a nation-wide opinion poll conducted for the Newspaper Rapport by
     Mark-en-Meningopnames (Pty) Ltd., 45% of Afrikaans-speaking Whites re-
     plied that they regarded an Afrikaans-speaking Coloured person as an
     Afrikaner.

2)   In fact, many of the Mauritian and St. Helenan immigrants who had a
     shade lighter skins are respected members of the White community with
     an "interesting French ancestory".

life.   Fairly strong informal criteria of discrimination pertained, however, and these have subsequently been embodied in the Population Registration Act of 1950 and other statutes.

The geographical distribution of the Coloured people is uneven throughout the country.   The largest number is found in the Western Cape (87% of the total)while only approximately 2,6% is found in the Durban Metropolitan region.   The urban concentration of Coloured people in Natal is very high and the growth rate for this group in urban areas is also very high (4,7% per annum in Durban).   This is due in some degree to a steady migration of Coloured people into Metropolitan areas in Natal, from as far afield as the Transkei and the Cape.

There are readily discernible differences between Coloured people in the Cape and in Durban due to both historical and socio-cultural factors. The Coloured people of the Western Cape, as already suggested, have more easily identifiable sub-cultures eg. predominance of the Afrikaans language with a "distinctive" use pattern, a large Malay Muslim community and various other Cape traditions.

In Natal, the Coloured community acquired a distinctive character after substantial immigration of people from the islands of Mauritius and St. Helena.   A number of islanders also settled in the Western Cape, but in Natal they were much more prominent and special status and privileges were conferred on them.   Prior to the 1950's in Natal, segregation in residential choice and employment opportunities was less stringently applied than in other parts of the country.   The Coloured people of Durban had become predominantly English-speaking and belonged to the Roman Catholic Church.   As a result, the people in Durban were set apart and set them- selves apart from other Coloured migrants who moved in from the Cape and also from those from other parts of Natal, who were considered rural and uneducated.   Thus the later migrants gravitated to the lower end of the economic and status hierarchy.   In South Africa, especially in the past, great emphasis had been placed on appearance by Coloured people.

Mauritians and St. Helenans were more likely to have straight hair and in
the case of St. Helenans, a fair complexion.   A term "the Durban Coloured"
emerged to describe a group who were regarded as almost White.   However
this identification of a distinctive "Durban Coloured" group within the
community has become less apparent as Coloured people have moved towards
a collective group identity.   The Mauritian and St. Helenan "status elite"
has also become eroded, although we note in the results of the study in
Sparks Estate that the residents to a certain extent still stratify the
community using nomenclature such as "Mauritian and St. Helenan".   In
general terms, within-group differentiation in terms of social class has
superceded the earlier grounds for group differentiation.   In
particular an inclusive identification with the Coloured group as a whole
has become much more prominent.

Sparks Estate - Sydenham Community

Sparks Estate, with an official population estimate of 11,000, is
situated approximately 8 km. from the city centre on a hilly inland zone
behind the Berea Ridge.   There are still fairly large underdeveloped
areas of bush and marshland which could be made suitable for housing if
existing plans were implemented by the local authority.   It is bordered
on two sides by White areas, on one side by an Indian business and
residential suburb called Sydenham, and on its fourth side by a major
freeway.

The Durban City Council at the beginning of the Second World War
acquired land in the area and began building homes.   (Now the Durban
Corporation and the Department of Community Development are jointly
responsible for the administration and development of homes and flats for
poorer groups).   Loans were made available to residents by the National
Housing Commission and a number of residents were able to acquire their
own homes.

Some of the residents have taken a lot of trouble to extend and

modernise their dwelling units, turning them into spacious homes. These extensions as well as the conversion of outbuildinqs has provided accommodation for some of the many families unable to acquire houses of their own. As a consequence of this, the true population of the area is considerably in excess of the official estimate given earlier. It may be as high as 15,000.

Over the past decade, a critical housing shortage has developed among Coloured people in Durban. The current municipal waiting list for houses among Coloured people stands at 3,500[1] with a waiting period of 10 years. Sparks Estate suffers as a result of this in the sense that it is highly overcrowded in relation to the facilities in the area, and the housing available to the "extra" residents is inadequate. A large but unknown number of Coloured people live as "illegal" residents in neighbouring Indian group areas, where they pay exorbitant rents.

There are a large number of churches in the area as well as numerous religious groups who use the Community Centre - a small public hall - as a place of worship. There has been a notable movement in religious affiliation away from the older churches to the non-historical Pentecostal groups. Whilst the emergence of new church groups does indicate that more opportunity is created for leadership experience, these church leaders have tended to confine themselves to religious matters and to their respective congregations. Religious affiliation in Sparks Estate is as follows:

	% of representative sample of 300
Roman Catholic	57%
Anglican	18%
Pentecostal groups	12%
Other English language Protestant	7%
Muslim	4%
Dutch Reformed Church	1%
No religious affiliation	1%
	100%

1) Figure given by the Minister of Community Development in March 1978, see *Daily News* 6.3.1978.

A brief outline of community facilities in Sparks Estate is useful as a background to later discussion. There are three pre-school educational and care facilities. Whilst there is an indication that additional facilities of this type are required, demand does vary in response to economic climate. At the time of writing this report there is an escalating rate of unemployment in South Africa generally and male breadwinners in Sparks Estate are particularly affected as so many of them are employed in the economic sectors which have been most severely affected. Consequently children are kept at home as the fees cannot be paid. Pre-school education and care forms an essential facility in a community in which a large proportion of mothers are employed. Disruption of pre-school education, during a time when family resources and probably family functioning is strained, compounds the negative effect on the very young child.

There are eight primary schools in the area with a total enrolment of 3,139. Classrooms are filled to the maximum legal capacity of 45 pupils. Compulsory school attendance for Coloured children was introduced in 1968; however, because of the shortage of classrooms and qualified teachers this measure cannot be enforced.

The acute shortage of educational institutions in Sparks Estate poses a problem. The only High School in the area is attached to a Teachers' Training College. It serves Stds. 8 to 10 and has 430 pupils. A comprehensive High School for the area is proposed. At the moment, however, pupils in Stds. 6 and 7 have to travel to other areas of Durban for their schooling. This has a disruptive effect for children in the critical initial years of high school training, when children are also in a critical phase of maturational development. This may possibly contribute to the excessive high school drop-out rate. The truancy level at one of the schools has been substantially reduced by the collective action of parents who have organised a direct bus service to a school outside the area. Formerly these pupils had to take a bus to the City centre and another to the school. This created considerable opportunity for truancy. The

effect of this division in high school education has for long been viewed
with concern by the community.   Recently the Parent-Teachers'Associations
of the High School and Secondary School concerned combined to form a
co-ordinated negotiating unit in an attempt to expedite the building of
the proposed High School in Sparks Estate.   Little success has been
achieved to date.

Twelve residential care centres provide accommodation for the aged, for
young working girls, unmarried mothers and for children in need of care.   A
number of cultural and sporting bodies serve a wide variety of interests e.g.
Ballet, Speech and Drama, Judo, Boating, Gymnastics, Athletics, Tennis,
Cricket and Soccer.   Youth clubs, welfare organisations and related bodies
cover a wide area of needs.   Notwithstanding the valuable role these organi-
sations are playing, we have noted a certain lack of co-operation between
the various bodies and co-ordination is urgently needed.   This lack of co-
ordination is impeding the constructive utilisation of the latent civic
and social energy which exists in the community.   From time to time
specific issues and crises have moved the community from a state of minimum
co-ordination to a high degree of co-operation; e.g. official expropriation
of houses for redevelopment led to extensive mobilisation of the community.
A visible victory was not achieved in this particular instance and the
community reverted to its previous level of minimum co-operation.   However
a small group of people have emerged as a result of this crisis who have
directed energies at other areas of community problems and needs; e.g. the
providing of soup kitchens for the many unemployed people and their families,
and attempts to expedite the building of the High School.

Although there are twenty-two small businesses listed in Sparks Estate,
local residents play a minimal role in the management and ownership of
these.   A large area has been set aside for business development but due
to the high price of land and other factors, the response has been poor.
As indicated earlier, the purchasing power of the community largely
benefits other areas and groups.

A comprehensive Resources Guide containing details of the voluntary associations in Sparks Estate - Sydenham area has been drawn up by Mr. Henry Africa and appears as Appendix I to this report.

CHAPTER   III

THE   RESEARCH   APPROACH

We have outlined various approaches to community development.   One
theme linking all the different approaches, however, is that of "community
self-help".   Although the notion of self-help is no doubt fairly clear,
that of "community" is problematic.

Let us define a community in ideal terms as an aggregrate of people
who live in some spatial relationship to one another, who to a large
extent share certain interests and values and who perceive themselves as
belonging to, or at least identified with, the collectivity - a community
"for itself".   This last point emphasises the crucial importance of
community consciousness; a shared sense of community identity.

At the outset of our study we realised that, relative to the criteria
just stated, the Sparks Estate residential group lacked many of the essential
elements of community identity.   We suspected that patterns of stratification
might have produced fragmentation.   We also suspected that while some degree
of community self-consciousness may exist, it could result more from negative
than from the positive sentiments which the definition implies.   The people
of Sparks Estate being legally discouraged from identifying with neighbouring
ethnic groups of similar status and lifestyle , might thus identify "inwards"
simply because, in a racially cleaved society, little alternative exists.
We also considered it possible that the inferior life-chances and the frustra-
tion caused by racial classification might produce heightened sentiments of
solidarity in some, but subtle feelings of in-group denigration in others.

For these reasons, we have not proceeded on the assumption that a
community in the full sense exists.   We will, in ensuing pages, refer con-
stantly to the group of people we have studied as "the community", but this
is a term adopted for convenience, and we remain fully aware that the degree

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to which the residential group approximates a "community" remains to be
established on the basis of our findings.

In the formulation of our specific research goals, we took as a guide
the factors which relate to the effectiveness of community functioning which
are implied in the provisional model for community development outlined in
Chapter 1.   These functions were reformulated as broad research questions.
These we list briefly below.   No attempt will be made to amplify them at
this stage, but each will be discussed when the relevant results are presented.

(a) To what extent does social cohesion and a community consciousness
exist?   What are the implications of the types of political and social
consciousness which exist for a co-operative programme at the community level?

(b) How would the general morale of the group and the quality of
collective self-images affect the processes and goals of community development?

(c) Is the quality and quantity of internal leadership and its range of
skills appropriate to the goal of community development?

(d) Are there sufficient numbers of the right kind of voluntary organi-
sations in the area?

(e) What are the major social problems which exist in the area and to
what extent do they undermine the capacity of the group to improve its
situation?

(f) Do the characteristics of basic institutions in the area like the
family, religion and education facilitate or impede the development of the
larger group?

(g) Previous studies in the area have investigated what is termed the
"marginal situation" and the "marginal personality" (Dickie Clark 1964; Mann,
1957).   The concept of marginality is possibly relevant in considering a
group of people excluded from both the politically dominant White group and
numerically dominant African, and in Durban, Indian groups.   Although
previous findings have indicated limitations in the use of the concept, it re-
quires to be considered again after a lapse of time and in ways which may

complement the earlier analyses.

(h) What are the patterns and preferences as regards leisure time behaviour in the area and what implications do these hold for the development of a programme aimed at providing leisure time which will enrich community life in a variety of ways?

These research questions clearly defined a need for fairly intensive fieldwork , as opposed to a superficial opinion-poll approach.   The amount of variety in responses expected of a fairly heterogeneous group, however, meant that a depth interview approach involving small numbers of respondents was also inappropriate - it was clearly necessary to approach a sufficiently large sample to indicate variation in responses between sub-groups in the population.   Therefore a compromise was struck, in the form of fairly lengthy "focused" interviews using a moderately large, carefully stratified sample. The interview schedule contained many open-ended items requiring careful probing, and to this extent had some of the features of in-depth interviewing. A copy of the interview schedule is appended - see Appendix II.

Financial and time-constraints as well as the need to conduct very thorough interviews meant that the sample had to be limited to 300 households.   The sample was drawn from a universe of dwelling units which had been stratified initially into houses and apartments and within each of these strata into 3 groups: a middle status group, an intermediate status group and a low status group.   The classification into these groups was done on the basis of observation using the following criteria:

The middle status units were well-kept houses with developed gardens akin to those in any "middle class" residential suburb;
the low status units were wood and iron structures or barrack-like cheap row dwellings without internal toilets and with no sign of attempts to improve the buildings;
the intermediate category comprised units that are substantially built brick houses but showing signs of neglect or lack of attention to appearance.

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Apartment units were graded into three categories as well, approximating
as closely as possible to the distinctions made with regard to houses.

The categorisation was made by the authors independently of one
another. Sub-samples from each of the 6 strata were selected using tables of
random numbers after each unit had been numbered.   A small additional sub-
sample of apartments and houses in adjoining Indian areas was added, consti-
tuting a seventh stratum.   Because no universe of Coloured people in the
Indian areas could be obtained (residence there is technically illegal) the
sampling had to be purposive rather than random.   The final sample sizes
for each of the strata and the numbers of successfully completed interviews
were as follows:

	Initial Sample	Completed Interviews	Non-response rate
Middle houses	91	87	4,4%
Middle apartments	15	15	-
Intermediate houses	91	88	3,3%
Intermediate apartments	12	12	-
Low houses	76	71	6,6%
Units in Indian areas	27	27	-
TOTAL	312	300	3,8%

Each interview schedule contained two sections; the first section invol-
ving an interview with the housewife, and the second section being an interview
with a person of any sex selected from all adults in the household.   The
selection procedure was systematic and avoided any deliberate or biased choice
of   respondents   - see interview schedule, page 12 for details.   Hence two

separate sets of results were obtained; one set from housewives covering
mainly family and household data but including some attitude items, and
the second set comprising the bulk of attitudinal probes, representative
of a cross-section of men and women in the community.

Interviewing was conducted by 25 Coloured people, who were carefully
briefed on the interview schedule and counselled on interviewing techniques
in 3 lengthy training sessions.

After completion of fieldwork, data from the open-ended questions were
content-analysed, categories of answers defined, and the individual replies
coded in terms of these categories. The coded results were processed on
the computer at the University of Natal.

Remarkably good co-operation was forthcoming from residents and the low
non-response rate attests to the interest in the study and willingness
to be interviewed at length. The average length of interviews was roughly
1½ hours.

CHAPTER IV

COMMUNITY CONSCIOUSNESS

As already outlined, we have not proceeded on the assumption that Sparks
Estate constitutes a community in any full and ideal sense.   We surmised
that some degree of whatever sense of solidarity exists would reflect a
reaction to racial discrimination and an attendant denigration of Whites
(and perhaps a rejection of other Black groups with which contact would be
avoided for fear of compromising already uncertain racial status).   We
assumed that the social heterogeneity in the area might have produced patterned
socio-economic status cleavages.   Also, we suspected that the wide variation
in pigmentation within the community, as well as the historically derived
differences between the original Coloured settlers from Mauritius and St.
Helena and newer migrants to Durban may have resulted in a subtle process of
"racial" stereotyping within the "Durban Coloured" group itself.

These considerations, as well as the need to establish the extent of
commitment to the area moved us to include a variety of probes relating to
group-consciousness and intra-group cleavages.   Our interest in these
topics is informed by a recognition that any successful community development
programme has to take account of elements of cohesion and fragmentation within
the client group.

One indication of the general view of the area is obtained from the
opinions of those who have moved into the area from elsewhere.   Among the
housewives questioned (Part I of Schedule - see Appendix II), a clear majority
of those who had lived elsewhere felt 'happier' in the area: 77% versus 21%
who expressed negative feelings, with only 2% being ambivalent.   Among the
housewives questioned who had moved to Durban from elsewhere, no less than
80% declared themselves to be "happier" than they were at their previous
location.   Part of this favourable reaction may be due not so much to Sparks
Estate itself, but to the fact of living in the Durban metropolitan area.
Hence, among migrants, Durban as a whole received as favourable a rating (if

not more favourable a rating) than Sparks Estate.   We cannot on the evidence
before us separate the significance of Sparks Estate from that of Durban or
vice versa.

The responses above are those of migrants.   In Part II of our schedule,
we posed the question: *"When you think of Sparks Estate as a community
and the people in it, do you feel proud and happy to be part of it or not
really proud of it?"*   Among all people in our second sample (i.e., repre-
sentatives of all adults in the community), no less than 82% replied
positively, indicating pride in the area and the people, whereas 10% were
undecided and 8% negative in their outlook on the community.

When people in our representative sample of adults were asked for al-
ternative residence preferences: *"If you could choose to live anywhere in
Durban - any suburb, White, Indian, etc. - where would you really like to
live?"* - 55% indicated a preference for Sparks Estate.   Some 27% signified
a preference for a White area;   not necessarily because the area was "White"
but because it was either attractive, convenient, central, etc.   The other
"middle" class Coloured area of Greenwood Park received a 4% mention, while
all other Coloured areas attracted some 8% of people.   Indian areas were
mentioned by only 2% and one person elected an African area.   Once again,
these do not represent "ethnic" preferences but relate more to the quality of
the areas.

Broadly speaking, the set of results referred to this far suggests
that Sparks Estate as a residential neighbourhood, enjoys a favourable image
in the eyes of a majority of the residents - despite its manifold problems.

Our knowledge of the extent of a sense of community identity is deepened
somewhat by a probe on the image which our respondents had of others in the
area.   In our enquiry among the representative sample of adults, we asked,
*"Of the people in Sparks Estate, what proportion roughly would you feel
happy to mix freely with?"*   The respondents could choose between various

fixed response alternatives.   In their replies certain problems start
to emerge: some 23% of respondents chose *"all of them in your age group"*[1],
32% chose *"most of them"*, but 45% selected either *"only a few"*, *"very few"*
or *"none"*.   It would seem that a proportion approaching half the people in
the community have reservations about mixing freely with more than a few
people in the area.

       We posed a fairly lengthy open-ended question[2] on the perception of sub-
group differences in the community.   (See Appendix II, Part II, BC14.)
The answers were analysed in different ways.   One way was to consider views
on social class stratification.   Roughly 53% of respondents either mentioned
no class stratification (giving other replies) or said that the community
was undivided or unstratified, about 12% perceived a stratification into 2
groups (higher and lower).   The remaining 29% of our sample introduced social
characterisation other than status answers: roughly 12% distinguished
between a higher, a "respectable"and "disreputable" group, and another
11% identified, in addition to higher and lower groups, a middle status
group of "sociable" people.

       Although we will concede that a proportion of over one-half of people who
see no significant cleavages is very high, the rest of the answers leave us
in no doubt that there does exist some degree of social differentiation in
the area.   The choice by just under one-third of our respondents of
evaluative labels within a class framework (sociable, respectable/disre-
putable) indicates that social differences are a factor of importance in
limiting social interaction between members of the community.   This, of
course, would tie in with the previous finding; i.e. that a substantial
proportion of people would mix with more than a few others.

       A further way in which these responses were classified was in terms not
of social status but of "sub-culture" groups in the area.   This probe was

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1) The age group restriction applied to all answer alternatives.

2) Open-ended question: A question where no fixed response alternatives are
    presented, but where the free answers are classified into categories
    after all fieldwork is complete.

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followed immediately by a question on whether or not the groups identified "fitted in" with the rest of the community (Appendix II, Part II, BC14 contd.). These answers include the evaluatively labelled groups identified within a status system, described above.

In the following Table, we will give each of the significant "sub-groups" identified, the proportion of people mentioning that sub-group, as well as the percentage of the above proportion which considered that the particular group does not "fit in" with the rest of the community.

TABLE I   SOCIAL SUB-GROUPS WITHIN THE SPARKS ESTATE AREA AND THE EXTENT
TO WHICH SUCH GROUPS ARE SEEN TO BE INTEGRATED INTO THE COMMUNITY OR NOT

Sub-group	Percentage of respondents identifying the group	Proportion of those identifying the group which considered that the group does not "fit in"
Muslims	26%	50%
Mauritians and St. Helenans	35%	nil
"Africans", Coloureds/Griqua/etc.	23%	53%
"True Coloured"/"Cape Coloureds"	22%	nil
"Indian Coloureds"	11%	38%
"White Coloureds"	11%	31%
"Anti-social" group	7%	36%
"Lower classes"	29%	44%
"Upper classes"	40%	29%
"Social isolates"	3%	100%

Note: Since respondents could identify more than 1 group the percentages in Col. 2 above exceed 100%.

This Table has to be read in conjunction with the fact that 33% of all respondents claimed that there are no groups in the community which do not fit in. Hence, the results given in the Table are based on the replies of some 67% of our sample. We may assume, therefore, that a substantial majority of roughly two-thirds of people in Sparks Estate perceive some group or another as either mal-integrated or self-alienated. Prominent among such groups, as the Table shows, are the upper status "snobs" or, in a different sense, groups which are seen to have characteristics which make it difficult for them to achieve integration - Muslims (religion), "African Coloureds" or "Indian Coloureds" (race), "White Coloureds" (race or perhaps a superior attitude), and lower classes in anti-social groups (behaviour and low social status). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that after so long a period of acculturation and admixture, the St. Helenans and Mauritians are still visible as a social category and, if we are to judge by the fact that no one considers them mal-integrated, are also categories enjoying complete integration and acceptance, if not a favourable image in the community.

We have considered our respondents' views on divisions within the community. To what extent do actual patterns of interaction follow the lines of cleavage which are suggested above? One way in which this can be explored is to assess the degree to which informal friendship networks are confined to particular status or social groups. Accordingly we sought information on our respondents' two "best friends" of the same sex, excluding relatives.

Not all our data will be analysed in this report; we obtained information on the education, occupations, religious denominations, home languages, and leisure-time interests of friends. What will suffice in this discussion is to consider friendship patterns as they relate to education. The picture is as follows:

> PROPORTION OF BEST FRIENDS IN THE SAME EDUCATIONAL
> CATEGORY AS RESPONDENTS:

> Respondents' Education

> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Up to Std. 7 | 49% |
> | Stds. 8/9/Technical | 50% |

Std. 10 or higher   61%

PROPORTION OF BEST FRIENDS IN THE LOWEST EDUCATIONAL
CATEGORY:

Respondents' Education

Up to Std. 7	49%
Std. 8/9/Technical	35%
Std. 10 or higher	13%

PROPORTION OF BEST FRIENDS IN THE HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL
CATEGORY:

Respondents' Education

Up to Std. 7	9%
Std. 8/9/Technical	15%
Std. 10 or higher	61%

What is noteworthy in these results is that while there is a clear
pattern of educational differentiation in friendship, the two lower cate-
gories (up to Std. 7 and Std. 8/9 etc.) show quite considerable overlap.
We find, for example, that 35% of the respondents with Std. 8/9 have friends
of lower educational standing.   The picture emerging for the Std. 10 plus
group is different, however.   It is clearly in this group that the greatest
degree of homogeneity in informal social interaction occurs.   They have
relatively very little close friendship contact with those with Std. 7 or
less, and also have rather little contact of this kind with the educational
group immediately below them.   (Results not presented above show that only
some 26% of the highest category have friends in the middle category of Std.
8/9.)

We may conclude that the greatest degree of status isolation occurs at
the upper educational levels, and this, of course, is a pattern which is
fairly typical of suburban status behaviour.   Typical or not, however, it

does mean that the group from which most community leadership tends to be drawn is the group which in terms of informal interaction tends to segregate itself off from lower status people in the area.

We will presently return to these results and to those presented earlier in making final assessments. At this stage it should perhaps be noted that the community attitudes and patterns of interaction are more or less what one might expect of any modern urban residential group. There is no strikingly greater or lesser mutual acceptance by each other of people in the area than one would expect. Our community, however, faces rather different challenges than would a "normal" residential neighbourhood. It is the product of Group Areas legislation and hence it cannot in its future development expect to become more and more homogeneous in terms of social types. As an artificial residential category it will continue to experience rather more internal differentiation than, say, a neighbouring White suburb. It will have to face its problems as a complex and diverse neighbourhood and therefore the divisions and impediments to meaningful interaction between its members that exist are more serious than would otherwise be the case.

CHAPTER V

PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

An assessment of the range and depth of community problems is obviously central to any community development baseline study.   We approached this topic in various ways, with both direct and indirect questions.

At this point we will merely present the perceptions of the community. An interpretation of these perceptions in the light of objective conditions will be given in the penultimate chapter.

At the outset it is worth noting that 99% of our representative sample of respondents identified problems in the area.   In response to an open question on the problems which respondents perceived around them, over 70 discrete issues were raised.   We present a listing of these problems in Table II classified into major topic areas.

The distribution of items given in the Table above, since it emerged from a completely free, albeit well-probed, question on problems, gives an indication of the importance placed by the community on various of its problematic features.   These perceptions may or may not reflect objective conditions.   Essentially they provide a barometer of community feelings on aspects of life in the area.

We can obtain some additional insight into the perceptions of problems by considering the reasons why people feel happier or unhappier in the community, compared with previous residence.   We recall that results presented earlier indicated that over three-quarters of the people interviewed were happier in Sparks Estate than in their previous dwelling areas.   The greatest single cause of this reaction appears to be social, i.e. congenial surroundings, proximity to relatives and friends, etc.   Housing and home ownership were mentioned by only 11% and 13% of the "happier" group respectively.   Among the roughly one-fifth of the sample declaring themselves to be unhappier than in previous residence elsewhere in Durban, some 37% gave housing problems as the reasons.   This reason tended to be dominant; others included rejection of the status qualities of the area (17%), unfriendly neighbours (14%) and the location of the area in relation to town or facilities (17%).

TABLE II   THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF DIFFERENT MAJOR PROBLEMS IN SPARKS
ESTATE

Problem		Proportion of sample mentioning problem
Housing		85%
Shortage	(32%)	
Quality/Rentals/Planning and Administration	(53%)	
Services		41%
Bus Services	(13%)	
Roads	(13%)	
Sanitation, refuse, etc.	(7%)	
Other - diverse	(8%)	
Facilities		33%
Recreation - all ages	(9%)	
Recreation - teenage, youth	(9%)	
Playgrounds - children	(7%)	
Other facilities (P.O./shops/etc.)	(8%)	
Social "Deviance"		27%
Gangs, delinquents, "loiterers"	(15%)	
Alcohol and drug abuse	(6%)	
Other - diverse	(6%)	
Educational		23%
Insufficient high schools/no Std. 6 and 7 in area/too few schools generally		
Economic		12%
Community Consciousness		7%
Other		5%

Note: Percentages exceed 100 because respondents identified more than one
problem each.

Housing:-

Obviously, as the Table above shows, housing dominates the perception of
problems.   The reasons for unhappiness in the area support the importance of
housing as a problem.   However, we must consider that only slightly over one-
third of one-fifth of the people, i.e., under 10% of the people, are so unhappy
with the housing to be unhappy in the area, relative to the previous area of
residence.

What this may tell us is that while housing is seen as a major problem,
indeed an overwhelming problem in the area, this problem is not seen to be
worse than housing in other areas where Coloured people live.   Relative to
the poor housing facilities elsewhere, housing in Sparks Estate is not a
cause of acute general unhappiness.   We must emphasise that this conclusion
is relative - housing being a major problem for Coloured people everywhere.

Almost 6 out of 10 housewives (58%) declared themselves to be dissatisfied
with their present accommodation.   Dominant as reasons for this dissatisfaction
were factors relating to overcrowding of houses and the neighbourhood -
particularly the size of houses in relation to numbers residing in them.

What are the objective conditions?   The average (median) size of house-
holds is 5,5 persons.   Almost 50% of households have above 6 persons.   As many
as 53% of households accommodate more than 3 persons per room used for sleeping
(under the circumstances, not only bedrooms are used for sleeping purposes).
Needless to say, with this kind of occupancy per room, the accepted standards
of sex-separation cannot be maintained.

Crowding exists not only within families, but within property sub-divisions
as well.   From our sample results it would appear that $\pm$ 51% of properties
have more than one individual household residing on it (23% have 3 or more
households; 14% have 5 or more households and 9% of properties in our sample
had an unbelievable 13 households or more).   The general level of crowding
in the area, due to housing shortage for Coloured people, is very considerable

indeed.   As mentioned above, this is a prominent reason given for dissatis-
faction, but whether or not it has the wide range of negative effects normally
associated with crowding cannot be assessed at this stage.

When asked whether anyone in the household would like to or needed to move
to alternative accommodation, over 6 out of 10 cases (63%) claimed that this
was the case; of these 9 out of 10 people expressed a desire for single family
unit accommodation (i.e. separate houses).   People wanting alternative
accommodation had spent a long time in a fruitless search; over 60% of these
cases have been looking for 4 years or more.   Clearly the housing shortage
bears heavily upon the community.

Part of the enquiry was directed to exploring the perception of alternative
solutions to the housing problem in the area: *"What do you think should be done
to solve the housing problem in the Coloured community?"*   Responses to this
question varied widely, but can be presented as follows:

Construction of flats (apartments)	8%
Public housing by the authorities	26%
Opening up of more land for private development	28%
Proclaiming more Coloured Group Areas	10%
Repeal of Group Areas legislation	8%
Removal of parks and open spaces for building	8%
Provision of loans and financial concessions	3%

It is quite clear that the dominant perception is that "the authorities"
hold the key to the solution (more land, public housing, repeal of Group Areas,
etc.).   The fact that not more people called for the removal of Group Area
restrictions cannot be taken as substantial acceptance of the system of formal
residential segregation - as an entrenched aspect of political policy, Group
Areas laws are not likely to be repealed simply because of a housing shortage
and our respondents realise this.

Our subjects are correct in their perception that more land and/or public
housing has to be provided for the Coloured community.   The Group Areas
system tends to operate much more restrictively on Coloureds and Indians than
on Whites.   As yet undeveloped land (i.e. farm land or state land) outside of

African "homelands" is "White" land, and the expansion of White residential
areas is related to the availability of land with suitable topography and
to the capital (public or private) to provide the basic services for the
development of such land.   Additional land for Coloured and Indian people
requires not only this, but also a zoning of new areas for occupation by these
groups.   In a city like Greater Durban, where land of suitable topography is
in short supply for all groups, there is a very unfortunate but perhaps
understandable reluctance among politicians representing only White voters to
encourage the zoning of scarce residential land for Indian and Coloured
occupation.

It should be stated that sufficient land to meet the present requirements
of the Coloured population has been zoned in the areas of Mariannhill and
Newlands East.   This land is currently being developed by government authorities,
but at a pace too slow to make a significant immediate impact on the housing
shortage experienced in Sparks Estate.   Furthermore, both areas are far less
central than the Sparks Estate area, and many Coloured people are reluctant to
move so far out of town to areas where many urban facilities are lacking.
Clearly Coloured people would also like the variety of choices available to Whites.
Both the Mariannhill and Newlands East areas are initially being developed as
public housing schemes and many people would like to live in areas which have
the status connotations of private residential development.

In the light of all the constraining factors, it would seem that for the
immediate future, more centrally located residential developments for Coloured
people will be in the form of apartments.   When asked about the kind of
accommodation wanted by people who wished to move, only one of our respondents
gave a flat (apartment) as his choice.   We note above that only 8% of our
subjects spontaneously suggested the construction of flats as a solution to the
housing problem.   When deliberately probed on the issue of flats as a means of
easing the housing shortage, only roughly 28% of our respondents conceded the
necessity of constructing apartment buildings.

Hence it would seem that multiple unit accommodation is not favourably
viewed in the community.   We asked our respondents for their opinions on a
well-known apartment house development in the area (the so-called Rippon Road
flats - Part II C15, in the interview schedule) and many of the reasons for the
rejection of flats as a solution emerged.   In order of relative mention, the

problems perceived by our respondents were as follows:

Rank order of Problems Associated with Apartments

1) Too crowded and small
2) Encourage slums
3) Unsuited to child rearing
4) Encourage social pathology
5) Inadequate recreational space
6) Lack of privacy
7) Too close a contact with lower status families

The last "problem" mentioned (contact with lower status people) received significantly higher than average mention among better-educated respondents (Std. 10 or higher). The implications of these views are that if flats are to contribute in a positive way to the residential problems of the community, they will have to be low-rise developments with larger units in garden settings and with the kind of appearance and supervision which will discourage a "slum" image.

Services and Facilities:-

A combination of the problems related to facilities and services mentioned in Table II indicates a roughly 75% level of discontentment on this issue. This is a rather bleak picture, since satisfaction with the external residential environment is an important consideration in community life.

Solutions to problems involving facilities and services are notoriously difficult to accomplish in a short time. Yet, inadequate facilities and services are a source of collective stress that tends to generate and maintain a wide range of community problems.

The perceptions of the community include problems such as inadequate bus services, poor roads, insufficient and inadequately equipped recreational facilities and insufficient shops. It is obvious that numerous practical and financial factors mitigate against an easy solution. Yet the kind of amenities referred to are often central to the enhancement of social contact and the quality of life in the area. Whilst a community development programme

may not be able to solve these problems, it can be a means of working towards improving existing facilities and services.

An example of this "self-help" approach can for instance be envisaged in respect of children's playgrounds.   There were suggestions from our respondents that playgrounds should be supervised and that the playing equipment should be better and possibly more creative.   A part-solution to this problem lies well within the scope of a collective community endeavour.   There is sufficient expertise in the community to construct better equipment using inexpensive material, e.g. tractor tyres, drums, tree stumps, sand, etc.   Although there may not be sufficient ground set aside specifically for children's parks, it is a familiar sight to see children playing on sidewalks and in cul-de-sacs.   A sidewalk in less busy areas can be protected in some way so that children can walk and play without fear of traffic.   Fifteen per cent of the mothers have expressed a concern about the traffic hazards in the area.   Today, however, it is essential to teach children to cope with traffic dangers.   Children need an environment where there are different kinds of stimulation, not just the safe predictable experience of protected play in a park.   Thus the method of developing community consciousness must include stimulation that will give a child confidence and the kind of autonomy than can be translated into strength to cope with the wider social environment.

Other play-related concerns among mothers are that parents cannot select the class of child their children play with (14%), dangers of rape and sexual interference (6%), and bullying among children (4%).   These perceived dangers indicate quite clearly the problems which can arise for some parents in socially mixed areas.   Yet we do not suggest that social homogeneity is the answer.   It seems necessary for socially mixed communities to develop ways of exercising group sanctions in such a way as to strongly discourage the type of behaviour referred to above.   Neighbourhood group meetings of parents to discuss play problems and other children's problems (possibly in the school context) can, with effective leadership, do much to produce harmony in informal interaction.   Where teenage delinquents' behaviour in children's play areas is a problem, if the forces of law cannot curb it, judicious but forceful action by an organised group of parents is probably most effective.

More generally, problems arising out of socio-economic heterogeneity are often the consequence of facile stereotyping of others without really knowing them.

Although we realise that overcoming false images existing between people in a community is difficult, while we are on the subject of amenities we could suggest that a centrally situated and well-supervised shopping/recreational complex where all groups are likely to congregate could only improve mutual perceptions among people.   We will discuss this possibility more fully in due course.

Social "Deviance"

In Table II some 27% of respondents mention various forms of social deviance as a major problem in the area.   Because this emerged in response to a completely open probe, in which the awareness of problems like that of deviance may have been eclipsed by the far more pressing and public problem of the housing shortage, this 27% probably understates the true incidence and importance of the issue.   This understatement appears quite clearly when the above result is compared with responses to a more focused question on social problems. Our respondents were asked to indicate whether any of a range of social problems existed in their immediate residential surroundings (i.e. on their own or adjacent properties).   More than two-thirds of our representative sample conceded the presence of serious problems around them.   The most prominently endorsed items were:

heavy drinking	56%
juvenile delinquency	42%
serious family and marital friction	41%
drug abuse	30%

An incidence of serious problems as high as these is disturbing in what is, after all, a non-slum residential neighbourhood.   It is disturbing not only because of the nature of the problems, but also because living among such problems must undermine pride in the community and set a poor example to the emergent generations.   Clearly there is need for an increased provision of professional welfare services of all appropriate types; not necessarily only of the type presently available.

41.

When specifically probed about their own teenagers' behaviour problems, roughly 37% of respondents indicated the presence of such difficulties. Major problems, in order of frequency of mention, were:

> education-related problems (truancy, etc.);
> general disobedience;
> undesirable company and social life; and
> workshyness.

A specific question was also asked about youth gangs in the area. In terms of the perceived seriousness of the problem, the results were as follows:

gangs a very serious problem:	28%
a serious problem:	29%
not a serious problem:	43%

It would seem that although not everyone is troubled by the problem, a majority perceive it as serious.

Educational Problems:-

We have noted in Table II that some 23% of people mentioned educational problems in response to the general question on problems in the area. These issues referred mainly to a shortage of high school facilities, or school facilities generally, in the area. Other probes, however, brought to light additional issues related broadly to education.

Among people with children who had left school, a majority indicated that the child had left school earlier than he or she should or could have. Reasons, in order of priority, were:

> economic;
> children disliking school;
> children's behavioural problems;
> lack of aptitude.

A majority appeared to have left school at Std. 6 or earlier, and the remainder at Std. 8 or earlier.

Of families with children in schools, almost 50% declared that there
were no particular problems in the school situation affecting their children.
This, however, leaves a remaining half of the parent population who did
discern particular problems, which, in order of relative frequency of mention,
included:

> transport problems for children;[1]
> syllabus and homework problems;
> teacher quality.

A range of other problems were mentioned by individual parents.

Economic Problems:-

These were mentioned by only a small proportion of people in response to
the general probe on problems in the area.   By "non-White" standards, the
household incomes in the area are not low: the median household income being
in the region of R3 500,00 per annum.   The per capita household income figure for
the area is less favourable at roughly R800,00 per person per annum. (This is
due to the large numbers of dependants in households.)   Furthermore, some
25% of households are below a rough assessment of the Poverty Datum Line.
There are obviously serious economic problems in the area.

The problems are exacerbated by unemployment.   At present the amount of
unemployment among Coloured people in Durban is a problem of alarming
proportions.   It has grown since our fieldwork, at which time there appeared to
be a roughly 10% rate of unemployment.   What is significant is that our
results show that there is marginally more mature male unemployment than male
youth unemployment; i.e. the breadwinners of families and not only extra
earners are affected (among women, however, there is significantly more youth
unemployment than mature age unemployment).

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[1] In this context it must be remembered that children in Std. 6 and 7 have
no opportunity to attend school in the area - most have to travel almost
to the centre of town to attend the "Umbilo Road" school.   Somewhat
fewer travel even longer distances to schools in Redhill, Wentworth or
elsewhere.

At the time of our survey, the duration of unemployment was low -
40% having been unemployed for 6 months or less; some 60% for 12 months
or less.   Also, at the time of the survey, some 55 - 60% of the unemployment
was due to personal factors (health, neurosis, behaviour factors, selectivity
in jobs taken, etc.) and not to the state of the economy.   This would
suggest that even in times of economic prosperity, an unemployment problem
independent of total job availability is likely to exist in the area.   In
particular, young people not able to find employment choose to remain unemployed.
This, of course, relates to the extent of occupational discrimination against
Coloured people in South Africa.   It is relatively more difficult for a
Coloured person to find a job appropriate to a given level of education than
it is for a White.

This concludes our brief assessment of problems in the community.   We
have made few prescriptions at this stage since any suggestions for com-
bating some of these problems should be incorporated in a total community
development strategy.   This will be fully explored at the end of this
report.
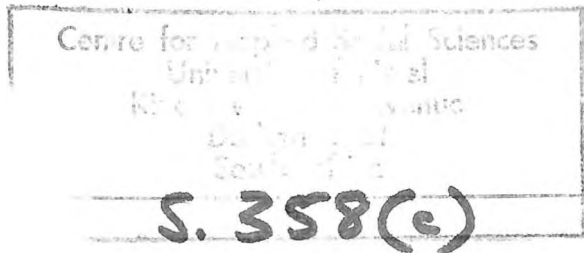
CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL INTEGRATION

An obvious factor relating to the social health and morale of a com-
munity is the extent to which people are linked into meaningful networks
of informal social relations.   Friendship and acquaintanceship patterns,
and the quality of these associations are important barometers of the degree
to which individuals have effective social support in their everyday
lives.   Obviously, an important component of this social support derives
from family interaction, but this can never be wholly gratifying.   The peer
group affords the individual the opportunity of achieving a sense of social
identity and provides the range of what are termed "significant others";
upon whom behaviour can be modelled (for better or worse).   The family
certainly forms a basis for the achievement of identity and appropriate role
behaviour, but because of what are more often than not hierarchical relation-
ships within the family, peer-group interaction, with its assumptions of
equality and freedom of social choice is for the individual the "final test"
of his or her ability to achieve full personhood.

In some poor or slum communities, the degree of material and status
deprivation is such as to make relationships with others outside the family
very competitive, indeed almost predatory.   In such situations individuals
interact with others in the community in highly superficial or socially
ritualised ways, taking refuge in the family for the gratification of more
intimate needs.   Friendship tends to be of highest quality and intensity in
middle class or better-educated communities (see H. Lever, L. Schlemmer and
J. Wagner, 1970).

It is difficult to make any a priori assessments of social integration
in Sparks Estate because of its mixed social and economic composition.   Our
results offer some insights into the quality of social interaction in the
area.   The interview probes on this topic of great subtlety and richness
of meaning must be seen for what they are: simple indexes of a much deeper
and more varied reality.   As indexes, however, they offer a basis for more

meaningful interpretation in the light of informal observations on the
quality of community life in the area.

    We asked our respondents: *"Apart from people in your own house - how
many friends (not relatives) have you whom you can really trust and turn to
in time of need?"*   The results were disturbing.   As many as 34% of our
respondents claimed to have no trusted friends at all.   The full results
were as follows:

Friends to trust and turn to

None: 34%
One: 14%
2 or 3:   24%
4 or more: 29%

    By no means everyone feels socially alienated in the sense implied by the
first answer above, but one-third of the community is a substantial proportion
of people to have a sense of a lack of really meaningful peer-group contact.

    The respondents were also asked how often they exchanged visits or went
out with friends, apart from relatives.   The results were:

twice per week: 28%
$\pm$ once per week: 27%
$\pm$ once per month: 14%
less often: 6%
hardly ever: 24%

    Here again, a proportion approaching one-third of our respondent groups
reveals a lack of social integration; going out or seeing friends less
frequently than once per month.

In response to a similar question asked of Whites in Johannesburg (see H. Lever, L. Schlemmer and J. Wagner, 1970) the proportions in different areas and types of dwellings seeing or visiting friends less than once a month were as follows (with Sparks Estate results given as a comparison):

Sparks Estate:	30%
Johannesburg, White, upper status:	7%
"　　　　　" 　lower status:	22%

Taking this item as an index of social integration,[1] it would seem that Sparks Estate has an unusually high proportion of mal-integrated or socially marginal people.   Admittedly, many of these people may find the social support they do not obtain from peer-groups within their own families.   Yet, as later results will show, family life is poor as well.   If these results are anything to go by, an important aspect of any community programme must be to attempt to provide the roughly one-third of the population who might experience peer-group interaction problems with avenues for more effective informal social participation.   These problems may be compounded (if not partly caused) by the factors leading some 45% of our respondents to say that they did not feel free to mix with more than a few people in their age-groups in the neighbourhood (results referred to more extensively earlier in this report).   Another suggestive finding was the prominent mention of unfriendly neighbours by the migrants to Durban who felt unhappier in their present circumstances.   Over 20% of the sample claimed to have contact with neighbours   less often than once a month.

There seems to be very strong indication, therefore, that there are serious problems of social integration in Sparks Estate.   A substantial group of people in the area may be isolated and socially marginal.

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[1] In the article referred to above, results on this item correspond to those on a range of other items dealing with the quality of informal social interaction.

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

Basic to the life of any community is the quality of its most fundamental
institution; the family.   It is well known that the Negro family in the
United States has been seen as perpetuating many of the problems of the Black
communities in that country.   In particular, the weakness of husband roles
in the Black family has been singled out as essential to any understanding of
the adjustment problems of young Blacks in American cities (Moynihan 1965).
In any poorer community, however, where there are high rates of male unemployment
or perhaps even workshyness and alcohol misuse, the mother is forced to take
over more and more responsibility for the day to day affairs of the family.
Mother-dominated families can emerge as a basic institutional pattern.   Mention
is made of rather similar developments among Coloured families in South Africa
by the "Theron Commission". The observations above may be possibly relevant to
poorer Coloured families but do not necessarily apply in an area of lower-middle
to middle status like Sparks Estate.

We asked our housewife respondents the following questions: *"In your house,
who makes the decisions - who has the most say - as regards -*

	Answers		
	Wife	Both	Husband
"how much to spend on various things?"	57%	17%	25%
"whether you (wife) should work or not?"	49%	17%	31%
"what children are allowed to do?"	45%	36%	17%
"when to buy large consumer durables?"	35%	33%	30%
"what to do of an evening?"	43%	23%	30%
"what to do over weekends?"	38%	26%	31%

Although there is obviously great variation in family roles in the community
(as one would expect of this area) the overall pattern seems to be for the wife/
mother to be more dominant in decision-making than the father/husband.   We have

to consider whether only asking women to give these answers might not have biased the results. The women we interviewed were overwhelmingly fairly conventional in family outlook, however, and unlike women entertaining ideas of "women's liberation", would have had little reason to want to place their husband in a subservient light. In one group-interview session with 30 adolescents in the area, support for the pattern of results described above was forthcoming in the frequent comments that they approached their mothers rather than their fathers for decisions and guidance. They were expected to hand over pay packets to their mothers, for example.

There is nothing at all wrong in women taking decisions in the home if all parties accept the situation as normal. The problem is, however, that in terms of social norms and expectations, the Sparks Estate community is a very conventionally-minded group, which is likely to view the father as the person who in ideal terms should maintain overriding responsibility. A failure of so many husbands to accomplish this may lead to poor morale in the family and injured concepts of self in the men. The women, expecting and wanting a strong spouse to "lean on", are perhaps likely to feel unfulfilled in their marital ideals.

This possibility is to some extent contradicted by the results of a follow-up question put to the housewives: *"Do you feel you need more help and support in making decisions about family affairs?"* Nearly 7 out of 10 housewives answered negatively (68%), compared with 30% who expressed a desire for more support from their husbands. This latter percentage is high, but clearly most housewives are satisfied with or reconciled to the situation.

This does not apply, however, to perceptions of the overall quality of wife-husband interaction. When asked a "projective" question: *"Thinking about the marriages you know - acquaintances of yours - what are the problems which husbands tend to cause in a marriage or house?"* The results were as follows:

No problems	4%
Misuse of alcohol	45%
Unsatisfactory communication/understanding in marriage	16%
Gambling, fighting, deviant behaviour	13%
Lack of financial support	10%
Other	6%

Even though the question was loaded (deliberately) in the direction of problems, a proportion of only 4% disclaiming the presence of general problems in marriage is very low. Clearly the major factor is misuse of liquor, a problem often claimed to be typical of the Coloured community. We are surprised however, at this indication of such a high incidence in a non-slum community.

Despite the problems, the divorce rate seems low - only some 4% of our respondents were divorced. This is not unexpected in a dominantly Catholic community, but it means nevertheless that marital problems tend to have to be firmly contained within artificially sustained marriages.

Problems of interview length prevented an exploration of the quality of interaction within the broader family. We did ask an index question however: *"How many relatives do you have that you could trust and turn to in time of need?"* As many as 20% said they had no such relatives; a high proportion in any community. Some 42% answered that they had between 1 and 3 such relatives and 38%, 4 or more. These results are not disquieting except for the high proportion (20%) of people who experience isolation within the family.

Despite the family problems, one gains an impression of a community struggle to maintain standards of conventional respectability. This is borne out by our general observations, as well as by a content analysis of the answers to the following question: *"In bringing up children, what are the most important things one should try to achieve - the most important aims?"* The answers could be classified as follows:

Conventional morality	48%
Achievement	36%
Religious morality	12%
Independence/expressive qualities	3%

The negligible proportion emphasising personal growth-oriented values in childrearing is significant. The community has what is generally so typical

of religiously-inclined lower and lower-middle status communities in the
West - a split moral consciousness. There is awareness of "moral problems"
yet the quality of moral values is such as to cause attempts to deny such
problems at the level of aspirations. The result can only be a "guilty"
community; a community with a sense of its own moral weakness and failings.
Conventional morality cannot effectively combat problems which have deep
structural roots in the wider society. Indeed, conventional morality by
prescribing censure where support is needed; disapproval where empathy and
self-acceptance would be more positive, aggravates the problems. Sparks
Estate, like so many other communities which are appended at the lower levels
of the Western,urban middle class social system, enjoys neither the rewards
of status nor the possible hedonism of an outcast group. It is trapped in a
situation of self-censure and denial.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

As we have already indicated, the community is dominantly Roman Catholic. We will present the distribution of religious denominations again as a basis for further discussion:

Catholic	56%
Anglican	18%
Protestant	9%
Pentecostal	12%
Muslim	5%
Other	2%
None	1%

The insignificant percentage giving no religious affiliation attests to the very high level of formal religious identification in the area.   This is matched by the frequency of church attendance:

Once per week or more:		55%
± Once per month	:	22%
Less frequently	:	15%
Never/hardly ever	:	7%

Although we may assume that there may be a degree of exaggeration in these results, the pattern suggested by the findings is one of more devoted church attendance than would be typical of almost any other community in South Africa.

Most of the religious participation is passive (i.e. attending services). Only some 23% of the population take part in religious activities connected with the church, although by general standards, even this proportion is high.   The largest single type of activity is singing in the church choir followed closely by active devotional meetings, serving on fund-raising bodies, committees connected with church welfare activities, church councils and youth groups.

Quite clearly, as indicated in an earlier chapter, we find in Sparks
Estate a highly religious community in a formal sense.   What is the quality
of the religious outlook?   We posed a question:

> *"What do you think religion means to people personally -
> What satisfaction does it give people?"*

The carefully probed answers to the term can be grouped as follows:

Personal support and reassurance	41%
Personal spiritual reward and inspiration	26%
Commitment to personal morality	15%
Enjoyment of social ritual	13%
Don't know	6%

From these categories it would seem that the quality of religious life in
general is a blend of pietism and a search for panaceas.   We do not doubt for
one moment that our categories disguise considerable authentic spirituality,
but the marked absence of socio-religious concerns and interests in religious
service and altruism appear to impart a distinct character to the religious
spirit in the area.   This character is thoroughly congruent with the "respecta-
bility" orientation in the presence of disruptive problems which emerged in the
previous chapter.

Our respondents were presented with fixed response alternatives in the
following way: *"Thinking about religion and attending religious meetings, which
of the following is very important to you, quite important or less important
to you?"*   The rank order of endorsement of the alternatives presented was as
follows:

1st.   *"Feeling close to God"*
2nd.   *"Feeling moved and inspired by the spirit of the Lord"*
3rd.   *"Feeling comforted and secure"*
4th.   *"Helping to think deeply about oneself"*
5th.   *"Finding Jesus and being saved"*

6th.   *"Feeling confident and stronger"*
7th.   *"Working for social reform and justice in our country"*
8th.   *"Feeling one has done one's duty"*
9th.   *"A place to be with good friends and people"*
10th. *"Something interesting to do"*

These results broadly support those obtained from the spontaneous answers. The primary importance of the spiritual experience for its own sake emerges clearly.   Following this is a concern with personal support and salvation. It should perhaps be noted, however, that the order of these two dimensions of experience varies between the two questions.   In view of the difficulty in articulating the intrinsic spiritual reward, we should assume that the responses to the fixed alternative answer term above are more valid for the community in general.   The lower priority placed on a concern with the so-called "social gospel" is similar in both items however.

We would like to remark once again that the endorsement of terms such as "feeling close to God", "feeling moved and inspired by the Spirit ...." can reflect a deep and sincere spirituality and can embrace an abiding concern with fellow human beings and their communities.   In general, though, the tone is one of egocentric inspiration rather than dedication to service.

In view of the intensity of formal religious participation, we considered it necessary to assess the community's evaluation of their own churches and congregations.   We asked: *"Nowadays people seem to criticise churches quite a lot.   Thinking of your own congregation, which of the following is true?"* Deliberately we presented our respondents with a list of negative statements drawn from preliminary informal interviewing, simply in order to gain insight into the perceived shortcomings of the churches and hence gain further insight into the religious needs of the community.   The results were as follows:

	% Agree
"Does not take enough interest in the social problems of the Coloured community."	49%
"Does not help one enough with personal problems and difficulties."	46%
"A little dull and uninteresting."	46%
"Too concerned about raising funds."	40%
"Does not give a feeling of togetherness with fellow worshippers."	38%
"Does not help one feel a deep faith and closeness to God."	38%
"Does not help one to feel saved and feel the spirit of Jesus."	38%
"A little out of date and old fashioned."	31%
"White ministers not sincerely concerned about Coloured people."	31%

Here we find an interesting but understandable contradiction. While many people seem to feel a strong need for some socio-political concerns by the church, it is a passive need; they themselves wish to pursue their purely spiritual concerns. The rank-order of the remaining items is not in contradiction with earlier results; as expected the greatest need after the "social concerns" is for personal support, greater emotive appeal, togetherness and salvation.

The problem of dullness in the established churches may be quite serious, if the apparent rapid increase in support for Pentecostal sects and charismatic movements in the area is anything to go by. It has been frequently reported to us that the established churches in the area are losing members to "tent" churches and newer, more expressive denominations.

While in no way judging this trend, we considered it important, as an insight into needs, to assess reasons for the attractions of the newer congregations. We asked: *"Some churches, like the Pentecostal Church, for example, seem to be attracting more and more people away from the older churches. Why do you feel this is happening?"* Answers indicated clearly that, compared with older churches,

the services were captivating, allowing of freer emotive expression, providing greater personal contentment and reassurance, as well as producing a sense of cohesion and shared closeness to God. The same broad reasons were advanced for people's interest in "charismatic" movements except that in this case the factors of curiosity and vogue were prominently mentioned.

An important aspect of religious thinking these days is around the topic of church unity and ecumenicism. Particularly in less-advantaged communities, where the church has a compelling social role, very close co-operation between different congregations would seem appropriate. Among our respondents, however, some 56% declared themselves opposed to a merging of congregations. The substantial minority of over 40% which favoured ecumenicism was whole-hearted in its approach, a majority in this group calling for unity across race boundaries. The fact that most people still would prefer to participate only within their own denominations however, may be a further indication of the attractions of a highly personalised, sentimental religious outlook.

Not being theologians we do not regard ourselves as qualified to interpret any more deeply than this. From the perspective of the type of religious consciousness required for broadly-based community development and co-operative endeavours for community betterment, however, the quality of the religious life in the area is problematic.

Yet the pietism and introverted nature of the religious life may be partly a consequence of the lack of cohesion and atomisation within the community. Clearly a high proportion of people face major practical and existential problems; problems for which few avenues for resolution exist. One of the responses of people in a situation of blocked endeavours and aspirations is to attempt to overcome reality by denying it. Utopian political thinking would be one adaptation of this type. Embracing a pietistic religious need would be another. We might, then, have seen evidence of what is a vicious circle.

We would not like these remarks to create the impression that we are disparaging of the religiosity in the community. We accept fully that the inner resources of people in the community are likely to be considerably

enhanced by the firmness of their spiritual commitments. The community's
experience of religion, we feel, will ultimately assist the community very
greatly in solving its problems collectively.

Finally, we must consider the role of a community of sisters, like
St. Philomena's, in a broad programme. The question does arise as to
whether or not nuns would be acceptable in roles other than those which people
assume to be their conventional duties. We asked our respondents whether they
thought that the sisters of St. Philomena's could help deal with the range of
problems which exist in Sparks Estate. Some 56% felt that the nuns could
function effectively. Of the roughly one-third of respondents who felt
clearly that nuns would not be appropriate, some 40% considered that they
were too alienated or removed from society to cope with the wide range of
problems which would arise; 20% considered women too timid or vulnerable to
work with rough elements in the area. Very few people considered that they
lacked sufficient skills or that their celibacy would hamper an understanding
of problems.

Clearly a majority of people would accept or welcome sisters in broader
community roles. In particular, their dedication to service and their
religious skills were seen as valuable community resources. Some qualifica-
tion to this arises, however, in that the major fields of potential activity
for nuns were seen as dealing with children, serving in institutions, or in
the area of welfare. No one saw the sisters as having socio-cultural or
socio-political roles.

A great challenge exists, therefore, for sisters to broaden their image
in their communities and their skills so as to be able to operate convincing-
ly in all aspects of a community project. Our respondents were asked how
they felt sisters should prepare themselves for work in the community. By
far the dominant suggestion which emerged was for sisters to interact
intensively with community groups in community settings in order to break down
barriers and deepen insights into everyday community problems and issues.

This suggestion, of course, makes excellent sense. With due regard to the
need for sisters to experience seclusion and to participate in their
religious sorority, there are obviously very interesting ways in which
sisters can gain closer acquaintance with the community in its own setting.
The emphasis should be on the kind of participation which allows informal
observations of community life to be made. At the moment the sisters are
exposed to community problems in their counselling work, but the texture
and feel for the community requires less-structured exposure to community
affairs.

In general, while this issue does highlight great challenges for a
community of sisters, we were pleased to note that community attitudes to
the sisters were so favourable on balance. There is an obvious role for
a community of nuns in a community programme.

CHAPTER 1X

POLITICAL AND RACIAL ATTITUDES IN THE
COMMUNITY

The political situation of Coloured people in South Africa is perhaps more problematic and complex than that of any other group.   While they do not suffer quite the same degree of socio-economic disadvantage that is typical of Africans, Coloured people are in a political situation which results in great uncertainty and ambivalence.   As we have already noted, Coloured people share fully the culture and language of Whites.   Like Whites they are a minority group; their numbers being even less than those of Whites.   Of all politically unincorporated groups the Coloureds came closest to achieving political integration with Whites in the Cape Province in the period before the present government came to power in 1948.   The Coloured people, however, share with other Blacks some of the most critical forms of race discrimination in the country.

The policy of Separate Development is not applicable to the Coloured community.   The official policy for them is that of so-called "parallel development", in terms of which Coloured people have a measure of control over the administration of a range of "Coloured" affairs, but having no "homeland" of their own, are regarded as a permanent part of the common area of the country.   For example, education and social welfare are under the jurisdiction of the Coloured Persons Representative Council; a body with executive powers elected by Coloured people who have a franchise completely separate from that of Whites.   The size of the budget of the Coloured Persons Representative Council, however , is determined by the White cabinet; a source of great conflict since this critical feature of official Coloured politics epitomises the secondary status of the political powers granted to Coloured people.   The strongest party in the Council, the Labour Party,refused to approve the last budget, with the result that the government appointed a relative outsider to Coloured politics to act as interim chairperson of the Council to get the budget approved.

The political dispensation for Coloured people in South Africa may be described as being the politics of segregation, in contrast to the politics of

separation applicable to Africans in terms of the "Homelands" or Bantustan
policy. Although the idea of a Coloured "Homeland" has been mooted from time
to time by ultra right-wing White politicians, the general intention of the
government appears to be that of keeping Coloured people within the ambit of
White society, but subject to certain forms of rigid segregation such as
separate group areas, separate schools, separate social amenities, and separate
trade unions (although mixed White, Indian and Coloured trade unions pre-dating
legislation introduced by the present government are still allowed to function).
This segregation has as its fundamental basis the Mixed Marriages Act and the
so-called "Immorality" Act; both of which prohibit sexual association between
Whites and other races.

Coloured people, like other Blacks, participate fully in the country's
labour force. Although there is a range of informal and a few formal impediments
to Coloured people achieving high occupational status in industry and commerce,
Coloured people and Indians have been able to achieve more complete economic
integration with Whites than have Africans, whose position and bargaining power
in the labour market is much more tightly controlled by legislation.

The political position of the Coloured people, then, is aptly summed up by
the term "political marginality".   Their political status is very much inter-
mediate between that of Whites and Africans.   Relative to Africans they have
some very distinct privileges. Above all, their continued participation in the
common society is not in question, albeit in a subordinate status.   They are
not threatened with political amputation from the central body politic, as is
the case with Africans.   Yet, social segregation from Whites and a lower level
of per capita expenditure on education, welfare services and general amenities
leaves Coloured people in no doubt about their subordinate status within the common
society.

Two trends are relevant to a consideration of political attitudes among
Coloured people.   One is the "Black Consciousness Movement".   In the late
sixties, a group of Black students, influenced to some extent by Black conscious-
ness thinking in the U.S.A. and elsewhere, became disillusioned with the

impotence (and perhaps also the paternalism) of multi-racial student political organisation. Drawing to some extent on the "Africanist" traditions in the African politics of the 1950's and early 1960's, they formed the South African Students Organisation (SASO) which excluded Whites. The key concepts in the new movement were Black self-reliance, a rediscovery of Black pride and the building of a non-subordinate social and political identity. Other Black consciousness movements emerged, like the Black People's Congress (BPC), Black Community Programmes (BCP), Black and Allied Workers Union (BAWU) and others. In recent years, at the level of public debate and in terms of exposure in the mass-media, the Black Consciousness Movement has appeared to become a dominant theme in Black politics, transcending the older themes of African Nationalism and the principles of the "Congress Movement" of the 1950's. The prominence of Black Consciousness is understandable in terms of the fact that its adherents are overwhelmingly more articulate, better-educated members of the intellectual elite in the Black community. The true extent of the penetration of the ideals and ideas of the Black Consciousness Movement to the rank and file Africans and to the grass-roots in the Coloured and Indian communities is however, not precisely known. In the wake of the start of the massive youth demonstrations in Soweto in 1976, there was powerful supportive action by Coloured students and scholars in the Cape, during which many lives were lost in confrontations with the police. The leadership in these demonstrations, where it was discernible and publicly heard, presented the Coloured youth disturbances as being action in solidarity with African youth. This suggests very strongly that Black consciousness theory has become very influential among younger Coloured people. It can also be argued, however, that 1976 was a time of both rising political aspirations because of wider events in Southern Africa and of rising frustration because of mounting youth unemployment as a consequence of the serious economic recession. Both African and Coloured youth may have been simultaneously affected by these and other developments and the youthful rank and file support of the demonstrations may have reflected shared African-Coloured circumstances rather than support for the specific political movement like Black consciousness. To the extent that Black consciousness has penetrated the Coloured community it will be evidenced in a seeking of solidarity with Africans and a rejection of attempts to seek a separate political accommodation with Whites. At the time of writing virtually

all Black consciousness movements have been "banned" by the Minister of Justice, but this dramatic suppression of current Black political movements is unlikely to reverse any gains the Black consciousness movement has made in terms of popular political attitudes and preferences. (The movements were not banned at the time of our fieldwork).

A counter-pressure within Coloured politics has been certain moves by the government itself. Some months before our fieldwork, the government had established what was termed the "Cabinet Council", a forum for high level dialogue and consultation between the Coloured, Indian and White cabinets. Although the Cabinet Council had no executive powers, it was widely seen as a move to draw Coloured and Indian representatives more firmly within the orbit of the dominant White political institutions. This impression was reinforced by the fact that the government had instituted a cabinet investigation into ways of establishing closer links between White, Coloured and Indian politics. At the time of writing, a new policy blueprint has been announced by the government, involving the intention to establish a "Council of Cabinets" with executive powers. The council is to have a slight but permanent numerical preponderance of Whites by virtue of a White chairman (the new State President) presiding over equal numbers of White versus Coloured and Indian members. The stated intentions of the government are to reach decisions on all matters of common interest (like fiscal policies, for example) on a basis of "consensus". Where consensus is impossible to achieve, matters will be referred to a committee of appointed experts, who will attempt to establish a basis for consensus. Should these attempts fail then a decision will be taken by the State President.

The implications of this new policy at this stage seem to be that Coloureds and Indians will enjoy a form of incorporation into the processes of political decision-making in South Africa. In view of their numerical disadvantage on the council, their influence will be determined by the extent to which genuine efforts are made to achieve consensus on all issues considered by the council. It will be a form of power-sharing, albeit on an unequal basis. There is also no clarity at this stage on what issues will be brought before the council. The Coloured and Indian representatives will, however, have more effective power than

White opposition members in the White Parliament and to this extent it will be an advance in terms of power on the present system, and on the old system which existed prior to the 1950's; one which allowed Coloureds representation on a common franchise but with qualifications to restrict their voting strength. (It has to be borne in mind, however, that with a common franchise arrangement Coloured people could achieve significant influence through coalitions with groups in the White electorate - a possibility feared by the present government and one which the Council of Cabinets is designed to avoid. Furthermore, inasmuch as a common franchise would establish a powerful precedent for broader social integration, it would exert a pressure towards an equalisation of privilege for Whites and Coloureds.)

These developments were very much "in the air" at the time of our fieldwork. It seems clear, therefore, that perceptions by Coloured people of their political future could be informed and shaped by either the anti-White Black consciousness ideal, or by the possibilities inherent in the government's attempts to make "parallel development" of meaningful political significance to the Coloured people; attempts which can be seen to hold a long-term promise of Coloured and Indian political incorporation into decision-making in the common society. Our empirical results must be seen against a background of these broader issues.

Sparks Estate, like any community of ordinary people, has many concerns other than the political. Day to day interests occupy most people's minds. Yet, because of their particular political condition, politics is perhaps a more common topic of informal discussion than would be the case in an equivalent White group. We asked our representative sample of adults: *"Thinking of your closest friends, what kinds of things do you most enjoy talking about?"* Some 43% mentioned politics of one kind or another. This proportion we adjudge to be high for a cross-section of people from virtually all walks of life. If one takes a broader definition of public affairs and includes all types of community problems as well as political issues, then some 56% of people gave answers indicating concerned interest in the political and community environment.

Sparks Estate, as one would expect, seems to be a fairly politically-conscious community.   We say this not merely on the basis of the result quoted above - which is subject to possible exaggeration on the part of respondents - but also on the basis of general conversations and observations of Coloured people.

The topics of political debate can almost be predicted.   When we asked: *"When you think or talk about politics, what sort of thing is most often on your mind?"*   The following distribution of types of answers appeared:

discrimination, inequality, segregation -	47%
the recent youth disturbances and demonstrations -	15%
speculation about the future of Coloured people -	7%
discussion of alternatives to White domination -	5%
other political issues -	8%

Some 20% of people claimed that they did not discuss politics or were too disillusioned to waste time on politics.

We asked our respondents a more specific question about segregation and obtained answers as follows: *"In your opinion, is apartheid* (commonly understood as race-segregation)

altogether a good thing?	8%
partly good and partly bad?	45%
altogether bad?"	47%

We must contrast these answers with those to a similar question which focused attention on Separate Development;   the policy aimed mainly at the African population: *"In your opinion, is Separate Development, as it affects all groups -*

altogether a good thing?	19%
partly good and partly bad?	48%
altogether a bad thing?"	33%

From these two sets of answers the understandable ambivalence of the Coloured community emerges very clearly.   With regard to Separate Development the replies cluster dominantly in the equivocal category.   Coloured people in our sample, with

the exception of one-third who reject the policy, realise that Separate Develop-
ment protects their marginal privileges as well as protecting the position of
Whites.   Even segregation (apartheid), for the same reason, is not overwhel-
mingly rejected, although here with the emphasis taken off the "African problem",
the proportion of people rejecting the system rises to nearly 50%.   These
results provide some insight into the anguish of a community which has to
accept a system which is highly painful for the sake of the protection it offers
against what is perceived to be an even greater danger - that of being
politically "swamped" by the preponderant numbers of Africans.   These results
allow for a comparison with the results obtained by Dickie Clark from a sample of
50 people in Sparks Estate in 1955, more than 20 years ago.   He asked his
subjects whether they thought they would gain or lose by apartheid.   Some 56%
of his small sample were ambivalent, with 22% feeling they would gain and the same
proportion feeling they would lose.   Our present results, on both terms above,
suggest that there is significantly more rejection of apartheid and separation
today than 20 years ago, but that very substantial ambivalence remains.   (see
Dickie Clark, 1964, p 161.)

In order to gain a better understanding of the political morale of the
community, we asked two questions: *"What things have happened over the past
weeks and months which have made you feel hopeful and optimistic about the future
of the Coloured people?"* and *"What things have happened which have made you
feel worried and pessimistic about the future of the Coloured people?"*   The
probed spontaneous answers were classified in broad categories and are presented
in Table III.

It seems obvious from the tabulated results that the political perceptions
in the community tend to be more pessimistic than optimistic.   The most signi-
ficant event preceding our fieldwork was the commencement of township youth
disturbances throughout the country, involving, as we have said, both Coloured
and African participants.   Twice as many people tended to view these events
pessimistically as those regarding them hopefully.   These events appeared to
eclipse all other specific issues in the political perception of our group.   The
government's plans for Coloured people tended to be more negatively viewed than
otherwise but the overall percentage mentioning government policies regarding
Coloured representation was very low.   Even lower, however, was the percentage
mentioning the Black Consciousness Movement or its activities and programmes.

Integrated sport and the much acclaimed government moves away from "petty apartheid" also does not seem to have achieved high visibility in the community. The overall tone of the community is one of depression and disillusionment deriving from a failure to see much as holding out hope of improvement in the lot of Coloured people.

TABLE III   PERCEIVED CAUSES OF POLITICAL OPTIMISM AND PESSIMISM IN
                   SPARKS ESTATE

Type of Event	Percentage seeing it optimistically	Percentage seeing it pessimistically
Township demonstrations and riots	17%	33%
Abolition of petty segregation	7%	-
Cabinet Council or government plans and policies for Coloureds	2%	6%
Bannings and detentions	1%	6%
Jobs, incomes and employment	2%	7%
Housing developments	5%	1%
Social problems in Coloured community	-	8%
Attitudes of Whites generally	-	11%
External pressures on South Africa	5%	1%
Black Consciousness	3%	-
Other developments (varied)	11%	8%
Nothing/cannot think of anything	48%	21%

On the same topic of political morale, we asked our respondents: *"What do you think will probably actually happen to the Coloured people in South Africa in the future?"* Here the general mood improves somewhat, presumably because the question is pitched at an unspecified future. Some 40% of our respondents expected change or improvements of various kinds, 33% expected no change, while 12% expected change for the worse. The detailed results were as follows:

Change

Significant change will occur	-	18%
Small gradual reforms will take place	-	4%
General race integration will occur	-	10%
Coloureds and Whites will integrate	-	8%

No Change

Status Quo will remain	-	23%
Coloureds demoralised - will not achieve change	-	10%

Change for the Worse

Increased segregation will be introduced	-	7%
Unrest will disrupt life	-	3%
Coloureds will leave or be forced to leave	-	2%
Other	-	13%

Even perceptions of the indefinite future do not quite rescue the morale of the group. Slightly more people (45%) tend to see a future without change or with change for the worse than those who expect change (40%).

One of the reactions to the perceived hopelessness of the political situation has been for many Coloured people to emigrate - particularly teachers and skilled craftsmen. We asked our sample: *"Would you, if you could, like to make your home in England, Australia, Canada or some other similar country?"* Slightly over half of the respondents (52%) answered that they would like to leave, compared with 40% who said they would opt to remain in South Africa. (8% gave a variety of ambivalent answers.) Here again, the results attest to the severe demoralisation. For over one-half of a group to consider emigrating is eloquent testimony to the hopelessness with which they experience the present political climate.

It is quite clear, then, that Coloured people in Sparks Estate share with other Blacks the deep sense of pessimism about the likelihood of significant peaceful change in their lifetimes. They have an additional problem in forming an

appropriate and healthy political consciousness - that of ambivalence about change due to their marginal position in the racial status-hierarchy. Not only is there gloom about the future among substantial proportions of people, but there is also uncertainty about what the future should be.

CHAPTER X

POLITICAL MARGINALITY[1] AND THE PROBLEM OF IDENTITY

The problem of political marginality raised in the previous section is probably critical for the morale of any Coloured group in South Africa, and needs to be considered more closely. We have argued that two major trends impinge upon the political consciousness of Coloured people; the one urging them towards solidarity with Africans, the other suggesting hope for a political reconciliation with Whites. The results of our questions on attitudes towards Separate Development and segregation have revealed the ambivalence about political goals in the community. Politics for Coloured people in many ways boils down to an essentially personal issue of self-definition; the choice, put crudely between being an aspirant White and cultivating affinity with Whites, or of regarding oneself as a Black and identifying with the aspirations for liberation among Blacks or, finally, of asserting an identity as a "Brown" person.

We asked our respondents: *"Do you ever wish that you were not a Coloured person but belonged to some other group?"* Roughly three-quarters of our respondents replied to this rather blunt and perhaps too challenging question that they never wished this (76%). Some 18% wished for a different classification sometimes and 6% wished for it often. Among those aspiring after an alternative identity the vast majority wished to be White (70%). Dickie Clark in 1955 found that over one-half his sample in Sparks Estate (52%) stated that they had at some time wished they were not Coloured. A further 36% stated that they wished their skins were lighter in colour. This suggests that in-group pride and group self-acceptance has increased considerably over 20 years, but we would urge caution in making this interpretation since, as said above, our question is perhaps too direct and challenging. Even so, we do feel that one

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1) We are using the concept of marginality in a rather loose and general sense in this report while realising fully that a fairly rigorous body of theory exists in which the concept is more exactly circumscribed (see Dickie Clark, 1964).

of Dickie Clark's conclusions is less applicable today than it was 20 years ago: he stated "...... it is not surprising that members find it hard to value being a Coloured very highly" (Dickie Clark , 1964, p 213).   We discern, amidst all the ambivalence surrounding Coloured identity, at least a willingness to openly state pride in group membership, which was less evident 20 years ago.

Closely bound up with these attitudes are views on "passing for White" and race reclassification.   We asked: *"Between 1972 and 1975, 103 Coloured people were able to be reclassified as Whites.   Do you think they were lucky and fortunate, did something unnecessary or did something they should be ashamed of?"* The results were:

lucky and fortunate -	47%
did something unnecessary -	30%
did something to be ashamed of -	23%

Those choosing the "lucky and fortunate" alternative virtually all gave purely instrumental reasons for their choice, referring to improved privileges, life-chances and opportunities.   The 53% rejecting the idea of race reclassification almost always gave reasons bearing upon pride in identity.   Here again is evidence of quite some degree of positive in-group consciousness.

More directly political, but still bearing centrally on the issue of identity vis-a-vis Whites, was the question: *"Should Coloured people try to convince Whites that Coloureds as a group are really closest to Whites and should be classed as part of the White group?"*   *"Could you tell me why you feel this?"* This question relates directly to the issue of whether or not Coloureds should hope for and seek closer political identification with Whites.   The results emerged as follows:

should seek to convince Whites of affinity -	59%
should not -	32%
indifferent -	9%

These results suggest that whatever the extent of group pride, a substantial majority are still inclined to link the group most closely with Whites.   In

giving reasons for this choice, 9 out of 10 people chose to refer to genetic, cultural or intellectual similarity to Whites.   It seems that the perception of the most intimate racial link being to the White group is still very strong in the community, despite decades of social rejection and segregation.   The opposing answers were based on reasons reflecting an almost equal split between a strong "Coloured group consciousness" and a strong "Black consciousness". Black consciousness, or a response to the recent trend towards Black solidarity, is definitely present (particularly among the youth), but equalled in strength by Coloured group consciousness, and both seem to be rather eclipsed by the notion that Coloureds are, after all, closely identifiable with Whites.

In somewhat lighter vein, we asked our respondents to describe their feelings about the "Afro" hairstyles that some young Coloured people have taken to wearing in recent times.   As in the United States, bushy Afro hairstyles connote a Black counter-culture.   They very definitely stand in symbolic contrast to the older vogue among Coloured men with very curly hair of cutting their hair so short as to disguise any possible negroid signs.   In answer to our question, 35% of respondents said they found the hairstyles attractive, 19% had mixed feelings and 46% found them unattractive.   Not too much can be concluded from this since aesthetic responses might be mixed with socio-political symbolism.   All we can say is that the answers may once again reflect a divided consciousness in the community at large. .

Perhaps the most telling set of responses emerged from a question on what people would prefer to see happen to the Coloured group in the future. Some 14% desired integration with Whites, 10% wanted integration with Blacks, 27% preferred an integration of all races while 46% opted for the maintenance of a Coloured group identity.   The answers doubtlessly reflect a reconciliation of conflicting options as well as perceptions of what is realistic to hope for. Under ideal circumstances no doubt many more would opt for the integrationist option.   As it is, however, the conflicting issues result in the largest group settling for the continuation of a status-quo situation (no doubt, hopefully without all the attendant discrimination, however).

The questions probing views on political identity which we have discussed above have all been fairly direct, open and obvious, allowing people to structure their answers very self-consciously.   This approach taps what is obviously an important level of political sentiment perhaps most aptly termed "public opinion".   The effects of inferior racial status, however, can be very subtle, and can take forms which contrast with "public" attitudes.   We must turn, then, to a consideration of more subjective dimensions of identity to see how they may accord or contrast with the attitudes discussed this far.

We presented respondents with a list of words describing groups, asking them to pick the words which they felt to be applicable to the different ethnic groups in the city.   Respondents were encouraged to give choices spontaneously, and in the vast majority of interviews the technique seemed to work well.   Twenty three descriptive words or phrases were presented, for each of the following groups: Coloureds, Africans, Indians, English-speaking Whites and Afrikaans-speaking Whites.   In Table IV we present the 10 words receiving the highest frequency of choice for each group.   This represents an approximation of the subtle stereotypes which people have of their own and of other groups.

Looking at these results it is obvious that stereotypes are not uniform within the community - strongly contrasting words appear close together in the lists (see "kind" and "selfish" in the Indian list, for example).

The "images" of the various groups emerge pretty much as one would expect. Afrikaans-speaking Whites have obviously acquired an image consonant with their political role in South Africa.   Africans are seen in many positive ways but the image is dominated by the consequence of their educational and economic disadvantage ("less developed", "rough").   Indians emerge as socially "closest" to the Coloureds with "feel friendly towards" and "would mix freely with" appearing fairly high in the listing, but combined with the double image of being both "intelligent" and "cunning".

TABLE IV   STEREOTYPES HELD BY PEOPLE IN SPARKS ESTATE OF THEIR OWN AND
OTHER GROUPS: THE 10 DESCRIPTIVE WORDS OR PHRASES RECEIVING HIGHEST FRE-
QUENCY OF CHOICE FOR EACH GROUP

	Coloureds	English-speaking Whites	Afrikaans-speaking Whites	Africans	Indians
1)	Hardworking	Intelligent	Domineering	Less developed	Intelligent
2)	Proud	Well-bred	Selfish	Strong and determined	Cunning
3)	Would mix freely with	Respectable	Unfeeling	Hardworking	Respectable
4)	Feel close to	Attractive	Strong and determined	Rough	Feel friendly towards
5)	Respectable	Two-faced	Intelligent	Cunning	Two-faced
6)	Feel friend-ly towards	Cunning	Cunning	Quarrelsome	Would mix freely with
7)	Attractive	Domineering	Give nothing	Not attrac-tive	Kind
8)	Intelligent	Selfish	Quarrelsome	Respectable	Selfish
9)	Honest	Strong and determined	Rough	Lazy	Well-bred
10)	Kind	Kind	Two-faced	Feel friend-ly towards	Hardworking

Perhaps the most significant aspect of these results is the comparison
between the image Coloured people have of themselves and the image they have of
English-speaking Whites.   The English-speaking Whites, to a lesser extent than
the Afrikaners, have an image shaped by their political supremacy, but the
following characteristics emerge as dominant: "intelligent", "well-bred",
"respectable" and "attractive".   The "well-bred" image, which does not emerge
with anywhere near the same prominence for any other group, is significant.   For
Coloured people, excluding non-descriptive items indicating obvious "social
nearness", the comparable four characteristics are "hard-working", "proud",
"respectable" and "attractive".   Being described as "intelligent", "well-bred"
and "attractive", the English-speaking Whites seem to emerge as a reference group;
a kind of social elite.   These findings tend to suggest that the age-old pattern
of taking the English as a social norm may still be very prominent in the
Coloured community.   In qualification of this, however, we may note that African
scholars have also been found to hold remarkably positive stereotypes of English-
speaking Whites (Edelstein, 1972).

The ambivalent identity and consciousness of the Coloured community thus appears to be evident, to some degree at least, in racial attitudes. The image of the Coloured group among our Coloured respondents in Sparks Estate is different from and in some respects less-favourable than their image of what is possibly their reference group, the White Anglo-Saxon.

We included a further test of racial attitudes. We showed respondents a series of 8 photographs of Coloured children of different ages. Four were male and four females. Some were light-skinned and others darker-skinned. Some had negroid features and in others negroid traits were hardly evident. (See photographs on pp. 75/76 - the pictures were in full colour). So as not to make our respondents defensive about their racial attitudes we presented the item as a "projective" question, ostensibly about the welfare of orphans, in the following way: *"St. Philomena's is also concerned about the problems of children without homes or where parents cannot look after them. People in the community can help a great deal by caring for such children, but people are often uncertain about being able to help. We are not asking you (whether or not you could look after children) but which older child and which younger child (in the photographs) is most likely to be accepted by people in Sparks Estate generally?"* The pictures were then shown, with interviewers noting choices of children and any comments. The following is the percentage distribution of the choices made by respondents; the "popularity" of the different physical types in the community:

Picture 3 (Light-skinned very young girl)	23%
Picture 2 (Light-skinned teenage girl)	15%
Picture 5 (Light-skinned teenage boy)	15%
Picture 1 (Darker-skinned teenage girl)	9%
Picture 4 (Darker-skinned very young girl)	9%
Picture 7 (Darker-skinned young boy)	8%
Picture 6 (Darker-skinned teenage boy)	7%
Picture 8 (Light-skinned young boy)	6%

Picture number 8 deserves some comment.   When the pictures were
tested with a group of Sparks Estate women, they refused to believe that
the boy was not White, and hence excluded him from their choice.
Respondents in the field frequently made the same comment.   Obviously we
erred in choosing a photograph of a child who was too White.

The rest of the results are highly suggestive, however.   While we can-
not exclude the effects of the individual appeal of the children and of
facial expressions, etc. it does seem significant that the first three
choices are all light-skinned children.   This appears to be evidence of
the fact that Coloured people in Sparks Estate have a covert preference for
lighter skins, a feature characteristic of many Coloured populations
throughout the world.   Because of the wording of the question (i.e. what
do others think) not all our respondents may have been expressing personal
choices, but even so, the fact that they saw others as preferring Whiter
children is in itself indicative of the problem we have mentioned.

A tendency to stratify or grade fellow-members of one's own community
in terms of pigmentation is a fairly sure sign of the feelings of ambivalence
about racial identity.   It indicates, in a mixed community, a degree of
ambivalence about acceptance of one's own group (or at least a substantial
proportion of one's own group).   It certainly would be a sign of some sort
of rejection of darker groups - say Africans and most Indians.   One is
aware of the possibility that colour distinctions within a community can do
a great deal to undermine the sense of unity and community identification.
It certainly cannot be good for the general morale of people in the area;
particularly of those who are darker-skinned.

This question raises the issue of a possible link between marginal
racial status and personality problems.   J.W. Mann (1957) made this the
topic of an entire investigation in Sparks Estate some years ago.
Previous writing on the so-called "marginal personality" had suggested that
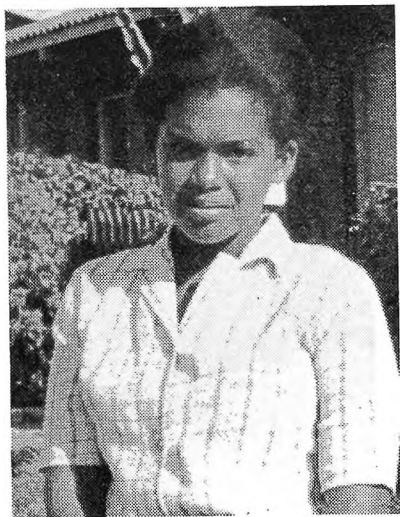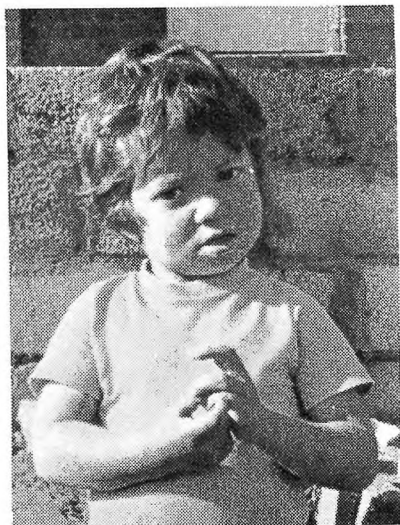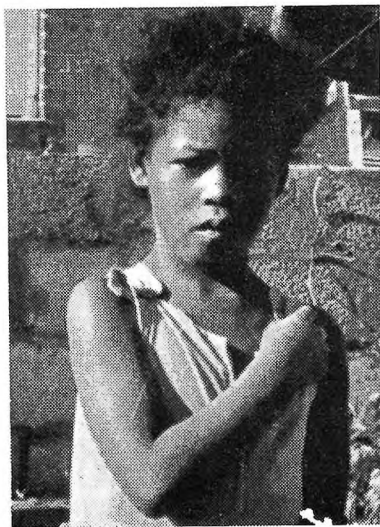
Pictures of children shown to
people interviewed. (See text)

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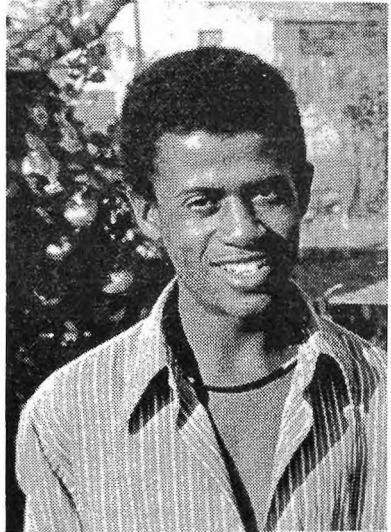
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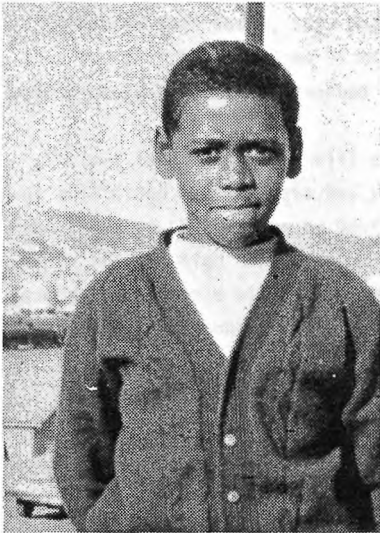
8

Pictures of children shown to
people interviewed. (See text)

racially mixed people, because they were torn between two groups, tended to develop specific personality traits. The marginal man was seen to be *"poised in psychological uncertainty between two or more worlds reflecting ... discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds ..."* (Mann, 1957: p 19, quoting Stoneguist). Hence the marginal man, it was argued, experienced a double consciousness, an *"uncertainty of belongingness"* (Mann, p 31, quoting Lewin). This, it was claimed, tended to produce insecurity, self-pity and sensitivity. Mann examined these arguments critically and concluded that the claim that racial marginality per se would produce particular personality traits contained conceptual weaknesses. His empirical research showed that the supposedly typical "marginal personality traits" only manifested in certain individuals. He concluded that Coloured people who could pass as Whites, preferred Whites to Coloureds and who deplored segregation were likely to display the emotional problems outlined above. Also, he found evidence of these traits among Coloureds who could not pass as White, who deplored segregation and who were ambivalent in their racial identification. He found no evidence that Coloured people in general displayed any greater degree of emotional dislocation than would, say, members of the White group. Mann points out that the critical problems of marginality only arise when there is a coincidence of something wanted and the denial of that want.

In a later report we will attempt a similar analysis to that of Mann - at this stage certain data has yet to be collected. The analysis of Mann and those of the authors he quotes does alert us to the possibility of there being a high incidence of emotional problems in the community, at least among those people with the kind of racial identity conflicts which Mann outlines in his conclusions.

In this report we can make no comparative statements, since data on Whites equivalent to our indices of emotional responses among Sparks Estate people are not yet available. All we can attempt at this point, is a tentative evaluation of some of our findings relevant to the issue of "psychological marginality".

We employed three different indices of emotional response.   The
first was a very brief, non standardised set of 9 statements, which each
respondent had to endorse or reject.   The items were formulated by
ourselves and were designed to tap self-confidence, self-satisfaction,
inter-personal security and self-esteem.   We make no large claims on
behalf of these items.   They should be viewed as merely a set of indices
of perceptions of personal adequacy among the people we interviewed.
The percentages endorsing each item as "true" were as follows: (results
are presented in the order in which items were given to respondents)

"I wish I could be as happy as others"	50%
"I feel deeply satisfied within myself"	51%
"I often feel that I don't belong anywhere"	41%
"I often feel less adequate and worthwhile than others"	32%
"Sometimes I feel that nobody really understands me"	46%
"I am more nervous than most people"	33%
"If others hadn't prevented me, I would be better off"	33%
"People seem to change from day to day in the way they treat me"	33%
"I often wish I felt as good as the next person"	42%

These items must be assessed in terms of their face validity.   As
such the results are quite interesting. Roughly one-half of our sample may
experience personal unhappiness (item 1),

personal dissatisfaction (item 2) and

a lack of empathy in others (item 5).

Some four out of ten people appear to experience a lack of social acceptance
(item 3) and a lack of personal adequacy relative to others (item 9 - it
should be noted that this item is rather ambiguous).

These responses are within the description of the typical problems of
marginal people. At this stage our results are very tentative but with
that qualification, what they do suggest is a high incidence of a lack of
a sense of personal adequacy and social well-being.

The above results were obtained from items which are highly "trans-parent"; in the sense that the intention behind them was clearly evident to respondents. Respondents are therefore able to disguise feelings they do not wish to express.

A second approach to the problem of describing characteristic personality response patterns involved the use of a semi-projective item: " *As you realise we are interested in the way people feel in this community. Please think of a person - any person - he or she can be a real person or a person you make up. Tell me of two important feelings that he or she could often have about herself or himself. Can you think of a person?* (*If only positive or negative feelings are given also could you think of two less-happy/more happy feelings?*"

The responses to this item were assessed by the two authors independently of one another, and classified in the way reflected in the results below. The method of classification is a derivation of a method used by feelings expressed:

focused on self —— exaggerated positive	2%
focused on self —— positive	33%
focused on self —— negative	36%
focused on self —— neutral in tone	2%
focused on external world —— positive	7%
focused on external world —— negative	19%
focused on external world —— neutral	1%
ambivalent	1%

Here again, for present purposes, we have to depend for our analysis on the face validity of the test. Accepting that the content of the answers re-flects typical emotional response patterns, we must conclude that the quality of emotional reactions to life in the community are somewhat alarmingly negative. There is a clear tendency for the majority of answers to be "self-centred", although we should not necessarily take this pattern as being indicative of a problem. The test itself may have encouraged this sort of response. Of more concern is the fact that almost half of the self focus responses reflect painful or unpleasant emotions and much more of the external world responses

reveal negative apperceptions of the environment.   These results tend to
reinforce the general pattern obtained from the first index.

A third approach to this issue of the distribution of typical response
patterns   involved incomplete sentences.   Nine incomplete sentences were
submitted to respondents who were asked to complete each sentence as spon-
taneously as possible.   The sentences are given in full in the Appendix.
The completions were classified in the same way as those of the previous
projective item.   At this stage we present a simple percentage distribution
for the group as a whole based on the sum of responses in various categories
for all nine sentences.

The results were as follows:

focused on self —— exaggerated positive	1%
focused on self —— positive	27%
focused on self —— negative	21%
focused on self —— neutral in tone	18%
focused on external world —— positive	14%
focused on external world —— negative	14%
focused on external world —— neutral	3%
ambivalent	2%

In this set of results a somewhat more favourable profile emerges,
although even here one-fifth express negative perceptions of self and just
under one-fifth display apperceptions of the environment as malevolent.

Taken together the three sets of results suggest fairly widespread
problems of emotional adjustment in the area.   This observation must be
tentative because we have not as yet calculated a co-efficient of reliability
on these indices and we have no independent measures to allow the validity
to be assessed.   We must note, however, that these are indices for group
analysis for which standards of reliability can be somewhat relaxed.

Further work will have to confirm or challenge the tentative conclusion
that problems of emotional adjustment are fairly widespread.   Whether or
not Sparks Estate is abnormal in this respect we do not know.   It is just

conceivable that similar profiles may be obtained from any urban population.
Even if this is so, it does not minimise the implications of the problems
in an absolute sense.

We made an attempt to assess some of the causes underlying the negative
responses in the two projective tests from the content of the answers them-
selves.   It would seem that among one-fifth to one-quarter of the cases
being Coloured is an aspect of the problem.   A more dominant factor
emerging however, is disturbed inter-personal relationships, social isolation,
difficulties in interacting with peers, sensitivity to criticism, and
marital disharmony.

In this section then, we have established with lesser or greater certainty
that the community we have studied has a fair measure of subjective prob-
lems concerning group self-image and emotional stress generally.

We have not attempted for this report to link these problems with the
classic concept of "marginality" which is theoretically applicable to any
racially mixed group having an intermediate social status in society.
We recall that Mann concluded that psychological marginality was only applicable
to Coloured people with particular attitudes to the colour bar.   This may be
the case in our group as well.

Psychological marginality, however, is not a major concern in this
analysis.   The goal has simply been to establish whether or not there is
sufficient evidence of problems of consciousness and personal or inter-
personal adjustment to warrant community work in these areas.   We believe
that we have established that such a need exists, whether it is particular
to Sparks Estate or not.

CHAPTER XI

LEADERSHIP[1]

Leadership, obviously, is perhaps the most critical feature of community life relevant to community development. Any programme has a headstart if it can be promoted and guided by representative, legitimate and popular local leaders. Conversely, programmes will suffer greatly or fail if they are considered unnecessary or counter-productive by such leaders. A situation often arises in poorer communities, however, in which leadership is. poorly developed and unable to give direction in community programmes. Part of the programme in such cases must be concerned with promoting an echelon of local-level leadership with a stance appropriate to the problems in the area. In many communities leadership may exist, but it may be unrepresentative of community interests and out of touch with community needs. Positions of leadership often have built-in rewards, either psychic or material, and for this reason individuals may strive for and obtain positions of leadership with an egoistic motivation. It may happen then, that such leaders will present selected versions of the needs of the community in their public statements in order to justify their own pursuit of their interests and ends. Most common, perhaps, is the problem of leadership in stratified communities, where the leaders tend to be drawn from the better-placed strata, and with the best will in the world, will not be able to portray a balanced picture of needs and interests among the community at large.

We have already noted that the question of leadership in Black communities in South Africa is highly problematic. South African security legislation, even where it does not directly result in the removal of legitimate Black leadership, may very well inhibit the emergence of such leadership because of the dangers involved. If leadership is not exactly stunted by the fear, the activities of leaders might, one may argue, be severely inhibited

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1) This chapter was co-authored by Foszia Fisher, who conducted the interviews among leaders and prepared the chapter in draft form, save for the first few and last few pages.

by the perception of an ever-watchful security service. People who argue
along these lines point to the significant numbers of people who are banned,
restricted, detained or gaoled as a consequence of political activities in
the roles of leaders.

These observations are entirely valid as regards political leadership
which attempts to address itself to the key issue of political change in the
country. It is too bald a statement, however, to assert that local-level
community leadership is inhibited to the same degree. Furthermore, one has
to concede that certain institutions of the White government's own creation,
such as for example, the system of Coloured Representation, allow a con-
siderable degree of political freedom to certain Coloured and Indian leaders.
It must be added immediately, of course, that this freedom of speech has
been rendered more than somewhat ineffective by the absence of real powers
to make decisions regarding popular rights and privileges, and by the fact
that control over the allocation of resources, fiscal and otherwise, is
retained within the White policy.

Putting the position very broadly, we would say that local-level
leadership in the Coloured community has fairly considerable freedom to
speak out on local issues, to organise on similar issues and to educate with-
in a community context. This freedom has a very clear ceiling in two ways.
Firstly, an elaboration of the issues in such a way as to relate them to
broader political rights and privileges, is dangerous. Secondly, while the
leadership may publicly examine local issues, it has no real power at ef-
fective local, provincial or central government levels to bring about
changes affecting the community. We must assume, however, that the new po-
litical dispensation promised the Coloured people to be introduced during
1978, will increase actual decision-making power of local leaders. At the
very least, some hope of successful appeals to the White, Coloured and
Indian "Council of Cabinets" must be entertained.

We are certainly not inclined to the view that local-level leadership
in Coloured areas has no prospects of achieving practical successes. We con-
cede that such leadership will be curtailed at the level of critical political

issues, but we see ample opportunity for meaningful action on issues which are not immediately defined as being at odds with the government's political programme. In particular, there is a range of local community issues which are sorely in need of attention which are not necessarily "dangerous or political". This is not to say that action in terms of such issues will be easy and straightforward. Resistance may well be encountered from White-controlled local government, provincial authorities and certain government departments. These resistances have to be approached constructively. Particularly in a context of the changing political status of Coloured people (however slight the changes may be) the prospects for successful representation on local community issues seem promising.

With these considerations in mind we turn to an examination of leadership within the community. At the formal level community leadership manifests itself in the LAC (Local Affairs Committee). This is a purely advisory body which reports to the Durban City Council. It is, however, an elected body and as such offers the community an opportunity of at least electing representatives to air their grievances. Partly as a consequence of the purely advisory function of the body, we gain the impression that the LAC is perceived as powerless and irrelevant. What is worse, it would seem as if the representatives themselves are assessed in the light of the powerlessness of the institutions and their reputations suffer as a consequence.

Relationships between the Durban City Council and at least certain local affairs committees, particularly Indian LACs, have for long been problematic. The purely advisory function of these bodies allows no scope for conflicts between LACs and the City Council to be equitably negotiated. This has led to open conflict in some instances as, for example, that between the Town Clerk and Mr Rabansi of the Southern Indian LAC. We suspect that the only way to avoid such conflicts under the present dispensation is for LACs to mute their participation to some degree or another. There is talk in White local government circles of working towards elected non-White representation on the City Council. Until this is achieved, the Local Affairs Committee as an institution of local government working through the normal channels, will remain ineffective.

One may look to the LAC representatives for providing local-level leadership in a broader context. They need not be limited by the scope of consultations with the City Council. Our observation, however, is that these leaders have displayed little initiative outside the formal framework. Other groups have emerged to attempt to deal with critical local issues of the day. Some examples of this have been the emergence of the Save Our Homes Committee, Joint Education Committee and the organisation of local Soup Kitchens at a time of high unemployment in the area.

The Save Our Homes Committee was formed in response to a situation which threatened not only the people immediately involved, but indirectly and more long-term, the community itself. The issue was the expropriation of privately owned property by the Durban City Council in order to make way for blocks of flats which would reduce (marginally) the demand for more housing. The indirect and long-term threat to the community, as perceived by certain individuals, lay in this: that the community was surrounded by built-up residential and light industrial areas and by municipal-owned land which the City Council would be hard put to give up to Coloured occupation. Hence there was no way the community could expand in order to meet the demands for more spatial growth. The increasing demands for housing, educational and recrea- tional facilities would be met through the destruction of existing housing - as in Villa Road. That this perception is shared by the community, they argue, is born out by the support the Committee received.

There seemed to be consensus among the respondents that community action qua community action (as opposed to individual/group contributions) seemed to be motivated chiefly through being personally affected by a problem - i.e. when the majority of individuals are affected by the same problem. The Villa Road expropriations provided such a problem.

The expropriations and the activity of the Committee received sympathetic coverage in the local press. Such publicity could only serve to reinforce the impact the expropriations were having on the community.

The Joint Education Committee was formed to expedite the construction
of the proposed high school for the area. In the case of the Save Our
Homes Committee and the Joint Education Committee, participation was heavily
loaded in favour of those directly affected by the issues. We have heard
that members of the LAC in all these activities have been criticised for not
playing a more active role. The leadership of these rather important
recent community endeavours has overlapped to a great extent. In fact, the
Save Our Homes Committee transferred most of its leader figures to the Joint
School Committee and the Soup Kitchens.

Here we have evidence then, of an echelon of leadership addressing itself
to highly relevant local issues which promises to have some continuity over
time. This continuity is somewhat tenuous, however, since only three very
active women have served on all the abovementioned committees.

Another form of community leadership to which people in the area have
been exposed is in the sphere of church and welfare organisations. We have
noted previously that the area is abundantly supplied with churches which
are enthusiastically supported. The community, therefore, is laced with
church committees and church groups each with office bearers and other leader
figures. While this form of organisation is highly compartmentalised and
seldom floats to the surface of the community at large, it does provide an
infrastructure of roles in which more generalised community leadership could
develop. This, of course, would require a broadening in goals of religious
organisations.

Lastly we have noted another type of leadership in the area: this being
single individuals in prominent occupations or of long standing residence
who have achieved the status of informal community councillors. This type
of role may or may not be combined with a formal political role.

In the light of this background to the structure of leadership in the
area we must attempt to assess the performance of the leaders. Firstly,
in terms of concrete activity, we would venture to suggest that the performance
is disappointing in relation to the numbers of people involved in various

organised groups. There is no Ratepayers' Association which makes it its
business to give a continuous airing to issues and problems in the com-
munity. The churches have not formed an influential ecumenical committee
to work in the socio-religious sphere and the three special interest
committees discussed above, although promising, have yet to establish a
basis of operation for looking into general issues. In parenthesis we
should note that one member of the Save Our Homes Committee was detained
for a period and this may have increased the level of inhibition.

Another way of assessing the performance of leader figures is to con-
sider the extent of recognition in the community at large. We asked the
question: *"Who in Sparks Estate do you see as the real leaders of this
community?"* The percentage distribution of replies was as follows:

Unable to mention leaders	36%
Traditional elder counsellor/ex CRC	31%
CRC/LAC member	19%
Housewife/librarian, leader in Save Our Homes Committee	4%
School principal/informal counsellor	3%
9 others with one or two percent mention each, (including	
2 CRC, 1 LAC, priests, ministers and teachers	7%

We asked the same question regarding perceptions of leadership in
Durban as opposed to Sparks Estate specifically. The results were as
follows:

Unable to mention leader	55%
Traditional elder counsellor/ex CRC	22%
CRC/LAC member	10%
CRC member	6%
Housewife/librarian, leader in Save Our Homes Committee	4%
CRC/LAC	2%
Principal	1%

What strikes one immediately is the high proportion of people who are

unable to mention leaders. Similar results have been found in the
Indian community by the first co-author. Admittedly, however, Whites
in a suburb could probably do no better or would simply mention the
names of the mayor or city councillors. Democratic systems of re-
presentation are well known for the relative apathy they produce and
in a sense Whites do not have to consciously support local leaders.
We would adjudge the results given above to reflect a situation of
leader recognition which is less than adequate in the light of community
needs for leadership. It also seems significant that a community leader
of the traditional type who spends most of his time dealing with people's
individual problems achieves much higher mention than anyone else. This
in our view reflects a need for a kind of local leadership which com-
bines an interest in personal and family problems and local political
issues.

In further exploration of the issue of leadership one of the co-
authors of this chapter interviewed those people who had been named by
respondents as leaders in Sparks Estate in Durban. The leaders inter-
viewed in turn were asked to mention other leaders in the community.
This produced a group of 21 leaders with whom interviews were conducted.*

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* The small study among leaders was based on 21 open-ended questionnaire
interviews(see Appendix III)conducted over $1\frac{1}{2}$ months (July/August 1977)
with each interview averaging $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours in duration. The sample was
drawn from two sources: i) those named by the respondents in the general
survey; ii) those named by these in response to the question, "*Apart
from yourself, who do you see as the real leaders in Sparks Estate/
Sydenham community?*"

Out of the 16 people named by respondents in the general survey, 12
were interviewed. Of the remaining 4, two are national political figures
(both members of the CRC) living outside Durban. It was just not
possible to get hold of them during the time when the interviews were
being conducted. The other two, although sympathetic to the survey,
were too heavily committed time-wise to their various activities within
the community to specify a time and date for the interview. Of the 15
names derived from the second and third categories, 10 were interviewed.
Since we did not have sufficient time to interview all 15, we tended to
follow up those who were members of the Save Our Homes Committee. This
decision represents a bias in the sample to the extent that it leads to
an over-representation of people involved in certain kinds of community
activity.

In the analysis which follows, the numbers of leaders responding in
different ways will be expressed as percentages. Although this is mis-
leading in one sense, it is convenient. We ask the reader to bear in
mind that the base for the percentages is only 21 people.

TABLE V   LEADERSHIP PROFILE

OCCUPATION

Professional			43%
	teaching	19%	
	religion	10%	
	medicine	5%	
	law	5%	
	nursing	5%	
Self-employed			24%
White-collar			19%
Housewife			10%
Artisan			5%

EDUCATION

Std 7 and under	19%
Std 9 and under	33%
Matric and JC and Teacher Training Diploma	14%
Post Matric academic and professional training	33%

AGE

Over 50	24%
40-49	48%
30-39	29%

RELIGION

Roman Catholic	38%
Anglican	24%
Non-mainline Christian sects	19%
Congregational	14%
None	5%

TABLE V   LEADERSHIP PROFILE continued

SEX
Male   67%
Female   33%

POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORTED
Labour   62%
Federal.   5%
Independent   5%
None   29%

The average leader then, tends to be either a professional or self-
employed person in his forties, with an educational level of Std 9 and over
and supports the Labour Party.

The majority of the leaders (67%, see Question 4) became involved in
public affairs in the community as a result of their concern with social
issues. Some 33% were motivated as a result of their religious beliefs or
activities; 29% as a result of their professional involvement; 19% as a
result of their political convictions and 14% as a result of a crisis within
the community (the Villa Road issue). One out of ten claimed that they were
not really involved in community affairs.

In general the profile of characteristics appears to be fairly balanced
with one notable exception: the almost complete absence of working-class
figures (i.e. Blue—collar workers). This is a serious lack in a community
in which the largest single category of work is that of skilled building
workers. Coloured people are unionised and there is undoubtedly room for
local leaders to be drawn from categories of organised labour.

I. How Leaders see Problems facing the People

As with the general population, a question put to the leaders was:
"Thinking of Sparks Estate/Sydenham and surrounding areas in which Coloured
people live - what do you see as problems and needs?" This was immediately

followed on by a probe: "*Apart from problems acting on people, what prob-lems do you see among people in the community?*" We were not only interested
in eliciting responses on material problems faced by the community; we were
also interested in perceptions of non-material problems affecting the
community and to what extent the latter acted as inhibiting factors on the
ability of the community to cope with its material problems. Juvenile
delinquency, for example, is a non-material problem that is linked to
material problems (lack of facilities catering for the interest of youth;
well-equipped schools generating enthusiasm for learning as an activity for
exploration and discovery of reality, etc.). But it can also be a product
of a general level of community morale and at the same time contributes to
the weakening of the collective strength of the community by increasing con-flicts within it. Thus, the answers to the probe on the question focuses
both on social problems and on factors which affect the cohesion of the
community.

The problem areas indicated by the respondents broadly coincided with
those indicated by the rank and file. The basic difference - and this was
to be expected - was that the leaders were able to give a more detailed
breakdown and a wider coverage of problems. This indicates that the leader-ship is certainly in touch with the basic problems affecting the people.

Only one of the respondents (5% of sample) felt that there were no
problems facing the community. In fact, he insisted that Sparks Estate/
Sydenham was far more developed than any other Coloured area in Durban. "*I
could make bold to say that their physical needs have been amply catered
for. They have churches in abundance, homes for unmarried mothers, old age
people, St. Thomas's, St. Theresa's, crèches, plentiful schools and more
are being built, a swimming pool, sports stadium, tennis courts, beautiful
roads and their shops and cinemas are in close proximity.*" To the extent
that there was a problem facing the community, it was the under-utilisation
of resources, he claimed. Clearly this view is roundly rejected by the
remaining 95% of the respondents. Not only are these facilities and
amenities meant to cater for the official 11,000 residents in the community,
but for the entire Coloured population of Durban.

There is an exact correspondence between the percentage of the leader-
ship sample and the general (rank and file) sample as regards housing (86%
in both instances). In the remaining shared categories, there is a shift in
emphasis between the leaders and the rank and file. The leaders place a
higher priority on education (76% as opposed to 23%); economic issues (62%
as opposed to 12%) and facilities (52% as opposed to 33%). Compared with
the general sample, they place a lower priority on services (29% as opposed
to 41%).

The housing shortage in the area presents not only a material need of
the highest priority; it also affects the general morale and level of co-
hesiveness in the community. Overcrowded dwellings lead to conflicts and
antagonisms among the people sharing the dwelling. As one respondent puts
it, *"You get so many problems from living too close together - it's just
like living with your in-laws: they're always finding fault."* Neighbourhood
or co-resident participation in the domestic affairs of an individual family
is in itself not a negative and destructive intervention. It can be pro-
ductive but this would depend on whether this was an accepted mode of
settling intra-family disputes. However, in a society like South Africa
where the emphasis is on individual rather than collective resolution of
problems, such participation becomes unwanted and resented interference. In
addition, few homes can provide the children with a corner that they can call
their own, to which they can retreat and establish their own identity. The
street corners offer the only available refuge.

In a large number of working class districts in England, Europe and
the U.S.A., because the houses are cramped and restrictive of social acti-
vities, people tend to extend their living area on to the street. It is not
unusual to find residents of all ages gathered together in little groups on
the pavements outside their houses exchanging news and views. Such a recog-
nition of the street as an extension of their home life provides the older
people with an opportunity to supervise the activities of the younger members
of the community and invites a collective sharing of the responsibility for
the socialisation of their youth. In such a situation, it is very difficult
for the street to present an opportunity for anti-social behaviour - within

the area at any rate. However, in Sparks Estate this appears not to be the
case, and in this regard it would be interesting to investigate the atti-
tudes of the residents to street life. The high recognition of juvenile
delinquency (see Table V) among the respondents of the leadership survey
suggests the streets as a refuge both from overcrowded homes and from the
social norms of the community.

The large discrepancy in the emphasis on educational problems between
the leaders and the community as a whole tends to argue a difference in per-
spectives and attitudes towards education. The leadership perspective is
more long term since it sees education as playing a crucial role in in-
creasing the ability of the community to cope with its problems. While a
few leaders stress the individualistic benefits of education for status
enhancement - better education provides better jobs and higher social status,
the majority of the leaders stress higher education as a means of broadening
mental horizons and heightening critical awareness. One of the points made
by one of the respondents was that because the general level of education in
the community was inadequate in comparison with the complexity of problems
facing it, people in the community were without the tools needed to grapple
effectively with the problems. "*People ... are unable to articulate their
needs and to diagnose their problems. Basically, (they) are unable to cope
with the situation.*" Another respondent felt that while dedication to
fighting the problems of the community was important, it was not enough. "*I
believe that you have got to have the knowledge and education to know how to
fight with these people. Look, we are fighting with the authorities for
better housing, better education, better facilities; one must know how to
attack them.*"

The attitude of the rank and file appears to be in terms of a realistic
assessment of their economic needs. To parents struggling to make ends meet,
it makes more immediate economic sense to send their children off to work
than to keep them at school beyond Std. 6 or 8. Perhaps there is a latent
recognition among the rank and file that beyond the transmission of the
immediately useful skills of numeracy and literacy, schools are irrelevant.
Work skills are acquired on the job, not in school. But, possibly, as a

consequence of the present shortage of jobs, parents might feel compelled
to keep their children on longer at school in order to improve their chances
in competing for available jobs.

The question of the relevance of the content of the school education
to the realities in which the children live, is being taken up by some of
the respondents who are members of the Joint Schools Committee. Because
they believe in the long-term value of education, not only are they ques-
tioning the contents of the relevance of school education to everyday
reality, but the quality of education and the extent to which schools can
become interesting areas of experience and not the epitome of boredom. That
there is this growing concern for the quality of education is important for
community development efforts. The school system as presently structured,
encourages individuality, mobility and competitiveness. What the com-
munity needs to be offered are the values of co-operation and collective
mobility.

As was pointed out earlier in the report (see p 40) when the field-
work for the general population sample was being carried out, unemployment
had not reached its present level. It is therefore not surprising that the
leaders, interviewed approximately six months later, should rank unemploy-
ment higher than the rank and file.

The differences in the ranking of facilities and services are not sig-
nificant given the size of the leadership sample. These problems are, in
the main, dependent on state and city council action for their solutions. It
does not seem that either the state or the city council will of its own pro-
vide solutions to these problems. The major spur that the community can
provide here is by way of pressure group activity. The Villa Road issue
demanded such activity and proved that such activity is not without results.

Although all respondents agreed that in itself the CRC had no role to
play(Question 13 - see Appendix III)it does not seem irrelevant that the
issue of improvement in the quality and type of education in schools should
be taken up by this body. To the extent that the CRC has nominal control

95.

over "Coloured" education, concern for this issue can at least be expressed.
This would assist in the publicising of the issue and in the conscientisa-
tion of the people.

II. Leaders' Views on Problems among the People

The highest ranking non-material problem among the people as perceived
by the leaders is what we have categorised as a problem of morale. We have
used the term "morale" to refer to the extent to which there is present a
sense of community cohesion and collective involvement in action to solve
community problems. The responses of 86% of the respondents indicate that
the general level of community morale in the area is not high - in fact,
the level is such that it has become an inhibiting rather than a motivating
force. The problem is not so much that people don't know they have prob-
lems and make some sporadic attempts at dealing with them, but that there
is no strong commitment to active participation in the solution of long-
term problems. The general picture that is evoked of the people in the com-
munity is that they do not live in the community but in their homes. *"It's
characteristic of the people here that they do not work together, don't
unite - perhaps because they see each other as a threat. They tend to be
concerned to a large degree about themselves."* Hence the "apathy with
regard to social and community problems".

The attitude of a community towards its problems and its level of com-
mitment in dealing with them - in short, its morale, is clearly a crucial
factor affecting the perception and resolution of community problems. How-
ever, just as community morale affects the perception and resolution of
community problems, so does low morale increase the vulnerability of a com-
munity towards social problems which in turn further depresses the level of
morale. The extent, then, to which the community will be able to generate
the strength it needs to cope with the other essentially social problems
(listed in Table VI) will depend on its level of community morale.

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TABLE VI   PROBLEMS AMONG THE PEOPLE IDENTIFIED BY LEADERS

Identification of problem	Proportion of sample mentioning the problem	
MORALE		86%
"I'm all right Jack"/selfishness	38%	
lack of trust/undermining	33%	
communication	33%	
community cohesion/spirit	24%	
community difficult to stimulate	14%	
sense of defeat/frustration	14%	
no sense of direction/uncommitedness	10%	
other (diverse)	10%	
YOUTH		71%
(delinquency/vandalism)		
BREAKDOWN OF THE FAMILY		33%
ALCOHOL, DRUG ABUSE		33%
RACIAL PROBLEMS		19%
intragroup discrimination	10%	
friction as a result of housing shortage	5%	
Indian businessmen with Coloured cards	5%	
PROBLEMS SAME AS IN ANY OTHER COMMUNITY/AREA		19%
INTRAGROUP FRICTION		10%
LEADERSHIP		10%
SEX EDUCATION		10%
OTHER DIVERSE		10%
DON'T KNOW		5%

Low community morale is a concomitant factor in a situation where people are denied the necessary power to control their lives. It is obvious

that this is a problem that is not peculiar to Coloured people or Coloured residential areas in South Africa. Although only 19% specifically stated in reply to Question 1(a) that the problems in the area were no different to the problems experienced by other communities, this view was generally shared by the other respondents. Such disclaimers as "this is not a 'Coloured' problem" were scattered throughout the interviews. It seems useful for such disclaimers to be made and acknowledged. It does involve the recognition that politically-oppressed people, in situations where no solution to their plight is visible, tend to internalise negative self-images. Negative self-images are encapsulating and inhibiting of attempts to redress the situation. Denying that there are such things as "Coloured" problems is an attempt at destroying one of the many faces of a negative self-image.

III. Differentiation within the Community as seen by Leaders

To what extent is low community morale further exacerbated by cleavages within the community? To what extent is the identification of separate groups in the community an indicator of conflicting interests among the groups?

Eighty-six per cent of the respondents to Question 5 described differentiations in terms of occupation/income, status and race. However, 24% felt that the community was moving away from such differences - especially status distinction in terms of claims to Mauritian and St. Helenan descent.

This claim is substantiated by the fact that the descendants of Mauritian and St. Helenan immigrants are no longer accorded the privileged status conferred on them prior to Nationalist Party rule and their remaining municipal privileges have long since dwindled away. There is no longer any objective way in which they could insist on their superiority or separateness from other Coloured people. The Group Areas Act ensures their physical proximity to, if not their forced identity with, other Coloureds. To the extent that this status distinction continues to exist, it exists as a lag effect of a past situation.

The responses in terms of occupation/income stratification do not imply the existence of conflicting interests among "the upper, middle and lower classes" or between the "professional and artisan classes". What they do refer to, however, is the impact of these distinctions on social relations between the groups. For example, "the upper class won't mix with the middle class"; "the professionals tend to mix only with each other", etc.

Of the remaining 14% who did not indicate differentiation within the community, two respondents felt that there was not much mixing in the community as a whole. As the one respondent put it: "*I don't think there is much mixing in the community, as such. Every individual has his own limited set of friends to which interaction is limited. The reason for this is possibly this lack of community awareness.*" This response echoes the findings of the general survey given earlier on - nearly half the people in the sample had reservations about mixing freely with more than a few other people in the area.

TABLE VII   LEADERS' VIEWS ON DIFFERENTIATION IN THE COMMUNITY

Response		Percentage of sample identifying response
ECONOMIC/OCCUPATIONAL		57%
STATUS		48%
feel superior because of Mauritian/ St. Helenan ancestry	33%	
feel superior	19%	
RACIAL		24%
RELIGIOUS		5%
DIFFERENCES NOT SEEN AS SIGNIFICANT BECAUSE COMMUNITY TOO SMALL		14%

In the racial category, 14% of the sample identified Malays as a separate group. Some (10%) mentioned those Coloureds who wanted equality

with Whites but none with the other racial groups while others (10%) stated that Indians, Africans and Coloureds do not mix with each other and that they do not wish to work together. One respondent (5%) mentioned the tendency among Coloureds not to associate with "the darker, short-haired Coloured".

Of the 14% identifying Malays as a separate group, none indicated any overt hostility towards Malays or perceived them as an outgroup. Two respondents said that the Malays tended to keep to themselves, but the reasons for this isolating tendency were judged differently. One reasoned thus: *"The only people who are different are the Malays but that's nothing because they have their own way. They keep to themselves because some Coloureds drink and abuse themselves."* And the other: *"I feel that the Malays should begin to realise that they are part of the community. Too many of them want to have the best of both worlds - holding Coloured and Indian cards. They want to trade in Coloured areas but want to live in Indian areas because the latter are not overcrowded and hence not as costly as Coloured areas."* He did, however, add that this was more true of Malays in Cape Town than in Durban. The third respondent disagreed with both previous respondents. His perception was that *"Malays don't see themselves as separate since they live in the area."*

This perception of Malays as an integral part of the community differs somewhat from that of the general survey where 50% of the 26% identifying Malays as a subgroup did not consider them fitting into the community.

Despite a dominant perception of the community being divided in terms of the categories given in Table VII, 76% of respondents did not feel that there was a problem in getting along with each other between groups in the community. This was in response to 5(a) which was a probe to Question 5. No noticeable problem was felt by 10%, either because the groups were not large enough or because people were forced to live together in terms of the Group Areas Act - i.e. they had no choice and could not separate themselves. Of the remaining 14%, two stated that because people did not know each other, they did not communicate with each other and worked independently

of each other. One mentioned the problem of new arrivals having difficulty
integrating themselves into the community.

Thus the described cleavages within the community do not, as far as
the leaders are concerned, aggravate the already low level of community
morale.

IV. Leaders' Expectations regarding the Community's Response to its Problems

This image of a low morale community is reinforced by the responses to
the question on attitudes towards community problems (Question 2). Some 67% of
the respondents felt that the general everyday attitude of the community
towards its problems was negative. However, 71% felt that the community
could be stirred out of its general apathy and indifference into action.

TABLE VIII   LEADERS' EXPECTATIONS ABOUT HOW PEOPLE WILL RESPOND TO PROBLEMS

Leaders' Expectations of the Community		Percentage
CAN BE MOTIVATED/DEPENDS ON SITUATION		71%
- get involved when problems affect them	52%	
- if motivated, they will co-operate	24%	
- rally round when there is a unifying cause	19%	
NEGATIVE		67%
- people not sufficiently community conscious	48%	
- no immediate concern for problems of others/		
don't feel need to get involved in problems	48%	
POSITIVE		14%
- very concerned, willing to help, no problems		
in getting people to help		

When asked whether people trying to improve things for the community

get support from the community (Question 3), 67% of the respondents affirmed
that they do, but added an important qualifier. The support that one does
get is dependent on the issue and the demands that are being made of them.
One-third of the sample found the community sympathetic but detached in its
support. The following sorts of statements went to make up this category:
"People do appreciate and respect people who do things for them"; *"The sym-
pathy is there but help doesn't come easily because people are used to get-
ting things on a plate"* and *"People feel happy for others to do things but
won't volunteer themselves"*. There is then a distinction being made between
support which implies active participation and support which involves passive
acceptance/appreciation that somebody is doing something. This distinction
could have been made clearer but unfortunately the question itself was rather
ambiguous. It does seem to imply in its formulation either somebody doing
something for the community or somebody doing something with the community.
However, if read in conjunction with the responses to Question 2, the dis-
tinction does become clarified. If the everyday response of the community
towards its problems is one of indifference and apathy, then it follows that
the support that active participants in the community get is very little or
poor support (38%) or if they do get support then it's of a sympathetic but
passive kind.

Projects of a self-help nature are obviously dependent upon active
participation by the community. This type of participation can be and does
get elicited from the community. People have been galvanised into action -
especially when they are personally affected by the problem. The Villa Road
issue, the high school issue and the soup kitchens are cases in point.
Clearly then, people can be mobilised if they can be shown the connection
between themselves and the community, their problems and those of the com-
munity.

Community identity is not an automatic process or an assumption that
can be taken for granted no matter how obvious the common forces binding the
people together to somebody outside the community. Such an assumption is
clearly foolhardy for those wanting to initiate community activities. Com-
munity identity and the ability to perceive common problems, is a process

that has to be constantly worked at - especially in a situation where there are various forces (legal, racial, etc.) operating to undermine such identity.

Ideally community identity or consciousness should be inclusive rather than exclusive. Perceptions of shared interests and problems should not blind the community towards identification and co-operation with other communities whose problems are largely of a similar nature. Such an ideal, however, comes under heavy pressure when resources and goods are scarce and groups have to compete with each other over the distribution of these limited goods. The attitude that a community adopts towards the goods and resources of its society is in terms of a political programme with which it identifies. A political consciousness based on a political programme which attempts to analyse and deal with the problems affecting the society as a whole and which offers solutions which are beneficial to the majority, is thus an important component of community consciousness.

Community consciousness is heavily dependent on community morale or self-image. What then are the factors affecting the morale of a community? Basically morale is affected by the perceptions the community has of its capabilities to cope with its situation, by its perception that the situation is amenable to change and by the quality of its leadership.

Up to now very little of what the community has in the way of facilities, resources, etc. has been as a result of community action. Either the authorities have made a unilateral decision that the community should be given x and so give it, or else various individuals have interceded on behalf of an essentially passive community with the authorities. The community has not, prior to the Villa Road issue, tested its capabilities, and so in an important sense is not able to measure to what extent, if at all, the situation is amenable to change.

Since the community has not involved itself in activity, its perception of its self-image has largely been through the activities of its leadership, if not on a local level then on a national (and racial) level, and its

position in the hierarchy of power distribution.

V. Leaders' Location in the Structure of the Community

The organisations to which the leaders belong are listed in Table IX below.

TABLE IX   ORGANISATIONS TO WHICH LEADERS BELONG

Religious bodies	43%
Save our Homes and subsequent committees which have emerged	43%
St. Thomas' and welfare institutions within the community	33%
Parent Teachers' Associations	33%
Welfare agencies (child welfare, cripple care, etc.)	29%
Women's organisations	24%
Sporting bodies	19%
Local Affairs Committees	19%
Business associations	14%
Teachers' associations	10%
Coloured Persons Representative Council	10%
Other diverse	19%

We wanted to find out to what extent, if any, the leaders belong to, or represent any specific socio-economic group. One index of this is the extent and variety of their personal friendship patterns. We therefore asked them to think of two of their best friends (two of the respondents could only think of one best friend) and with them in mind to answer the questions that followed (see Question 7).

Only 33% of respondents have as their best friends people in the same occupational category as themselves. Ten per cent have friends in either the same or a higher occupation category; 5% drew friends from a higher oc- cupation category. Twenty-four per cent have friends either in the same occupation category or lower; 10% drew friends from lower occupation cate- gories and 5% had friends in both higher and lower occupation categories in

relation to self.

In relation to themselves, the majority of the respondents' friends have either a higher standard of formal education (19%), a lower standard (10%) or share the same or higher level (14%) or the same or lower standard (19%). Only 24% have friends whose educational level matches theirs.

Religion does not seem to be an important consideration in friendship formation; 71% of respondents named as their best friends, people whose religious beliefs differed from their own.

Virtually all of the respondents cited community and political affairs as a common interest. Over three-quarters of them felt that their political views were shared by their friends on the basis of the variety of their personal friendship patterns. We can conclude that the leadership neither represents nor belongs to any specific socio-economic group.

VI. Leadership's Perception of Itself

When a community is sharply cleaved in terms of conflicting interests, one would expect the leadership to reflect this cleavage. As we saw earlier, the cleavages that the leadership identified are essentially superficial and appear to have no divisive consequences on the community. Similarly the leaders do not perceive major divisions among themselves (see Question 8). Although the question was broadly formulated, 85% of the respondents focused their replies on national politics rather than community affairs in its wider sense. Fifty-seven per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that there was broad consensus among the leaders as regards political goals and that to the extent that there were disagreements, these were related to methods in specific instances. But they did not feel that disagreements on tactical issues were sufficiently important to say that leaders disagreed with each other. For a small minority (10%) disagreement on methods for achieving the goals played a significant role in dividing the leaders. One-third of respondents disagreed that there was consensus on political goals.

Of those who mentioned community affairs, 29% spoke about tensions between a few of the leaders and the various institutions and committees in the area. These tensions were formulated in personality terms.

When asked if they or other leaders were criticised by people in the community (Question 9) 90% said yes. The kinds of criticism levelled at them and the percentage of leaders identifying such criticisms was as follows:

Leaders are:

self-motivated	29%
not doing enough	29%
imposing their views on the community	19%
not militant enough	14%
too militant	10%
powerless and so can't do anything	5%
too proud and egotistical	5%

Forty-three per cent saw the criticism as being useful since it kept them in touch with the feelings of the people. Twenty-four per cent of the respondents felt that the criticism was due to ignorance since the rank and file did not really understand the issues at stake or were not sufficiently well-informed. Nineteen per cent attributed the criticisms to political confusion, 14% to malicious gossip and 14% to the somewhat excessive critical stance of the community. Some 14% did not take much notice of the criticisms received.

On the whole, the general impression that one has is that for the leaders, criticism is an integral part of normal community life. None appears to regard criticism as an outrageous attack on the dignity of a leader. Rather, it is part of the give and take of involvement in community affairs. Certainly, the criticisms they claimed levelled at them were at a very generalised level - applicable to many leaders in many situations. Consequently, none of the respondents who regarded themselves as leaders saw the criticism as implying a rejection of himself or herself by the community.

VII. Recognition of the Leaders by the Community

In the general survey we asked the respondents to identify whom they saw as the leaders in the area. A fair number (36%) either couldn't or did not want to name anybody as a leader. We were unable to establish precisely what this implied. Did it imply a general lack of interest in community affairs or a rejection of existing leadership?

We were curious to know how the leaders interpreted this lack of leader-ship recognition, so we put the results to them (Question 18a). Forty-three per cent attributed it to a lack of confidence in the leadership, in the sense that the leaders were not carrying out their duties properly. Twenty-nine per cent felt that this was due to apathy and disinterest on the part of the com-munity itself. Nineteen per cent, on the other hand, attributed this lack of recognition to the political situation - lacking meaningful control over the administration of the area, the leaders were denied the raison d'etre of their existence. Their efforts at solving the pressing problems faced by the people were frustrated by the "powers that be". They were thus rendered irrelevant. *"They failed to achieve what they set out to, not because of a lack of ability or failing on the part of the leaders, but because they do not have the power. People are not interested because they don't believe anything could be done to help them. People say, 'What's the use of going to the leaders?' - so they forget about them."* A further 10% of the respondents did not think the re-sponse of the rank and file problematic because they did not think there were any leaders in the community to speak of. Twenty-four per cent raised the question of leadership definition. They did not think that the people knew who to define as a leader.

This question of the definition of a leader raises an interesting problem. Is leadership in a community that is entirely controlled by non-residents to be defined in terms of an official role of negotiating between the authorities and the community (the LAC and CRC)? What if the community it-self does not have confidence in these bodies because they regard them as ineffectual as regards the solution of their immediate problems? As one respondent reflected: *"Well, the thing is that there are a large number of people in the community who only get to know who their leaders are when there are problems which affect them ...... but when it comes to time for*

electing people to certain positions, our people are so frustrated with the present political set-up that they don't bother to go and vote ... they've rejected the system totally. They are not prepared to window dress, as it were." What then is the status in the community of those who serve on these channels which are more communicative and advisory rather than an avenue for negotiation? What about those individuals who campaign in the interests of the community but who prefer to operate outside the official channels? Can they be regarded as leaders if they hold no official post? And of those who hold prominent positions within key institutions (education, welfare, religious, etc.) to what extent are these to be equated with leadership positions?

Unfortunately we do not have sufficient information from both samples to elucidate the problem with any degree of accuracy. It would have helped had we followed up the question on identification of leaders with a probe on why "X" was regarded as a leader, or if the respondent could not identify a leader, why this was the case. However, some rays of light can be thrown on the problem by looking at the responses to Question 6 in the leadership survey. Of the 90% who identified leaders apart from themselves in the community (10% stated flatly that there were no leaders), 43% identified leaders holding official posts and 19% mentioned people holding key institutional or professional posts in the community. This can be compared with the responses from the general survey. Of the 16 leaders identified, five held official posts; two had held official posts; five occupied key institutional posts (2 religious, 2 educational and 1 professional) and four occupied no official posts in the community. Half of the leadership sample paid tribute to the work done by Eddie Rooks - an official leader of the recent past - in the community.

The majority of the respondents from the leadership survey recognised leaders operating outside the official channels. This could be used as a possible reason for explaining why some of the respondents to the general survey did not appear to know who their leaders are. Leaders not holding official posts do not have official public platforms from which to relate to the rank and file. They are thus not highly visible publicly. And

perhaps more significantly for the rank and file, they have no public label
in terms of which leadership status could be applied. Nearly all the
leaders identified in this category have tended to emerge from the crowd in
response to immediate issues confronting the community. Their leadership
has in the main been publicly sporadic. Once the crisis has passed over
they retreat from the public arena to attend to on-going problems at low-
key committee level.

Following on this question of leadership recognition, we asked the
respondents in which way the situation could be changed (Question 18b).
Twenty-nine per cent replied that this demanded a change in leadership. Of
these, 19% were not optimistic of this coming to pass since they felt that
the kind of people who should stand for leadership position refused to do
so - either because they did not agree with the platforms available or else
because they were afraid of harassment by the security police. A further
14% of respondents were of the opinion that the situation could not be
changed until the leadership was invested with meaningful power in relation
to community problem solving. Nearly half focused their replies on strategies
for improving contact between the leadership and the community. One-third
of the respondents said that the leaders needed to involve themselves in the
mobilisation and conscientisation of the community; 24% felt that what was
needed was all-round education for the community and 14% that the channels
of communication between leaders and the community had to be improved. Ways
of improving communication channels suggested were making more use of avail-
able media and creating a local community newsletter.

VIII. Perceptions of Roles

Broadly speaking, leaders can relate to the community in 3 major ways.
They can perceive the community as an inarticulate, largely ignorant mass
in need of direction and a strong personality on whose shoulders the burdens
and problems of the community can be placed. They can perceive the community
as inarticulate, disadvantaged and powerless and in need of able mediators
between it and the sources of power. Unlike the first, this role perception
implies contact of some kind with the community. Or they can see their role

as mobilising agents, actively involved with the community at grass roots level and helping them to discover and develop their strength and resources, and assisting them to negotiate on their own behalf.

Of the 95% of the respondents who felt they had a role to play in the community, 57% denied leadership status to themselves, but did, however, go on to formulate their views on the role of a community leader (see Question 17). Roughly one-third saw the community leader as someone whose activity consisted primarily in guiding the community towards a better future, in helping the community to uplift itself. For two of these respondents (10%) this was not sufficient in itself and so one linked this activity with political conscientisation and the other with "forceful and outspoken" negotiating. One-third of the respondents stressed the role of the community leader as a negotiator, responsive to the demands of the community. The remaining 33% stressed the mobilising and consciousness-raising (political and social) activity of community leadership. Of the sample, 33% added that the personal characteristics of a leader were important. A leader has also to be educated, trustworthy and dedicated to the interests of the community.

Clearly, the majority do not subscribe to a view of leadership which is removed from the masses and in whose name decisions are made. The dominant view of a community leader which emerges is one who is both a mobiliser and negotiator.

This, of course, is precisely the kind of leadership the community needs in order to cope with the realities of the situation it is in. Although 57% of the respondents do not regard themselves as community leaders, 62% of the sample (see Table IX) are clearly involved in organisations and committees which are directly concerned with community affairs. This involvement would provide them with the opportunity needed for community mobilisation and negotiation.

However, according to 48% of the respondents (see Question 16) there were no existing organisations in the community which were either actually or potentially important in bringing people together or helping them solve

their problems. Of the 52% who did see existing organisations capable of fulfilling this function, almost all (48%) saw the churches and/or religious organisations doing this and one-half (26%) the Save Our Homes Committee and committees emerging from it. Only a few (10%) mentioned specifically political organisations. The other organisations mentioned were sporting bodies (10%), cultural organisations (10%) and welfare bodies (14%).

Although not particularly successful at bringing the people in the community together, for the majority of respondents, none of the existing organisations was seen to have a divisive effect on the community. Those who did see organisations as having this effect mentioned the political parties (19%) and religious organisations (5%).

In order to establish the fate of previous attempts at community or-ganisation, we asked the respondents whether there had been any important attempts at community organisation in the past which had failed and what they thought the reasons for failure were (see Question 10b). One-quarter replied that they did not know of any such attempt, one respondent adding: *"Nobody has really tried to sort out anything."* A further 10% could not remember any specific attempts at community organisation. Of the remaining 66% who could, the majority (86%) mentioned the Ratepayers' Association, and a small number the Sparks Estate Welfare Society (14%), the Federal Coloured Council (14%), the Garden and Homemakers' Club (14%) and various youth clubs (7%).

Of the 76% of respondents who ventured opinions on why these organi-sations had failed, 63% attributed failure to a lack of interest and sup-port on the part of the community; 50% to bad leadership and ineffective organisation on the part of the leaders and officials, and 13% to the fact that the organisations were operating in a power vacuum and their consequent failure to show any meaningful results led to disillusionment on the part of their supporters.

Now although a few of the respondents related the failure of past organisational activity to the absence of meaningful participation in the

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administration of their affairs, the majority clearly attributed the failure
to the poor organisational and leadership skills of the officials and to
apathy on the part of the community. The latter two reasons are not unre-
lated. A few of the respondents suggested that the public meetings of these
organisations - to the extent that they had any - were not sufficiently
interesting, let alone dynamic, to stimulate the involvement of the com-
munity. The apathy of a community can only be broken to the extent that
there are present dynamic organisations responding to the needs of the
people and inviting their full participation. There does seem to be a feel-
ing on the part of some of the respondents that most people don't feel they
have anything to contribute to the ongoing activities of an organisation,
that they don't feel themselves to be essential to the organisation, they
don't feel needed. As one respondent pointed out, *"The reason why people
don't do anything is because they don't feel there's anything they can do.
But when they feel that they can do something, they get up and do it."*

IX. The Image of Leadership in the Community

These dysfunctional aspects of leader role-performance are complemented
by problems in communication between leaders in organisations and the com-
munity at large. The relatively high proportion of people unable to mention
leaders' names attests to this. We had also heard of problematic aspects to
the image of leaders in the community, some of which we have already mentioned.
On the basis of these tentative observations we asked a structured question
of our rank and file respondents: *"We have heard critical comments about
organisations and associations in the area as well as favourable comments.
Some say associations give certain people a chance to feel important and boss
others around - Do you feel this is true or not?"* The results were:

"True"	35%
"Not true"	65%

We continued, *"Some say that associations don't get much done and even
sometimes lead to quarrels and trouble - do you feel this is true or not?"*

"True"	53%
"Not true"	47%

The picture that emerges is of an image of leadership in organisations which is seriously marred. A slight majority consider organisational leadership to be ineffectual, and roughly one-third consider it to be inappropriate in its interaction with ordinary people.

We will discuss the issue of leadership again in the discussion of the proposed community programme. At this stage it is sufficient to say that:

1) There is a fairly rich base of particularised community organisations from which a constructive and helpful community leader group could emerge.

2) There are, however, great problems in the structure of the situation of the Coloured community which severely weaken the efficacy, confidence and determination of leaders. Quite clearly a careful strategic approach to the problem of effectiveness must be fully debated by the leaders themselves.

3) Leadership needs to be complemented with representation from certain social categories in the community which at present make no contribution to community activity at the public level.

4) There have been promising campaigns mounted and, although success has been limited, there does seem to be a good deal of energy and initiative in the area.

5) Leaders and the community at large must come closer together, with organisational and political leadership adopting a mixed approach, part of which would entail a concern with family, individual and social problems, along the lines adopted by one or two "traditional" leaders but modified to suit current circumstances in the area.

6) Substantial numbers of existing community figures have attitudes to their potential roles as leaders which appear to be very positive and appropriate. Clearly there is potential both in the community and in the existing echelons of leaders for more meaningful organisational activity to emerge.

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CHAPTER XII

ASSESSMENT

In this chapter we will attempt to draw together the diverse and often contradictory threads in the research findings as a basis for setting out tentative conclusions relevant to a community development programme.

The community[1] studied - the Coloured people of Sparks Estate/Sydenham - would rank as a "lower-middle" status group within the spectrum of socio-economic differentiation in the city as a whole. It is by no means the most disadvantaged area in the city. Most African townships and a good few Indian suburbs are considerably worse off in material terms. In many ways our area of study in general would conform broadly with the socio-economic conditions typical of less-advantaged White communities in the city.

Yet Sparks Estate is an area of particular interest from the point of view of community development needs, since it has certain very noteworthy problems and characteristics which distinguish it from any White community.

I. Community and Group Consciousness and Coherence

Sparks Estate is an area in which the effects of the housing shortage among Coloured people and the effects of the Group Areas Act have resulted in a large measure of forced social heterogeneity. A wider diversity of social categories are contained within a single area than in any White area.

A major challenge for the area, then, is how to accommodate its own diversity. How can social integration be achieved across a wide spectrum of social categories and classes?

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1) The term community is used in a broad descriptive sense only, as stated before.

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In this regard, some preconditions exist with favourable indications.
A slight majority in the community do not display a strong awareness of
differences based on socio-economic rank (they perceive other differences,
however). More importantly, *a considerable amount of pride in and satis-
faction with the area as a place of residence exists*. Whether this is the
result of making the best of a situation of limited options or not, it is
of basic importance for any area-based community development programme.

On the negative side, however, we encounter several indications of
impediments to social integration within the area. There is a tendency to
stereotype certain sub-cultural groups, notably Muslims, "African Coloured"
and "Indian Coloured" people as well as groups seen as anti-social. A
high proportion of people ($\pm$ 45%) have reservations about mixing with a
majority of fellow residents. There is also a distinct cleavage in inter-
action between the better-educated and less well-educated groups. On
balance, then, *the area appears to contain a variety of internal tensions
and cleavages of quite serious proportions*.

Perhaps a part-consequence of this, but not necessarily so, is a con-
siderable degree of personal social malintegration. *Roughly one-third of
people in the community evince strong signs of being socially isolated as
individuals and ill at ease in peer groups*.

In addition, when we take these different measures of self-concepts at
face value, *up to roughly one-half of the people interviewed displayed nega-
tive perceptions of self, lack of confidence and personal satisfaction,
feelings of isolation, or, perceptions of the environment as being hostile.
Serious personal adjustment problems are likely to be present among many
people in the area*.

It is not certain whether these features of the emotional lives of
people are the products of their psychological "marginality" as Coloured
people. Further analysis is required to establish a connection. However
there is considerable evidence of ambivalence in racial self-concepts as

well. The image which people in the area seem to have of English-speaking Whites is more favourable than the image thay have of Coloured people. Furthermore, the indications are that lighter skin colour among Coloureds is still valued greatly. *Therefore, there are grounds for suggesting that darker-skinned people in the area have particular problems of social adjustment. The admiration of the English-speaking White may also mean that the community itself is subtly devalued in its own eyes.*

The people in the area still see themselves as closer to Whites genetically and culturally than to any other group. However, in some contrast with the position 20 years ago, and despite the conclusion in the previous paragraph, the people in the area today are prepared to accept their membership of a Coloured group in a positive and healthy spirit. Acceptance of Coloured identity, in a positive sense, seems to be the outcome of a reconciliation of the contradictory pressures of White-imposed apartheid, on the one hand, and fear of or aversion to close social and political identification with the Black majority. Black Consciousness is present but it is not espoused by anywhere near a majority in the area. In this context, it should perhaps be considered that social and political identification with Blacks is likely to produce the same sense of marginality as social and political identification with Whites - Coloured people once again will feel themselves to be "on the outside, looking in". An avoidance of the consequences of a "minority consciousness" is probably desirable. For this reason, *the signs which do exist of a positive "Brown Consciousness" or acceptance in socio-political terms, of Coloured group identity, should perhaps be strengthened and developed.* Such strengthening is required particularly to counteract the effects of the ambivalence in racial and personal self-concepts referred to earlier. In making this suggestion we do not wish to imply even remotely that Coloured people need accept the basic principle of apartheid. All that *is being suggested is that Coloured people, as a self-conscious and self-confident group, should pursue whatever local civic and political strategy and whichever alliances they see fit.* A greater degree of conscious articulation of group interests could do much to overcome the sense of impotence and powerlessness which appears to be characteristic of the community. It might also counteract the

intra-group cleavages and tension which characterise the community. We
are also not suggesting that a non-racial ideal should be relinquished. We
consider that a stability of identity improves communication among races,
and that non-racial brotherhood and sisterhood can emerge simultaneously
with a development of pride in identity. This would be the ultimate goal
of any programme aimed at the development of identity.

II. Social Problems

The problems of individual social isolation in the community referred
to earlier deserve consideration under this heading as well. They are
joined by a number of other problems which, in our judgement, are seriously
undermining morale in the area.

There are firstly the more visible problems of which any community
programme should take cognisance:

housing;
over-crowding;
circumstances of the overflow of Coloured people in adjacent Indian
  areas;
lack of playgrounds and other recreational facilities;
improvements needed in various services and amenities.

No less difficult to solve, however, are a range of less openly manifest
problems which include:

high alcohol intake;
disturbed marital relations pervasively distributed through the popula-
  tion;
inadequate family role performance by a substantial proportion of hus-
  bands and fathers;
premature school-leaving and/or truancy on a widespread scale;
unemployment and/or a disinclination to work at less-popular occupations;

evidence of dissolute, alienated youth and some extent of youth gang
formation.

III.   The Perception of Social Problems - Moral Consciousness in the Community

We have briefly outlined the rather substantial range of serious problems
which exist in the community. The dominant attitude of the community, how-
ever, is one of strictly conventional morality. Family virtues, respectability,
sobriety and decorum are highly valued. *The moral consciousness of a*
majority in the community is staid and conservative and, as a collectivity,
the group is therefore poorly equipped to confront its problems constructively,
with compassion and tolerance. Furthermore, the sharp contrast between be-
haviour and expectation is likely to produce a widespread sense of moral
failure, thus reinforcing the rigidity of outlook. Group work needs to be
undertaken in order to allow people in the area to become more reflective
and open in their approach to problems in their midst.

The same contradictions apply in the area of child-rearing and the
socialisation of young people. Parents are dominantly concerned with incul-
cating respectability and the success-ethic in their children. Signs of a
more expressively-oriented approach to child-training were rare. Yet the
children are beset with problems and conflicts which incline many of them to
dropping out of school, taking jobs which offer immediate reward, and, in
some cases to mild or serious delinquency. *With the orientation to child-*
rearing which people have, large proportions of parents, fathers in particular,
are probably very ill-equipped to respond appropriately and sympathetically to
the problems of their teenage children. In parenthesis, we should note that
many mothers are sympathetic as regards their children's problems, but with-
out a value system which would allow them to really understand the issues
that confront them, thereby causing themselves conflict.

In the approaches to these problems of community self-evaluation, the
church, hypothetically, can play an important part. The community, collec-
tively, must rank as the most religiously engaged suburb in the whole of
Durban. Yet, the quality of religious experience is, by and large, somewhat

pietistic, sentimental and escapist in flavour. *In their approach to religion, the people in the area tend to reflect a need to evade their day to day problems in their search for highly emotive religious experience. It would seem appropriate that church leaders and ministers be given encouragement and opportunities to consider the possible relevance of their parish activities to the troubled consciousness of their parishioners, not by offering only consolation and emotional relief, but also by exploring the possibilities of a more positive, supportive gospel in a community context.*

IV. Leadership

We have outlined how critical the issue of the quality of leadership can be for successful community development endeavour. We have also noted particular problems which Coloured and other Black leaders face in South Africa; problems which make it very difficult to fulfill appropriate leader roles. In interviews with leaders, these difficulties were freely acknowledged by the leaders themselves.

One of the problems is *a remarkable lack of leader recognition in the area.* Substantial proportions of people recognise no community leaders, and the leadership which is recognised, tends to be of a traditional community counsellor type, valuable in many respects but not likely to assist in community mobilisation. *Leaders and office-bearers in organisations were all too often seen as ineffectual, opinionated and too patronising in their manner of interacting with the ordinary people.*

Leadership is hampered by many objective factors; the extreme caution with which they have to operate being but one element. Leadership is also not fully representative. Although one does not expect leaders to be typical of rank and file members of the community, the absence of any effective working class or trade union-based leadership in a community which is dominantly composed of artisans is a signal failing. In view of the relatively deep cleavage which we have shown to exist between white-collar and blue-collar classes in the area, the function of leadership is possibly

impaired by a certain measure of social alienation from the community at large. *It seems clear that leaders and organised group life in the area should be complemented by accretions from hitherto unrepresented sections of the community.* In view of the large problems in self-concept and role behaviour which men have in the area, the stimulation of community initiative among working class men will be very difficult; albeit highly necessary.

Generally, the range of leaders interviewed was positively and constructively oriented in their attitudes to their role (or potential role). They were aware of the criticisms directed at them, and a substantial proportion accepted the input from the community which we were able to provide, in good spirit. The leaders saw the community as lacking an appropriate response to leadership as well, however. Their assessment was borne out by our own empirical work in the community.

People in the area are generally highly pessimistic about the possibility of change in their own civic and political affairs. They experience a sense of powerlessness and also show a poor civic morale. Their very powerlessness and pessimism causes them to deny the possibility of leaders being effective, hence leading to a withdrawal of interest in and support for leaders and community organisations. Leaders, on the other hand, have to operate outside of any effective formal civic context, which makes effective representations on behalf of the community well-nigh impossible.

Our assessment, and that of the leaders themselves, is that there is a potential community responsiveness to local civic issues, and that existing campaigns have shown considerable talent and initiative. It seems necessary for programmes to be run, initially of a simple and low-level kind, which will allow: 1) leaders and the community to interact more successfully than hitherto; 2) more representative spokesmen and women for the area to be drawn into the leader circle; 3) leaders to demonstrate the ability to achieve some success; and 4) the sense of pointlessness about organised community endeavour among both leaders and the rest of the community to be combatted.

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V. The Type of Community Development Programme Indicated

The range of our findings leaves us in no doubt that the community we have studied is highly complex, manifesting problems in sufficient variety to counter-indicate any of the more popular, single-stranded approaches to community development. Clearly, there is room for what is termed a *"mobilisation"* approach, since the community tends to have many organisations (particularly religious organisations) but these are hardly interconnected at all, let alone community-oriented and interested in common themes. There is a great deal to be done in bringing the community together and stimulating and encouraging the kind of leadership which could assist in this.

There is also room for an *"action-oriented"* approach, since there are areas of problems in the community which call for certain kinds of campaigns as well as representations to the authorities on matters pertaining to local problems in the area.

The people in the area also, however, have displayed a number of signs of poor morale, somewhat self-defeating perceptions of their situation, and a range of shared personal and social barriers to meaningful interaction with one another. This order of problem calls for a combined approach, involving *educational techniques* and what may be termed *"therapeutically directed" group programmes*, guided by professional people.

Finally, we have noted that the community is almost completely lacking in any economic activity which is rooted in the area. Attention must be given to the possibility of developing the vacant business sites in the area, in such a way as to give the people in the area a sense of involvement in whatever venture is launched, as well as to provide an inexpensive and sound service to the community.

It is to an examination of the needs and possibilities for the type of comprehensive approach suggested above that we turn our attention in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER XIII

TOWARDS A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

In the last section we pointed out that multiple strategy seemed indi-
cated for the area. The results and analysis in previous chapters suggest
that the following elements be incorporated in a community development con-
cept:

I. A campaign approach involving the leadership in the area and involving
the mobilisation of organisations and groups in community endeavour.

II. A programme aimed at fostering economic development among people in
the area.

III. A "consciousness" and "values" programme, run on a group basis aimed
at encouraging perceptions of the local situation most compatible with the
solution of local problems.

IV. An educational approach aimed at providing opportunities for self im-
provement and community betterment.

V. A "clinical" approach, also preferably on a group basis aimed at
alleviating some of the widespread individual problems which impair community
functioning.

VI. A programme aimed at the improvement of the quality and quantity of
recreational and social facilities in the area.

VII. A programme of spiritual and religious education which is both intrin-
sically enriching and which is appropriate to developmental and emotional
needs.

In general, all these programmes should be approached in such a way as

to achieve maximum community participation and be based in their detailed aspects on community initiative. We have been impressed by the considerable amount of latent commitment and initiative in the community, particularly among the women. The community is also well served by a network of church organisations which, if co-operatively organised, could sustain a great deal of community based developmental activity.

I. THE CAMPAIGN APPROACH AND COMMUNITY MOBILISATION

In thinking of a campaign approach, political issues immediately spring to mind. A large part of the community's problems derives from its political disadvantage. Some redress for the lack of political power must be sought. It needs to be stated immediately, however, that many forms of political activity that spring to mind would be naive and dangerous. Great caution and wisdom is required in designing an approach in this area.

The political issues to which leadership in the community must give attention are mainly of a local nature - housing shortages, under-provision of educational facilities for high school children and transport facilities. These hardly deserve the term political issue; rather they are civic issues, of a type to which ratepayers' associations and burgess's associations traditionally give attention. We will comment on these in due course.

There is one issue, however, which may be rather more controversial. Here we refer to the need for the modification of the Group Areas provisions for Coloured people within the Durban Borough. (The Durban Burough is the largest and most centrally situated municipal area in the metropolitan region. Although land and housing is to be made available on the outskirts of the metropolitan area, a critical need for a better dispensation for Coloureds exists within the Borough.) Two solutions to the Group Areas problem are possible. The one is that residential street blocks in White areas adjacent to Sparks Estate be opened to Coloured occupation on a progressive basis, and that normal market forces dictate the pace of movement outwards. A second possible solution is for a Coloured area to be demarcated in the Cato Manor area which, although planned for Whites and Upper middle

class Indians, could conceivably accommodate a Coloured residential neigh-
bourhood.

A third solution would be to repeal the Group Areas legislation, at
least as it affects certain parts of the country, but speculation on this
issue is probably premature.

No change to the existing Group Areas provisions can be expected unless
the community makes its voice heard. Direct appeals to the authorities from
within the Coloured community alone are likely to be unsuccessful. What
seems indicated here is an exploration of the problem with relevant White
ratepayers' associations and other local White groups.

It is our opinion that attitudes of White residents of the inner Durban
Borough have changed sufficiently to make amicable consultation possible.
This is an issue which should preferably not be publicly linked with broader
political objectives. It should be concentrated on the matter of the Group
Areas Act and its effects in Durban alone. Needless to say, a success in
this venture, if achieved, will have wider implications. Any programme
should be stripped of all political symbolism and should not be seen as a
platform for people regarded by the authorities as "militants". Therefore,
a great deal of preparatory work should be carried out to work for wide-
spread agreement in the area, particularly among the myriad small organi-
sations currently active in their particular spheres. Since agreement might
not easily be forthcoming, the programme just suggested should be preceded
by a lower-key programme, involving a much more mundane issue like, for
example, public transport facilities, or playgrounds for children.

It will be the community's right to choose whatever issue or issues it
sees fit. Our suggestions regarding the Group Areas Act may or may not find
favour. We fully acknowledge that it is not our purpose to impose suggestions
on the people concerned.

We are convinced, however, that in matters of the civic interest of
people in the area (housing, recreational facilities, transport facilities,

Group Areas etc.) nothing will be achieved until the community participates to bring about change.

1.1 The Role of Leaders and Organisations

The following seem to be the requirements as regards leadership in the area:

1) Different leader groups should come together to share in discussion and decision-making from the outset.

2) These leader groups should attempt to supplement their ranks by representatives of people in blue-collar occupations, who are presently under-represented.

3) Leader groups will have to find ways to liaise publicly with the community at large, perhaps in meetings which take the form of "workshops" with discussion-groups in order to facilitate feedback to leaders.

· 4) Leader groups should take account of and co-opt representatives of church, sporting and other specific interest organisations in the area.

5) In this way it should be possible to work towards community co-herence in the formulation of community goals, so that the public feels itself to be fully part of the decision-making process.

6) Accompanying all these possible moves, however, there should be available to leaders and other selected individuals a series of leadership training and briefing sessions, run by a group of experts. In these sessions, problems of leadership as well as problems in the community should be analysed and discussed.

1.2 The Benefits of Coalitions

Whatever objectives for a campaign are selected, the initial goals should be relatively easily attainable, so as to attempt to promote high morale on a continuing basis. Furthermore, the general principle of avoiding confrontation but seeking coalitions with, or the co-operation of, certain influential groups from other communities (Whites and Indians) should be scrupulously pursued. Turning to the White or Indian public at large, in a carefully planned approach, could gain valuable moral and

practical support for any campaigns.

These programmes or campaigns may possibly commence after a group of leaders and representatives of organisations have met and considered this report and recommendations. From early on, members of the community at large should be kept fully informed of progress, and given opportunities to give feedback and voice dissent or support.

1.3 A Community Newsletter

For this latter purpose, the establishment of a Community Newsletter is of cardinal importance. One of the organisations in the area could perhaps undertake the production, with support from the others. The Newsletter could, of course, be used to publicise other aspects of the overall Community Development programme as well.

II. AN ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

We know that the community as a whole is not living in depths of impoverishment. There are, however, pockets of serious poverty in the area. Furthermore, the community generally buys outside the area, leading to a massive "leakage" of resources out of the area. People in the area are also not ideally placed to buy food at the most competitive supermarkets, most of which are nearer to town some distance away from Sparks Estate. We may also add that despite an impressive array of artisan skills in the area, few small service industries are owned and operated by Coloured people.

An economic programme for the area should consider all these aspects. Ultimately there should be Coloured-owned retail outlets in the area operating at competitive prices. There should be ways in which poor people can get credit easily - perhaps even be entitled to certain items of food at cost prices. The latter would be particularly important in the case of widows, pensioners and also for those families who live below a certain minimum level of material security.

2.1 Retailing Development

We would suggest that consideration be given to starting to plan for the establishment of a limited liability public company which could accept investments (share capital) from people in the area, obtain loan capital, establish a trading operation in Sparks Estate operating under a Board of Directors drawn from those making significant contributions to its establishment. The aim of such a trading operation might be to offer a range of household and other goods at competitive prices, as well as providing certain foodstuffs at cost to people able to satisfy a screening committee of their neediness. A proportion of profits should be paid to shareholders in the normal way, but hopefully capital will accumulate for reinvestment in linked ventures. The co-operation and advice of established business houses should be sought. The possibility of establishing a partnership-based "bipartite" company with a major retailer could be explored.

This, obviously, is a very large undertaking, and a lead has to be taken by Coloured people in the area who have some capital at their disposal. The task of the community programme would be to identify these people, bring them together for initial discussions, put them in contact with appropriate advisors and the Coloured Development Corporation, and to arouse interest for the venture in the community at large.

2.2 Service Industry Development

An approach should be made to the Coloured Development Corporation for advice on how to stimulate entrepreneurship in the field of service industry. If a trading venture is established, possibly the CDC could provide loan finance for erecting a retail and service centre, from which small entrepreneurs could operate. Business training could be provided by an organisation like the Urban Foundation, which might assist in other ways as well. Advertising of services to Durban as a whole should be dealt with on an integrated basis for all operations in the centre. Shared bookkeeping, typing and other services could be considered. This latter type of operation should, of course, only be considered after the building industry and

the economy generally recover sufficiently to create a healthy demand for
the kind of services likely to be offered.

2.3 A Sparks Estate Commercial Centre

As part of the two types of programmes outlined above, consideration
should be given to the development of a commercial centre for the area.
Also included in a centre could be a cinema able to double-up as a theatre.
There should be space in a shopping mall for exhibitions, meetings and
informal congregation points. There should be provision for an advertising
kiosk-cum-information box where a representative of the community programme
could provide advice and a referral service.

This broad venture has to be very carefully planned, and it is suggested
that interested members of the community form a committee, on to which mem-
bers of the Department of Business Administration, University of Natal as well
as the CDC could be co-opted. At a later stage an experienced architect
should join the committee to help plan the building concept involved.

III. THE CONSCIOUSNESS AND VALUES PROGRAMME

and,

IV. THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME

3/4.1 Needs as Perceived in the Community

These two possible programmes really belong together as separate aspects
of a single programme.

When the respondents in our survey were asked whether or not they con-
sidered programmes in the field of community affairs necessary, only 21%
replied to the effect that programmes were not required. Of the nearly 80%
who considered that programmes of various kinds were necessary, over one-
half felt strongly in favour of programme development. When asked to suggest

particular needs and interests, the following order of community priorities
emerged:

Adult education	16%
Marriage guidance, sex education and childrearing guidance	14%
Housing programmes	13%
Consciousness-raising programmes	13%
Youth development	8%
Handicraft and domestic skills training	7%
Recreational programmes	7%
Drug, alcoholism and health programmes	6%
Employment conditions and wages programmes	4%
Religious programmes	3%

The vast majority of people who showed an interest in the programmes
also indicated a willingness to participate.

Quite clearly from the responses given, the community has an interest
in new knowledge and an interest in advice on how to tackle its major problems.
We can say without hesitation that there is a receptiveness in the community
to programmes which will enable people to cope with their environment more
adequately and to improve their environment.

Other results have indicated two major kinds of needs: the first being
a need for educational and informational input as such and the second being
activities which are likely to improve people's understanding of the prob-
lems and the people's ability to respond appropriately to the problems. We
will first discuss the educational input.

3/4.2 The Educational Programme

Both the University of Natal and the University of Durban-Westville
are equipped and probably willing to mount specialised adult education pro-
grammes desired by community groups. Other bodies, like the South African
Council for Adult Education (SACHED) could also provide resources. The
first step is for community interest groups to meet and to define their

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concerns, the level of information required and the intensity of courses. These groups could then be put in touch with relevant resource organisations to discuss their requirements.

It seems pointless for ongoing adult educational activity to limit the benefits to the Sparks Estate community only. Inasmuch as the programmes could be of great interest to some members of other race groups, there seems no reason why courses of the type envisaged run at a community facility in Sparks Estate should not draw from a wider social catchment. This will enable the Sparks Estate community to take a positive step in building bridges to surrounding population groups. This type of activity in the past has been the sole prerogative of Whites, providing events in White areas to which small proportions of other races have come. It is high time that this process be reversed. Whites in Durban are scarcely aware of the Coloured community and their unawareness is matched only by false stereotypes. Some years ago, Bishop Manas Buthelezi suggested that Blacks should take the initiative in the religious field and take the Gospel to the Whites. Hitherto his call has not been heeded, but what we envisage here is a similar principle in adult education.

3/4.3 Continuing Formal Education and the School Drop-out Rate

Another serious problem in the area is the high school drop-out rate. It seems to be partly due to the inconvenient siting of high school facilities for the community. However, it undoubtedly has other features as well. We would suggest: 1) that as part of the programme the Centre for Applied Social Sciences conduct further research into the causes of the abnormally high school drop-out rate and lack of pupil enthusiasm for higher education; 2) that thereafter a workshop of teachers be convened to meet with invited experts and to consider the problem and the results of research; 3) that the parents educational committee be encouraged to continue its efforts to speed up the erection of a new high school in the area; and 4) that the possibility be explored, with other organisations in Durban, including the Urban Foundation, of establishing a modified equivalent of the now defunct "People's College", a school curriculum-based correspondence

education programme formerly run by the World newspaper before its banning.
Durban needs such a programme for all races, and Sparks Estate people who
have interrupted their schooling prematurely could benefit enormously from
such a venture.

3/4.4 The Consciousness Programme

In answering our questions on the type of programmes seen as being
needed, the community has demonstrated considerable interest in what we refer
to broadly as the "consciousness programme". The particular interests of the
community are in things like "self-help", political information, community
solidarity programmes, the interpretation and understanding of community
problems, etc.

Our research, we believe, has demonstrated inter alia:
 a) a rather restrictive moral consciousness which probably makes it
difficult for people to understand and deal with their own problems and per-
ceived failings;

 b) a rather uncreative attitude to childrearing and child-socialisation;

 c) serious marital communication problems.

A part of the programme should aim at providing all groups in the com-
munity (mainly church groups), with literature, information, films, slide
shows and lectures on the topics of deviance, drugs, alcoholism, marriage
relations, sex, etc. This leads us to the next point.

3/4.4.1 A Communications Unit should be set up within the programme in
order to find or develop information and resources to feed through to the
community. The aim would be to encourage a healthy, balanced and mature
outlook on problems in the area, without the marked tendency to deny and
repress issues which seems to exist at present.

3/4.4.2 In Chatsworth, among the Indian community, there is operating cur-
rently an Early Learning Programme, designed to assist underprivileged
parents to adopt the kind of approach to early child rearing which will

improve creativity, sound adjustment and educational performance as the
children grow up. We suggest that the programme in Sparks Estate should
study developments in Chatsworth closely with a view to establishing parent-
groups emulating some of the procedures adopted.

3/4.4.3 Group Identity. While we did not set out in this report to test
the so-called "Marginality thesis", it seems broadly clear that perceptions
of group identity are complex and problematic in Sparks Estate. There is
variation between a "White oriented" identity, a pride in Coloured group
belongness, and a nascent "Black Consciousness" in the area. It is our firm
conviction that while "White" and "Black" oriented consciousness may be
very attractive and compelling to different groups among our target group,
both these alternatives must ultimately exacerbate marginality in the com-
munity. In fact, communication with other groups and a healthy sense of
self-worth will be facilitated by the fuller emergence of a distinct "Brown
Consciousness". We wish to discourage firmly any interpretation placed on
our suggestion that we are either espousing apartheid or a radical political
consciousness (as Black Consciousness is accused of having become). We are
suggesting this orientation only as a basis for a sense of self-worth,
dignity and mature assertiveness. We make this suggestion in the full
knowledge that it may be presumptuous of us to speak on this topic; we there-
fore hope that our comments will be accepted as the tentative observations
of academics interested in stimulating debate rather than in prescribing a
particular viewpoint.

There are many ways in which an 'identity' programme can be approached.
Group discussions, discussions of relevant literature, films, debating
forums etc., are all appropriate methods. The exact shape of the programme
will have to emerge out of a consideration of the topic within the community,
but it is of basic importance and should not be delayed.

We intend undertaking fuller analyses of our data on this topic and
also collecting additional data. This will be fed into the programme when
it is available.

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V. A CLINICAL PROGRAMME

In the previous section we touched on some problems which are suffi-
ciently severe to warrant a more intensive approach than that already out-
lined. Here we refer particularly to the signs of severe marital disharmony
and/or role problems in marriages. We also draw attention, albeit tenta-
tively, to the results of our three indices of emotional response patterns,
which showed what appears at face value to be considerable difficulties in
the area of emotional adjustment.

Clearly then, if we accept these results as a working basis, a clinical
service is required in the area. Individual psychotherapy would be too ex-
pensive and time-consuming to be practical. Group therapy sessions should
be an offer to the community.

 The following steps are suggested:

(1) We will refer our findings to a Clinical Psychologist for reinter-
pretation and for suggestions as to further research if necessary.

(2) If warranted, the programme must attempt to acquire the services
of at least one part-time Clinical Psychologist to be available to run
group therapy at various venues in the area.

(3) The Clinical Psychologist should give training in group discussion
techniques to social workers in the area, who have considerable relevant
training to begin with. The social workers should be encouraged to in-
corporate as much group work in their programmes as possible.

(4) The Clinical Psychologist should be consulted in regard to
the form of the adult education programmes (section III/IV above) in order
that content relevant to the psychological problems in the area be appro-
priate and avoid harmful effects.

VI. RECREATIONAL AND SOCIAL AMENITIES

This is an area, par excellence, where a "self-help" approach is called
for. There is a need for day care facilities for children, for better

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equipment in playgrounds, for better protection of public places against vandals and youth gangs, for indoor recreational amenities, and the like.

Firstly, there is an abundance of building skill in the area. Groups of men could provide voluntary labour to erect buildings if fundraising can provide the wherewithal for materials, plans, sites, staffing, etc. Fundraising drives obviously should extend beyond the Sparks Estate community itself.

Many of the inhibitions to social movement at night and other problems caused by youth gangs could be effectively combated if mature men were to organise a group or groups, seek advice, guidance and training, and without violence disperse troublesome streetcorner loiterer groups at night. A show of determination will be quite sufficient to discourage any resistance and trouble from youth gangs. The problem is not so serious that voluntary activity along these lines could not solve the problem. It may mean that some men in the community should receive training as police reservists. This, however, is an issue best left for consideration by the community itself.

It should be a clear aim, however, to provide as soon as possible indoor venues for evening entertainment for the teenage and young adults in the population. A well organised clubhouse, games room, snooker saloon and coffee bar complex in the proposed centre would be an appropriate development. This kind of activity would have to be well-supervised, however.

6.1 Community Self-Surveys

Before embarking on any self-help activity, the interested groups should initiate "community self-surveys" to find out in detail what local residents desire or need in the way of facilities. Detailed advice can be obtained from the Centre for Applied Social Sciences. (See later comments on a community self-survey.)

VII. A RELIGIOUS PROGRAMME

We will not make suggestions as to the content of a religious programme because this is beyond our field of knowledge and experience. Suffice to say that we consider that many aspects of the quality of religious experience provide the community with great resources and strength, but that certain other aspects, as we have outlined, probably encourage an evasive or escapist consciousness. We would simply suggest that groups of ministers, priests, sisters and lay leaders in churches be organised to meet and discuss our report, and that they give consideration to arranging a series of workshops on both fundamental theological issues and on community-based theology, on an ecumenical basis, with emphasis on the relevance of the Gospel to community issues.

VIII. THE ORGANISATION, PHASING AND STAFFING OF A PROGRAMME

We see the following elements and practical steps as being necessary in order to attempt to realise the aims of the programme.

8.1 The Co-ordinator/Organiser

It is abundantly clear from our foregoing comments that a fairly complex and multi-faceted programme is called for. The interlocking of the various aspects, quite apart from the detailed organisation required, indicates that an effective co-ordinating role be established. The co-ordinator/organiser need not really be any particular kind of professional (since professional community developers do not exist in South Africa). Keynote personal requirements would be (ideally) enthusiasm, an openness and frankness with people, persuasiveness, interviewing ability, bookkeeping ability, typing ability, public-speaking ability, conceptual abilities and physical stamina. The person should preferably be Coloured but this is not mandatory in our view - talent is perhaps more important. Theoretical training could be provided by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences in co-operation with other bodies.

A first task of the co-ordinator should be to establish a <u>Community</u>
<u>Newsletter</u>.

8.2 A Social Worker

A social worker would be an essential part of the programme, since
social group work with an emphasis on the social problems in the area is
likely to be an ongoing and important aspect of the programme. In view of
legislation currently before Parliament, it seems that it may become man-
datory to employ a fully-qualified and registered social worker. Ideally,
this role should be distinct from that of co-ordinator/organiser, but
funding will probably dictate a merging of the roles, at least in the ini-
tial stages of the programme. It goes without saying that a clinical or
counselling psychologist would do very well in this role, but such people
are not likely to be available.

8.3 Mobilisation in the Community

8.3.1 The Co-ordination of Existing Groups and Leaders

The foregoing discussion has made it quite clear that we envisage an
immediate possibility of commencing a programme by bringing together existing
leader figures and organisations, inviting them to read this report, and to
commence discussions on goals, co-operation and on strategy. This aspect
of the work should ideally await the appointment of a full-time co-ordinator
but some of it could commence beforehand. The content of the various possible
sub-programmes has already been discussed.

8.3.2 The Mobilisation of the Grass Roots

We have indicated that existing leadership has to be supplemented by
additional representatives. This aim, as well as the overriding aim of keep-
ing the community fully informed and as fully involved as possible requires
very definite strategies for the mobilisation of the ordinary people (or at
least some of them). Apart from the Community Newsletter, the following

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procedures are suggested:

(a) Community Self-Surveys. A modification of a well-known technique
is put forward as a suggestion. The idea would be to start off with exist-
ing leaders and community contacts. Ask them each to do one group dis-
cussion with 8 - 10 people in their immediate vicinity on topics of general
interest (the need for recreational and social amenities springs to mind).
Invite the members of this first stage of group interviewing to come to a
central meeting point where feedback on results is given, and the interview
subjects are given training to conduct further group discussions with their
own contacts in their vicinity. While this is in progress the co-ordinator
should be on the alert to any new leadership talent among the people inter-
viewed. This process is continued until a substantial number of articulate
community representatives ($\pm$ 20 - 50) is available. Then the mode of
operation should change and the final group selected go out again as indi-
viduals to run groups, this time not to seek new recruits, but to discuss
ideas for the implementation of programmes. The group of people thus re-
cruited becomes a basic community contact/resource group to be assiduously
cultivated throughout the programme (with renewals and new recruits from
time to time, of course). It is from this echelon of people that new re-
cruits to community leadership could be drawn.

(b) A Community Fair and Competition. At a somewhat later stage, a
competition should be organised, open to all, in which written suggestions
for community improvement will be adjudicated by an outside panel. Prize
money (1st, 2nd and 3rd prizes) will be substantial ($\pm$ R750, R350, R150
x 3 etc.). A community Fair would be organised with a band, dancing, vo-
lunteer prepared refreshments, exhibitions of community work, trade exhibits,
etc. (Spnsorship from private enterprise could be canvassed.) At this Fair,
the winning suggestions for community improvement could be publicly presented,
and volunteers sought for the implementation of one or two of the programmes.

The Fair could also be the first major exposure of the programme to the
community and vice versa. With a sufficient number of trade exhibits it
might prove to be repeatable on an annual basis, at no cost to the programme

or community.

(c) A Slide Show on this Report and on the Programme. The Communications Group or Unit (suggested earlier) should prepare a slide show on the community, on our research project and on the proposed programme. This show could be taken round to various groups (church groups, youth groups, etc.) and at the close of the show the programme could be discussed and volunteers invited to participate in further work.

(d) A Précis of this Report with Illustrations. The communications group should prepare extracts from this report, add appropriate illustrations, and send the finished product out to all respondents and to others in the community. The précis should contain a tear-out section at the end for people to send in comments, suggestions and offers of assistance.

(e) Specialised Groups. Many of the issues discussed earlier require exposure not to the community at large but to special interest groups with special problems.

The newsletter could be used to recruit interest, but the groups existing as part of church organisations in the area could also be canvassed.

8.4 Liaison with other Organisations

A number of the specific projects suggested require that co-operative ventures be set up with other organisations in the Durban area. Below is a list of suggestions:

Church leaders	(Religious programme/general)
Save Our Homes Committee	(Housing)
Mental Health Society	(Clinical programme)
Medical School	(Health education)
Dept. of Health	(Health education)
University of Natal/Durban Westville	(Adult education)
U.S. Information Service	(Adult education)
Technical Colleges	(Adult education)

S.A. Institute of Race Relations	(Group areas programme)
S.A. Institute of Race Relations	(Communication with neighbour communities)
Inkatha	(Self-help programmes)
Sundumbili C.D. Association - Isithebe	(Self-help programmes)
Chatsworth Early Learning Centre	(Clinical programme - child training)
Child Assessment Centre	(Child training)
Diakonia	(General)
Natal Chamber of Industries	(Work/employment/wages)
Urban Foundation	(General)
Wentworth Community Programme (University of Natal)	(Co-operation)

We give the suggestions merely to illustrate the kind of liaison and co-operation which can be established. Obviously, many more organisations will spring to mind as the programme progresses.

8.5 General Comments

This programme must have comprehensive participation. If it falls dominantly into the hands of either a conservative, hyper-respectable group of community busybodies or, alternatively, into the hands of an unrepresentative activist minority, it will surely fail. Hence we have taken great pains in our suggestions to ensure that widespread participation is obtained.

From one of our suggestions in the previous section it will be realised that complete openness is required. Officials in the Departments of Coloured Affairs, Community Development, Social Welfare and Pensions, Coloured Education and other authorities should be kept fully informed and relevant figures be allowed to participate.

8.6 Funding, Duration and Continuation

It is suggested that funds be sought for a period of 5 years. During this time a programme and projects will have time to become established as

part of the life of the community. Although an initial 3 year funding period
will also be practical, difficulties will be experienced thereafter in main-
taining the continuity of operations.

In the final year of the funding period, systematic steps will have to
be undertaken to:

1) obtain ongoing finance for a co-ordinator and a social worker;

2) find individuals who are able to set up and lead stable ongoing
standing committees to run the various projects; but individuals of a type
who will be prepared to make way for alternative leadership;

3) establish a council of patrons composed of people well-known in
Durban, to work for the interests of the project. (Note: the sooner a
council of patrons can be established the better.)

8.7 The Centre of Activities

Our remarks in the preceding section have generally assumed that the
community will be provided with a Community Centre, a Hall and Offices. We
are aware of certain fundraising attempts at the moment.

It should be noted that any successful programme requires a conveniently
situated and well-equipped Centre. Without this, a programme has to operate
without a "nerve centre" as it were. Communication, organisation and feed-
back are enormously facilitated by adequate programme premises. It is thus
absolutely essential that funds be obtained for the establishment of at least
a small Centre, accommodating three or more offices, a committee room, a
counselling room and a small hall. The latter three rooms need not necessar-
ily have fixed walls; a system of partitions in a hall could achieve the
required subdivision of space allowing for flexibility of use as needs change.

8.8 In Conclusion

The programme we have outlined may seem very ambitious for a small com-
munity which is not one of the most underprivileged residential groups in
our city. We are aware of this, but we are in no way apologetic about the

elaborateness of our proposals.

We have seen very many community projects fail because of naive assumptions that community participation would be forthcoming simply because of the merits of a project. Community participation requires planning and organisation of a highly sophisticated kind, and it requires offering many attractions for many different kinds of people. We will not be enthusiastic about any half-baked attempts to launch something with a minimum of planning and back-up and with only hope and faith to steer the project. A certain amount of optimism is necessary, but we would plead for an adequate context for such optimism and for thorough planning and preparation.

We are also fully aware that all this endeavour may be better situated in Kwa Mashu or Wentworth. We have considered this, and believe that our basic decision about the suitability of Sparks Estate is correct. It is a community which provides many of the preconditions for success. It is also an area which contains many of the infinitely complex problems experienced by Black communities as they begin to rise out of poverty and deprivation - problems which are often among the most intractable.

Above all, Sparks Estate is centrally located and an open-shop window for other communities. In part we see the programme in Sparks Estate as a "demonstration" project which will be emulated elsewhere. The area is also favourably located to communicate across the race barriers into neighbouring White and Indian areas. This is vital for the overall future stability and prosperity of our city.

At this time of a great deal of debate about the quality of urban life, we believe our suggestions set out some of the minimum requirements for transforming our separate racial areas from what are tantamount to planned ghettoes into dynamic and vital communities.

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APPENDIX I

SPARKS ESTATE - SYDENHAM

RESOURCES GUIDE

SYDENHAM - SPARKS ESTATE AREA SURVEY*

RESIDENTIAL CARE   TELEPHONE

1.   St. Philomena's Home for Girls
      100 Rippon Road
      Sydenham
      DURBAN
      4091   889888

2.   St. Theresa's Home for Boys
      St. Theresa's Road
      Sparks Estate
      DURBAN
      4091   888566

3.   St. Thoma's Home (Infants - 6 years)
      12 Williamson Place
      Sparks Estate
      DURBAN
      4091   886002

4.   Clifford Voysey Home for the Blind
      11 Williamson Place
      Sparks Estate
      DURBAN
      4091   888897

5.   St. Gabriel's Home for Unmarried Mothers
      Williamson Place
      Sparks Estate
      DURBAN
      4091   882840

6.   St. Michael's Home for Ladies (Hostel)
      Wragg Road
      Sparks Estate
      DURBAN
      4091   881681

7.   Mary Asher Home for Aged
      Williamson Place
      Sparks Estate
      DURBAN
      4091   881956

*   Where telephone numbers are not listed, unavailable at time of printing.

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TELEPHONE

8. Nellie Thompson Hostel for Ladies
    Randles Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   882090

9. Blessed Martin de Porres (Hostel for Ladies)
    St. Theresa's Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   883377

10. Nelson Hall (Y.W.C.A.)
    Randles Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091

11. Stanraer House for Ladies (Hostel)
    Randles Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   882032

12. Bethshan Children's Home
    (Assemblies of God)
    155 Brickfield Road
    Overport
    DURBAN
    4091   882281

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS (Churches etc.)	TELEPHONE

1.   St. Anne's R.C. Church
Randles Road
Sydenham
DURBAN
4091   881923

2.   St. Theresa's R.C. Church
St. Theresa's Road
Sparks Estate
DURBAN
4091   888566

3.   Methodist Church
Barns Road
Sparks Estate
DURBAN
4091

4.   Church of Christ
Barns Road
Sparks Estate
DURBAN
4091   887103

5.   Seventh Day Adventists
Michan Road
Sparks Estate
DURBAN
4091

6.   First United Pentescopal Church
Michan Road
Sparks Estate
DURBAN
4091   881791

7.   West Durban Baptist Church
Spearman Road
Sparks Estate
DURBAN
4091

8.   Dutch Reformed Church
Cornelius Road
Sparks Estate
DURBAN
4091

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| PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION/CARE | TELEPHONE |

1. St. Thomas Nursery School
    12 Williamson Place
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   886002

2. Durban Coloured Memory Community Centre Creche
    St. Theresa's Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   885058

3. Get Me Ready Nursery School
    c/o St. Anne's Church
    Randles Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN   Home: Mrs. Gulston 888897
    4091   School c/o 881923

4. Durban Coloured Memorial Community Centre
     Nursery School
    St. Theresa's Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   885058

5. Our Little People's Nursery School
    c/o St. Gabriel's Hostel
    Williamson Place
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   885058

6. Tiny Tots Pre-school Centre for the Deaf
    c/o D.C.M.C. Centre
    St. Theresa's Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   885058

7. Little People's Creche (Mrs. E. Martin)
    47 Michan Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   884083

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| MEDICAL AND AUXILIARY SERVICES etc. | TELEPHONE |

1.   City Health Clinic
     St. Theresa's Road
     Sparks Estate
     DURBAN
     4091

2.   Dr. L.I. Robertson
     300 Sparks Road
     Sparks Estate
     DURBAN
     4091   886060

3.   Dr. R. Green-Thompson
     420 Randles Road
     Sydenham
     DURBAN
     4091   884432

4.   Dr. C. Green-Thompson
     14 Everton Road
     Sydenham   (King Edward Hospital)
     DURBAN
     4091   884636

5.   Dr. B.G. Pillay
     324 Randles Road
     Sparks Estate
     DURBAN
     4091   888406

6.   Dr. Rana
     cnr. Lavery Crescent and Randles Road
     Sparks Estate
     DURBAN
     4091

7.   Dr. C. Reddy
     cnr. Sparks and Randles Roads
     Sparks Estate
     DURBAN
     4091

8.   Shifa Hospital
     482 Randles Road
     Sparks Estate
     DURBAN
     4091   886911

9.   King George V Hospital
     Stanley-Copley Drive,
     Dormerton
     DURBAN
     4051   882921

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PEOPLE IN CHARGE OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS etc.	TELEPHONE

1. Mr. M.M. Renton
    Inspector of Education
    1 Methodist Road
    Sydenham
    DURBAN
    4091   884820

2. Mr. H.H. Africa
    Inspector of Special Subjects (Psychology)
    9 Barns Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   885044

3. Mr. R.P. Gulston (Principal)
    134 Mary Road   (Charles Hugo)
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   888853

4. Mr. J. Jacobs (Principal)
    Umbilo Road School
    Residence: Randles Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091

5. Mr. W.I. van der Merwe (Principal)
    21 Saunders Road   Epsom Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   884603

6. Mr. D.L. Rampono (Rector-Bechet)
    67 Michan Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   885682

7. Mr. E.P. Smith (Principal)
    Sparks Road   St. Theresa's
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   889477

8. Mr. A. Jimmie (Principal)
    Sparks Road   (Mt. Edgecombe)
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091

TELEPHONE

9.   Mr. G. Lewis (Principal)
Raftery Crescent   Greenwood Park
Sparks Estate
DURBAN
4091   832908

10.   Mr. S. Kirsten (Principal)
429 Randles Road   Briardene
Sydenham
DURBAN
4091   886066

11.   Mr. Theo Lundall (Principal)
c/o 382 Sparks Road   Parkhill High
DURBAN
4091   883275

QUALIFIED SOCIAL WORKERS   TELEPHONE

1.   Mrs. J. Charles
          Everton Road
          Sparks Estate
          DURBAN
          4091   c/o 886602

2.   Mr. H.H. Africa
          c/o Coloured Affairs
          9 Barns Road
          Sparks Estate
          DURBAN
          4091   885044

3.   Mrs. S. Andipatin
          Waterfall Road
          Sparks Estate
          DURBAN
          4091   883887

CULTURAL BODIES AND SPORTS BODIES	TELEPHONE

1. Elaine Jenny School of Ballet and Speech
    and Drama
    (Miss Elaine Williams - Ballet teacher)
    (Miss Jennifer Africa - Speech and Drama)
    c/o Durban Coloured Memorial Community Centre
    St. Theresa's Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   885058

2. Bernard School of Dancing
    c/o Durban Coloured Memorial Community Centre
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   885058

3. AFTEM (Association for the Encouragement of
    Musicians) (An organisation aiming at up-
    lifting Black entertainers)
    President - Mr. Mike Stainbank
    c/o Durban Coloured Memorial Community Centre
    St. Theresa's Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   885058

4. Ego Khan Judo Club
    (Mr. D. Stoltenkamp)
    313 Randles Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091

    Venue: D.C.M. Community Centre   885058

5. Sparks Boxing Club
    Mr. D. Oakes
    37 Michan Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091

    Venue: D.C.M. Community Centre   883134

6. Verona H.M.P. Club
    (Gymnastics and Athletics)
    Mr. W. Masters (Secretary)
    353 Sparks Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091

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TELEPHONE

7. Tills Crescent Tennis Association
    Chairman: Mr. R. Wentworth
    12 Saunders Road
    Sparks Estate
    DURBAN
    4091   885592

8. Durban & District Cricket Association
    Tills Crescent Grounds
    (Chairman: Mr. A. Rose)
    c/o Epsom Road Primary School
    Epsom Road
    DURBAN
    4091

9. Soccer: Durban Central Football Association
    Chairman: Mr. G. Bailey
    c/o Bechet College

    Some teams:
    1.   Spearman Lads
    2.   Nashville
    3.   Durban Suburbs
    4.   Arsenal
    5.   Butcherville
    6.   Rovers
    7.   Aces
    8.   Mayfair Country
    9.   Lags
    10.   Sydenham United
    11.   Spearman United
    12.   Carlston
    13.   Cape Celtic

YOUTH CLUBS   TELEPHONE

1.   Cygnet Youth Club
            c/o St. John's Hall
            (Miss Gail Richards)
            Rippon Primary School
            Sydenham
            DURBAN
            4091

2.   St. Theresa's Boy Scouts
            St. Theresa's Hall
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

3.   St. Anne's Youth Club (Capricorn)
            St. Anne's R.C. Church Hall
            Randles Road
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

4.   St. John's Rangers and Guides
            St. John's Anglican Church
            Rippon Road
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

5.   St. Anne's Rangers
            St. Anne's R.C. Church
            Randles Road
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

6.   St. Theresa's Girl Guides
            c/o St. Anne's R.C. Church
            Randles Road
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

7.   St. Francis Boy Scouts
            St. Theresa's Home
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY WORKERS   TELEPHONE

1.   Mr. E.G. Rooks
            Commissioner of Oaths
            Saunders Road
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

2.   Mr. E.P. Smith - L.A.C.
            Chairman
            Labour Party of South Africa (Natal Branch)
            Sparks Road
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

3.   Mr. D.C. Young M.R.C. (Labour Party) and L.A.C.
            Randles Road
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

4.   Sister G. Lawler
            National Council of Coloured Women
            Williamson Place
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

5.   Mrs. Meintjies
            National Council of Coloured Women
            Cornelius Road
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

6.   Mrs. K. Stafford
            Michan Road
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

7.   Mrs. J. Noel
            Save Our Homes Committee
            Bazley Avenue
            Sparks Estate
            DURBAN
            4091

8.   Mr. J.L. Rampono
Crompton Gardens
Sydenham
DURBAN
4091

WELFARE ORGANISATIONS AND RELATED BODIES   TELEPHONE

1.   Sparks Estate Welfare Society (W.O.1964)
        Mr. A. Fisher - Secretary
        24 Renaud Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

2.   Durban Child Welfare Society
        c/o Mr. H.H. Africa
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

3.   Durban Mental Health Society
        c/o Mr. H.H. Africa - School Psychologist
        9 Barns Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091   885044

4.   N.I.C.R.O.
        c/o Mr. W. Symons
        Raftery Crescent
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

5.   S.A.N.C.A.D.
        Mr. E. Abrahams
        15 Mayflower Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

6.   Durban Community Chest
        c/o Mr. R.P. Gulston
        134 Mary Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091   888853

7.   Toc - H
        c/o St. John's Anglican Church
        Rippon Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

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TELEPHONE

8.   Alcoholic Anonymous (A.A.)
          c/o Mr. George Carls
          Everton Road
          Sparks Estate
          DURBAN
          4091

9.   Natal Coloured Blind Society
          10 Williamson Place
          Sparks Estate
          DURBAN
          4091

10.   City Health Clinic
          c/o Sister-in-Charge
          St. Theresa's Road
          Sparks Estate
          DURBAN
          4091

11.   Durban Coloured Memorial Community Centre
          c/o Mr. Pat Ross - Caretaker
          St. Theresa's Road
          Sparks Estate
          DURBAN
          4091

12.   Sparks Estate Library
          St. Theresa's Road
          Sparks Estate
          DURBAN
          4091

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BUSINESSES   TELEPHONE

1.   Hoffman's Tea-room
        Hugo Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

2.   Haffee's
        St. Theresa's Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

3.   Barns Road Butchery
        Barns Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

4.   Barns Road General Dealer
        Barns Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

5.   Spearman Road General Dealer
        Spearman Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

6.   Spearman Road Inn (to be licensed)
        Spearman Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

7.   Shoult Avenue General Dealer
        Shoult Avenue
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

8.   Keal Road General Dealer
        Keal Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

9.   Villa Supermarket
        Villa Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

10.   Boulley Plumbers
        Overport
        DURBAN
        4067

11.   Edkay Motors
        Georgehill Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

12.   Alrods Service Station
        Randles Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

13.   Bonnie Vice Construction
        Methodist Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

14.   M.B. Hoskins Building Contractors
        Bazley Avenue
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

15.   Calvert's Marley Tiles
        Keal Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

16.   Bessick Brothers' Glazing Works
        Keal Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

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17.   Harold Nobins Bookkeepers
        Bazley Avenue
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

18.   Ram's General Dealers
        Kenilworth Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

19.   Khan's General Dealer
        Randles Road - opposite Mayflower Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

20.   Mannering Panel Beaters
        Randles Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

21.   Iqbals Spares
        Randles Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

22.   Archary Construction
        Bazley Avenue
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

FLATS AND CLUSTER HOUSING

1.   Eland House
        Butcher Place
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

2.   York Place Flats (Dwellings)
        York Place
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

3.   Nerina Crescent
        Randles Road
        Methodist-Randles Road Corner
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

4.   Sydenham Flats
        Rippon Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

5.   Villa Heights
        Villa Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

6.   Various Flats in Indian Group Areas
        (Randles and Sparks Roads)
        e.g.   1 Aslam Heights
                2 D & D Heights etc.

TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT PREVALENT

A.   PROFESSIONS   B.   TRADES

1. Teachers
2. Nurses
3. Doctors
4. Physiotherapists
5. Radiographers
6. Librarian
7. Social Workers
8. Clerical Assistants
9. Draughtsmen
10. Insurance Representatives
11. Bank Clerks
12. Clerical Assistants
13. Typists
14. Salesmen
15. Policemen
16. Lawyers
17. Laboratory Assistants
18. Medical Technologists
19. Soil Testers

1. Welders
2. Bricklayers
3. Carpenters
4. Glaziers
5. Riggers
6. Boilermakers
7. Fitters
8. Turners
9. Moulders
10. Shopfitters
11. Engineering Technicians
12. Tilers
13. Painters
    etc.

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LAWYERS

1.   Mr. Sydney Dunn (Private Practice) B.A. LL.B
       Spearman Road
       Sparks Estate
       DURBAN
       4091

2.   Mr. J. Jacobs B.A. & B.A. (Proc) (Not practising but teaching)
       Randles Road
       Sydenham
       DURBAN
       4091

ALLEGED GANGS/DELINQUENTS

1.   Flat Cats
        Eland House
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

2.   Spears
        Spearman Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

3.   Butchers
        Butcher Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

4.   Ten-tens
        St. Theresa's Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

5.   The Villains
        Villa Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

6.   The Rags
        Kenilworth Road
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

1.   Shoult Avenue field (open space with swings etc.)
        Shoult Avenue
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

2.   Marsh Avenue field (open space with swings)
        Marsh Avenue
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

3.   Renaud Road field (open space with swings)
        Renaud Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

4.   Barns Road Sports Field
        Barns Road
        Sparks Estate
        DURBAN
        4091

5.   Tills Crescent Sports Field
        Tills Crescent
        Sydenham
        DURBAN
        4091

SPECIALISED SERVICES

1.   Technical Education
           L.C. Johnson Technical College
           Melbourne Road
           DURBAN
           4001

2.   University training:
           University of the Western Cape
           Bellville
           via Cape Town
           7530

           * (Permitted to attend Open Universities on Application)

3.   University of Natal Medical School
           c/o King Edward VIII Hospital
           Umbilo Road
           DURBAN
           4001

4.   Bechet College for Teacher Training
           Barns Road
           Sparks Estate
           DURBAN
           4091

5.   Special Classes for Educationally Backward Children at:

           (a) Rippon Road Primary School
           (b) Charles Hugo Primary School

6.   Daydawn Training Centre
           (for severely mentally retarded children)
           Clinic Road
           Austerville
           DURBAN
           4052

7.   Contract Services
           (for mentally disabled persons)
           Clinic Road
           Austerville
           DURBAN
           4052

8.   School of Radiography and Medical Technology
           King Edward VIII Hospital
           Umbilo Road
           DURBAN
           4001

ANNEXURE A

DURBAN COLOURED POPULATION MAY 1976

CITY COUNCIL'S ESTIMATES

	Present Population	Potential Population	Present Number of Housing Units
Wentworth	23 546	30 000	3 237
Sparks Estate	9 819	16 300	1 078
Greenwood Park	3 784	8 000	411
Newlands East	-	20 000	-
Mariannhill	2 000	45 000	-
Rest of Durban	17 049	-	Unknown
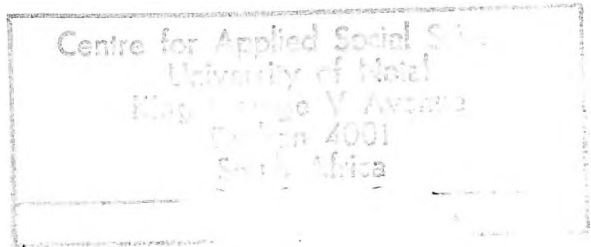
APPENDIX II

SPARKS ESTATE - SYDENHAM

SCHEDULE: COMMUNITY STUDY

ST. PHILOMENA'S - UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
SPARKS ESTATE-SYDENHAM
COMMUNITY STUDY

St. Philomena's as you may know is now in Sydenham and it wishes to operate not only as a children's home but also to be of some service to the community. Among other things it wishes to provide people in the community with opportunities to organize a variety of programmes of interest and usefulness.

In this way St. Philomena's hopes to return some of the kindness and help which it has received and which it still needs.

St. Philomena's is working with the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal in doing a scientific study of the needs and problems of people in Sparks Estate-Sydenham.

It is felt that if the results of a proper scientific study are shared with people and groups in the community, they will be in a better position to work constructively to further the interests of the community.

Apart from discussions with community leaders, we have chosen every 5th house in Sparks Estate for interviews about people's needs and feelings.

Your answers will be completely confidential - all answers given by people are added together in groups in a computer to give patterns and statistics for large groups of people, not individuals. We are not interested in your name but your answers are very important to us because they represent the opinions of people like yourself whom we have not selected.

Could you please help us?

Sister Genevieve   Mr. Henry Africa   Prof. L. Schlemmer
Principal   Research Consultant   Director
St. Philomena's Village   Sparks Estate-Sydenham   Centre for Applied Social
Sparks Estate-Sydenham   Sciences

INTERVIEWER: Where a property selected has more than one household, either within the hoi se or in separate outbuildings. two interviews must be conducted - one iith the main household, and one with one additional household. Use separate blank questionnaire for additional household.

T< select additional household, take the household which has most recently moved into the property.

ADDRESS: ---

HOUSEHOLD - specify main or additional:_____

NO OF CALLS:

NO	DATE	TIME	RESULT	DURATION
1				
2				
3				
4				

NAME OF INTERVIEWER: ---

NOTE:

Most questions are applicable to all respondents. Some questions are preceded by an A, B or a C. Ask A questions when an A appears on the Front of the schedule. The same applies for B and C.

PART I

HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW -

(Select Housewife to interview on Household Interview).

(Indicate whether Household is Main or Additional _____)

1. As you see it, what are the most pressing problems facing the Sparks
    Estate Community? (Probe - what else - what other problems, etc.)

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

2. How long has your family lived in Sparks Estate-Sydenham?
    _____
    Where did you live before that?
    _____
    And before that?
    _____
    Have you lived outside of Durban? - Where?
    _____
    When?
    _____

3. How many times have you had to move in the last 5 years?
    _____

A4. (IF MOVED TO SPARKS ESTATE FROM ELSEWHERE IN DURBAN) Are you happier
    or unhappier here than where you lived previously?

              Happier   Unhappier
    _____

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Could you perhaps tell me why? (Probe)

_____

_____

_____

_____

(IF MOVED TO DURBAN FROM ELSEWHERE) Are you happier or unhappier here in
Durban than where you lived previously?

            Happier   Unhappier

What generally makes you feel this way? (Probe)

_____

_____

_____

_____

5. Is this house rented or owned?   Rented _____

                                Owned _____

What is the rental/payment per month? R per month_____

6. What rentals or lodging fees are obtained from any rooms, outbuildings
or garages which are let?

                                R   _____

7. How many separate households, i.e. groups of people who share cooking
facilities, reside on the property?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

8. We need to be able to describe Sparks Estate in detail, and for this we need some information on people who live in this household.

Persons from oldest to youngest	Relation-ship to Head	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Home Language	Education passed	Occupation (details)	Area where em-ployed	Mode of travel	Wage/ salary/ pension pw/pm	Contribu-tion to household per month	Religious Denomination
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												
8												
9												
10												
11												
12												
13												
14												
15												
16												
17												
18												

9. Relationship of people in Household to other households in house/property. ----------

10. What number of rooms in your household is used for sleeping?

_____

11. Are you and your family satisfied with this accommodation and ground or not?

_____

Could you tell me what you find satisfying/dissatisfying?
(Probe for any problems with tenants or landlord.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

B12. Would you or anyone in your household like to move to a different place?

Who? _____

Where - what would they ideally like - separate house? _____

                                   - Duplex/semi-detached?_____

                                   - Flat? _____

                                   - Room? _____

13. How long have you/they been looking for a place and what steps have you/ they taken?

How long? _____

Steps taken? _____

_____

_____

14. What do you feel should be done to solve the housing problem in the Coloured community?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

C15. In Rippon Road there are 2 huge new blocks of flats going up - do you think there should be more of these blocks or not? Why?

A16. Is there anyone in your household who has had to take a job he/she did not like?
(Number - see household composition) _____

What type of job would he/she have wanted?

----

17. (Refer to all unemployed in household composition). How long has this person (No. ____) been unemployed? What are the reasons?

(No. ____)   Time_____

Reasons_____

_____

(No. ____)   Time_____

Reasons_____

_____

B18. Did any of the young people in your household leave school earlier than they could or should have?
(List numbers in household composition) _____

Why generally did he/she leave school?

( )_____

_____

( )_____

_____

( )_____

_____

19. (If applicable) Of your children still at school - what kinds of problems do they have (any problems)? Work, teachers, travelling, crowding?

----

20. (If applicable) What problems do you have with the behaviour of any of your school-going or older teenage children? (Record details for all mentioned).

---

21. (If applicable) Who cares for your small (and pre-school) children during the day?

---

22. (If applicable) What worries or concerns do you have about where your children play, who they play with or what they do while playing?

---

23. (If applicable) About children's play activities – what do you feel is needed in the area in the way of facilities?

---

24. (If young children in home) How do you feel about the crèches and nursery schools in this area?

C25. Nowadays one hears of youthful gangs and trouble that they cause – how serious do you think this problem is?   (Probe for area of gang and names of gangs.)

C 26. What do you feel could be done about it?

_____

_____

_____

27. Which members of your household attend religious services regularly - at least once a month on average? (List numbers).

_____

28. On average how much does this household spend on food per month?

R per month_____

29. How much goes on H.P. and loan repayments per month?

R per month_____

A 30. We would like some idea of problems in the area - we are not interested in any names or details that can identify people. If you take the properties around this one - across the road, on either side, and including this property, is there anyone who seems to need help as regards heavy drinking?

	Yes	No
(We don't want any more detail than that)		
drugs?	Yes	No
fighting in the home?	Yes	No
child-beating?	Yes	No
delinquency?	Yes	No
any other problems?	Yes	No

(Specify problem if given:_____

_____)

B 31. In your house, who makes decisions as regards how much to spend on various things? (Probe "most say")_____

Whether you should work or not? _____

What children are allowed to do? _____

When to buy larger items like furniture, clothing, cars? _____

What to do or going out in evenings? _____

What to do over week-ends? _____

C32. Do you feel you need more help and support in making decisions about family affairs?

A33. Thinking about the marriages you know - acquaintances of yours - what are the problems which husbands tend to cause in a marriage or house?

B34. How often do you have a friendly chat with any of your neighbours? (Neighbours = people within 2 houses on all sides).

- every day?

- once or twice a week?

- once or twice a month?

- less often?

- never/hardly ever?

C35. In bringing up children, what are the most important things one should try to achieve - the most important aims?

How would your husband's views differ from your views?

A36. What kinds of careers and jobs should one encourage children to study for and aim at in life?

Boy children:_____

Girl children:_____

How would your husband's views differ from your views about this?

PART II

Select individual respondent by checking number circled below against number on household composition for adults, 18 years plus. Take nearest household number if exact number does not exist.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

Introduce interview again.

1) If you could choose to live anywhere in Durban - any suburb; White, Indian, etc. - where would you really like to live?

A2) When you think of Sparks Estate as a community and the people in it, do you feel proud and happy to be part of it or not really proud of it?

B3) A few questions about your social life, of people in Sparks Estate, what proportion roughly would you feel happy to mix freely with (read) :-

                  - all of them in your age group?

                  - most of them?

                  - only a few?

                  - very few?

                  - none?

C4) Apart from people in your own house - how many friends (not relatives) have you whom you could really trust and turn to in time of need?

How many such relatives have you - people you could trust and turn to in time of need?

Friends	Relatives
None	None
1	1
2	2
3	3
4 or more	4 or more

A5) How often, on average, do you exchange visits or go out with friends, apart from your relatives?

                  - twice per week or more?

                  - $\pm$ once per week?

                  - about once per month?

                  - less often?

                  - hardly ever/never?

B6) Thinking of your closest friends, what kinds of things do you most enjoy talking about?

_____

_____

_____

C7) Who in Sparks Estate do you see as the real leaders in this community?

_____

_____

_____

A8) Who in <u>Durban</u> would you see as the real leaders of the Coloured community?

_____

_____

_____

9) People have different impressions about various groups in our city and country generally. I will select 2 groups - I would like you to think of each group while I read a list of words and characteristics. Just tell me which words seem to "<u>fit</u>" your feelings about the group - any number of words - whichever fits, rings a bell. (Remind respondent of group when necessary).
Now let's see - I must select (pick as on right)　　EW　A　C　I　AW

Name of Group: Write in full

Honest	-------	-------
Less developed	-------	-------
Respectable	-------	-------
Selfish	-------	-------
Kind	-------	-------
Two-faced	-------	-------
Quarrelsome	-------	-------
Intelligent	-------	-------
Lazy	-------	-------
Generally attractive	-------	-------
Cunning	-------	-------
Well-bred	-------	-------
Not attractive	-------	-------
Strong and determined	-------	-------
Hardworking	-------	-------
Rough	-------	-------
Feel/would feel proud to be one	-------	-------
Unfeeling	-------	-------
Feel friendly towards	-------	-------
Domineering	-------	-------
Would mix freely with	-------	-------
Give nothing to others	-------	-------
Feel close to	-------	-------

A10) Should Coloured people try to convince Whites that Coloureds as a group
are really closest to Whites and could be classed as part of the White
group? Could you tell me why you feel this?

B11) Between 1972 and 1975, 103 Coloured people were able to be reclassified
as Whites. Do you think they were, or most of them were -

        - lucky and fortunate?   -------------

        - did something unnecessary?   -------------

        - did something they should be ashamed of?   -------------

Comments: ---

C12) Would you, if you could, like to make your home in England, Australia,
Canada or some other similar country?

A13) What are your feelings about the Afro hairstyles that some young people
wear today?

BC14) In any community there are different groups - people who are socially
different from people in other groups. The same probably goes for Sparks
Estate. You may think some differences important and some not important
but we would like tc know what different groups does one find in Sparks
Estate? (Probe for descriptions).

1. --

2. --

3. --

4. --

5. --

6. --

Which of these groups do not really fit in with the rest of the community in Sparks Estate? Why do you feel this? (Use same numbers as above).

1._____

_____

2._____

_____

3._____

_____

4._____

_____

5._____

_____

6._____

_____

A15) Think of your 2 best friends of the same sex as yourself, excluding relatives. We don't want to know their names - let's just call them "A" and "B". Firstly, about A:

	A	B
What is A's/B's occupation (husband/father's occupation)?	_____	_____
What educational level has A/B passed?	_____	_____
What suburb does A/B live in?	_____	_____
What is A's/B's religious denomination?	_____	_____
What is A's/B's home language?	_____	_____
What is A's/B's main leisure-time interest?	_____	_____
What is A's/B's race?	_____	_____

BC 16) How often do you attend religious services?

- twice a week? _____

- once a week? _____

- $\pm$ once a month? _____

- $\pm$ once every 3 to 6 months _____

- $\pm$ once a year/special occasions? _____

- never/hardly ever? _____

BC 17) Do you take part in any other religious activities or groups connected with the church? What?

_____

_____

A18) What do you think religion means to people personally - what satisfactions does it give people?

_____

_____

_____

B19) Thinking about religion and attending religious meetings, which of the following is very important to you, quite important, or less important to you :-

	VI	I	LI
1. Feeling close to God?	VI	I	LI
2. Something interesting to do?	VI	I	LI
3. Feeling one has done one's duty?	VI	I	LI
4. Feeling comforted and secure?	VI	I	LI
5. Helping to think deeply about oneself?	VI	I	LI
6. Feeling moved and inspired by the Spirit of the Lord?	VI	I	LI
7. A place to be with good friends and people?	VI	I	LI
8. Working for social reform and justice in our country?	VI	I	LI
9. Feeling confident and stronger?	VI	I	LI
10. Finding Jesus and being saved?	VI	I	LI

C20) Some churches, like the Pentecostal Church, for example, seem to be attracting more and more people away from the older churches. Why do you feel this is happening?

_____

_____

_____

_____

C21) Some churches have what are called charismatic movements - speaking in tongues - which are attracting people? Do you know about them?

                    Yes   No

If "Yes", what is it about these movements that attracts people?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

A22) Nowadays people seem to criticise churches (religious organizations) quite
a lot. Thinking of your own congregation, which of the following is true?

1. A little out of date and old-fashioned		Yes	No
2. Too concerned about raising funds		Yes	No
3. Does not take enough interest in the social problems of the Coloured community		Yes	No
4. Does not give a feeling of togetherness with fellow-worshippers		Yes	No
5. Does not help one to feel saved and feel the Spirit of Jesus		Yes	No
6. White ministers are not sincerely concerned about Coloured people		Yes	No
7. Does not help one enough with personal problems and difficulties		Yes	No
8. A little dull and uninteresting		Yes	No
9. Does not help one feel a deep faith and closeness to God		Yes	No

B 23) Think of people who are experiencing problems in the home, e.g., husband
and wife problems, juvenile delinquency. Do you think a person or group
from a religious body (church) could really help or is it best left to
professional people?

C 24) Many people say that because all Christians worship the same God -

1. The churches should unite and become one?

2. Should not unite but have more contact with one another?

3. Should remain as they are because each has a different approach?

Which do you favour?   1.   2.   3.

C 25) (If 1.)

1. Should only the ministers get together? or

2. Should all congregations in the Coloured community get together? or

3. Should congregations of all races get together?

                    1.   2.   3.

Comment: _____

----

26) A majority of people in the Coloured community in Durban belong to the Catholic Church. A great deal of the work of the Catholic Church is done by groups of sisters (nuns) who live together in convents. Do you think that these sisters can really help deal with the kind of problems that exist in Sparks Estate or not?

Why do you feel this?

In what way could they prepare themselves to help with such problems?

----

27) Do you or don't you feel that Sparks Estate needs facilities where members of the community can get together and organize courses or group meetings aimed at dealing with people's problems? Do you feel strongly that this is needed, not so strongly but necessary, or do you feel it isn't really necessary?

       Feel Strongly   Necessary   Not Necessary

28) (If necessary or strongly felt). What type of discussions, programmes and courses do you feel are really necessary - (give numbers)

----

29) Of the things you have mentioned as necessary, which would you definitely attend if courses and discussions were available, or would it be difficult or impractical for you?   (Numbers and comments)

Would you be keen to help organise and plan this/these type of course(s) and discussion(s) or do you feel it would be difficult for you? (Full answer).

AC. 30) Thinking of your spare time activity. What things would you really like to do or do more of which is not possible at the moment - anything you care to mention?

1._____

2._____

3._____

4._____

5._____

6._____

7._____

8._____

What is it that prevents you from doing this ____ (doing more of ____) at the moment?

1._____

2._____

3._____

4._____

5._____

6._____

7._____

8._____

B31) When you think or talk about politics, what sort of thing is most often on your mind? (Probe for specific issues).

A32) What things have happened in the past few weeks and months which have made you feel hopeful and optimistic about the future of the Coloured people? (Probe - "What else?")

What things have happened which have made you feel worried and pessimistic about the future of the Coloured people? (Probe - "What else?")

C 33) In your opinion, is Separate Development, as it affects all groups - Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Whites -

- altogether a good thing?
- partly good and partly bad?
- altogether a bad thing?

A34) In your opinion, is Apartheid -

- altogether a good thing?
- partly good and partly bad?
- altogether a bad thing?

B35) Which of the following would you prefer to see happen to the Coloured people?

All of them remain together in a separate Coloured group?

All of them absorbed with the Black, or as they are called non-European groups?

All of them absorbed with the White group?

Some other arrangement? (Specify)_____

C 36) What do you think will probably actually happen to the Coloured people in South Africa in the future?

A37) Do you ever wish that you were not a Coloured person but belonged to some other group?

(If "Yes") Often or only sometimes?

          Often   Sometimes   Never

What other group do you think of?

----

38) Could you tell me of any associations, clubs, or organizations you belong to, and whether or not you are an office-bearer or committee member?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

B39) We have heard critical comments about organizations and associations in this area as well as favourable comments. Some say associations give certain people a chance to feel important and boss others around - do you feel this is true or not?

                    True   Not

Some say that associations don't get much done and even sometimes lead to quarrels and trouble - do you feel this is true or not?

                    True   Not

BC40) Here are a few statements we are reading to people to see how they feel. Tell me whether each one is true or not for yourself.

I wish I could be as happy as others.	True	False
I feel deeply satisfied within myself.	True	False
I often feel that I don't belong anywhere.	True	False
I often feel less adequate and worthwhile than others.	True	False
Sometimes I feel that nobody really understands me.	True	False
I am more nervous than most people.	True	False
If others hadn't prevented me I would be far better off.	True	False
People seem to change from day to day in the way they treat me.	True	False
I often wish I felt as good as the next person.	True	False

AB41) As you realise, we are interested in the way people feel in this community. Please think of a person - any person - he or she can be a real person or a person you make up. Tell me of two important feelings that he or she could often have about herself or himself.

Can you think of a person?

Two important feelings that such a person could often have about himself or herself:

1. _____

_____

_____

2. _____

_____

_____

(If only positive or negative, ask:) Could you think of two less happy/more happy feelings?

1. _____

_____

2. _____

_____

42) St. Philomena's is also concerned about the problems of children without homes or where parents cannot look after them. People in the community can help a great deal by caring for such children, but people are often uncertain about being able to help.

We are not asking you, but which older child and which younger child is most likely to be accepted by people in Sparks Estate generally? (Show pictures. Remember and note comments in full).

(Fill in 1st No.) _____

_____

_____

(Fill in 2nd No.) _____

_____

_____

AC 42. Here are a few sentences which will help us to understand and appreciate people. Look at each one in turn and complete it quickly. You need not think much about the answer - there are no right or wrong answers. Just give the first ending which comes to mind.

I guess I am _____

_____

If only I could _____

_____

People generally make me feel _____

_____

I am _____

_____

Someday I _____

_____

Sometimes I wish I were _____

_____

My background is _____

_____

Other people _____

_____

Compared with most people I am _____

_____

THANK RESPONDENT FOR INTERVIEW

INTERVIEWER NOTE THE FOLLOWING ABOUT HOUSEHOLD IN WHICH RESPONDENT LIVES:

Television Set	Yes		No
Furniture	New	Good condition	Old
Condition of house inside	Good	Average	Poor
Cleanliness of house inside	Clean	Average	Dirty
Garden	Well-kept and attractive	Neat	Uncared for

Type of cars around

OTHER COMMENTS:

APPENDIX III

SPARKS ESTATE - SYDENHAM

SCHEDULE: LEADER STUDY

ST. PHILOMENA'S - UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
SPARKS ESTATE-SYDENHAM
LEADER STUDY

St. Philomena's Village - as you know this is a welfare organization
here in Sparks Estate - is currently conducting a study to establish needs and
priorities in the area. St. Philomena's is being assisted by the Centre for
Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal.

The intention of St. Philomena's is to discuss the findings of its
study with groups in the community and then, together with groups in the
community to work towards improving amenities, facilities and services in the
community.

We have already conducted over 300 interviews with residents in
Sparks Estate-Sydenham and the results are being processed at the University.
I am from the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University and I am
approaching people in the area who have been mentioned as leaders. I would
like to consult you about your views of problems and priorities in the area.
Obviously your views are important for our project.

Naturally, anything you say will be completely confidential. We
scrupulously avoid mentioning anyone by name in our results.

Will you help me?

Sister Genevieve	Mr. Henry Africa	Prof. L. Schlemmer
Principal	Research Consultant	Director
St. Philomena's Village	Sparks Estate-Sydenham	Centre for Applied Social
Sparks Estate-Sydenham		Sciences

1) Thinking of the Sparks Estate/Sydenham area and surrounding areas in which Coloured people live - what do you see as problems and needs? (Probe - What else, etc.?)

1a) (If necessary probe: apart from problems acting on people, what problems do you see among people in the community?)

----

2) Among residents - ordinary people in the community - how would you describe their attitudes toward community problems? (Probe for majority-minority orientations)

----

3) Do people trying to improve things for the community get support from ordinary people in the area or not? Could you describe the responses?

----

4) How did you first come to take an interest in the public affairs in the Coloured community?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5) Do you notice any groups or sections in the community who have different styles of living and who do not really mix with each other?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5a) Are there problems of getting along with each other between groups in the area? (Probe)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6) Apart from yourself - who do you see as real leaders in the Sparks Estate/ Sydenham community?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

7) I do not want to know names, but could you think of your two best friends
   (not relatives) of the same sex as yourself -

   What are their occupations?   1) _____
                                 2) _____

   What main interests do you share with them?

   1) _____
      _____

   2) _____
      _____

   What are their educational qualifications?

   1) _____
   2) _____

   How would their views on political affairs differ from yours?

   1) _____
      _____

   2) _____
      _____

   What are their religious denominations? 1) _____

                                            2) _____

8) Are there groups of people in leading positions in the area who disagree
   with each other about community affairs or not? Who are they?

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

   What are the reasons for disagreement?

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

200.

9) Do you or other leaders find yourself criticised by people in the community?

What things are said about you or other leaders?

How do you understand this criticism?

----

10) What need do you see for programmes or organisations which could assist the people in overcoming problems?

What could these programmes or organisations be?

Could they be successful in helping to produce constructive improvements for the community?

----

11) Do you see any role for Catholic sisters in the community?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

12) In general, what should Coloured people in South Africa try to achieve as regards their political position? (If necessary) What about the position of Africans and Indians?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

13) Do you see any role for the C.R.C. or not - could you elaborate?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

14) The government keeps hinting at some kind of concessions for the Coloured people as part of moving away from the Westminister model of government, i.e., White parliament only. What is the minimum in the way of concessions that would be acceptable to people like you?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

15) Leaving aside your own personal wishes and hopes, what changes are likely to take place over the next ten years, if any?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

16) Which organisations in the community are either actually or potentially important in bringing people together or helping them to solve their problem?

----

17) How do you see your role as a community leader?

----

18) There seem to be a large number of people in the community who do not know who the leaders are

- Why do you think this is so?

- In what way can this be changed?

----

19) Sex : _____

20) Age : _____

21) Occupation : _____

22) Address : _____

23) Education : _____

24) Political Party supported : _____

Institute of
Development Studies