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DRAFTS. A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONSEVIDENCE TO BE PLACED BEFORE THE THERON COMMISSION ON COLOURED MATTERSINTRODUCTION

The S.A. Institute of Race Relations was founded in 1928 in order to promote goodwill and better relations between the various races comprising the population of South Africa. Its membership is open to all persons of goodwill of any race and of any political persuasion. It is not affiliated to any political group.

Its method of achieving its objects has always been by fact finding, by the careful assessment of such facts and by the widest possible dissemination of the results of its studies. Its Annual Survey has become a classic which has penetrated all aspects of South African life and is in great demand at all libraries and larger universities overseas.

The Institute has also made representations to the government, to commissions appointed by the government, to local and regional authorities on matters of inter-racial interest, especially where there are points of friction such as in the shortage of housing, amenities for under-privileged persons, difficulties in education and suchlike.

From time to time the Institute has also called conferences to debate and consider current problems. Examples are one on Bantu Education in 1969, another on Coloured Education in 1971 and one on housing in 1972. The findings (but also the papers read) of such conferences are made available to any interested persons.

As a body with much specialised knowledge at its disposal the Institute wishes to make representations on certain aspects of the problems which the Commission has been asked to consider.

In making representations to the Commission the Institute wishes to make it clear that it regards the people under consideration as a socio-economic group within a larger South African population and not as a separate ethnic community for whom separate and specialised arrangements must be made. The group under consideration, as will become clear from the ensuing evidence, is an integral part of the South African economy and society upon whom certain disabilities have fallen through no wish or act of their own.

The Institute will assume that the Commission will have at its disposal all the necessary statistical data, legislation, regulations and official information which it requires and this evidence will as far as is possible avoid duplicating this information.

The Institute's library has over the years collected a mass of information on current interracial problems. The material from the library relevant to the Commission has been sent to Cape Town and is available at the Institute's Regional Office at 1, Dorp St, Cape Town. (Telephone 43-2318) A bibliography of this matter is appended.

The Institute feels it necessary to draw the attention of the Commission to the rapid growth of Black Consciousness among people not classified as white. That serious attention must be given to this phenomenon is clear from the events at the University of the Western Cape and the Coloured Representative Council, and the growth of the South African Students' Organisation (S A S O).

This development must be regarded with much sympathy and the Institute sees in the movement similar motivation and causes to those which underlay the growth of Afrikaner awareness and nationalism.

Black people are becoming aware of their own personal identity and worth as people and not primarily as members of a particular ethnic group. They wish to determine their own destiny and not accept that prescribed for them by others. Historically black consciousness must be allowed to develop to its logical conclusion, because it will develop into a deep hatred of white people if frustrated or arrested.

In his newly published book "Protest and the Urban Guerilla" Dr Richard Clutterbuck makes the point that protest is healthy in a society as long as the pace of change is fast enough to accommodate the forces for change and satisfy the needs of the minorities. He goes on to state that if protest does not satisfy either of these needs, then violence is inevitable. He adds that violence seldom brings about change; it rather brings counter-violence.

The Institute will not make specific representations with regard to social welfare matters because it has been informed that Professor Brunhilde Helm of the University of Cape Town will present a major paper to the Commission on these matters. It is also believed that Professor Hansi Pollak on her return from overseas in September wishes to make certain representations of her own. The Institute will rely on these representations, although there are relevant welfare matters raised as part of other representations herein.

The matters herein discussed are of a general nature and do not specifically refer to any particular group in any particular place. Obviously most of the material herein presented will refer to those classified as 'coloured' in the western Cape because this is where the greatest concentration of the group under discussion is to be found. The Institute has, however, been able to collect certain interesting information from groups centred on other places and these reports are attached in the form of addenda for the information of the Commission.

BASIC PURPOSE OF THE INQUIRY

The Institute assumes that the government has appointed this Commission to inquire into all aspects of South African life as it affects the people classified as Coloured in order to give it a clearer picture of the situation as a whole. This will in turn enable the government to decide on a broad general direction into which its policies may be steered in the future.

There appear to be two schools of thought in circles which support the policies of the present government. One of these supports the idea of a homeland for the Coloured people similar to those being developed for the African people. Another school supports the idea of parallel development of the Coloured people in their own areas. The Institute wishes to place before the Commission some thoughts on these two policies which have emerged from its studies over the years and which it hopes will be of interest to the Commission.

Homeland Policy

We are aware that official policy has firmly repudiated the idea of a homeland being created for the Coloured people. We applaud this firmness and urge that it be maintained. Certain groups, however, remain convinced advocates of the idea. This advocacy is itself something that endangers White/Coloured relationships.

There are presently in existence a small number of reserves designated for the Coloured people. They are not in any respect comparable with the African reserves or homelands. It has been estimated that only three per cent of the total Coloured population actually lives within them. They are small, scattered and isolated. In no sense could they constitute the nuclei of a homeland for the Coloured people.

It should be noted that the Coloured people are not in any realistic sociological sense a 'group'; even less are they a 'nation'. Such group identity as may have emerged (and we doubt its extent) has been the result of extraneous forces, the most notable of which has been the simple fact of their being grouped together for statutory and administrative purposes. A 'homeland' must presuppose some identity if it were to have any credibility at all, and the Coloured people lack racial, social and cultural identity.

The present geographical distribution of the Coloured people, in all four provinces, would have to be reversed if a homeland were contemplated. People from widely different parts of South Africa would have to be forced to leave their homes, places of work and settled in a new and (to them) foreign locality. The injustice of such a policy and the hardship and bitterness that it would occasion do not require spelling out. A significant proportion of the Coloured population (perhaps as high as forty per cent) has been moved from one residential and/or business locality to others in terms of the Group Areas Act. The implementation of this Act has been the biggest single source of bitterness among the Coloured people. A massive removal affecting the entire group would, we believe, lead to outright violence.

It may be the case, of course, that proponents of the homelands policy in respect of Coloured people envisage the creation of two or three homelands, perhaps one on the Cape Flats, another in the Mamre area, and another in the vicinity of Kimberley. Consolidation into a single unit would not be contemplated as it is not in the case of certain Bantu homelands (e.g. Kwa-Zulu).

This would make no difference to the fundamental objection to the idea. Fragmented blocs jointly constituting a homeland, linked by some over-arching political authority, would be a farce. Whether the homeland be one or more units it is inconceivable that it could attain anything remotely approaching economic viability. The migrant labour system and all its catastrophic social consequences would be greatly extended among the Coloured people because most of them would still require, and be required, to work in the 'white' areas.

Independence or even an advanced degree of political evolution in such circumstances would be meaningless.

A special case could possibly be argued for a homeland for the Griqua

community in and around Kokstad. The Commission is referred to the notes on the Kokstad and Umzimkulu communities which are appended.

What is certainly clear from the statements of leaders of these communities as well as from the experience of the recent attempt to transplant persons from that vicinity to Cape Town to work on the Railways and Harbours, is that they do not under any circumstances wish to move from that area. Those moved to Cape Town had for the most part returned under their own power to their original homes within eighteen months and only a small percentage of younger and more adaptable people remained behind.

The Institute would favour open hearted discussions with this community to ascertain their wishes and then provision for them which would meet their present justifiable grievances and desperate sense of insecurity.

### Parallel Development

The policy of parallel development is the result of the present Government's attempt to exclude the "Coloured vote" from being a factor in white electoral politics. This point must be kept in mind lest one is tempted to think that parallel development is a well formulated and clearly worked political alternative to an existing situation. The very fact that a Commission of Inquiry has to be created is indicative of the lack of clarity on the present or eventual position of the "Coloured people" in South Africa.

If the above point is well taken then it is clear that the Commission of Inquiry is in a difficult position. It has to make recommendations concerning the Coloured people within the "existing framework" of policy; namely, parallel development, without it being clear at all what parallel development means.

Official pronouncements concerning the policy of parallel development usually fall into one of the following categories:

- (a) Metaphorical and idealistic declarations of intent, for example: "Good fences make for good neighbours - so let us work together on this basis". (The white Government usually erects the fences and decides how the neighbours should behave.)
- (b) Deferring any specific commitment towards long term policy; for example: "Our children will have to work out the solution - we can only set the course".
- (c) Tentative attempts at "setting the course" by taking the present situation as point of departure and propagating a principle of organizational and institutional duplication.

It is this last variation which is most often referred to as the "existing framework" within which development will have to occur.

What does the principle of organizational and institutional duplication concretely imply? Fundamentally that within the same geographical area - a province; a region; a city or a town; Whites and Coloureds will have two similar organizations, one for each group, both directed towards a common function. For example, the function of local government in a town or city will be the "joint responsibility" of a Coloured and a White municipality. Thus, duplicate Coloured and White organizations on all levels and areas of activity will then work out problems of common concern through a process of "progressively more representative contact and negotiation". At the highest level of political representation, the Whites negotiate by means of the South African parliament with the Coloureds through the Coloured Representative Council.

The above extraordinary bit of political philosophy is confounded by the simple irony that if complete organizational and institutional duplication were a fact in South Africa, the necessity of using it as a principle for political dispensation for the coloured people would not arise. For in such a case, the coloured population would have its own effective parliament; its own industries; state departments;

geographical areas over which it had complete jurisdiction - in short, this population group would comprise an independent nation state. If, however, it is accepted that organizational and institutional duplication is at present not a fact, but should rather be seen as a goal towards which one should commit one's energies, then problems concerning the functional autonomy and viability of the duplicated organizations and institutions become crucial in their significance. Consider, in all seriousness, the possibility of functional autonomy (i.e. accountable only to its own representative bodies for implementing effective decisions), and viability (i.e. the ability of an organization or institution to exist and develop over time) of the following random list of duplicate organizations and institutions for Coloured and White persons:- hospitals, schools, universities, factories, businesses, hotels, law courts, police force, army, post office, transport, welfare organizations, municipal services such as sanitation, water and electricity, etc. All these organizations fall either in the public or private sphere and both are controlled by political administration in so far as taxes can be levied; funds allocated and developmental goals can be set.

Politics in any society concerns the effective allocation of privilege and facilities in all the above and other organizations. This is done through bodies that can effectively enforce their decisions in these respects. A political dispensation which does not take issue with this as a basis for policy makes a mockery of politics. That is why one has to ask of the C.R.C. or any other duplicate institutions two basic questions:

- (a) when will such a body be completely autonomous in deciding policy on its own taxation, industries, hospitals, schools, army etc., and
- (b) even if they are autonomous what is the viability of existing or future organizations for the people who depend on them.

These two issues are intimately linked because a body can be autonomous without necessarily having the power to generate wealth or development. Nationally speaking, one then distinguishes between poor and wealthy nations. The inability to successfully integrate these two issues lies at the heart of any "homeland-type" policy in South Africa.

If no reasonable or even plausible assurances can be given on these two issues concerning the Coloured People then parallel development becomes a blatant political subterfuge. The principle of organizational and institutional duplication then simply means: "We duplicate when we (Whites) don't want you (politically, socially and residentially) and we integrate where we need you (economically)".

It is against such a possibility that one has to decide on the sincerity and good intentions of those who demand of the 'Coloured people' that they should 'uplift themselves'. With the present confusion surrounding the policy of parallel development this injunction directed towards coloured people simply becomes an exercise in unsophisticated satire.

#### Conclusion

It becomes clear that neither the policy of creating 'Homelands' nor that of parallel development for the Coloured people can in the long run succeed in satisfying the just needs and aspirations of the people referred to. Nor are they feasible from a practical point of view.

The Institute has always taken the view that while people are subject to taxation by a government, then they are rightfully entitled to representation of an effective kind on that government. People who are taxed, whether by direct or indirect means, whether through personal income tax or through company tax, excise or duty, are entitled to a say in the decision-making machinery of government which imposes these taxes and decides how the money is to be spent.

The Institute does not feel called upon to suggest particular ways and means whereby this may be done since there are many sources upon which the Commission may draw for information and methods of representation.

The level of living of Coloured People and 'parallel development'

We feel it is essential that the Commission examine the basic relationship between 'parallel development' and the level of living of the Coloured people; To deal with wages, conditions of service, training facilities, entrepreneurship etc. as independent sections would be to lose the historical perspective crucial to understanding the present state of affairs in each of these areas.

It is thus the purpose of this section to discuss the relation between the level of living of Coloured people, 'parallel development' and the measures required to improve the level of living of Coloured people.

The level of living of Coloured people

The level of living of any person or group can be defined as the degree to which that person or group benefits materially from the environment. The level of living can be assessed in terms of a number of well known social indicators, among the most important of which are income, education and training, life expectancy, employment, housing and community.

The major concentration of Coloured people in South Africa is in greater Cape Town. As a result of influx control and 'labour preference area' regulations there is a very low rate of unemployment. In Cape Town, therefore, Coloured people are afforded greater opportunities, than in most other South African urban areas, and it is to be expected that levels of living will be correspondingly higher. Yet a brief examination of the Coloured population of Cape Town in terms of the above mentioned level of living indicators reveals that Coloured people (the majority of people in Cape Town) are a notably depressed group:

Income: Most (55%) Coloured households in Cape Town received incomes below the Effective Minimum Level in 1970, while the income of 31% fell below the poverty datum line (1).

Education and Employment: Over 97% of earners among the Coloured population of Cape Town in 1970 had only a Junior Certificate education or less (2). Only a small proportion of Coloured earners have skilled jobs, the vast majority still be employed at unskilled and semi-skilled levels.

Life Expectancy and Medical Indicators: The medical indicators of life expectancy and infant mortality are perhaps the most crucial measures of relative levels of living.

In Cape Town between 1962 and 1971 80% of deaths among Whites occurred at 55 years and over as against 40% for Coloured and 20% for Africans.

The infant mortality rate in Cape Town between 1963 and 1971 was  $\pm 19$  per thousand live births for Whites, as against  $\pm 55$  for Coloured and  $\pm 80$  for Africans

'Accidents and violence' was the second most common cause of deaths amongst the black population of Cape Town during the same period. (Deaths as a result of accidents and violence = 0,94 per 1 000.) Amongst Whites this is a comparatively minor cause - only 0,37 per 1 000 were due to accidents and violence (3).

Housing and Community Facilities: There is every indication that the housing backlog for Coloured people in Cape Town is increasing - meaning that a growing number of families are living in make-shift housing of wood and corrugated iron.

The new townships in Cape Town, such as Manenberg and Hanover Park, have been executed with scant attention to the class and neighbourhood structure of the people moved into them. Crime rates

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- (1) Calculated from data in Rept. No. 27/6/1972 of the Bureau of Market Research, University of S.A.  
 (2) ibid.  
 (3) All these medical statistics are drawn from the Report of the Medical Officer of Health of the Municipality of Cape Town, 1971

are frighteningly high. Educational, recreational and transport facilities are sparse.

The conclusion is inevitable that it is the responsibility of the authorities to instigate a major counter-poverty programme to improve the economic position of Coloured people.

#### The Economic Principles of a Successful Counter Poverty Programme

When people live and work side by side the poverty of one individual or group is inevitably measured largely in terms of the wealth of the other individual or group, and vice versa. Coloured people are integrally involved with White people, especially in the work and life of the Cape. White and Coloured work together in each industry and each firm in the production of goods. There is no possibility of economic progress for Coloured people except within their common lot with all other South Africans, especially White people.

In such a situation any successful poverty programme must contain both short run and long run measures designed (i) to remove barriers to the advancement of the people concerned, (ii) to enable the people concerned to take advantage of increased opportunities, and to take the initiative to create further opportunities for themselves.

(i) The barriers to the advancement of 'Coloured' people are both statutory and institutional. Statutory reservation, 'closed shop' white trade unions, the ramifications of the Group Areas Act, are all symptoms of the underlying condition amongst white people of fear and distrust of all people of colour.

Any successful counter poverty programme for Coloured people will have to pay attention as a matter of principle to removing both the symptoms, and the underlying condition, of discrimination against Coloured people by White people.

It follows that unless a programme is formulated for the combating and removal of discrimination amongst Whites against Black, in order to open up opportunities for Coloured people, there is no possibility of the counter poverty programme succeeding.

(ii) To enable Coloured people to take up the opportunities which would increasingly become available requires a major social welfare programme to break the cycle which binds people into a culture of poverty.

A considerable reorientation of government expenditure is required to provide housing, vastly improved schooling and higher education facilities, training centres, sports and recreation facilities.

A basic principle is that the 'economic' requirements of a successful poverty programme cannot be divorced from the 'human' requirements. Unless people are fully involved in the political process and workers are allowed to organize freely with other workers into trade unions, they will never identify with any government poverty programme, but only be subject to it - which will guarantee its failure.

#### The Economics of Parallel Development and the Level of Living of Coloured People

Historically, it is clear that parallel development as such has tended to exacerbate rather than alleviate poverty amongst Coloured people.

For Coloured people the tangible economic results of parallel development have been

- (a) Restricted job opportunities. 'Job reservation' has been instituted and the 'traditional' industrial colour bar has been reinforced.
- (b) Loss of Homes and Dislocation of Communities. Removals under the Group Areas Act have not only deprived people of home and community, but have also meant the exclusion of Coloured people from facilities for which Coloured ratepayers have helped to pay; for example, the Cape Town City Hall, libraries, Nico Malan theatre, etc.

- (c) Inferior Educational and Training Facilities. Coloured people have been excluded from 'open' universities, night schools have been curtailed. Restrictions have been placed on white teachers at Coloured schools. Per capita expenditure is much lower than that of White people.
- (d) Increased Transport Costs. 'Group Areas' has removed people further from the main shopping areas and places of work.
- (e) Discrimination Against Coloured Businessmen and Employees. 'Group Areas' has prevented Coloured businessmen from operating in the Central Business District of Cape Town. Wage and salary discrimination for equal work is still the rule rather than the exception, viz. teachers, doctors, nurses. Rather than remove the all-important problem of discrimination, 'parallel development' has encouraged it.
- (f) Equal Taxation, Inferior Services. Coloured people are subject to the same rates of taxation as White people, yet services such as roads, public transport, social pensions, medical facilities, prisons, etc. are unquestionably inferior.
- (g) The Coloured Development Corporation. The Coloured Development Corporation is the single positive economic measure produced by 'parallel development' for Coloured people. However, its effectiveness is severely limited - first by its terms of reference which limit its assistance only to 'Coloured businesses' and secondly by the Group Areas Act which has effectively excluded Coloured businessmen from established business districts.

Thus the effect of 'parallel development' up to the present can fairly be interpreted as having limited Coloured opportunities, and as having discouraged progress and initiative.

In the light of 'parallel development's negative record in regard to the level of living of Coloured people the question arises whether 'parallel development' holds any prospect of meaningful development for Coloured people in the future.

It would seem that proponents of 'parallel development' for Coloured people envisage:

- (i) Increased job opportunities for Coloured people in business and industry, including the 'rate for the job' and a degree of job integration (because this is unavoidable).
- (ii) Development of Coloured communities in their own townships with improved housing, educational and community facilities, and through development of the C.P.R.C. as a more effective political organ.

It is further likely that some proponents of 'parallel development' believe that this policy represents the right and the best way in which relations between White and Coloured people should be conducted, while others support 'parallel development' only from a pragmatic standpoint - hoping that parallel development will make Coloured people and the White electorate 'ready', at some stage in the future, for social as well as economic integration, which they recognize as the only just solution.

We are anxious to impress upon the Commission that 'parallel development', whether conceived as ideology or simply as strategy, cannot be a means to the development of Coloured people, because the very institutions and laws which enforce 'parallel development' are antithetical to development in any meaningful sense of the word, i.e. they are part and parcel of the poverty of the Coloured people.

Our reasoning is as follows:

#### Resources are scarce

It is unquestionably true that resources are scarce, and the group which has the most powerful political voice will undoubtedly enjoy disproportionate benefit from the available resources.



In South Africa political power is concentrated so heavily in the hands of White people that the disproportion in enjoyment of benefits is among the highest in the world. (1)

We submit that the history of the Tomlinson Commission recommendations, regarding the expenditure required for development of the African 'homelands', is a most relevant example of the fate of recommendations accepted by the Government but not backed up by effective political power in the hands of the people concerned. (2)

It is thus axiomatic that until Coloured people gain a fair share of political power, there will not be a sufficient flow of resources into education and social welfare amenities to provide Coloured people with the background required to compete on fair terms with Whites in the labour market. Parallel development will ensure that Coloured people continue to receive second-rate facilities.

#### Effective 'Social' Segregation Minimises 'Economic' Integration

There is no question but that economic development for Coloured people implies increasing 'economic' integration. White and Coloured work together in each industry, each firm, and there is no economic possibility of any 'homeland' development at all.

However, the racial discrimination which is inherent in 'parallel development' is bound to make economic integration, and with it economic development, as slow as possible for Coloured people, by maintaining high levels of racial distrust and social distance. Friction will invariably be produced where Coloured people are placed in positions of equality with white workers; the backlash from white trade unions - which demonstrably have significant political power - will continue to stunt the economic progress of Coloured people.

Furthermore, recent proclamations in terms of the Group Areas Act enable the Government to limit severely the degree of responsibility which may be given to a Coloured or Black employee outside of his own group area. (3)

#### Immigration

The vigorous white immigration policy pursued by the government - at present resulting in a net immigration rate of approximately 30 000 white settlers per annum (4) is an integral part of 'separate' and 'parallel' development.

The primary importance for Coloured people of such extensive white immigration is that it alleviates substantially the skilled labour shortage, thus minimising the economy's need for extensive opening up of skilled jobs to blacks and for extensive provision of training facilities for blacks.

Of all the black groups in South Africa, Coloured people are perhaps the ones whose economic development is most immediately affected by large scale white immigration.

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1. Archer, S. "Inter-racial Income Distribution in S.A.: data and comments: Discussion paper presented to the Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-racial Studies. 1971.
  2. The Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu areas recommended that certain expenditure was necessary in order to develop the African 'homelands'. Although the Government accepted the Commission's recommendation of 'separate development', expenditure has been far below the Commission's recommended level.
  3. '... the State has ready to hand, in the form of the State President's Proclamations Nos 2, 4 and 5 of 1968 issued in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1966, the necessary instruments to control in group areas, specified areas and controlled areas employment in the positions of: 'chargehand'; 'executive, professional, technical or administrative employee'; 'manager' and 'supervisor'. Certain types of trade or business are specifically exempted in terms of these proclamations.' p.206, Survey of Race Relations, 1972.

In summary, we submit that 'parallel development' as a policy devoted to maintaining political and social segregation will inevitably maintain economic segregation and thus only serve to hamper the economic development of Coloured people. Moreover, it contradicts the two basic tenets of a successful poverty programme

- (i) that barriers to the advancement of the poverty-stricken be removed;
- (ii) that the people concerned are enabled to take advantage of the increased opportunities through vastly improved education and social welfare facilities.

### Conclusion

We are confident that the Commission will plead for vastly improved education, housing and social welfare facilities. We submit, however, that it is this Commission's task to investigate why sufficient houses have not been built and why social welfare services and education are inadequate.

We submit that poverty amongst the Coloured people cannot be eliminated by the institutions of parallel development because these institutions are part and parcel of the poverty of Coloured people.

We submit that those who are advocating 'parallel development' for Coloured people on pragmatic grounds are failing to appreciate the direct functional relation between the poverty and despair of Coloured people and the institutions of 'parallel development' which cannot promise them even a poor 'homeland' but only a continued inferior status and humiliation.

We submit strongly that if the Commission is to make a genuine contribution to the economic development of Coloured people it must seek out the most effective means of dismantling the structure of parallel development in order to prepare the ground for a successful counter poverty programme.

EDUCATION

The Commission is referred to the Conference on Education for Progress with Special Reference to the Needs of the Coloured Community convened by the Institute in January, 1971 and held in the Hiddingh Hall, Cape Town.

The Conference was preceded by the publication by the Institute of Muriel Horrell's book *The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa*. This book was a history of the subject under discussion from 1652 until 1970.

After the Conference the main discussions and findings were summarised by Professor Hansi Pollak in a booklet entitled *Education for Progress*. The main papers read at the Conference are mentioned therein and are available to the Commission if required. These papers and the findings represent the views of the Institute on Education, and in the present representations the Institute will do no more than stress certain points, and raise new matters which have become evident since then.

In the first instance the Institute stresses that the education of the Coloured Community cannot be seen other than against the general background of the socio-economic situation of the community. Both Professor A.P. Cilliers and Mr M.C. O'Byrne referred to these factors in their addresses and pointed out the effects of general poverty, lack of amenities, the gross shortage of housing, and the general practice of discrimination against this community at almost every level and in almost every sphere of activity. The Institute is convinced that educational standards and the quality of teaching will not be able to reach their full potential while these communal difficulties persist. Reference is made to the "culture of poverty" in these papers and the Institute stresses that this is a very real problem which prevents both teacher and pupil from giving of their best, and from achieving full potential.

In her summary Professor Pollak refers on pp. 10 to 14 to the provision which has been made since 1964 and these developments are welcomed and much appreciated by the Institute, which holds the view that the Department which controls the education of the Coloured people is doing much dedicated work with the resources at its disposal.

The Institute also welcomes the announcement by the Minister (since the Conference was held) that compulsory education for Coloured people is to be introduced very shortly and to be implemented standard by standard over a period of years. The Institute has repeatedly pointed to the severe consequences of not compelling Coloured children to attend school and is pleased that the Government has at long last been in a position to make this provision.

An important finding of Conference was that the attitude of White South Africans to those who are not classified as White acts as a powerful brake on the progress of the Coloured people and Conference called upon the Government to give special attention to developing attitudes at all levels which would respect human worth and dignity.

The Institute is alarmed at the position with regard to accommodation at the schools. In reply to a question by Mr D.M.G. Curry at the recent session of the Coloured Representative Council, Mr Bergins tabled the following figures in respect of the years 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972 and 1973:

Number of schools with double-shift classes:									
Wynberg	...	...	...	...	47	55	57	64	72
Bellville	...	...	...	...	77	96	104	111	110
Worcester	...	...	...	...	11	30	48	55	64

## Number of pupils in double-shift classes:

Wynberg	...	...	...	...	7132	8707	8882	9457	12962
Bellville	...	...	...	...	10597	12942	14832	15777	17037
Worcester	...	...	...	...	973	2232	4122	5067	5977

## Number of teachers in double-shift classes:

Wynberg	...	...	...	...	205	250	255	278	343
Bellville	...	...	...	...	304	371	425	452	488
Worcester	...	...	...	...	29	65	119	146	172

In respect of the Republic as a whole, the figures are:

Double-session schools:	262	367	430	475	512
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Pupils (with number of teachers in parentheses): 33753 (965); 47297 (1349); 53850 (1534); 58645 (1667); and 65867 (1882).

These are extremely serious figures and display a complete inability on the part of the authorities concerned with building classrooms to cope with the demand. In five years the number of pupils and teachers involved in double sessions has doubled without compulsory education.

This is an alarming situation at the moment because of the serious implications of having to teach and be taught under such conditions, but if the Department is to introduce compulsory education as from 1974, the situation will become exacerbated to crisis proportions. The Institute can only plead that this position be treated as one of extreme emergency and handled with measures resembling military logistics.

The Institute wishes to stress the high rate of 'drop out' after the early primary levels and more especially in the post primary classes. In 1969, for example, the total post primary enrolment was only 11,1 per cent of all scholars at school. Even with the introduction of compulsory education, this is a problem which will be long with us.

The contributory factors to the 'drop out' problem will also long remain with us: double sessions, overcrowding, high pupil/teacher ratio, poorly qualified teachers and dreary buildings. Even with compulsory education these factors will still cause pupils to leave school as soon as they can and the Institute calls for special crash programmes to meet these difficulties.

The main target should be in the post primary area where the numbers enrolled fall disastrously. The Institute points to "an army of under-educated and ill-equipped school leavers" as the present main output of the Coloured schools. Every effort should be made to attract as many scholars who complete their primary education to proceed with secondary education and the Institute suggests the provision of subsistence allowances to bright pupils whose parents cannot afford their continued attendance at school. This scheme should also be available at technical schools and training colleges.

The Conference also considered that there should be greater integration of the school into the community through the development of a network of services based on the use of the school facilities and equipment. Buildings, grounds and equipment are expensive items and should be so designed that they can be used to the fullest extent possible. The Institute does not see why a school should not become a community centre in the evenings and during week ends, or why adult education should not take place in these premises.

These ideas are more fully developed in Professor Pollak's summary and include recommendations for full amenities in new townships before settlement, provision of community services by local authorities and welfare societies, and for the better co-ordination of the work of various government departments concerned with rehousing such as those of Planning, Community Development, Health, Coloured Affairs, and the Provincial Hospital services. Other findings were that there should be improved involvement of the community by the development of strong parent/teacher associations, fully elected school committees the membership of which should not only be confined to parents, and the provision of vocational guidance programmes in the schools.

23  
bearing in mind the socio-economic background of the Coloured community already discussed, the Institute wishes to point out that a very high percentage of children are culturally deprived and therefore not able to gain full benefit from schooling. The Conference recommended the re-introduction of school-feeding to counter this problem, interim subsidisation of voluntary societies now doing this work, a great increase in the numbers attending crèches and nursery schools (because of working mothers), investigation of systems of compensatory education practised in countries such as the United States of America and Britain, and further research into the appropriateness of the present educational environment to children from underprivileged backgrounds.

The Institute lays great stress on the importance of the teacher in the whole system which stands or falls by the quality and motivation of the teacher. It points to low salaries as compared with what is available in commerce and industry, the disastrous rate of resignation from the service (1 800 between 1965 and 1969 through causes other than marriage), emigration of some of the best teachers to other countries, and the general dissatisfaction of teachers with their conditions of service.

The Institute recommends the immediate and rapid narrowing of the gap between White and Coloured teachers' salaries and its complete elimination at the earliest possible moment, equalising the period to achieve maximum salary with that of White teachers, and the upgrading of teachers with professional training and a university degree. The Institute would recommend an impartial inquiry on which Coloured teachers are fully represented to investigate other causes of dissatisfaction such as the regulations relating to "misconduct", consultation with teachers' organisations in designing policy, syllabi, curricula and teaching techniques.

The Institute is concerned at the very large numbers of teachers who occupy responsible posts who are unqualified and under-qualified. It is even more concerned that so large a percentage of teacher trainees still enter colleges with only a Junior Certificate qualification (58% in 1969). It feels that this position should be met by the introduction immediately of matriculation as a minimum standard for admission to training colleges, preferably followed by a three-year course of training. The Institute feels that there are today sufficient high schools and scholars in the final years to make this possible. The other problem of the under-qualified teacher should be met by the institution of part time or even full time courses of training colleges for serving teachers to improve their qualifications.

In connection with unqualified and underqualified teachers, the Institute draws attention to replies given to Mr D.M. Curry at a recent session of the Coloured Representative Council. From these replies it would appear that there are still 277 teachers with only a Std. VI plus three years training certificate, 8905 teachers with only Std. VIII plus two-year qualification, and 1727 teachers in primary schools with no professional training at all. There are 14 306 teachers in primary schools so that, if all the above mentioned teachers were in primary posts, almost two-thirds of all the teachers would not be sufficiently qualified - certainly they would not be accepted as teachers in schools for white children.

In the post primary area the position is as bad, if not worse. Only 248 teachers in such schools appear to possess both degrees and professional qualifications. 301 teachers have no degrees or even professional certificates and 560 possess only qualifications for teaching in primary schools.

These figures underscore the Institute's earlier suggestion that the main target should be in the post primary area. Unless much larger numbers are trained to at least Senior Certificate level, the number of student teachers applying for training as teachers in secondary schools will remain disastrously low and the standard of teacher qualification in primary classes remain below par.

The Institute wishes to emphasise very strongly the importance of immediate planning for the introduction of television as an aid to teaching. This innovation will very soon be available in South Africa and it could be of the greatest possible advantage to pupil and teacher

alike if the fullest possible use were to be made of it. It could fill in the cultural backlog of many deprived children, assist overburdened and undertrained teachers to provide better and more interesting material, and generally relieve the congested and heavily overloaded system as it at present operates. The Institute suggests that a team of experts be sent overseas to study the methods used, especially in underprivileged communities.

We append an evaluation of these aids by Miss Penny Blackie, now seconded to the London University Institute of Education, and a short reading list of relevant material set up by the Librarian of the British Educational Television Service.

Attention is drawn to the work of Miss Jill Wenman among African scholars in Cape Town. She is using a system of individualised teaching with some success for African teachers who wish to improve their qualifications by passing Junior and/or Senior Certificate examinations. The Institute recommends that her methods be studied and evaluated for possible wider use.

Attention has been focussed sharply on South Africa's shortage of skilled manpower. In spite of many warnings that the crunch was not far away and repeated calls from the Institute for breaking down the barriers to skill and for the provision of facilities for technical and artisan training, the provision for this type of training for Coloured people is pitifully inadequate. Many of the customary and legal bars to skill have been abolished, but industry, commerce and the services are still saddled with the problem of the basically untrained young person who cannot move into these skills because of his inadequate background.

The Institute recommends that the present facilities recently started and widely welcomed be vastly increased as soon as possible by crash programmes of training for staff and as soon thereafter as possible other crash programmes of technical training for young people, not only for the present traditional building, engineering, mechanical and electrical fields, but also in the newer fields that are opening up such as electronics, television, computer maintenance and others.

It is pointed out that the present drastic shortages of manpower in these fields will shortly be greatly exacerbated by the new developments at Sishen and Saldanha Bay.

It is also felt to be imperative that such technical training institutions be provided with hostel facilities so that not only the urban population can be provided for, but also the young people from smaller towns and villages. Such institutions are particularly costly to erect and equip so that they will be few and far distant from each other. Hostel facilities are therefore critically necessary.

With regard to university education, the Institute can only reiterate its opposition to the legislation which prevents black people from attending the universities of their choice. In the present situation the Institute can only support all those who have called for academic freedom at the University of the Western Cape. One other comment which the Institute would like to make with regard to university education is the hopelessly inadequate provision for bursaries and loans for promising students. Bright students from poor homes are at a double disadvantage because they are not only costing their parents much money to keep them at university, but their families are being deprived of the income they might have been earning while attending classes. Another problem with such students is the necessity for many of them to take on part time (evening) work as waiters, watchmen, etc. to supplement their money for fees and lodging. This prevents them from leading the full university life and devoting adequate time to study.

Most of the arguments contained in this section of the Institute's representations are much more fully given in the Conference papers mentioned above and in the booklet of Professor Hansi Pollak which is attached.

## HOUSING

We append a paper read by Professor S.P. Cilliers at a meeting of the Cape Chamber of Commerce in November, 1972. This paper deals exhaustively with the present position of housing for Coloured people in the area to the south west of the Hottentots Holland and Drakenstein mountains.

Appended is also a report prepared by the Cape Western Region of the Institute for a Conference on housing, which to some extent overlaps that of Professor Cilliers, but is not in conflict with it.

These two papers cover the area of the greatest concentration of Coloured people in South Africa and are of particular concern because of the immense drive towards urbanisation during the past twenty years, the momentum of which has not yet been lost and may in fact be increasing. References to housing in other areas will be found elsewhere and in the appendices on Umzinkuluu and Kokstad and other localities. The Commission will also have its own sources of statistical information. The Institute will therefore confine its representations to some comment and argument.

If the family is the basis of our society, then the premises occupied by the family assumes a basic importance as well. It is obviously impossible and unfair to expect well adjusted social beings to emerge as adults from a family which has been accommodated in a cave with no sanitary arrangements, or in a dwelling originally designed for a family of five or six, but which now houses thirty persons in five different families.

In the area under review Professor Cilliers gives the known waiting list for housing as 26 652 households, or at least 141 256 persons. Some of these households may be living under squatter conditions, but it is known that many are not. He gives the figure of 27 092 households in greater Cape Town as living under squatter conditions in 47 known squatter camps. These households he suggests represent at least 171 388 persons. The waiting list is 18,41% of the population; the squatter population he gives as 23,2% of that population. His argument leads him to say that 'in fact 41,01% of the population of the region is in need of housing'.

It is not necessary for the Institute to argue a case from these figures. They speak for themselves and it is only necessary to look at the figures for alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, child neglect, assaults among Coloured people to realise the effects of this lack of a suitable place in which a family can be founded and nurtured.

The Institute would support Professor Cilliers' call for emergency action to meet this situation. He calls for a stop to be placed to Group Areas removals so that all new housing can be used for catching up on the backlog, the rezoning of District VI for the Coloured people, the lifting of all curbs on the provision of funds for housing, priorities to be given to approved schemes now waiting allocation of funds, freeing house-building from restrictions which prevent private enterprise (white or black) and Utility Companies from building houses, provision of more erven for private ownership, and other measures stated in his paper.

In his concluding paragraphs Professor Cilliers pleads for the formation of a Citizens for Housing Committee to act as a pressure group for emergency measures to meet the situation. The Institute would, however, plead for measures to co-ordinate housing efforts more effectively. There does not seem to be sufficient liaison between various authorities concerned such as the Departments of Planning, Community Development, Health, Coloured Affairs, the Ministry of Transport, the Provincial Administration and the Local Authorities concerned. This lack of co-ordination is well illustrated by the confusion and inertia which surround the Mitchell's Plain grand plan. The position is sufficiently serious to warrant the setting up of a Ministry of Housing with over-riding powers, alternatively an Interdepartmental Committee representative of all the above-named bodies actively to promote the building of houses, both public and private, to co-ordinate social and ancillary services and having direct access to the Treasury.

The Institute wishes again to stress the extreme importance of the provision of all services before moving people into a new township. It is already a traumatic experience for a family to move from environs to which they have been accustomed for many years or even generations to a

new town where they do not know any people or how to find their way about to obtain the necessary services. If, in addition to this difficulty, there is an added one in that there are no schools, or clinics, or halls, or counselling service, or churches, then the situation becomes indeed desperate for such people.

The Institute would also recommend that serious attention be given as a temporary measure to the setting up of a site and service scheme, whereby the local authority provides a site, water, rubbish removal and sanitary service and the eventual tenant or owner is allowed to erect thereon a temporary shack placed so that it would not inhibit the eventual building of a proper house on that site. At least the squatter camp problem could be eased in this manner.

Attention is also drawn to experiments which have proved successful in places such as Puerto Rico, Denver (Colorado), and some parts of the Middle East. In these experiments the local authority provides sites which may be leased on long term lease or bought by easy instalments, provides the basic services, and sells at cost price to the occupants the necessary materials to build a house. The local authority provides an advisory and technical service as well and allows occupants to build at the rate of one room at a time until the whole house is completed, sometimes in a short period of time, sometimes over a period of ten or more years.

There is a tendency in government circles to equate the provision of a number of houses and the settling therein of a number of families with the concept of community development. The Institute wishes to stress again the fact that a community does not consist of houses and people, but rather of the delicate and intricate relations which build up between people living in proximity to one another and of the relations between these people and the institutions which society creates for its better ordering and functioning.

The traumatic effect of rehousing people in new towns on an ad hoc basis was realised in England after the last war and tremendous efforts have been made since resettlement to provide a backlog of services in an attempt to remedy the situation. Today the tendency in the provision of new housing is to provide the services first (hall, administrative block, post office, clinic, school, sports fields) and then to erect around this nucleus the houses and thereafter to people them carefully with selected families. When one nucleus is complete, a start is made on the next.

In rehousing people the Institute emphasises the extreme importance of involving the people themselves. There must be trained officers from the start who will make it their business to involve the local new population, who will seek out and train community leaders, who will arrange functions of all kinds to attract every sector and every age group, and as quickly as possible develop a sense of community, a sense of belonging. Students from our universities have demonstrated an unusual flair for such work in depressed communities and their creative energies should be harnessed.

Many of the services and amenities as well as much of the equipment in a new township is extremely expensive and the Institute suggests that more thought and attention should be paid to their design so that multiple use of such scarce and expensive facilities may be made. Elsewhere the Institute has suggested the multiple use of schools and their playing fields, halls and classrooms. In parts of Europe, for example, workshops and hobby rooms are so designed that by a simple system of adjustment benches and tools, etc. can be used during the mornings when children are at school by elderly people, again in the later afternoon by children, and again in the evenings by adults. Halls, gymnasiums, clubrooms and other facilities could similarly be used by different sections of the population at different times if they were carefully designed.

Finally the Institute would plead for greater emphasis to be given to local option in the granting of liquor outlets in the new towns. There have been very many instances where the local population has stated in no uncertain terms that they do not want liquor outlets in their town, only to find that licences have been granted, or that the local authority has provided an outlet. This the Institute finds to be outrageous and it pleads that in this matter the clearly expressed voice of those most nearly concerned be heeded.



SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTSPreliminary Draft

Although evidence before the Commission will demonstrate that there has been a very rapid growth of Coloured middle class and elite groups in very recent years, other evidence will also demonstrate that the rate of urbanisation (migration from rural areas) has also been massive. Those who have migrated from rural areas into cities are largely unskilled, semi-literate or illiterate and utterly unadjusted to the complicated patterns of congested urban life.

In terms of incomes related to basic needs, this means that although there has been a great rise in incomes among a certain section of the people, there has been a large enough access to the urban population of rural people to maintain the ratio of those above the Effective Minimum Level to those below it and to those below the Poverty Datum Line. We here refer to urban Coloured people.

There has been no recent study of poverty either in urban or in rural areas. Informed estimates based on such smaller studies that have been made indicate that in urban areas some 30% of Coloured people live below the Poverty Datum Line; between 10 and 20% are between the Poverty Datum Line and the Effective Datum Line. This indicates that well below 50% - probably only some 25% of this population in urban areas live in comfort and security.

As far as rural areas are concerned it may safely be assumed that virtually all Coloured people are below the Poverty Datum Line with the exception of professional people such as ministers of religion, attorneys, teachers, etc. and a few businessmen.

The 1970 Census indicates that there are a total of 2 018 453 Coloured people and that 1 494 490 of these live in white urban areas, some 74% of the total. If the above argument is valid, then approximately 500 000 urban and nearly 500 000 rural people live in poverty, nearly 50% of the total population.

Poverty on this scale is an enormous problem and it is relevant to look briefly at some of the causes. Historically they stem from the system of slavery (only abolished some 5 generations ago) which was followed by a system of serfdom on farms perpetuated and confirmed by the pernicious tot system, scandalously low wages and the system of keeping labourers in debt to the farmer at all times. There was also a strong resistance until recent years to any suggestion of introducing education on the farms.

Present causes of poverty may be summarised by pointing to the rapid migration of rural persons without skills into towns, the shortage of housing making effective family relations impossible, the lack of compulsory education. Other potent causes of poverty have been the Industrial Conciliation Act which has caused the splitting up of Trade Unions into ineffective smaller unions based on ethnic groups and the customary colour bar in industry and commerce which has persisted until now and only in the past two years has shown signs of being breached. A comparatively minor cause has been the Job Reservation Clause contained in the Industrial Conciliation Act.

One other cause of poverty which must be mentioned is the lack of any facilities for the Coloured people to participate in decision-making at the higher level. They have no effective franchise at local, regional or central levels; they are not represented on Industrial Councils or Wage Boards; they possess no effective means of exerting pressure upon employers, especially in areas outside the largest cities where they are the most vulnerable.

The socio-psychological effects of poverty on this scale are extreme as is demonstrated by the indicator statistics such as Infant Mortality Rate, abuse of alcohol and drugs, serious crime, illegitimacy, incidence of diseases such as tuberculosis, gastro-enteritis and kwashiorkor. We assume that the relevant statistics are available to the Commission. To exercise control over social malignancy of this order is a severe drain on already scarce skilled and trained manpower and costs enormous sums of

taxpayers' money. Much of this could be saved and directed into more productive channels if the problems were eliminated.

The effects of poverty of this kind upon the person himself are all-pervasive because they affect his whole relationship to every other person around him. This is high-lighted in the report attached relating to the East London and Border "bush-dwellers". The breadwinner's family life is disturbed because every person in the family knows that the breadwinner is not winning enough bread and he knows that they know. Thus the marital relation between breadwinner and homemaker is abnormal and the child/parent relationship is also wrong. The breadwinner cannot other than feel a sense of social inadequacy in respect of his family.

His relations with his employer are also wrong. Such a relationship should be that of one seeking skill or strength striking a freely arranged price with another who has such skill or strength to sell. Poverty inhibits such a free arrangement because the employer is able to exploit the vulnerability of the worker and because the worker is in no position to withhold his labour at the price offered.

Other aspects of his life are also affected. He is conscious of his lack of proper appearance and clothing in public, of his inability to clothe and provide for his children in conformity with others at school; he is tempted to take his children out of school to earn money before they have been given even a decent primary education. Lack of housing leads to overcrowding so that the more intimate functions of family life become public exhibitions. The homemaker becomes partly breadwinner.

His attempts to balance his budget are self-defeating. To save on food (the largest single item of the budget) means more starch and bulk with less protein and vegetable matter resulting in increased disease rates; overcrowded accommodation causes moral degeneration; taking children out of school to earn perpetuates poverty; sending the homemaker out to work or char results in neglected children and later adolescent problems.

Obviously these problems are not conscious in or articulated by the poor man. They are rather sensed subconsciously and form the basis of his sense of inadequacy and frustration. These in turn are the basis of much anti-social behaviour because alcohol and drugs help him to forget, aggressiveness and violence assert his power, sexual promiscuity becomes a substitute for real love.

One other aspect needs to be stressed. The child from homes such as these is culturally deprived to an extent which makes it difficult and sometimes impossible for teachers in an urban school to educate him together with and at a parallel rate to other children from homes less deprived. Such a child has seldom seen a bathroom, hot water from a tap, a telephone in a private home, has seldom slept in a bed made up with sheets and blankets. Much of our education assumes that children know and have experienced all these basics in the family life of the child prior to his going to school. Unless teachers are in a position to make up this lack during the first year or two of the child's school life, he will for ever suffer a gap between his experience and the theoretical learning he gets at school.

With such a rapid rate of urbanisation attention must be directed to the process of acculturation of such people. This is not a problem peculiar to any ethnic group, but one common to all societies where industrialisation has brought about massive migrations from rural to urban areas. Similar problems were experienced during the years from 1940 onwards among White people whom the Carnegie Commission prior to the 1930 depression classified as poor whites. It is a current problem of some magnitude in Latin American countries and Tawney and William have referred to the problems in their Town Labourer of the British experience during the 19th century.

Poverty, lack of housing, increased disease and crime rates have been referred to and these have also formed part of the process in the other countries mentioned.

But the process of adjustment to an utterly changed and much more complicated environment is a long and painful one spanning sometimes across two or three generations. The newly arrived migrant must cast

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