

The analysis of data obtained from about a thousand subjects, of not less than 17 years of age and with at least a primary school education, showed that the ethico-legal-rationalistic basis of Western conduct was clearly appreciated by this educated group. This particular attitude was ranked first, virtually level with the religious attitude, over which it gained a slight ascendancy with age and education. Next in order of potency came expediency, tribal traditional, fear, non-compliance, compliance and pleasure. The rankings of these attitudes also varied according to the composition of the group. In younger and less educated subjects, expediency tended to predominate over the traditional tribal motivation. Non-compliance also obtained a lower rank among teachers, priests and clerks and a particularly high rank among a group of turbulent high school students. The interval of 20 years in the application of the inventory, during which the second world war intervened, and far-reaching legislation affecting the relations between black and white had been enacted, produced very little change in the attitude hierarchy.

What is significant, however, is that despite its high internal consistency, deviations from the pattern occurred in all groups in respect of a number of inventory situations. Thus in matters involving the satisfaction of man's natural needs (hunger, sex), or involving witchcraft, there was a tendency for the ethico-rationalistic opinions to lose rank relative to tribal traditional opinions. In situations where either law or custom impose racial discrimination, the non-compliant attitude tended to displace the ethico-legal. But there was no evidence that the hostility engendered by discrimination was leading to a repudiation of Western values and institutions, or that there was any transfer of antagonism from group to individual

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relations. Africans continued to think of themselves as citizens of the State and of its government, as the logical upward extension of their own rulers. There was no general support for opinions which absolved Africans from observing certain ethical principles in their dealings with individual whites, merely because whites as a group were discriminating against Africans. This is a clear indication that an essential feature of moral conduct, namely the general validity of an ethical principle and the need to apply it consistently in action, had been grasped.

Within the groups, considerable individual variations in attitude pattern were found to occur. There were those who were highly and consistently motivated by ethical or rational considerations, others in whom the religious motivation was uppermost, or who, relative to the mean of the group, were compliant to white or tribal traditional requirements. Differences in aggressive, non-compliant tendencies were also evident. The origins of these individual differences has not yet been investigated, except that a low but significant correlation was found between intelligence and endorsement of the ethical attitude.

The results of the study do not, of course, indicate to what extent the opinions expressed do in fact correspond with actual behaviour. It is something to have established the existence of an adequate values system. The basis for some measure of inner-direction, and for the creation of a moral atmosphere which will give other-direction some ethical substance, exists. The rest will depend on what kind of social environment we can create for urban Africans. Moral behaviour does not live, like some rootless orchid, in the atmosphere of good intentions. It must come down to earth, and have its roots in a society which provides scope for its

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consistent exercise.

The minimum requirement is that conditions should be created which will enable urban Africans to establish a normal family milieu. Of all constructive measures, this would be the most important, for it is within the family that the foundations for sound personality development and controlled social behaviour are laid. Even in a society such as our own, with its trend towards other-direction and the diminishing importance of the parents, the only defence against a deterioration in moral standards and social adjustment is to restore to the family some of the influence which it wielded in the past. And this is even more important for Africans, whose entire culture revolved around kinship relations, and whose adjustment to a new society and new institutions will assuredly be facilitated if they can build on the one institution which had profound meaning for them and which will be retained in the new society, though in a modified form.

All our efforts should therefore be directed towards rescuing what we can of African family life, and towards the creation of conditions under which a normal family of the Western type can thrive in urban areas.

Our foremost need, therefore, is to establish stable industrial communities, which implies a re-thinking of the plans now being drawn up to develop migrant systems of some sort around the Reserves. (The case of migrant mine labour is a special one, as the absence of men on the mines is an interlude in an otherwise peasant existence, and there are other special problems which preclude the establishment of permanent townships associated with gold mining).

Equally important is the creation of housing conditions which will encourage a full family life. Happily, much has already been achieved in this direction, but there

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remain many problems. Communications is one of these, for, as getting to and from work is organised today, the father, and sometimes both parents, can only be at home during the hours of darkness and the week-end. The sprawling nature of the townships, without much focus for social life, is also a disadvantage.

The improvement of wages is a third imperative. Study after study has shown that the majority of urban Africans still live below the poverty datum line. This retards marriage, favours irregular unions, keeps the mother away from home to supplement family income, encourages vice and illegal activities, and generally precludes the establishment of a healthy community life in which there is sufficient security to enable people to pay attention to the development of the whole man.

The establishment of sound human relations at work is another vital constructive measure. This is the one situation in which white and black meet intimately, co-operate in common purpose and can exercise a constructive mutual influence. We have seen that the work situation can, in fact, be a substitute for the family as a socialising agent. A deep responsibility rests on managements and on white supervisors to provide Africans with adequate opportunities to experience, as a living reality, the reciprocities of our society, the balance of rights and duties, and the respect which one man owes to another, within the limited sphere of the work environment. In a society which regrettably has not yet found a means whereby black and white can meet on a footing of social equality as man to man, this is the least we can do to convince our African fellow-citizens that the moral code we profess, and which we would have them apply in their own lives, is also a reality in our daily conduct.

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