



A SOCIO-CULTURAL COMMUNITY SURVEY

OF THE TOWNSHIP NYANGA

by

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ABSTRACT

The author wished to study a community and chose Nyanga, a Black township near Cape Town. As a student from Zululand he was at first a stranger to Nyanga, but learned something about it from direct observation. He then decided that his study should use the Method of Survey, that the survey should be socio-cultural, and that it should provisionally be a survey of Nyanga as a community. He believed that whether a township like Nyanga ought to be called a community or a new kind of neighbourhood was an uncertain question on which his research might shed some light.

The author did not intend to add to his research a full study of the history and geography of Nyanga. That would be out of the question for a single research student. But he studied its situation to decide the geographical boundaries of his survey and read enough of its history to understand how its people came to be living there.

Using established community survey methods, the author determined the scope, dwelling units, sampling technique, interviewing techniques, and procedures for editing, coding, and tabulating his field data. The formal work in the field began with a Pilot Survey in 1980 and was completed with approximately 200 household interviews in the summer of 1980-1981. Bus and school boycotts and serious unrest on the Cape Flats added to the difficulties of the field work, which was nevertheless persevered in and accomplished according to the research design.

The household investigations were concluded with the aid of a 22-item field schedule comprising the open-ended questions and other quaesita listed on page 42 of the dissertation.

Thinking mainly in Zulu, the author initially found interviewing in Xhosa somewhat difficult, and the translation of his records into English was also a complication. With much help from the people of Nyanga, from his Xhosa-speaking wife, and with guidance in supervision at the University, these difficulties were surmounted.

The data were hand-tabulated by the author rather than having that work performed through a computer service, for detailed scrutiny of the data at every stage and for self-education. The results of the simple classifications are reported in Chapter 6 and a series of 45 bivariate frequency distributions is presented in Chapter 7 and commented upon in Chapters 7 and 8.

The author's conclusions are summed up in Chapter 8, in terms of the relative proportions of key opinions expressed, the very pronounced majority opinions, the possible significance of minority opinions, and the status of Nyanga as a community in the light of six criteria from P.V. Young.

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PREFACE

Towards the completion of my Honours Degree in Community Work at the University of Cape Town I consulted the Director and Head of the School of Social Work, Professor Brunhilde Helm, on the possibility of continuing my studies. She was very supportive and encouraged me to pursue them up to Masters level, particularly because I had not particularly studied Community Work during my undergraduate training in Zululand. I felt that studying for a degree of that nature would help me to gain further knowledge, and experience in social science research, under the guidance of an experienced scholar. Moreover, I was trying to equip myself for my dream of working both in the community and in institutions in Zululand. I was registered as a candidate for the degree of Master of Social Science in the subject social work, under the supervision of Professor Edward Batson, in February 1980.

I had wished to study at the University of Cape Town because it is the oldest university in this country, with one of the oldest schools of social work, if not the oldest, and its staff and students are multi-cultural. My previous university enrolled African students only and predominantly Zulu-speaking. Studying at the University of Cape Town, I thought, would broaden my understanding of social work especially community work within our South African context. I mention our country because it is composed of various racial groups and I believe our knowledge and experience in our profession should be relevant to our multi-cultural society. Students and staff at the University of Cape Town are not only from the Republic but

from many parts of the world. I think that a university of this nature helps students and staff to expand not only their academic horizon within their country's context but also to understand the broader world around them.

I chose community work because I was very much concerned about the input of practising community workers at home. In Zululand I had met many qualified social workers in agencies and at conferences. The majority of these practitioners were designated with various titles but very few were called community workers, and those that were called community workers were mainly unqualified or had had only a crash course of some kind. They were mainly workers for churches and other organizations which were doing good work, but they had not acquired professional social work skills. Some had not been at any institution of higher learning not to mention a school of social work. I thought that by studying professional community work I would gain professional skills, one of them being research method, and be able to support my fellow community workers who had not had that opportunity and to co-operate with other social workers and other professionals in assisting the community to meet its needs. Sometimes a community is entangled by problems in such a way that it cannot express them. In such situations it often becomes difficult for a non-professional community worker to render adequate assistance, and the skills of a professional are needed. For instance, the establishment of the true situation may necessitate the gathering of data and scientific and objective analysis leading to a recommended solution.

Coming from a place like Zululand, I think that professional community workers can play a significant role in helping people to stand on their own. That can only happen through continuous community education and shared leadership when community workers

work with the people and not for them. In Zululand there are many factors that militate against community development. Some are cultural, for example there are people who are still suffering from nostalgia for the life style they had before modernization and urbanization. I am in no way implying that people must abandon their culture. But I think we have to adjust our life styles to fit the current situation, and that culture is not static but dynamic.

Again, the church, although it has contributed much good to ✓ our people, has also had an adverse effect. It had for a long time been doing things for the people and not with them. The community workers will have to work hand in hand with the church.

Another side of the story is that because of the political situation some people have adopted a defeatist attitude saying that there is nothing that they can do because it is fate that has put them where they are. Community workers have a big role to play working with accepted authorities: chiefs and other ✓ institutions.

Let me now say why I chose Nyanga for my research. Originally I contemplated doing my research in Zululand because I know my people's language and customs. Through consultations with the Director of the School and my Supervisor it became evident that this would be impossible in terms of finance, time, supervision and other factors. I had to be pragmatic and work in an area near the University where I was enrolled. I decided to choose an African residential area in Greater Cape Town. At that time there were three African townships, Langa, Guguletu, and Nyanga, and a big squatter settlement called Crossroads. I first looked at the sizes of the townships. Guguletu and Crossroads were the biggest. As funds and transport were limited for

me I had decided to do my field work alone. I thought it would be wise for me not to tackle the big townships and so my choice was between Langa and Nyanga.

I consulted various sources at the University to find out how much work had been done on each township. I found that Langa, being the oldest African township in the Western Cape, had received much more attention than Nyanga. I chose Nyanga.

M.E.D.

CHAPTER ONE

CHOICE OF SUBJECT AND METHOD

- A. What I already knew about Nyanga.
- B. Choice of the Research Method.

A. What I already knew about Nyanga

In the Preface, I have explained how I was registered at the University of Cape Town to undertake community work research in the township of Nyanga.

When I arrived from Zululand in 1979 I had no knowledge of any of the existing African townships in Cape Town. It was in Manenberg where I spent my first week that I heard the names of Guguletu, Nyanga, and Langa.

After a week I went to live in Crawford and it was here that I began to hear more about Nyanga and Crossroads, over the news on radio, from newspapers and television, and from other people. I decided to see both these places. While I was staying in Crawford one of my friends was given a company house in Nyanga and I started frequenting this township. It was the beginning of my knowledge about Nyanga.

Let me try to look at what I knew about Nyanga before I began my survey. The mass media played a significant role in publicising the pass raids in Nyanga, and the presence of my friend in this township also expanded my knowledge.

The first thing that struck my eyes was the living conditions. I looked at the houses and other structures. I took a big interest in housing, particularly because those houses looked different from those I was familiar with in Zululand townships. The majority of the family dwellings were long blocks of many families together. I also noticed that there were only two big houses in Nyanga. Old Mutual Insurance Company African employees were living there. I obtained that information partly from some of them. Those were decent houses, with telephones, electricity, carpets, plastered and painted inside and outside, and they had good furniture. They also had lawns, fenced with slabs of high quality. That was not the case with most of the ordinary houses.

Shops and other businesses were built like the family dwellings. There were up to five or more businesses in one block. Those were very small and overcrowded. ✓

I also learned that there were migrants' hostels in the middle of the township. I used to see mainly women and children outside the hostels because it was during the day and men were at work. The hostels and their toilets looked neglected and

dirty at a distance. I noticed that there were many people in the streets and outside the hostels selling fruit, vegetables, drinks, and food. I also knew that there was a community centre.

It was evident that some residents were Christians. I saw many church buildings, especially at the entrance from Guguletu by bus. Sometimes I used to spend week-ends in Nyanga and I could hear church bells ringing and I saw people going to and from the churches. Some buildings looked like schools but I did not know whether they were lower or senior schools.

I used to travel by bus from Athlone to Nyanga bus terminus. I realized that the transport was poor. Sometimes I had to wait for more than an hour before the bus arrived. In the bus I used to talk to people asking them who they were and telling my name and that I was going to Nyanga. Many of those people used to tell me that Nyanga was dangerous and unsafe particularly as I was not from Cape Town. That was the first hint to me that crime and violence might be rife in Nyanga.

The question of language also interested me a great deal. All the people I met or heard conversing before conducting my survey were Xhosa speaking and I learned that there was no great difference between Xhosa and Zulu.

I also learned about who was running and administering Nyanga. My friends informed me that Nyanga was administered by

the Bantu Administration Board of the Western Cape. That Board did not have any meaning for me until I began my survey in the area. Again, during the time I was visiting my friends in the township I used to see contractors levelling the land between Guguletu and Nyanga. I read later in the press that that was the preparation for the building of the proposed Nyanga Two which was later called New Crossroads. By the time I began my survey that new township was already under construction.

Sometimes I used to walk with my friends in the township to the shop, butchery, or dairy, and the general appearance of Nyanga captured my eyes. It was not attractive. There was much underdeveloped land. I thought that could be utilized for parks and necessary community structures. The place was very sandy and dusty especially on windy days. The dust was better during the rainy days but I noticed that because of the bare land there was much standing water. I saw young children playing in those stagnant pools and I regarded that as a health hazard.

Lastly I remember that some streets of Nyanga were tarred and had lights but I noticed in the evenings that some streets were dark.

The above is my attempt to recall what Nyanga looked like to me before I began my survey.

B. Choice of Research Method

From my honours course I had learned that there are many ways of doing research. As many as 50 methods are mentioned by Professor E. Batson in his Conspectus of Social Work Research Methods.⁽¹⁾ It was clear that I could use a survey method, which he has described as follows:-

We come to the relationship of units within some pattern. The discovery that such a pattern can be identified, and therefore can and in fact does exist, is the only essential discovery of the methods associated with this type of relationship. These methods are usually designated by the terms Social Survey or Community Survey, and the fact that they are often employed for additional, "action-research" or other, objectives does not or should not detract from their status as strictly scientific investigations of patterns of occurrence.⁽²⁾

This was the method that had been introduced to Southern Africa in 1935 when the Social Survey of Cape Town was begun at the university where I was now studying. This survey was described as follows:-

I drew up plans for a local sociographical survey, that is to say for a description and measurement of certain local social phenomena as a necessary prelude to any attempt to account for them or explain them. These plans laid special emphasis upon the following elements: The numbers of the people, their geographical and ethnic distribution, their incomes, standards of living, conditions of work, dwellings, diets, leisure occupations, health, criminality, and religions.⁽³⁾

Many of the topics mentioned were what I was interested in at Nyanga. But there were some differences. I did not think of studying diets. I knew that much detail is needed in such studies. On the other hand, this list does not emphasise the thought and values of the people, and these interested me very much. In other words, the 1935 Survey was sociographical but I was also interested in some cultural factors as well.

In his book entitled Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics, P.A. Sorokin says:-

Every process of meaningful human interaction consists of three components, each component, in turn, being made up of many elements that determine its concrete forms. These components are (1) thinking, acting, and reacting human beings as subjects of interaction; (2) meanings, values and norms for the sake of which the individuals interact, realizing and exchanging them in the course of the interaction; (3) overt actions and material phenomena as vehicles or conductors through which immaterial meanings, values, and norms are objectified and socialized. (4)

Sorokin's third component consisted of people's actions and vehicles or social conductors through which meanings, values, and norms are objectified and socialized. The residents of Nyanga are not living in a vacuum. They have a base where they conduct their daily activities. They have houses (with all the things they need inside these dwellings), transport, schools, churches, health facilities, sport facilities, and associations

or clubs and other organizations. All these are called vehicles because they carry the residents through their daily activities. For instance, schools are utilized by their children to equip themselves for future adult life. Most of their daily family activities are carried out in the house. Churches are utilized for spiritual needs; and so on.

These vehicles seem to be what the Social Survey of Cape Town chiefly studied. But I was interested in the meanings, norms, and values too. In fact, if I was going to obtain any of my data by talking to people, their values and meanings would come into the data in any case.

Except for gathering some information through direct observation, my source of information would be human beings (respondents). These are social beings who behave and interact. Sorokin describes them as thinkers, actors and reactors. If they act and react they are interacting.

For any meaningful interaction there must be shared meaning. You should have common understanding of the message you are conveying to each other. Shared meaning acts as a key to meaningful interaction. Without shared meaning interaction can result in unintended reactions. At home, I had seen that even animals have their own shared meanings. For instance, when a calf cries, its mother normally reacts by lowing. The people

of Nyanga like any other human beings have their own shared meanings which let them understand one another. Even those that are blind and dumb can interact meaningfully to a certain degree with other residents. Those who interact not meaningfully are usually those that are mentally retarded. Shared meaning can go beyond one language. (When I began my field work I knew very little Xhosa but, through my gradual learning, the responses were to a large extent a success. I am not saying that the respondents gave me the same answers but I am merely accentuating the necessity for shared meanings, based on norms and values, as a key component in the process of meaningful human interaction. In my field work schedules the residents were asked for information on social status and opinions on Crossroads, road conditions, and other topics. If we had not had shared norms and values as a background we would not have interacted meaningfully. Besides talking and answering questions we also communicated non-verbally. The respondents did not use the same facial expressions. They showed different degrees of being scared, suspicious, and relaxed, and as a result I was able to try to establish rapport. In some cases I succeeded and in some I did not and I think that also partly influenced the responses.)

Because meanings and norms and values would have to come into the data and because I was interested in them in any case

I decided that my research ought to use Sorokin's term socio-cultural. Therefore, I submitted to the university the following title: A Socio-Cultural Survey of the Township Nyanga.

But one other technical term also seemed to me to be necessary. I mean the word community.

I felt sure that my research should try to be a socio-cultural survey and not only a social survey. But I knew that surveys were sometimes called community surveys and not social surveys at all.⁽⁵⁾ It seemed to me right that the big Cape Town Survey had been a social survey, because it covered a large urban area characterized by many different groups of people. But Nyanga was different from that with people who shared predominantly the same culture and lived together in a way that all the people of Cape Town did not. I thought that this smaller size, and living near together, and sharing, would make Nyanga more manageable by me as a researcher. I also thought that the research I could do in such a place might be more useful for applications in community social work.

In my honours course I had learned that these ideas were all connected with the idea of community. But I had also learned that there were different views of the nature of community⁽⁶⁾ and so I thought it necessary to compare my idea of Nyanga with what had been written about communities and community surveys.

Here I drew partly upon notes and summaries and an essay from my honours course at the University of Cape Town in 1979 as well as upon more recent reading (especially in comparing the dictionary definitions referred to below).

P.V. Young (1966) in her important book on survey research says:-

In spite of the fact that a large number of social anthropologists, sociologists, social workers and other students of social life have made comprehensive studies of communities, it is difficult to find agreement with each of the groups as to what a community is. The term "community", like other concepts taken from common-sense usage, has been used with an abandon reminiscent of poetic license. It is difficult to define a community because of its diversity and complexity. (7)

The UNESCO Dictionary of the Social Sciences modifies this view:-

After reviewing 94 definitions of Community G.A. Hillery reaches the conclusion that "beyond the concept that people are involved in community, there is no complete agreement as to the nature of community" (Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement", Rural Sociology, Vol. 20, 1955, p. 119.) Although the term has been variously employed as a synonym for society, social organization, or social system, many writers agree that it has a specific territorial locus, often limited in character. And this appears to be the way it is most commonly used by researchers. (8)

This may be compared with the article under "Community" in the Modern Dictionary of Sociology by G.A. and A.G. Theodorson.

✓ community. 1. A concentrated settlement of people in a limited territorial area, within which they satisfy many of their daily needs through a system of interdependent relationships. A community is a self-conscious social unit and a focus of group identification. ✓ Although a community forms a local geographic and economic unit, providing many of the primary goods and services for its inhabitants, it is not necessarily a political entity, * as it is not necessarily contained within or defined by legal boundaries, such as those of a city or town. Community also implies a certain identification of the inhabitants with the geographic area, and with each other, a feeling of sharing common interests and goals, a certain amount of mutual cooperation, * and an awareness of the existence of the community in both its inhabitants and those in the surrounding area. For this reason a metropolitan area, which forms an economic and ecological unit, is not necessarily on that basis alone a community. On the other hand, a suburb, which is not economically independent, may, if it meets the criteria given above, be regarded as a community. *

2. A number of people who share certain common traditions or interests, such as an ethnic group or a community of scholars. In this sense the term is not associated with a territorial area, as the persons who are considered part of the community may be widely scattered.

3. Gemeinschaft as defined by Ferdinand Tönnies, in contrast to Gesellschaft. Most sociologists, however, use the German term rather than the translation, "community." For this usage see Gemeinschaft.

4. The biotic level of human organization as defined by the early human ecologists. See Biotic Community.

This term has a wide variety of meanings, and is sometimes used without precise definition; however, in sociology the definition given in 1. above is by far the most widely used. (9)

Although Young has said that it is difficult to define a community because of its diversity and complexity⁽¹⁰⁾ she does go on to give the following very useful list of community characteristics.

In general whether the local community studied is large or small, complex or simple, incorporated or unincorporated, with definite boundaries or without, it always:

- 1) occupies a territorial area;
- 2) is characterized by common interests and
- 3) common patterns of social and economic relations;
- 4) derives a common bond of solidarity from the conditions of its abode;
- 5) has a constellation of social institutions; and
- 6) is subject of some degree of control.

She adds that it should not be assumed that such unity excludes social differentiation and stratification.⁽¹¹⁾

In this sense, Nyanga would be a community if it had all of these characteristics. I did not know of any research work that had been done in Nyanga to discover whether it did have them. If research on these six points had been done there, part of what I thought of for my own research would not be necessary.

As far as I knew, my research would be the first of its kind in Nyanga.⁽¹²⁾ If I called it a community survey, I would

be in a way hypothesising. To test such a hypothesis was not the object of my research. It would be a separate study. But I thought all the same that my survey might shed some light on the question whether a township like Nyanga ought to be called a community or whether such townships are a new kind of neighbourhood. In any case, the word community has so many meanings that I decided to include it provisionally in my title, which became A Socio-cultural Community Survey of the Township of Nyanga.

Notes and References
to Chapter One

- (1) E. Batson, A Conspectus of Social-Work Research Methods, Social Survey of Cape Town, 1983.
- (2) op. cit., pp. 3-4.
- (3) E. Batson, "An Interim Report on the Social Survey of Cape Town, conducted in the Department of Social Science, University of Cape Town, 1936-1942", in S.W Lavis (Chairman, Editorial Sub-Committee), Official Report of the Social Survey Conference, Cape Town, 1942, p. 20.
- (4) P.A. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality: their structure and dynamics, New York, (1947) 1962, pp. 41-42.
- (5) E. Batson, loc. cit.
- (6) See the reference to P.V. Young at Note (7) and to G. Sjoberg at Note (8).

- (7) P.V. Young, Scientific social surveys and research, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., (Fourth Edition) 1966, p. 514.
- (8) G. Sjoberg, s.v. "Community", J. Gould and W.L. Kolb, A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, London, 1964.
- (9) G.A. and A.G. Theodorson, A Modern Dictionary of Sociology, London, 1970, pp. 63-64.
- (10) See Note (7).
- (11) P.V. Young, op. cit., p. 515.
- (12) After much of my work in Nyanga had been planned and studied, I secured a copy of K. Weichel, L.C. Smith, and M. Putterill, Nyanga and Crossroads: some aspects of social and economic activity, University of Cape Town Urban Problems Research Unit, 1978. This Working Paper contains valuable descriptions, but based only on information supplied by 20 respondents.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PLACE AND ITS PEOPLE

The history of Nyanga township is bound up with the history of Blacks in the Western Cape and the establishment of separate Black residential areas in this area.

While I was doing my field work in Nyanga, respondents told me that their history dated back many years before the establishment of Black townships. They were living in all parts of the Western Cape, mainly in squatter settlements, together with other population groups especially Coloureds. As years went by, attempts were made by the authorities to separate them from the rest of the Western Cape population. The township called Langa had been established in the late 1920's. As more job opportunities became available and more Black people came to Cape Town, Langa could not house them, and a new township, called Nyanga⁽¹⁾, was established in the 1940's (and a third, Guguletu, in the 1950's).

Some respondents, or their parents, told me that they had lived in Nyanga before it became a proper township with electricity, water, and roads. Nyanga was at first a squatter settlement, like Crossroads now.

A first step when I was planning my survey was to decide what its geographical boundaries would be, and also to learn enough of the history of Nyanga to understand how its people came to be living in that place⁽²⁾. ✓

A full study of the history and geography of Nyanga would be out of the question for a single research student⁽³⁾, and I did not intend to add such researches to the community survey I had undertaken. In the present brief chapter I summarize the facts that are a necessary background to my survey report. I also add some references to publications that I found useful when preparing myself for the survey⁽⁴⁾, and to the one in particular that has been published while the present dissertation is being written⁽⁵⁾.

The name Nyanga has been used for various parts of the area to the south-east of Langa, on the Cape Flats to the east of Table Mountain and Cape Town. For my survey, the term has its present legal meaning⁽⁶⁾.

This African residential area situated in close proximity to the D F Malan airport about
* twenty kilometres from Cape Town was farming
land before being proclaimed the Nyanga Native
Location in 1946 (Government Gazette (G.G.)
3594, 18.11.1946:167). A further proclamation
in 1957 enlarged the area; this proclamation
was repealed by a final one in 1960 which pro-
claimed Nyanga to be 496.1885 morgen in size. (7)

The first scheme of 208 houses at Nyanga was completed in 1948. (8)

Nyanga became the site of a vast resettlement and screening exercise in 1958. This occurred because Central Government insisted on all the squatter shacks situated in various parts of the Peninsula being resited at a "transit camp" situated in Nyanga but adjacent to Guguletu (or Nyanga West as it was then known). This transit camp - originally called Nyanga Transit Camp and now known as K.T.C. - consisted of 2 508 "pondoks". (9)

A generation or so ago the Black population of the area now called Nyanga was practically nil. At that time the total Black population of Greater Cape Town was 14,160. It had grown to that number from a total of 781 in the space of 45 years. These figures are from E. Batson, The Ethnic Distribution of the Population of Greater Cape Town, 1941, from which the following table is quoted⁽¹⁰⁾:-

Census populations of Greater Cape Town

Census	Native population	Total population
1891	781	79,055
1904	7,492	174,447
1911	2,088	162,298
1921	8,691	211,461
1936	14,160	344,223

The above figures may now be compared with the following from the report of Elias already cited⁽¹¹⁾:-

(Black) Population of Nyanga

1948	1 000
1958	11 000
1959	19 446
1960	21 750
1965	20 000
1966	17 500
1967-68	24 000
1970	15 894
1980	24 020

Some comparisons are interesting. In 45 years from 1891 to 1936 the Black population of the whole of Greater Cape Town grew from less than one thousand to more than 14 thousand, and in the 45 years since 1936 the population of Nyanga alone has very similarly increased from certainly less than a thousand to more than 24 thousand.⁽¹²⁾

Notes and References
to Chapter Two

- || (1) Langa means the sun and Nyanga means the moon (but I have been told that Langa did not get its name from the sun but from the chief Langalibalele.) || ✓
- (2) Place and people were two of the fundamental elements in the famous social survey formula of F. LePlay, usually regarded as the pioneer of social surveying (see M. Duverger, Introduction to the Social Sciences, London, 1964, p. 40).

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- (3) The recent valuable report by C.M. Elias, An Historical Review of the Supply of Housing for Urban Africans in the Cape Peninsula 1900-1982, University of Stellenbosch, May 1983, 138 pp., has been a full-time task for a research officer supported by several research institutions and sponsors.
- (4) Boyle of Handsworth, The Rt. Hon. Lord, Current Issues In Community Work, London, 1973. Burke, G., Housing and Social Justice, London, 1981. Cullingworth, J.B., Problems of an Urban Society, London, 1973. Ellis, G., D. Hendrie, A. Kooy, and J. Maree, The Squatter Problem In The Western Cape: Some Causes and Remedies, Johannesburg, 1977. Ferrinho, H., Towards A Theory of Community Development, Cape Town, 1980. Ferrinho, H., Towards a Theory of Community Social Work, Cape Town, 1981. Granelli, R., Urban Black Housing, University of Cape Town, 1977. Haralambos, M., and R. Heald, Sociology: Themes and Perspectives, University Tutorial Press, 1980. Howe, G., Squatter Crisis, University of Cape Town, 1982. Kramer, R.M., and H. Specht, Readings in Community Organization Practice, New Jersey, 1969. Nash, M., Home? An Introduction To The Housing Crisis In Cape Town, Cape Town, 1977. Silk, A., A Shanty Town In South Africa, Johannesburg, 1981. Sorokin, P.A., Society, Culture, And Personality, New York, 1962. Weichel, K., and Smith, L.C., Nyanga and Crossroads: Some aspects of Social and Economic Activity, University of Cape Town, 1978. Wilson, M., and A. Mafeje, Langa, A Study of Social Groups in an African township, Oxford, 1963. Young, P.V., Scientific Social Surveys and Research, New Jersey, 1966.
- (5) Elias, op. cit.
- (6) ibid., pp. 60-65.
- (7) ibid., pp. 60-61.
- (8) ibid., p. 61.
- (9) ibid., pp. 62-63.
- (10) E. Batson, The Ethnic Distribution of the Population of Greater Cape Town, Social Survey of Cape Town, 1941, p.18.
- (11) Elias, op. cit., p. 66.
- (12) I am grateful to the Director of The Social Survey of Cape Town (Professor E. Batson) for the demographical data and comments included in the present chapter from the publications and records of The Social Survey.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH

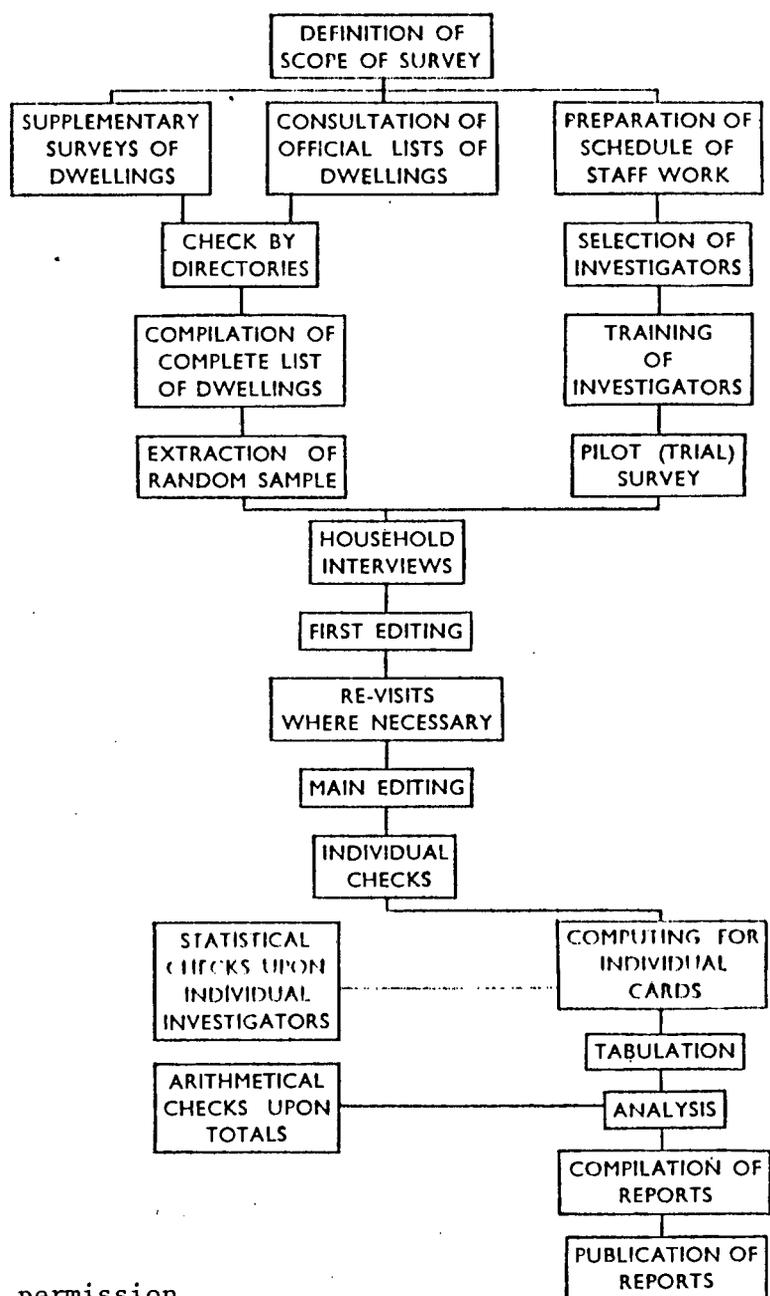
- A. The Social Survey of Cape Town as Guide.
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- E. Sample of households.
- F. Household interviews.
- G. Editing.
- H. Tabulation.
- I. Findings.
- J. Report.

A. The Social Survey of Cape Town as Guide

In the Preface, I have explained how I was registered at the University of Cape Town to undertake community work research in the township of Nyanga.

I took as my model The Social Survey of Cape Town, which had introduced the methods and techniques of social surveying to Southern Africa in 1935. A diagram of 22 steps in that

survey which was published to the National Social Survey Conference in February 1942⁽¹⁾ is reproduced here by kind permission.



By kind permission.

My survey would be much smaller. It employed no staff. The work would be divided into few steps and some of the steps would fall away altogether. My research design would therefore be much simpler, but it followed the same pattern as The Social Survey. I set it out under the topics shown from B to J at the head of the present Chapter.

B. Scope of the Nyanga Survey

My survey was concerned with the collection of data about the township of Nyanga and its people. I tried to identify those aspects that I thought would shed light on Nyanga for persons who are not familiar with it. I hoped to concentrate mainly on opinions about housing, transport, education, health, social class, clubs and associations, and also about relations with such homelands as Transkei and Ciskei. (See also especially Chapter 4.)

C. Dwellings

I would interview respondents at their dwellings. To do the same thing, The Social Survey had constructed lists of dwellings extracted from official records. I began by consulting maps, and inspecting the township with their aid. I found that it was divided into family houses, migrants' hostels, and employees dwellings provided by the private sector. I decided to concentrate on the ordinary family houses. There would be no need to

NB

sample in advance from official records. A completely up-to-date and precise sample could be selected in the field.

D. Pilot Survey

Working with a small sample of households was very helpful towards getting the feel of the township. It was through the pilot survey that I came to feel that I had obtained a "mandate" to continue my research. I call it that especially because my field research was conducted in turbulent times. Cape Town (including Nyanga) was swept by school and bus boycotts. The Pilot Survey taught me to organize my interviews in such a way as not to alienate my respondents and yet secure responses. I learned not to put sensitive issues (like transport and education) in the beginning of my schedule. I acquired some skills for introducing them in a way that would reduce suspicion and insecurity in the respondents. More about the pilot survey is reported in Chapter 4.

E. Sample of households

On advice from my supervisor I decided to select a systematic sample from all the ordinary family dwellings in the township. How this was carried out is described in Chapters 4 and 5.

F. Household interviews

On advice, and from experience in the pilot survey, I learned how as a first step in each interview to introduce myself when I called at any house. I gave my names, place of employment, where I came from, and the aim of my visit. My surname and where I originally came from were very important. They helped the respondents to understand why I was not fluent in Xhosa, and many of them were then very patient with me. I introduced myself as a working person because during that period everybody was scared of discussing sensitive issues with students. I had different reactions from different homes. Some people were relaxed, some suspicious and scared, some selected certain questions only to answer, and some asked me to leave. That helped me to begin to understand the complexities of research work. (See also Chapters 4 and 5.)

G. Editing

My editing was mainly writing in full the answers on my schedules immediately I arrived from the field. In the field I did not write the responses in full, only the main ideas. More than that would have obstructed communication. ✓

H. Tabulation

The data secured from about 200 households were what a one-man survey could reliably cover in a few weeks. They were simple and mostly definite, but still they could not be grasped as a "pattern" (see page 9). To make this possible they were counted and set out in a series of tables which compared each one of a number of selected variables with each other one. As 10 variables were selected for this, the number of those tables was $9 \times 10/2$ or 45. For practice in the technique, all the work for those tables was carried out by myself. It is described in Chapter 6 and the tables are given in Chapter 7. The 10 variables were:-

- (i) Reasons for having come to Nyanga and attitudes about leaving it.
- (ii) Opinion of relative status of neighbours.
- (iii) Transport used.
- (iv) Opinion of sufficiency of health services.
- (v) Satisfaction with system of education.
- (vi) Voluntary associations belonged to.
- (vii) Co-operation against crime.
- (viii) Opinion of Crossroads.
- (ix) Preference about moving to Crossroads.
- (x) Date of last visit to Homelands.

I. Analysis

By analysis I mean studying the pattern of the data in each table and drawing conclusions about its significance. The tables and the conclusions might be called Findings of the Survey. Besides these findings from the tables there were others that I drew from my own direct observations in the township or from the remarks I had recorded as "unscheduled responses" on the field schedules. (See Chapter 8).

J. Report

From the beginning of my work I made written reports to my Supervisor. I am afraid that the first drafts were often quite rough. This was not because I was negligent. I was thinking originally in Zulu, collecting data in Xhosa, and discussing the results in English. I found this difficult. I am grateful to my Supervisor for his help in much revision of my dissertation which was composed from these draft reports of mine.

Note to Chapter Three

- (1) E. Batson, "An Interim Report on the Social Survey of Cape Town, conducted in the Department of Social Science, University of Cape Town, 1936-1942", in S.W. Davis (Chairman, Editorial Sub-Committee), Official Report of the Social Survey Conference, Cape Town, 1942, p. 28.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE QUAESITA AND THE PILOT SURVEY

- A. The Quaesita.
- B. The Pilot Survey.

A. The Quaesita

Having chosen the survey area for my research I had to ask myself "What do I want to find out about Nyanga?" It was not an easy question to answer because there were so many ideas in my mind. As a starting point I looked at a number of books in the Leslie Library of the University that deal with community surveys. That guided my thinking and increased my insight.

I studied my notes and lists of ideas carefully. I found that they covered many community aspects of any township. To mention a few of these, besides matters of the history of Africans in the Western Cape and particularly the history of Nyanga, they included such aspects of the present township as health, education, social classes, law and order, reasons for living

in Nyanga, transport, employment, recreation facilities, housing, and migrant labour. I learned that such questions for research may be called quaesita. (They are not the same as the questions that they may afterwards be translated into in a questionnaire or interview schedule.)

I also realized that my list of quaesita was too long to be covered by one field worker in one year. For instance, there were many dealing extensively with migrant labourers. Through guidance it dawned on me that although there were migrant workers in Nyanga they could not be dealt with in detail in a general community survey. The issue of migrant workers is a subject by itself that needs full research. So I put aside many thoughts that concerned them.

I found that although I had cut out migrant workers my list was still long. I felt that my main weakness in drawing up a list of quaesita was that I did not have skill in making my ideas precise. I tended to express my ideas in long passages. But as time went on I learned to make my ideas brief and precise. In order to shorten my list I tried to think of the main aspects of any township that would strike a visitor who has not visited it or heard of it. It was not an easy task because every item in my list looked important. I was advised to group my ideas into categories. Those that carried similar meanings were grouped together. To do that I took many fiches, or slips of

paper, and wrote my quaesita on them.⁽¹⁾ I then began to classify the very large number of fiches that I had. All those fiches that had a similar meaning were put together in a heap. That was a fascinating exercise. I was living alone in a room at that time. I had to clear the room to have enough space to organize my heaps of slips. That helped me a great deal to reduce my list to a manageable size. For instance, in the original list there were thoughts about hospitals, clinics, doctors, nurses, health inspectors, and day hospitals. I put all those ideas together and then gave them the title "health". I did the same to other groups of ideas.

In order to make sure that the fiches did not get mixed up or lost I took each heap and put it in a separate envelope and wrote the title on the envelope. I carried these slips in envelopes wherever I went, at the University, in town, in church, at meetings, and when visiting friends and relatives.

I then rewrote these heaps of ideas into meaningful sentences.

I had to consider that I had no private transport and no assistants for my field work. I reduced the list to a few simple and manageable topics, choosing those I had thought were most important for understanding Nyanga.

I found that my list of quaesita was not too long now; it

was manageable. Then I had to formulate questions to be presented to respondents in the field. That also presented difficulties, for which I obtained advice.

B. The Pilot Survey

The pilot survey was conducted in Nyanga. It was in the first place an attempt to orientate myself in the field. It was an effort to acquaint myself with the community and its residents; to get the general atmosphere and the feel of the place. ✓ I wanted to gauge my acceptability, most especially because I was from outside Cape Town, and not Xhosa-speaking. Another major reason why I thought the pilot survey was essential and crucial was the fact that it was during a sensitive period. In a community that was experiencing both a school and a bus boycott, I was going to test reaction to a survey in which some of the questions invited opinions on transport and education. It is normal that when people are undergoing insecurity, and a stranger arrives and asks them to comment on some of the main factors that contribute to their insecurity, that tends to worsen their state and can result in unfriendly and harmful responses. Some respondents may reject the stranger, refuse to communicate with him, give him false opinions, or even go to the extent of injuring him.

In the third place, as a new field researcher I thought such

a preliminary exercise before my full project would help to clarify many questions that were in my mind. Such questions were: What will the residents of Nyanga think of me? Will they accept me, seeing that I am Zulu-speaking and not even a resident of Cape Town? What are the attitudes of the Xhosa people towards the Zulu people? How will I explain what research is in Xhosa? Will the Bantu Administration Board allow a stranger to conduct such research work? Won't my research raise many unrealistic hopes concerning problems of the people and at the end frustrate them, thus making difficulties for future researchers? Many such questions were in my mind when I planned to do a pilot survey in Nyanga. ✓

The sampling also came to the fore in the pilot study. I had decided to concentrate only on family dwellings, as I planned to do in the main study. Having drawn a small map of the whole family housing area, I decided to go to the first house and then take every fifth one in the rows of houses. At the start I met with a difficulty. In some of the related houses there were either only children or nobody, and then I took the house next door. Later, in consultation with my supervisor, I realized that this was wrong and that I should retain as my sample every fifth house irrespective of whether there were people there or not.

To introduce myself, I greeted the people in Xhosa and then explained that I am Zulu-speaking, from Natal, and that

they must bear with me if I did not make myself clear. I gave them my name and surname and said I was working at the University of Cape Town, but at the beginning of the interview I did not say I was a student there.

When I felt that I had established rapport, I said that I was doing Standard 15. That was important because it fits their thinking; if I had said I was doing a Masters degree they would not have understood. I had to explain everything at grassroots level. The idea of research was introduced by explaining that as part of my work I had to conduct a community study about residents of a township. I told them that I had chosen Nyanga because many studies had been conducted in other areas. At the end of each interview we talked about general matters of the Zulu and Xhosa cultures.

The reception I received depended on each respondent. Those that had been born in town communicated freely compared to those born in the country. I also found that the few that were Zulu-speaking were easiest. Because the field work was conducted during the day I could not contact many males; they were at work. I found that Xhosa women are like Zulu women in many ways. They respect males. Whenever I explained what I was doing in each home I was told "Akekho utata wendlu", i.e. the father or husband is not present.

I had to explain that that did not matter. They would

have to report to him that Dlundla from Zululand, but who stays in Guguletu and is working at the University of Cape Town, had been around doing research. I mentioned where I was available if the husband wanted to see me, and the interview was closed by emphasizing that I can be contacted at my place of abode or at the University.

I began to learn how to record data. I used an ordinary pencil, writing faintly in note form the information sifted from discussion with each respondent on each question in the field schedule. I was conscious of the need to keep a maximum eye contact with each respondent, avoiding writing every word. That helped me not to break rapport. At the start of each interview I explained to respondents that they must not feel frightened if I wrote down their answers; I had to stress that point because I know that Africans are afraid of a person, particularly a stranger, who records what transpires in a discussion.

I also learned that if people feel threatened one does not start by questions that are part of the threat. One must always establish a firm rapport, trying to put people at ease. Then you can tackle the causes of their insecurities. As an example, I made a big mistake in asking people to comment on education very early in the field schedule. The result was that the majority said that they had no opinions on that matter. In the main survey, after I had rearranged the questions and put the

question as the last one, the responses were more satisfactory. However, data collected in the pilot survey were considered reliable enough to include. Some respondents gave long answers and it was my task to sift out the relevant aspects. How to present the content of each question was also important in this connection. For instance, all the questions that touched a respondent's opinion on Crossroads were not separated but presented in one discussion.

I did not feel satisfied with some of the responses in the pilot survey (and to some extent in the main survey too). For instance, I thought that questions that related to transport, fares, and education, were not answered truthfully by some respondents; but a good number of them were honest. I experienced instances where some respondents answered after they had thoroughly questioned me: "Where was I working?", "What was the aim of the research?", "How will it help the community of Nyanga?", "Am I not the police, or government official?", and the like. Another problem was that I was not at all fluent in Xhosa. That caused a lot of suspicion among some interviewees. But as months went by I steadily gained confidence, and some respondents realized I was not there to sell them out in any way. I am using the term "sell out" here because it is a very popular one among the African people to stigmatize any person they regard as collaborating with the authorities against them. ✓

There were those who did not co-operate with me at all.

One respondent, for instance, ordered me to leave his house as soon as I possibly could. I immediately left the township; because on that day I foresaw danger as people were very sensitive about the boycotts. After consultation with my supervisor I decided to keep out of the area for two weeks and then resumed my field work when it was "calm". A number of incidents of that nature occurred throughout my field work until the boycotts were over.

The question of my identity aroused much interest. I was taken for a policeman, a soldier, a rent collector, and a repatriation officer. Off the record, I was sometimes asked to help on welfare matters like pensions and employment permits.

Most interviews took an hour more or less but that depended on the respondent. I found that the session was much shorter with educated compared with uneducated persons. Unfortunately the great majority of my respondents were uneducated. I had good opportunity to look at my interviewing abilities and limitations and also to improve not only them but my vocabulary and understanding of the Xhosa language.

I used to begin my interviews as soon as possible after 9.30 a.m. That depended on the availability of transport. The answers on the field schedules were finally fully recorded after the day's interviews. The faintly-written responses in the field were written in ink at home. No changes were made;

answers were recorded as they were taken down from the respondents.

The pilot survey included all the questions that were later in the main survey except some relating to address, sex, age, size of the house, and size of the family. Thus the first five questions that are in the main survey do not appear in the pilot study. They were not necessary for the purposes of the pilot survey, and it was not realized that the pilot survey schedules might later be included in the main survey.

I came to the conclusion that the schedule should have provided for further remarks and comments. I found in the main that doing that afforded the respondents an opportunity to make known some of their pressing needs that were not covered in the questions. Besides that, many respondents re-emphasized what they had said when answering questions. It also gave me a space for evaluating the respondent particularly if he did not volunteer any comment. ✓

The number of households in the pilot survey was 21. In eight of them there was nobody at home. Thus 13 field schedules or households provided data in the pilot survey.

Note to Chapter Four

- (1) S. and B. Webb, Methods of Social Study, London, 1932, pp. 83-96.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

As soon as my Pilot Survey was finished I began arrangements for the main Household Survey.

In planning and conduct, it resembled the pilot survey. One significant difference was that my presentation of the questions was much more systematized. Again, before I went into field for the main survey I made sure that I could translate the questions into understandable Xhosa. The questions on my field schedules were all in English but I planned to speak to the respondents in Xhosa. My wife assisted me a great deal in translating questions into Xhosa as she is Xhosa-speaking. On 3 October 1980 I went into the field.

The sampling method I used was the same as in the Pilot Survey. I enquired at every fifth house, working my way through all the streets with private dwellings and keeping a record on small maps I drew.

My interview schedule was slightly changed in the light of experience from the pilot survey. It contained the following topics for discussion. They were written as questions but I did not put them as questions. And I did not necessarily follow the order on the schedule.

M.D. Nyanga Research 1980

1. Address.
2. Respondent: male/female, apparent age.
3. Rooms occupied: bedrooms, living rooms, kitchen, other.
4. No. of persons aged 16 or more.
5. No. of persons below 16 (including babies).
6. Place of residence before arriving in Cape Town.
7. Place of abode when first arriving in Cape Town.
8. Date of arrival in Nyanga.
9. Reason for living in Nyanga (whether chose to stay there or put by authorities). Indicate where would you like to stay.
10. Respondent's opinion on the influence of Crossroads on Nyanga.
11. Would respondent prefer to move to Crossroads? If yes or no, why?
12. Is respondent satisfied about road conditions?
13. Type of transport operating in Nyanga that is used by respondent.
14. Is the transport adequate?
15. Are the bus fares reasonable?
16. Has the respondent joined in preventing and combating crimes?
17. Are health facilities sufficient?
18. Does respondent regard himself as part of Transkei, Ciskei or any other Homeland, or as permanent in the Western Cape?
19. When did respondent last visit relatives or friends in the Homelands?
20. Are the neighbours of the same social status as respondent, or lower or higher? What does respondent feel about this?
21. Does respondent belong to any clubs or other voluntary associations? If so, which?
22. Is respondent satisfied with the present system of education?
23. Further remarks and comments.

Having rectified those I could of the errors I committed in my pilot survey I went to the field much more confident. My understanding of Xhosa had much improved at the time of the conduct of the main survey. I felt I had mastered some of the techniques of putting questions to a respondent in such a way that he did not feel threatened. I knew how to greet in Xhosa, and I could introduce myself in such a manner that I did not arouse suspicion and mistrust. I put the questions in the form of a discussion rather than an interrogation. When people offered me food or tea, I took it with pleasure so that they felt that I was part of them. I explained to them with ease what research is and why is it important to our African communities. Although that sounded very abstract to them, at the end of most of our discussions I could see the understanding in their expressions and in their comments. I am not underestimating the problems I had experienced when doing the pilot survey, and that were still there almost every day when I was in the field. The difference was that I was much more confident and accustomed to such difficulties. It was a very exhausting exercise in my academic life but I approached each day with determination. I refrained from attempting to solve any problem before I was in the field. Those were very difficult times in the townships, but I treated each day as a challenge. It took me almost six months to complete my field work. Through the Household Survey, besides the work in the field and the editing at home in the

evening, I kept in close touch with my supervisor at the University, presented progress reports to him, discussed all difficulties that arose, and received advice. The best way to give an impression of my work at that time is to quote from some of the progress reports, as they were written, sometimes under pressure of field conditions. I do not attempt here to polish or reword these extracts in any way, except to correct obvious errors.

3 October 1980

I faced a number of new problems. There were many householders who were absent from their dwellings. Again suspicion and wrong association continued to reign in the minds of many respondents regarding me. Some respondents expressed to me that they were scared because many of their friends and relatives have been arrested in the past after some unknown persons had interviewed them as I did. Some respondents told me that they were very busy and could not give me time to be interviewed. Some preferred to be interviewed outside the houses. Some preferred that all the members of the family present should be participating in the interview as witnesses should any trouble arise afterwards. Other respondents said that I do not have knowledge of many things because I am not married. Other respondents asked why I do not work in Durban or Zululand because I am Zulu-speaking. Some questions were left unanswered for a long time then answered at the end. The problem of not being Xhosa-speaking continued to be a major stumbling block. Many interviewed did not believe that I am not Xhosa-speaking, because I know some words in Xhosa. They felt I was pretending to be Zulu-speaking.

5 October 1980

This was a very strenuous day for me. I arrived at 9.00 a.m. and left at 3.00 p.m. Most of the residents were very suspicious of me that day. The suspicion was aroused by the fact that I was wearing black boots, a brown pair of trousers, and had a brown brief case. Again in the afternoon, there was a little conflict in the township. The youngsters were commemorating what is known as Guy Fawkes Day. I was told that Mr. Fawkes was a top government official of the U.S. who was killed by youngsters many years back. Therefore every year young black kids remember this day. What I am saying is that because of that it was not at all safe to work in Nyanga that day.

8 October 1980

This was the most exciting day for my work. People were very free with me. Residents realized that I was a researcher and a social worker, not an official. They believed me when I said my duty is research, not to interfere with their private life. We really built a strong rapport. In fact only one respondent refused to answer one of the questions i.e. Question number 10 on the schedule: "Respondent's opinion on the influence of Crossroads on Nyanga".

One old man related to me the history of the Black people in South Africa. He told me that Blacks of South Africa originated from the Northern parts of Africa and they migrated to the Southern part of Africa. According to that old man, Ethiopians are from the Middle East. He called them Black Jews. I do not know how true is this but to me as a researcher I attached great significance because it showed how free are some of the respondents to me. Especially that old man when he saw me he thought because I am young I need to be taught by people of an older generation about our past. He even told me that the history we learned from school is very much distorted. We need to be told by them who are old. He further told me how Cape Town as a city developed. This man is over 80 years. He could not tell when he was exactly born but it appeared to me he is now going for the 90's. I really enjoyed my field work that day.

13 October 1980

One of the respondents explained to me what is meant by one of the voluntary associations called "Umgalelo". This is a group of people who come together and form an association of some kind with the aim of assisting one another financially. For instance a group of working men can come together and form this type of voluntary association. At the end of each month each member can pay 50 rands to one man. To explain this clearly let us assume that 10 men form themselves into this type of voluntary association; it means that 9 men (each paying 50 rands) will pay R450 to their one member.

16 October 1980

In some families they object to my coming early in the morning. They say, how can a stranger come while they have not yet had their breakfast? But I cannot come late to the field because it is now summer, it becomes extremely hot during the day.

20 October 1980

People in the community appear to have changed dramatically from what they were when I started in the field. When I started in the field it appeared everything was going to run smooth, but as days went by I have experienced the opposite. As a community worker I was of course aware of the tension in all Black townships in the Peninsula because of the current school boycott and bus boycott. People never showed a negative attitude towards me but I was aware of the problems that beset them at present and many of those problems came out now and again during our discussions.

29 October 1980

That was a very windy and rather cold day. Respondents were very co-operative despite some who were very sceptical about my role in the field. Well, I'm now used to people in the field associating me with so many institutions.

10 November 1980

I started my field work at 9.00 a.m. and left at 3.45 p.m. This was not really a good day. As our bus passed through Guguletu at 8.30 in the morning, it was stoned by the mob of youngsters. I was lucky because one of the heavy stones hit the window at my back. I was confused because it was not the weekend; it was the beginning of the week. When I reached Nyanga I did not know whether to continue with my work or to go back home. Nyanga was quiet that day and I continued with my work.

11 November 1980

This was a very short day in my field work. I arrived at 10.00 a.m. and left at 11.45 a.m. The weather was very bad. It was raining and cold; it was not raining in the morning but cloudy and cold. During the day it started raining and I had to call off the day.

13 November 1980

I think my speed of working in Nyanga this month has been satisfactory, except for minor obstacles which sometimes prohibited my working daily. I think the time I have spent each day of my visit is far greater than the time I spent last month. As a result, I still entertain the hope that by the 25th of this month I will be through with my interviews in Nyanga. I also believe that I have now acquired new skills in interviewing, especially the approach to different classes of township residents. Many of the African people do not know what research is. Only those who have spent longer periods at schools can be easily dealt with.

But beside all the problems, there are other difficulties. Due to all the political tensions and conflicts in the Black townships in the Peninsula, residents find it difficult to trust anybody who comes with questions some of which relate to their sensitive problems. Any researcher needs to be careful and sensitive when asking some of the questions. A classical example is Question No. 22 in my schedule, "Is the respondent satisfied with the present system of education?"

A respondent would answer by saying "Singathini phela, sanelisiwe nje ngaleyondlela. Izinhliziyo zethu zimbi abantwana bethu abafundi." ("What do you expect us to say? We are satisfied in a way, but our hearts are painful and sore because our kids are not at school." As a researcher I am always careful not to dwell too much on such subjects or else I can waste a lot of time. At the same time I do not want to make my respondents to feel that I'm using them for my research. Many times, some of my answers come to me indirectly, not directly, as I have attempted to illustrate with the above example.

In "Zwelitsha" I have experienced a new type of problem, besides the problem of numbering which I am now used to. Many houses are not arranged according to street. They are just built together like a rural village without any streets separating them. There are only small open spaces separating these small villages. This makes it very difficult to draw clear streets for sampling. Some of these small streets have no names. If you ask a respondent "What is the name of your street?", he tells you "I stay in Zwelitsha my son".

17, 24, and 25 November

I enjoyed the last three days in Nyanga. The discussions and answers given by the respondents during my last interviews were a summary of what I have observed and experienced since I started my field work in the area. Throughout my field work in Nyanga the following have been characteristic:-

1. I have been associated to many figures:-
 - (a) police (security police and detective).
 - (b) Government official connected with removal schemes to Homelands.
 - (c) Messenger of the Court, or messenger of the township superintendent who goes about collecting rent, evicting people from their homes, etc.
 - (d) Official dealing with illegal trading.
 - (e) A soldier, because sometimes my attire is brown and I sometimes wear boots and carry a more or less brown brief case.

2. I have come across many social problems which do not pertain to my research in the area, e.g.:-
 - (a) People who need assistance (to apply for old age pension).
 - (b) Residents who need help to apply for disability grants because they are physically disabled because of various reasons.
 - (c) Families who are staying with people who found them in the streets and whose origin cannot be traced.
3. I have received complaints from some residents who feel that they have been unfairly dealt with by law and they do not know at which door they must knock.
4. There are families with very damp houses yet some members of such families are victims of T.B., asthma, and other diseases, which become incurable.
5. The problem of mixed numbering of houses as I have illustrated by small diagrams in my previous reports. In "Zwelitsha", the problem of houses which are in clusters, instead of reasonably separated by streets as in the case in other sections of Nyanga.
6. Some of the residents are not honest in answering the questions. But as a researcher I sometimes feel that it is because they psychologically resist accepting that the researcher has nothing to do with what they usually think he is when he first enters their houses. I have confirmed this when asking questions like: Place of residence before arriving in Cape Town?, When did respondent last visit relatives or friends in the homelands?, Is respondent satisfied with the present system of education?, Respondent's opinion on the influence of Crossroads on Nyanga? It appears some of the residents regard the above first two questions as a trap to get the grounds to repatriate them to the homelands. The question on education is seen by many residents as a trap to find out whether the parents support the current school boycott. On

the question about Crossroads, some residents would say they have no opinion; yet as the interview goes on some respondents show that they have many opinions about Crossroads. I remember one respondent who said to me that she had no opinion about Crossroads and I accepted that. But, there were some people drinking in her house and they were discussing events of the past weekend. Among other things, they complained about things and skolly gangsters in Nyanga. The respondent intervened in the discussion and said "Nyanga was far better than Crossroads, where people are murdered even during broad daylight".

7. I have concluded that there are very few middle-class people in Nyanga. What interested me is the fact that they are very class-conscious. I remember two rich businessmen I interviewed who could not come out of their cars to talk to me. I had to interview them in their cars and I kneeled outside the cars. Of course, those were very expensive cars (Mercedes Benz, 280S.E.) ✓
8. At many of the houses I visited there were either only children, people who were not occupants, or nobody.
9. High percentage of unschooled old people or who had spent only two or three years at school. ✓

I cannot describe all the characteristics of Nyanga residents. What I can say is that almost all residents successfully interviewed in three different sections of Nyanga revealed more or less identical characteristics.

Another factor I forgot to mention is the problem of weather especially during November month. It was very queer weather. It appeared as if it was winter, very cold, and sometimes cold and rain, the whole week. But on the whole I enjoyed the few months of field work in Nyanga township, despite many problems facing the Black community of Cape Town at present which made it difficult to do my work as freely as I wished.

CHAPTER SIX

CODING AND TABULATION

- A. Coding.
- B. Tabulation.
- C. The simple classifications.

A. Coding

While the household survey was still in progress, and then again when it was finished, the field schedules were scrutinized and edited. This was only for the purpose of clarifying any entry, care being taken not to change any meanings. (See page 28.)

I then set about coding.

I held several personal discussions and consultations with my Supervisor who not only gave me guidance but also assisted me in arranging and classifying my field data in a best possible way in order to be ready for coding.

That was not an easy task; it demanded some insight and determination. First, I took each field schedule and copied the exact wording of all the answers that were recorded on each question that appeared on the schedule. I did that by writing such responses on the slips of paper. There were 204 field schedules with 23 questions each. I then compared the answers given by the respondents in order to determine which were identical or similar. Having thoroughly studied all the answers, I classified the slips into heaps, making every effort to put together all the answers that were similar. That process of classification ended up with heaps of slips. A summary slip on coloured paper was written out for each heap. On that slip was written a summary of the opinions recorded on the slips of that heap.

Some responses to certain questions in the field schedules included many different shades of opinions. Those responses were subdivided into closely similar heaps.

I encountered many problems in attempting to classify the responses. Some responses were so varied that I found it very difficult to group them in a reasonably small number of classes. For such responses I sought advice from my Supervisor who suggested as a principle for classifying such varied heaps, to sort all the responses into two groups according to whether they do or do not express a certain opinion regarding one fundamental characteristic of the responses.

For instance, in the case of Question 9 there were respondents who said that they chose to come to Nyanga and those who said they did not have a free choice coming to Nyanga. This sorting into two groups is called dichotomy. Having got the two basic heaps, they were then each divided by a second dichotomy; whether the respondent wished to go on living in Nyanga or would prefer to go somewhere else. This double dichotomy yielded the four heaps:-

Chose to come, would like to stay.

Chose to come, would like to move away.

Had no choice in coming, would like to stay.

Had no choice in coming, would like to move away.

It also happened that some responses did not fall into any one of these classes, e.g., no opinion, no response, refuses to answer, don't know, etc. Such responses were placed separately into a fifth heap.

The next step was to code the answers given by the responses. But before I attempted to draw up Codes for my answers, it was necessary to re-group the responses into meaningful categories. A very small group would be hardly meaningful. Having studied the list of responses, I realized that some answers came from less than five respondents. In an attempt to re-group the responses more meaningfully I aimed at a set of categories which would ensure at least six answers to each question. However,

this was not possible for all responses in the field schedules. There were a few questions where the responses had to be as they were, e.g. questions 9, 11, 12, 15, and 18.

In coding I aimed at classifying only those responses where there was sufficient diversity. As a general rule "sufficient diversity" was taken to mean where the biggest single group was not significantly bigger than 90% of all the actual responses. Code numbers (1, 2, 3....) were assigned to the classes of responses that were to be coded. The number of classes was kept down less than 9. Therefore the code numbers were from 1 to not more than 8. For "D.K." responses, code No. 9 was used.

I encountered another problem with regard to Question 19 of the schedule. This question was: When did the respondent last visit relatives or friends in the Homelands? The respondents gave me a variety of responses, e.g. Does not visit any homeland, Does not remember the date, Remembers visiting (and gives the date), Refuses to answer, etc.

As a first attempt I tried to code these responses as they stood. That caused difficulty because some respondents gave the actual dates of their last visit to the homelands and some were vaguer. It then became apparent that answers to this question deal with two key points, whether the respondent remembers visiting the homelands, and, if so, on what date he last visited. The

following code served as a solution to this problem:-

- | | |
|---|-----|
| Remember visiting the homeland | (1) |
| Does not remember visiting the homeland | (2) |
| Does not visit any homeland | (3) |
| D.K. | (9) |

This was followed by a second code for the date of the last visit. Where applicable, (i.e. where there was a date), the last two figures of the date were the code number.

As part of experience during the process of analyzing and classification, I realized that coding was a crucial stage of my research work. Now and then I had to fight against my personal prejudices and biases or they would have distorted the results. I made every effort to keep them at a low level. First of all, being black and conducting a study of this nature among Blacks, I would have been very subjective in handling any crucial material if self-awareness was not actively present throughout the process of analyzing and classification of the material into meaningful categories. Secondly, being a Zulu and conducting a study in a predominantly Xhosa-speaking community my own cultural background could have easily distorted reality. I realized the need to maintain objectivity.

Another experience I gained was the realization that in social inquiry the results will sometimes be contrary to what socialization and common sense has taught. For instance, in

the questions where the respondents were requested to voice their opinions about the influence of Crossroads on Nyanga and whether they would prefer to move to Crossroads most of the respondents gave negative responses about the Crossroads community. One would have expected Nyanga and Crossroads communities to have solidarity as they have some similar problems as sojourners in the Western Cape. But I found many Nyanga respondents were very prejudiced against Crossroads residents. They described them as ruralites who have not as yet understood and accepted the townsman's way of life.

Further, I learned that before composing any codes proper classification of responses is of great importance. This depends entirely on proper grouping of responses together according to their possession of certain common attributes. As a major rule when classifying material we place together things that possess in common the greatest number of attributes. In attempting classification I studied the field data thoroughly and discovered that many responses fell into distinct groups with common traits. But, as I have said earlier, there were those items where it was very difficult to do this. When the data were properly classified, coding was much simplified. I now conclude that the process of coding is not difficult, but analyzing and classifying data demands objectivity and concentration. ✓

B. Tabulation

I went back to the field schedules to prepare for tables. I took the field schedules one by one and entered the relevant code number in the right-hand margin against the first response. I had the fiches to guide me in any case of doubt.

When I had coded the responses to the first question in all the field schedules, I set out to prepare the first table. First I sorted all the schedules into heaps according to the code numbers. I then drew up a blank table under a main heading corresponding to the first question. In the cells in the left-hand column I inserted the code numbers for that table, and in the second column of cells I inserted the corresponding numbers of responses with their total. As a cell had been provided for the D.K. responses, the total was 196, the number of households for which I had field schedules. When the tables had all been entered and double checked, a fair copy of each was made. At this time the code numbers were translated into words.

C. The simple classifications

The responses to the 22 specific topics in my household schedule fell into three groups:-

(a) Demographic and socio-economic data, not opinion	8
(b) High consensus, reported in words, not tabulated	4
(c) Tabulated	10

There were 196 households from which I collected data. Usually I obtained some response on each question from nearly all the 196 respondents. Those cases where I could record no response were entered as "D.K.", the recognised statistical symbol for non-response. In the rest of the present chapter, wherever a total falls short of 196 responses by a small figure, it is to be assumed that the number of D.K. entries is the difference between the total responses and 196. Where the number of D.K. responses was big, however, it is reported separately. In regard to at least one topic the big D.K. response was particularly significant.

The demographic and socio-economic data obtained in the household sample were not intended for estimating population statistics for which complete official counts are available (see Chapter 2). They were for internal checks on the range and representativeness of the sample itself.

Among the information obtained from 183 respondents to Field Schedule Questions No. 1 to 8, however, the following is thought to be of some general interest.

Sex and Age
or Apparent Age
of Respondents

Age	Males	Females	Persons
Under 15	-	-	-
15 - 19	-	1	1
20 - 29	3	22	25
30 - 39	1	37	38
40 - 49	3	32	35
50 - 59	5	36	41
60 and over	9	34	43
All ages	21	162	183

Number of Households
according to Number of Persons
and Number of Rooms Occupied

Persons in Household	Rooms Occupied				
	1	2	3	4	All
1	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	6	3	-	9
3	-	6	3	1	10
4	-	16	2	1	19
5	-	14	7	2	23
6	-	12	9	3	24
7	-	9	4	5	18
8	-	3	9	4	16
9	-	6	5	5	16
10 or more	-	8	26	14	48
All Households	-	80	68	35	183

First Place of Residence
in Western Cape
of respondents not born there

Stated place, followed by number of respondents

Athlone (3), Bellville (14), Bonteheuwel (2), Camps Bay (1), Cape Town (4), Claremont (1), Diep River (1), Elgin (1), Elsies River (20), Goodwood (4), Grassy Park (5), Guguletu (1), Kensington (11), Klip (2), Kraaifontein (6), Langa (9), Maitland (1), Malmesbury (1), Milnerton (1), Mowbray (1), Ndabeni (2), Newlands (1), Nyanga (21), Observatory (1), Ottery (21), Paarl (2), Parow (6), Retreat (6), Richmond (2), Rylands (2), Sea Point (1), Simonstown (2), Stellenbosch (2), Tiervlei (2), Vasco (1), Vrygrond (3), Woodstock (2), Worcester (1).

As has been explained in Section A of this Chapter, when responses were practically unanimous they were not coded. This was because no tabulation was necessary. This does not mean that the responses that were nearly unanimous were uninteresting. It meant that they could be understood without tabulation. The topics to which this applied were the responses to the following quaesita or Field Schedule Questions:-

Topic 12: Is the respondent satisfied about road conditions?

Topic 14: Is the transport adequate?

Topic 15: Are the bus fares reasonable?

Topic 18: Does respondent regard himself as

part of Transkei, Ciskei, or any other Homeland, or as permanent in the Western Cape?

(As usual, the pronoun "himself" might mean himself, herself, her husband, or themselves.)

The responses on these four topics were the following.

Road conditions.

Almost all the respondents felt that there was a steady improvement in the condition of the roads. They believed that the authorities have now taken an interest in upgrading them. They said and I had seen that roads were being tarred, street lights being installed, and proper drains being constructed.

Adequacy of transport.

Almost all the respondents said that transport was not at all adequate in the township. I was informed and I saw that there is no railway running through Nyanga. The station is next to Guguletu, not in Nyanga, although it is called Nyanga station. Respondents said that the buses and taxis which run between Nyanga and a few selected suburbs are also not enough. I was told that many residents stand for hours at bus stations and taxi ranks going to and from work. Also that the only public bus company in Cape Town issues a well-drawn-up daily bus time-table but it is very rarely that the buses stick to it. Residents have lodged

many complaints but there are still no remarkable improvements. As to taxis, I did not hear of (or see) any taxis operating between Nyanga and any major industrial areas. The majority of taxis operate between Nyanga and other African townships. I was also told that African taxis or vehicles that transport people to other areas than these are doing it illegally and are liable to heavy fines.

Bus fares.

Almost all the respondents said that the bus fares were too high. When they described the bus fares as too high a number of factors emerged as contributing to this. The Nyanga residents travel long distances to and from work which makes their weekly and monthly fares very expensive. In any case, most of those that are employed earn much less than the Coloured and other racial groups. At the time, the buses were being boycotted in an attempt to prevent an increase in fares.

Permanency in the Western Cape.

Of the 196 respondents, 191 said that they regarded themselves as permanently in the Western Cape. This was opposite to what is supposed to be accepted. These respondents saw themselves as part and parcel of the City.

The responses to the remaining ten Field Schedule Questions were as follows.

Question 9

I classified all the various reasons for coming to Nyanga as (a) chose to come, and (b) no choice in coming. There were 18 who chose to come and 177 who had no choice in coming.

I also classified all the respondents as (a) those who preferred to stay in Nyanga and (b) those who would prefer to leave. There were 48 who preferred to stay and 147 who would prefer to leave.

The combined classification of these responses was as follows:-

Chose to come, prefers to stay	15
Chose to come, prefers to leave	3
No choice in coming, prefers to stay	33
No choice in coming, prefers to leave	<u>144</u>
	<u>195</u>

Question 10

I asked the respondents' opinions of the influence on Nyanga of Crossroads, the squatter settlement next to Nyanga. These were open-ended questions. I got many kinds of answers. I wrote each one down on the slips of paper and sorted the slips into the following heaps:-

(a)	Crossroads is bad (without reasons why)	21
(b)	It is unhealthy	7
(c)	It is dangerous	31
(d)	It is criminal	24
(e)	It is not worse than Nyanga	13
(f)	No opinion (D.K.)	<u>100</u>
		<u>196</u>

Question 11

I asked the respondents whether they would like to move to Crossroads. I put this as an open-ended question and sorted the answers in the same way as I had for question 10. I sorted them into the following heaps:-

(a)	No, it is shacks	173
(b)	No, its housing is bad	9
(c)	No, it is not safe	8
(d)	Yes, Nyanga is overcrowded	<u>2</u>
		<u>192</u>

Question 13

I enquired into the kind of transport being used by members of the household for getting to work and other purposes. I found that bus, train, and taxi, were commonly in use at that time. This was however at the time of a bus boycott. The bus

users might be going by bus on some days when it seemed safe but not on others. The responses for those weeks would not describe what happened at other times. The responses were:-

Bus only	33
Train only	26
Taxi only	5
Bus and train	5
Train and taxi	9
Taxi and bus	13
Bus, train, and taxi	97
Own motor car	<u>7</u>
	<u>195</u>

From these figures it may seem surprising that a large number of persons travelled by taxi. But what the figures chiefly show is that at that time most people were using more than one means of transport, even if at not other times. Many of the "taxis" were not regular ones. The number of households using buses at all at that time was 148. The number of those using the trains at all was 137. The number of those using taxis at all was 124.

Question 16

I asked the respondents if they had ever taken any step to co-operate against crime. Only 17 said that their husbands, or

they and their husbands, had done so. The number who said they had not was 177.

Question 17

I asked opinions as to the sufficiency of the health services in Nyanga. The responses could easily be classified into "sufficient" (12) and "insufficient" (180).

Question 19

One of the questions related to the date of the respondents' last visit to their Homelands. Sometimes the women respondents answered for themselves, sometimes for themselves and for their husbands. A male respondent would have answered for himself. It is therefore not possible to classify the responses by sex, as I would have liked to do. 39 respondents could give no date. The remainder gave the following dates:-

(a)	Before 1960	10
(b)	1960-1969	10
(c)	1970-1974	15
(d)	1975-1979	52
(e)	1980	32
(f)	Never	<u>38</u>
		<u>157</u>

Question 20

I enquired from the respondents whether they thought their neighbours were of the same social class as themselves, or higher or lower. Only 5 said lower, 21 said higher, and 167 said "the same".

Question 21

I enquired what voluntary associations the respondents and their husbands belonged to. Only 20 said they did not belong to any. 175 belonged to one or more.

Question 22

I asked whether the respondents were satisfied with the system of education in Nyanga. 44 could express no opinion or no definite opinion. 16 responded "satisfactory" and 136 "unsatisfactory".

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CROSS-CLASSIFICATIONS

In the early stages of coding and classifying the field schedules, I became interested to see how opinions on one topic sometimes seemed to be connected with opinions on another. For instance, I wondered if the persons who believed that Cross-roads was dangerous to Nyanga were the same persons who had joined in some action against crime. My research had not been intended to test hypotheses of that kind, but I realised that they could be parts of a pattern that a survey could investigate (see page 9).

Such patterns could be looked for by computer processing and measured by statistical means. Another way of searching for them would be to take each of the distributions described in Part C of Chapter Six and cross-classify it by each of the others. This would refer to only two distributions at a time. More would not have been practicable. But it would be more truly the work of the researcher, and might be more expressive to readers of the dissertation. I therefore decided to calculate the 45 cross-tabulations. This was done by sorting and counting the 196 field schedules as before, but this time into heaps for the vertical distributions and then into sub-heaps for the horizontal distributions.

When this decision was taken, it was not realised how concentrated in a single cell many of the distributions would be. When two such distributions were crossed with each other, this meant that a large proportion of all the units in the cross tabulation would be found in one cell.

At first, it seemed that this might take most of the interest out of such tables. Nevertheless, having begun it was decided to finish them. It was then realised that the unusual entries in those tables were interesting. Take for instance Table 25 (page 95). The "model" cell in this table is "system of education unsatisfactory/health service insufficient", with 128 entries. These two opinions can be seen as naturally going together. Then there is the large entry (38) for "health insufficient/education DK", which may have something to do with caution at the time of a schools boycott. But again, there were 21 respondents who were dissatisfied with one of the two services and satisfied with the other. Altogether, there are hundreds of individual entries in these 45 tables that differ from large majority views. Each one of these individual exceptions is a part of the "pattern" of Nyanga and might be able to shed light on it if studied in detail. A survey cannot study individual cases in detail, but it may be able to indicate where useful case studies might be worth doing. For this reason it is thought that the 45 cross-classifications should be included complete, without comment.

TABLE 1
Reasons for having come to Nyanga
and attitudes about leaving
classified according to
Opinion of relative status of neighbours

Reasons for having come to Nyanga and attitudes about leaving	Opinion of relative status of neighbours				All respondents
	Lower	Same	Higher	DK	
Chose to come, prefers to stay	-	10	5	-	15
Chose to come, prefers to leave	-	3	-	-	3
No choice in coming, prefers to stay	2	26	5	-	33
No choice in coming, prefers to leave	3	128	11	2	144
DK	-	-	-	1	1
All respondents	5	167	21	3	196

TABLE 2

Reasons for having come to Nyanga
and attitudes about leaving
 classified according to
Transport used by Household

Reasons for having come to Nyanga and attitudes about leaving	Transport used by Household										All respondents
	B	T	X	BT	TX	XB	BTX	Car	DK		
Chose to come, prefers to stay	7	2	-	-	-	1	4	1	-		15
Chose to come, prefers to leave	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-		3
No choice in coming, prefers to stay	3	3	1	2	-	2	21	1	-		33
No choice in coming, prefers to leave	23	20	4	3	8	10	71	5	-		144
DK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		1
All respondents	33	26	5	5	9	13	97	7	1		196

TABLE 3
Reasons for having come to Nyanga
and attitudes about leaving
classified according to
Opinion of sufficiency of health services

Reasons for having come to Nyanga and attitudes about leaving	Opinion of sufficiency of health services			
	Suffi- cient	Insuffi- cient	DK	All res- pondents
Chose to come, prefers to stay	2	13	-	15
Chose to come, prefers to leave	-	3	-	3
No choice in coming, prefers to stay	1	32	-	33
No choice in coming, prefers to leave	9	132	3	144
DK	-	-	1	1
All respondents	12	180	4	196

TABLE 4
Reasons for having come to Nyanga
and attitudes about leaving
 classified according to
Satisfaction with system of education

Reasons for having come to Nyanga and attitudes about leaving	Satisfaction with system of education			All respondents
	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	DK	
Chose to come, prefers to stay	-	11	4	15
Chose to come, prefers to leave	-	3	-	3
No choice in coming, prefers to stay	-	28	5	33
No choice in coming, prefers to leave	16	94	34	144
DK	-	-	1	1
All respondents	16	136	44	196

TABLE 5

Reasons for having come to Nyanga
and attitudes about leaving
 classified according to
Voluntary associations belonged to

Reasons for having come to Nyanga and attitudes about leaving	Voluntary associations belonged to			All respondents
	One or more	None	DK	
Chose to come, prefers to stay	14	1	-	15
Chose to come, prefers to leave	3	-	-	3
No choice in coming, prefers to stay	31	2	-	33
No choice in coming, prefers to leave	127	17	-	144
DK	-	-	1	1
All respondents	175	20	1	196

TABLE 6

Reasons for having come to Nyanga
and attitudes about leaving
 classified according to
Co-operation against crime

Reasons for having come to Nyanga and attitudes about leaving	Co-operation against crime			All respondents
	Has actively co-operated	Has not actively co-operated	DK	
Chose to come, prefers to stay	2	13		15
Chose to come, prefers to leave	1	2		3
No choice in coming, prefers to stay	2	31		33
No choice in coming, prefers to leave	12	131	1	144
DK	-	-	1	1
All respondents	17	177	2	196

TABLE 7
Reasons for having come to Nyanga
and attitudes about leaving
 classified according to
Opinion of Crossroads

Reasons for having come to Nyanga and attitudes about leaving	Opinion of Crossroads						All respondents
	Bad	Unhealthy	Dangerous	Criminal	Not worse than Nyanga	DK	
Chose to come, prefers to stay	-	2	-	2	1	10	15
Chose to come, prefers to leave	2	-	-	-	-	1	3
No choice in coming, prefers to stay	4	-	4	4	1	20	33
No choice in coming, prefers to leave	15	5	27	18	11	68	144
DK	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
All respondents	21	7	31	24	13	100	196

TABLE 8

Reasons for having come to Nyanga
and attitudes about leaving
 classified according to
Preference about moving to Crossroads

Reasons for having come to Nyanga and attitudes about leaving	Preference about moving to Crossroads					All respondents
	No, it is shacks	No, its housing is bad	No, it is not safe	Yes, Nyanga is over-crowded	DK	
Chose to come, prefers to stay	15	-	-	-	-	15
Chose to come, prefers to leave	3	-	-	-	-	3
No choice in coming, prefers to stay	32	-	1	-	-	33
No choice in coming, prefers to leave	123	9	7	2	3	144
DK	-	-	-	-	1	1
All respondents	173	9	8	2	4	196

TABLE 9

Reasons for having come to Nyanga
and attitudes about leaving
 classified according to
Date of last visit to Homelands

Reasons for having come to Nyanga and attitudes about leaving	Date of last visit to Homelands							All respondents
	Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980	Never	DK	
Chose to come, prefers to stay	-	-	1	6	4	2	2	15
Chose to come, prefers to leave	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	3
No choice in coming, prefers to stay	2	3	3	13	3	5	4	33
No choice in coming, prefers to leave	8	6	11	32	25	30	32	144
DK	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
All respondents	10	10	15	52	32	38	39	196

TABLE 10

Opinion of relative status of neighbours
 classified according to
Transport used by household

Opinion of relative status of neighbours	Transport used by household									
	B	T	X	BT	TX	XB	BTX	Car	DK	All respondents
Lower	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	5
Same	27	22	4	4	8	8	89	5	-	167
Higher	5	4	-	1	1	4	5	1	-	21
DK	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	3
All respondents	33	26	5	5	9	13	97	7	1	196

TABLE 11

Opinion of relative status of neighbours
classified according to
Opinion of sufficiency of health services

Opinion of relative status of neighbours	Opinion of sufficiency of health services			All respondents
	Sufficient	Insufficient	DK	
Lower	-	5	-	5
Same	8	159	-	167
Higher	4	16	1	21
DK	-	-	3	3
All respondents	12	180	4	196

TABLE 12

Opinion of relative status of neighbours
classified according to
Satisfaction with system of education

Opinion of relative status of neighbours	Satisfaction with system of education			All respondents
	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	DK	
Lower	-	4	1	5
Same	14	117	36	167
Higher	2	15	4	21
DK	-	-	3	3
All respondents	16	136	44	196

TABLE 13

Opinion of relative status of neighbours

classified according to

Voluntary associations belonged to

Opinion of relative status of neighbours	Voluntary associations belonged to			
	One or more	None	DK	All respondents
Lower	5	-	-	5
Same	152	15	-	167
Higher	18	3	-	21
DK	-	2	1	3
All respondents	175	20	1	196

TABLE 14

Opinion of relative status of neighbours
classified according to
Co-operation against crime

Opinion of relative status of neighbours	Co-operation against crime			All respondents
	Has actively co-operated	Has not actively co-operated	DK	
Lower	-	5	-	5
Same	15	152	-	167
Higher	2	19	-	21
DK	-	1	2	3
All respondents	17	177	2	196

TABLE 15

Opinion of relative status of neighbours

classified according to

Opinion of Crossroads

Opinion of relative status of neighbours	Opinion of Crossroads						All respondents
	Bad	Un-healthy	Dangerous	Criminal	Not worse than Nyanga	DK	
Lower	-	-	1	-	-	4	5
Same	20	4	30	20	11	82	167
Higher	1	3	-	4	2	11	21
DK	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
All respondents	21	7	31	24	13	100	196

TABLE 16

Opinion of relative status of neighbours
classified according to
Preference about moving to Crossroads

Opinion of relative status of neighbours	Preference about moving to Crossroads					All respondents
	No, it is shacks	No, its housing is bad	No, it is not safe	Yes, Nyanga is over-crowded	DK	
Lower	5	-	-	-	-	5
Same	151	7	7	1	1	167
Higher	17	2	1	1	-	21
DK	-	-	-	-	3	3
All respondents	173	9	8	2	4	196

TABLE 17

Opinion of relative status of neighbours

classified according to

Date of last visit to Homelands

Opinion of relative status of neighbours	Date of last visit to Homelands							All respondents
	Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980	Never	DK	
Lower	-	2	-	-	2	-	1	5
Same	9	6	12	46	26	36	32	167
Higher	1	2	3	6	4	2	3	21
DK	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
All respondents	10	10	15	52	32	38	39	196

TABLE 18

Transport used by household
classified according to
Opinion of sufficiency of health services

Transport used by household	Opinion of sufficiency of health services			
	Suffi- cient	Insuffi- cient	DK	All res- pondents
Bus only	1	32	-	33
Train only	6	20	-	26
Taxi only	-	5	-	5
Bus & train	1	4	-	5
Train & taxi	2	7	-	9
Taxi & bus	2	10	1	13
Bus, train & taxi	-	96	1	97
Personal car	-	6	1	7
DK	-	-	1	1
All res- pondents	12	180	4	196

TABLE 19

Transport used by household
classified according to
Satisfaction with system of education

Transport used by household	Satisfaction with system of education			
	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	DK	All respondents
Bus only	6	22	5	33
Train only	1	20	5	26
Taxi only	-	2	3	5
Bus & train	-	2	3	5
Train & taxi	1	7	1	9
Taxi & bus	2	6	5	13
Bus, train & taxi	5	72	20	97
Personal car	1	5	1	7
DK	-	-	1	1
All respondents	16	136	44	196

TABLE 20

Transport used by household
classified according to
Voluntary associations belonged to

Transport used by household	Voluntary associations belonged to			
	One or more	None	DK	All respondents
Bus only	29	4	-	33
Train only	24	2	-	26
Taxi only	4	1	-	5
Bus & train	5	-	-	5
Train & taxi	9	-	-	9
Taxi & bus	9	4	-	13
Bus, train & taxi	90	7	-	97
Personal car	5	2	-	7
DK	-	-	1	1
All respondents	175	20	1	196

TABLE 21

Transport used by household
classified according to
Co-operation against crime

Transport used by household	Co-operation against crime			
	Has actively co-operated	Has not actively co-operated	DK	All respondents
Bus only	-	33	-	33
Train only	5	21	-	26
Taxi only	-	5	-	5
Bus & train	1	4	-	5
Train & taxi	-	9	-	9
Taxi & bus	1	12	-	13
Bus, train & taxi	10	86	1	97
Personal car	-	7	-	7
DK	-	-	1	1
All respondents	17	177	2	196

TABLE 22

Transport used by household
classified according to
Opinion of Crossroads

Transport used by household	Opinion of Crossroads						All respondents
	Bad	Un-healthy	Dangerous	Criminal	Not worse than Nyanga	DK	
Bus only	-	1	8	7	2	15	33
Train only	3	-	3	2	3	15	26
Taxi only	-	-	2	1	-	2	5
Bus & train	-	-	1	1	-	3	5
Train & taxi	2	-	1	2	-	4	9
Taxi & bus	1	2	-	3	-	7	13
Bus, train & taxi	15	3	16	8	8	47	97
Personal car	-	1	-	-	-	6	7
DK	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
All respondents	21	7	31	24	13	100	196

TABLE 23
Transport used by household
classified according to
Preference about moving to Crossroads

Transport used by household	Preference about moving to Crossroads					All respondents
	No, it is shacks	No, its housing is bad	No, it is not safe	Yes, Nyanga is over-crowded	DK	
Bus only	27	5	1	-	-	33
Train only	21	2	1	1	1	26
Taxi only	5	-	-	-	-	5
Bus & train	4	-	1	-	-	5
Train & taxi	6	-	2	1	-	9
Taxi & bus	13	-	-	-	-	13
Bus, train & taxi	91	2	2	-	2	97
Personal car	6	-	1	-	-	7
DK	-	-	-	-	1	1
All respondents	173	9	8	2	4	196

TABLE 24

Transport used by household
classified according to
Date of last visit to Homelands

Transport used by household	Date of last visit to Homelands							All respondents
	Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980	Never	DK	
Bus only	1	1	5	11	8	3	4	33
Train only	-	3	1	7	5	7	3	26
Taxi only	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	5
Bus & train	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	5
Train & taxi	-	-	-	5	1	2	1	9
Taxi & bus	1	-	-	4	1	2	5	13
Bus, train & taxi	8	5	7	22	14	19	22	97
Personal car	-	-	1	1	2	-	3	7
DK	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
All respondents	10	10	15	52	32	38	39	196

TABLE 25

Opinion of sufficiency of
health service

classified according to

Satisfaction with system of education

Opinion of sufficiency of health service	Satisfaction with system of education			
	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	DK	All respondents
Sufficient	2	7	3	12
Insufficient	14	128	38	180
DK	-	1	3	4
All respondents	16	136	44	196

TABLE 26

Opinion of sufficiency of
health service

classified according to

Voluntary associations belonged to

Opinion of sufficiency of health service	Voluntary associations belonged to			
	One or more	None	DK	All respondents
Sufficient	11	1	-	12
Insufficient	164	16	-	180
DK	-	3	1	4
All respondents	175	20	1	196

TABLE 27

Opinion of sufficiency of
health service

classified according to

Co-operation against crime

Opinion of sufficiency of health service	Co-operation against crime			All respondents
	Has actively co-operated	Has not actively co-operated	DK	
Sufficient	3	9	-	12
Insufficient	14	166	-	180
DK	-	2	2	4
All respondents	17	177	2	196

TABLE 28

Opinion of sufficiency of
health service

classified according to

Opinion of Crossroads

Opinion of sufficiency of health service	Opinion of Crossroads						All respondents
	Bad	Un-healthy	Danger-ous	Crim-inal	Not worse than Nyanga	DK	
Suffi-cient	2	1	-	-	-	9	12
Insuffi-cient	19	6	31	24	13	87	180
DK	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
All res-pondents	21	7	31	24	13	100	196

TABLE 29
Opinion of sufficiency of
health service
classified according to
Preference about moving to Crossroads

Opinion of sufficiency of health service	Preference about moving to Crossroads					All respondents
	No, it is shacks	No, its housing is bad	No, it is not safe	Yes, Nyanga is over-crowded	DK	
Sufficient	9	-	2	1	-	12
Insufficient	164	9	5	1	1	180
DK	-	-	1	-	3	4
All respondents	173	9	8	2	4	196

TABLE 30

Opinion of sufficiency of
health service

classified according to

Date of last visit to Homelands

Opinion of sufficiency of health service	Date of last visit to Homelands							All respondents
	Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980	Never	DK	
Sufficient	1	-	-	5	1	2	3	12
Insufficient	9	10	14	47	31	36	33	180
DK	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	4
All respondents	10	10	15	52	32	38	39	196

TABLE 31

Satisfaction with education
classified according to
Voluntary associations belonged to

Satisfaction with education	Voluntary associations belonged to			
	One or more	None	DK	All respondents
Satisfactory	15	1	-	16
Unsatisfactory	124	12	-	136
DK	36	7	1	44
All respondents	175	20	1	196

TABLE 32

Satisfaction with education
classified according to
Co-operation against crime

Satisfaction with education	Co-operation against crime			All respondents
	Has actively co-operated	Has not actively co-operated	DK	
Satisfactory	2	14	-	16
Unsatisfactory	11	125	-	136
DK	4	38	2	44
All respondents	17	177	2	196

TABLE 33

Satisfaction with education

classified according to

Opinion of Crossroads

Satisfaction with education	Opinion of Crossroads						All respondents
	Bad	Un-healthy	Danger-ous	Crim-inal	Not worse than Nyanga	DK	
Satis-factory	1	1	4	3	3	4	16
Unsatis-factory	19	5	18	16	7	71	136
DK	1	1	9	5	3	25	44
All res-pondents	21	7	31	24	13	100	196

TABLE 34

Satisfaction with education
classified according to
Preference about moving to Crossroads

Satisfaction with education	Preference about moving to Crossroads					All respondents
	No, it is shacks	No, its housing is bad	No, it is not safe	Yes, Nyanga is over-crowded	DK	
Satisfactory	13	2	-	1	-	16
Unsatisfactory	123	5	7	-	1	136
DK	37	2	1	1	3	44
All respondents	173	9	8	2	4	196

TABLE 35

Satisfaction with education
 classified according to
Date of last visit to Homelands

Satisfaction with education	Date of last visit to Homelands							All respondents
	Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980	Never	DK	
Satisfactory	2	2	-	3	2	4	3	16
Unsatisfactory	8	7	12	40	22	20	27	136
DK	-	1	3	9	8	14	9	44
All respondents	10	10	15	52	32	38	39	196

TABLE 36

Voluntary associations belonged to
classified according to
Co-operation against crime

Voluntary associations belonged to	Co-operation against crime			
	Has actively co-operated	Has not actively co-operated	DK	All respondents
One or more	17	158	-	175
None	-	19	1	20
DK	-	-	1	1
All respondents	17	177	2	196

TABLE 37

Voluntary associations belonged to
classified according to
Opinion of Crossroads

Voluntary associations belonged to	Opinion of Crossroads						All respondents
	Bad	Un-healthy	Dangerous	Criminal	Not worse than Nyanga	DK	
One or more	17	5	30	22	12	89	175
None	4	2	1	2	1	10	20
DK	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
All respondents	21	7	31	24	13	100	196

TABLE 38

Voluntary associations belonged to
classified according to
Preference about moving to Crossroads

Voluntary associations belonged to	Preference about moving to Crossroads					All respondents
	No, it is shacks	No, its housing is bad	No, it is not safe	Yes, Nyanga is over-crowded	DK	
One or more	156	9	7	2	1	175
None	17	-	1	-	2	20
DK	-	-	-	-	1	1
All respondents	173	9	8	2	4	196

TABLE 39

Voluntary associations belonged to
classified according to
Date of last visit to Homelands

Voluntary associations belonged to	Date of last visit to Homelands							All respondents
	Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980	Never	DK	
One or more	9	10	12	49	29	34	32	175
None	1	-	3	3	3	4	6	20
DK	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
All respondents	10	10	15	52	32	38	39	196

TABLE 40

Co-operation against crime
classified according to
Opinion of Crossroads

Co-operation against crime	Opinion of Crossroads						All respondents
	Bad	Un-healthy	Dangerous	Criminal	Not worse than Nyanga	DK	
Has actively co-operated	3	1	1	2	2	8	17
Has not actively co-operated	18	6	30	22	11	90	177
DK	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
All respondents	21	7	31	24	13	100	196

TABLE 41

Co-operation against crime

classified according to

Preference about moving to Crossroads

Co-operation against crime	Preference about moving to Crossroads					All respondents
	No, it is shacks	No, its housing is bad	No, it is not safe	Yes, Nyanga is over-crowded	DK	
Has actively co-operated	15	-	1	-	1	17
Has not actively co-operated	158	9	7	2	1	177
DK	-	-	-	-	2	2
All respondents	173	9	8	2	4	196

TABLE 42

Co-operation against crime
classified according to
Date of last visit to Homelands

Co-operation against crime	Date of last visit to Homelands							All respondents
	Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980	Never	DK	
Has actively co-operated	1	2	-	4	4	4	2	17
Has not actively co-operated	9	8	15	48	28	34	35	177
DK	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
All respondents	10	10	15	52	32	38	39	196

TABLE 43

Opinion of Crossroads
classified according to
Preference about moving to Crossroads

Opinion of Crossroads	Preference about moving to Crossroads					All respondents
	No, it is shacks	No, its housing is bad	No, it is not safe	Yes, Nyanga is over-crowded	DK	
Bad	20	-	1	-	-	21
Unhealthy	7	-	-	-	-	7
Dangerous	29	1	1	-	-	31
Criminal	22	2	-	-	-	24
Not worse than Nyanga	11	2	-	-	-	13
DK	84	4	6	2	4	100
All respondents	173	9	8	2	4	196

TABLE 44

Opinion of Crossroads
classified according to
Date of last visit to Homelands

Opinion of Crossroads	Date of last visit to Homelands							All respondents
	Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980	Never	DK	
Bad	4	2	2	5	4	4	-	21
Unhealthy	-	-	-	2	1	-	4	7
Dangerous	-	1	4	9	4	8	5	31
Criminal	-	2	3	8	3	4	4	24
Not worse than Nyanga	-	-	-	5	3	4	1	13
DK	6	5	6	23	17	18	25	100
All respondents	10	10	15	52	32	38	39	196

TABLE 45

Preference about moving to Crossroads

classified according to

Date of last visit to Homelands

Preference about moving to Crossroads	Date of last visit to Homelands							All respondents
	Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980	Never	DK	
No, it is shacks	8	10	13	45	28	36	33	173
No, its housing is bad	1	-	1	4	2	-	1	9
No, it is not safe	1	-	1	2	2	1	1	8
Yes, Nyanga is over-crowded	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
DK	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	4
All respondents	10	10	15	52	32	38	39	196

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

There are several kinds of conclusions that may be drawn from a study conducted by survey methods. The bigger the survey is, the more likely that these conclusions may be of importance. But from even a small survey conclusions may be drawn.

The sample survey of private households in Nyanga, Western Cape, reported on in this dissertation, was conducted by one investigator in the summer of 1980-1981. As is usual where household inquiries cannot be conducted in the evening or at week-ends, the respondents were mainly women. They spoke for their husbands as well as themselves. The interviews were conducted in Xhosa or, in a few cases, in Zulu. In general, rapport was excellent.

The unit of investigation was the "household" comprising the people living in a dwelling. No other definition of household was possible. A household might therefore contain more persons than one family. There were respondents from 196 dwellings.

The planning and conduct of the research have been reported upon in Chapters 1 to 7 of this dissertation. Its principal findings have been described and tabulated in Chapters 6 and 7, and these may be regarded as the most systematic part of the Conclusions. They are a selection of key topics from the original lists of quaesita in the fields of housing, use of transport, visits to Homelands, attitudes to Nyanga, to Crossroads, and about health, education, crime prevention, social class, and voluntary associations.

The relative proportions of the various opinions expressed are of interest. They are as follows:-

- (a) Four untabulated sets of responses were almost unanimous that:-

Road conditions are being improved,

Transport is inadequate,

Bus fares are too high,

Respondents regard themselves as belonging to the Western Cape.

- (b) Opinion recorded in the tabulated sets of responses was divided as follows, in order of the size of the majority opinions:-

Preference for moving to to Crossroads:-	No	97%
	D.K.	2%
	Yes	1%

Health services:-Insufficient	92%
Sufficient	6%
D.K.	2%

Came to Nyanga:- Had no choice	90%
Willingly	9%
D.K.	1%

Actively co-operating against crime:-	
No	90%
Yes	9%
D.K.	1%

Belongs to voluntary associations:-	
One or more	89%
None	10%
D.K.	1%

Relative status of neighbours:-	
Equal	85%
Unequal	13%
D.K.	2%

Remaining in Nyanga:-	
Prefers to leave	75%
Prefers to stay	24%
D.K.	1%

Opinion of educational system:-	
Unsatisfactory	69%
Satisfactory	8%
D.K.	23%

Opinion of Crossroads:-	
D.K.	51%
Adverse	42%
Not adverse	7%

Among the "unscheduled" subjects of conversation with the respondents I found the following subjects most often commented upon. This was often as a special emphasis on what had already been said:-

There is a big shortage of housing in Nyanga. This was revealed, for instance, by the overcrowding in many of the dwellings on the sample.

There is much dissatisfaction with the system of education. I do not say this only because of the boycott. When I interviewed them, many respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the schools. The reasons for the dissatisfaction however varied very much and were often not clearly expressed.

There was dissatisfaction with transport, particularly on the following grounds: the bus services were said to be irregular, the fares thought to be too high, and in any case it was said that not enough transport was available.

The people of Nyanga did not seem to be very much concerned about social class in Nyanga itself. But the more educated respondents were much concerned about law and order.

There was a dislike for the crime and results of bad housing in Crossroads, and at the same time there was some jealousy about the amenities that were being built in New Crossroads.

There was a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction at being in Nyanga at all. Many preferences were expressed for the earlier places lived in.

Finally, it was not the design of this research to test any definition of the term community. But all the same, it was thought that it might shed some light on the question whether a township like Nyanga ought to be called a community or whether such townships are a new kind of neighbourhood (see page 17).

P.V. Young had given a very useful list of community characteristics. In the first place, she had said that a community might be:-

- (a) large or small,
- (b) complex or simple,
- (c) incorporated or unincorporated,
- (d) with definite boundaries or without.

Also that it should not be assumed that community excludes social differentiation and stratification (see page 16).

(a) As to size, compared to villages I know Nyanga is large, but compared to Cape Town and even Guguletu it is small. This is taking into consideration the number of people rather than the area of land. Some rural villages cover a large area and some urban townships are very crowded on small areas.

(b) When I first came to Nyanga it seemed very complex. Now it seems simpler. But this is a subjective way of judging. Objectively, it is simple in regard to simple issues but has many complexities outside those issues. Any data like those I have tabulated can of course only be simplified data.

(c) Whether incorporated or not. The position at Nyanga is complicated. There is a local council and Nyanga is also under a Government Administration Board. It may be said to be incorporated.

(d) Nyanga has definite boundaries. They are recorded on official maps.

As to differentiation and stratification, it is clear that these are to be found in Nyanga. (See page 50, paragraph 7, for one example.) But the responses to Field Schedule Question 20 (about the social status of neighbours; see page 42 and the relevant tables in Chapter 7) point to strong feelings of equality.

To consider Young's six characteristics that are essential for communities:-

Nyanga does occupy a territorial area (Young, Point 1).

Nyanga is subjected to a degree of control (Young, Point 6); in fact, a strict degree.

Although this survey did not study them in any depth, it is clear that the people of Nyanga have many social institutions (Young, Point 5). Some of these are connected with laws and regulations. Then there are civic organizations, voluntary clubs, etc., that many people belong to (see page 42, Question 21, and the relevant tables in Chapter 7). Then there are informal ways of meeting their needs like the imigalelo (see page 46). Even a practice like bus boycotts can become institutionalized. All these ways of doing things

may be beginning to form into constellations.

But this would be a very complex subject to re-
search into.

P.V. Young's three remaining points all use the term
common: common interests (Point 2), common patterns of social
and economic relations (Point 3), common bond of solidarity
(Point 4). As to these:-

The large majorities which appear not only in
the simple tabulations in Chapter 6 but also
in the cross-classifications in Chapter 7 do seem
to point to common interests.

As is illustrated by the responses regarding
bus fares and transport during the boycott
(and by the boycott itself), regarding atti-
tudes to neighbours, membership of clubs, and
other sets of responses (see Chapter 7), some
shared social and economic patterns obviously
exist.

Considering the survey altogether, it may be
said that it points in every way to common
bonds of solidarity in spite of divisions of
various kinds.

The respondents interviewed were a representative sample of the people in private dwellings in Nyanga but it is not possible to say if the topics discussed with them were also representative of life in Nyanga. All the same, I think it may be said that this survey was properly called a community survey (see page 17) and that Nyanga does qualify to be considered a community (ibid.) Some writers however have thought that identification with territory is also a characteristic of communities (1), and the responses to Field Schedule Question 9 do not indicate that many of the people living in Nyanga are attached to that territory, but rather to other places in the Western Cape (see Chapters 6 and 7). It may be that this (see page 17) sheds a little "light on the question whether a township like Nyanga ought to be called a community or whether such townships are a new kind of neighbourhood".

Note to Chapter Eight

- (1) G.A. and A.G. Theodorson, A Modern Dictionary of Sociology, London, 1970, p. 63.

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