

A PROFILE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN

INDIAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY - REASONS

FOR SUCCESS AND FAILURE

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INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the problems created, when , as a result of restrictive legislations, a business community is forcefully displaced from an area which it has traded in for several years and relocated in a new area. The problems such as adaptation to both the new environment and the different clientele are analyzed; and the advantages of the new area compared to the previous one are discussed.

The first section portrays the background of the arrival of the Indians in South Africa and their difficulties and problems encountered in the new country.

The various customs and cultures of the different Indian communities and the influence of these customs and cultures is analyzed in the second section.

The third section deals with the current situation and the effects of discriminatory legislations on the Indian community and on the economy of the country.

The last section covers the survey on the traders who have been (or will be) relocated in new business areas.

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S E C T I O N I

B A C K G R O U N D

This Section traces the history of the Indian People since their arrival in South Africa up to the time when Indian immigration was finally restricted.

The locations in India from where they came and the reasons for their arrival are indicated.

The attitude of the Europeans in South Africa towards the Indians during the different time phases is described.

NATAL PRIOR TO THE INDIAN ARRIVAL

Natal had become a formally annexed Crown Colony in 1845. Its inhabitants were the Zulus and later the English who had arrived there in 1820. By 1843 the Dutch had left Natal for the Boer Republics.

The major industry of the Europeans was the cultivation of sugar cane which had been imported from Mauritius in 1847. Their main problem was the labour shortage prevailing then and which was growing more acute over the years.

The Zulus, as yet unaccustomed to regular work, could not profitably be employed on the cane fields. Further, they were more interested in working the location lands they had been settled in. Nor were they dependent for a livelihood on the meagre wages offered by the planters. Comparatively few Africans were employed on short terms of service, terminable almost at their own discretion.

White immigrant labour from Europe could not be employed since these immigrants soon became employers themselves, thus creating a need for more employees.

Mauritius had long before overcome its labour problems by importing Indian and Chinese workers. The English planters in Natal, after several agitations and representations both to the British and Indian Governments succeeded in procuring the first Indian labourers in 1860.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE INDENTURED LABOURERS

On November 16, 1860, the first Indian indentured labourers arrived in the S.S. Truro. There were 340 people - 197 men, 89 women and 54 children. The passengers included 101 Hindus, 78 Malabars, 61 Christians, 16 Muslims, 1 Rajput and 1 Marathee. Ten days later, on November 26, a second group of Indians arrived in the Belvedere. These pioneer labourers were representative of the Indian community. Those who had embarked at Calcutta came from Bihar and the North West provinces of Agra and Oudh; those embarking at Madras came from the Northern districts of these Provinces.

The labourers were indentured for a period of five years. Thereafter they could re-indenture or pursue enterprises they pleased. Those who remained for a further five years were allowed a free passage to India or land equal in value to the cost of the return passage. The latter condition was not, in practise, implemented as only 53 Indians out of 13,000 applicants received this grant.

After their indenture period had expired, the free Indians, with their industrious habits and comparatively few wants, did remarkably well as cultivators. They became market gardeners and carried on a lucrative vegetable and tobacco trade and the monopoly of supplying markets both in Durban and Pietermaritzburg soon passed into their hands.

The labourers also introduced several varieties of sugar cane and coffee to South Africa.

The Europeans were generally pleased with the Indian people. The production of sugar improved and sugar exports increased thus drawing in much - needed revenue. The Natal Mercury, of January, 19, 1865, wrote:

"Had it not been for coolie labour, we should certainly not have had it to say that our sugar export increased from £26,000 in 1863, to £100,000 in 1864 and has prospects of a greater increase before it."

The article further advocated that the free Indians be encouraged and assisted in new independent enterprises they ventured into as the accumulation of their wealth would be a benefit to the community.

However, the commercial activities of the free Indians and the later Indians who came primarily to trade invited the resentment of the European merchants. Since the Europeans appealed to the same markets conflict was bound to result. The White traders advocated a halt to further importation of Indian immigrant labour and the repatriation of those already settled in South Africa. The Indian Government, which had received complaints by Indian workers of ill-treatment such as flogging, delay in payment or no payment at all, forced labour, unpaid overtime work, lack of sanitary conditions and absence of medical benefits stopped emigration of Indian labourers in 1865. From 1866 to 1874 the planters again experienced a severe labour shortage; production fell and the sugar revenue from exports dropped.

Economics dictated the re-importation of Indian labourers India acquiesced and resumed emigration in 1874 on the promise of improved working conditions.

THE INDIAN TRADEPS

Indian traders had already settled in Mauritius and in 1863 some of them emigrated to Natal to set up branch stores. In 1869 the trader proper arrived from India. These merchants came initially to serve the needs of the indentured labourers. They soon entered the as yet untapped African market and also served the White farmers in the rural districts. The latter were heavily indebted to the Indian traders as they received long credit terms (in instances extending over a year) particularly in times of hardship such as droughts, crop failures and floods. The traders set up stores in the inland areas which now became economically viable.

The traders were mostly Moslems, although the number of Gujrati-Hindus was not insignificant. The Gujrati-speaking Moslems consisted of Mehmons from Kathiawad and Kutch, and Sunni Vohras from Surat. There were Hindu clerks from both districts, Urdu-speaking Moslems such as Mia Bhais, Sayeds, Shaiks, Khans and Pathans and Marathi-speaking Kokinee Moslems. A few South Indians from the South and East coasts made up the remainder of the contingent.

This was not the first occasion on which Indian traders had come to a foreign country to trade. History records nearly a thousand years of Indian influence in East Africa. Their well-established tradition for sailing dating back to the pre-Christian era made them venture forth to new and hitherto unexplored territories to sell wares such as spices, rice, tea, silks, jewellery and gold. They had set up colonies in Mombasa, Zanzibar Malindi and Sofala in the eleventh century. They had known the Kingdom of Buganda, the source of the Nile, Lake Victoria and Nyasa long before Europeans had come to them.¹

The Indian traders with their lower overheads and fewer wants offered a strong and an unwelcome competition to the White traders. Their main trade advantages were price competition and relatively long credit terms. The White merchant who had failed at repatriating the Indians then began to use the legal machinery to curb and even oust the Indian trader. The latter having no franchise (The Franchise Act, 1865, disenfranchised Indians) was exposed to discriminatory measures,² which took the form of refusal of trading licenses and prohibition of building of premises in various areas.

Besides the discriminatory measures the Indian traders had to contend with the local European wholesalers who refused or cut back granting credit terms of Indian traders.

Page 6/

1. See Waiz S.A.: Indians Abroad Diary, pp. 271-272 and pp. 353-354.
2. See Section III for Restrictive Legislations.

Fortunately, the London Shippers offered generous credit terms to the traders who then managed to survive in business and prosper.

"That success was the sharpest thorn in the flesh of the European."³

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3. Ca.pin, G.H.: Indians in South Africa, p.17

THE OTHER PROVINCES

THE TRANSVAAL

The lucrative trade in the interior caused the traders to move further inland. Between 1881 and 1884 they entered the Transvaal. The Indian traders, taken for Arabs, traded with the Afrikaner in the Platteland, and, in Johannesburg, with the miners who were working in the recently discovered gold fields.

The report of the Lange Commission, a Judicial Commission set up in 1920 to investigate Indian acquisition of land and Indian trading stated that the Indian traders were

"men of considerable enterprise and until ingress was prohibited, they spread into the Transvaal and Cape Province, finding a peculiarly favourable field for their activities in the pioneer development of the Transvaal which followed the gold rush. A considerable position of these Muhammedan traders came from the single district of Surat, at the mouth of the river Tapti. It is largely the traders who have found an outlet in South Africa."⁴

The traders were differentiated from the indentured labourers in occupation and custom.⁵ The Surat Moslems

"are born traders and have the reputation of being remarkably capable, astute businessmen and competent to hold their own against their European competitors in that respect.

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4. Lange Commission Report as quoted by Khan, S. :
The Indian in South Africa, p. 16
5. See Custom and Culture, Section II

It is to this class that the bulk of the Transvaal Indians belong. Some of them are wealthy merchants in Johannesburg and elsewhere, with branch businesses in the country districts; while many others have established themselves in businesses for several years past in some of the country towns and villages. Unlike the Madrasis (indentured labourers) they do not confine themselves to the fruit and vegetable trade, but engage in mercantile business. They have thus become formidable competitors with European traders particularly in the country districts of the Transvaal. For this and other reasons a widespread agitation has during recent years been formented throughout the province against what is termed Asiatic menace. It is the low margin of their profit which has been responsible for the Anti-Indian cry which has led to the demand for segregation"⁶

The competition led to agitation which resulted in The Immigration Restriction Act of 1905; the entry of Indians into the Transvaal was controlled through a special permit system and the Transvaal Immigration Restriction Act, No. 15, imposed an education test on all future immigrants to the Transvaal and established the Immigration Department to check against illegal Asiatic entries.

THE ORANGE FREE STATE

By 1885 there was one Indian merchant in the Free State and when the number had increased to nine in 1890, the White traders felt their position threatened:

"There is very general feeling that an economic condition with Europeans to the prejudice of European immigration

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6. Khan, S.A. Op. Cit pp., 16-17.

and the spread of the European races in South Africa should not be encouraged"⁷

The Statute Law of the O.F.S., 1891, prohibited Indians from settling in the State for engaging in any commercial business or farming. Indians had to relinquish their businesses without compensation and were deported.

THE CAPE PROVINCE.

The Muslim merchants of the Konkan and Gujrat who settled in the Cape met with more lenient treatment than Indians in the other provinces. Being Moslems they assimilated easily with the Cape Malays who had been brought there as slaves and spoke the Dutch language and followed its customs.

The Immigration Act, Cape Colony, of 1906 made all future immigration of the Indians to the Cape subject to an education test and in effect prohibited their entry.

RESTRICTION ON INDIAN ENTRY TO SOUTH AFRICA

The Immigrants Regulation Act of the Union of South Africa of 1913 with its later amendment in 1937 consolidated the immigration laws of the pre-Union colonies and excluded all immigration of Asians to South Africa,

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7. From H. Loch to Knutsford, dated, Government House, Cape Town, 11th August, 1890, as quoted by NARAIN, I: The Politics of Racialism, p. 224.

except those of wives and minor children of those already domiciled in the country.

The Immigration and Indian Relief Act of 1927 required children of South African Indian parents, born outside the Union to enter the country within three years. Indians who had entered the country illegally were condoned, but families of condonees were not permitted to enter the country. A scheme of repatriation inclusive of free passage per person and bonuses of £20 per adult and £10 per child (these amounts were doubled in 1931) was established. The plan was abolished in 1955 when it was learnt that only the old who wished to retire in India, were taking advantage of it.

The Immigration Regulation Act of 1953 prohibited the entry, after February 1953, of Asiatic women, born outside the Union, who had married South African Asiatics overseas. Minor children of such women could enter South Africa with special permission.

Thus, almost a century after their arrival Indians were totally restricted from entering South Africa. The future increase in the population relied henceforth on the growth of the existing population.

S E C T I O N I I

C U S T O M A N D C U L T U R E

This section describes the customs, cultures, religions and languages of the various Indian groups.

The difficulty of fusing or adapting an Eastern culture to a predominantly Western one is discussed.

Finally, the custom and culture restraints on and advantages to Indian economic activity is assessed.

As at 1970, over 90%¹ of South Africa's 600,000 Indians were born in South Africa. Contact with Western culture has left its marked influence; however, the attachments with the East, manifested mainly in the various customs, cultures, religions, languages and physical features, still prevail strongly.

The Indians who came to work on the sugar plantations were from South India, mainly from the province of Madras. These indentured labourers were dark in colour, spoke Tamil and Telugu of the Dravidian origin and Hindustani and Gujrati of North India Sanskrit origin, and embraced the Hindu faith. In India their main occupation was farming and after the British occupation of India began working in the administrative departments serving as civil and clerical workers.

In South Africa the Tamilians are concentrated mainly in Natal, particularly Durban. Their occupations² include sugar farming, market gardening, administrative and civil work (particularly teaching) in government departments. Many have professional occupations such as doctors, lawyers, University lecturers, etc. In the past, few Tamilians engaged in commerce. Recently, like the Afrikaner farmer, the proportion of Tamilians in business is growing rapidly and some large business enterprises are headed by them.

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1. See tables 1(a), 1(b), 2(a), 2(b) and Figure 1 for Population Data.
2. See Tables (3a), 3(b), 7(b) and Figure 2(a), 2(b), 2(c) for occupation Data.

The Indians who came to trade are from the Provinces of Surat and Kathiawad on the West Coast of India , from areas such as Bodhan, Kholvad, Kathor, Dhabel, Garra, Nalli Naroli, Lachphor, Porbandar and from the Konkan region (now known as the Maharashtra State). These Indians are of a lighter complexion, speak the Urdu, Gujrati and Hindi languages and are mainly Moslems although the number of Hindus among them is not insignificant.

In India, these Indians who were farmers initially, gradually turned to trade. Bombay was the main centre of trading activity.

In South Africa 75% of the trade is controlled by the Moslems who constitute 20% of the Indian community. Their activities range from the Retail-Wholesale trade of the General Dealer type (turnover between from a low of R15,000 per annum to a high of over one-half million Rand per annum), to manufacturing industries such as clothing, textile, shoes, candles, etc. Some of the most modern clothing industries are owned by Indians in Central Durban, while their textile industries in Pietermaritzburg can compare with any in the country.

The Gujrati Hindus are, in the main craftsmen. They are particularly strong in the jewellery trade being gifted with the art of making intricate designs on their wares. Other occupations include tailors and shoe-makers.

A.L. Muller³ states of the commercial activities of the Indians:

"The long-standing Asian facility for trading has been responsible for a great concentration of Asians in Commerce and a relative absence of Asian participants in primary and secondary activities in the African territories. For the group of Asian traders originally consisting of free immigrants ("passengers") only, was soon supplemented and, before long, exceeded in number by formerly indentured labourers who initiated commercial enterprises. There are many reasons for their great commercial activity,....

One important consideration is, for example, that Asian commercial undertakings, aiming at quick turn-overs as they did, required a relatively small initial investment outlay and could be largely financed by borrowed capital. Thus, in the case of South Africa, the provision of credit by London shipping agents was probably instrumental in helping to establish Indian wholesalers in the country (Indians having to some extent been forced to take up wholesaling by the refusal of some White wholesalers to supply Indian retailers). Secondly, the activities of some Moslem traders may be seen as the result of a religious injunction to that effect.

Some part of the commercial activity has also simply resulted from the lack of alternative employment opportunities; in South Africa it has appeared during periods of recession that many of the unemployed Indians became pedlars or small-scale traders owing to the comparative ease with which the necessary licenses could be obtained and other arrangements made. Furthermore, trading does not, of course, require specialised training or education; and to this may be added the incentive provided by the fact that advancement in trade has never been so dependent upon the attainment of better academic or technical skill as have industrial and agricultural entrepreneurship.

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3. Muller, A.L.: Minority Interests. p., 10.

Lastly, the role of the Asians in Commerce can also, at least partially, be attributed to the ignorance of the indigenous Africans and their apparent traditional predilection for non-commercial activities. This situation in South, Central and East Africa corresponds with the position in the West Indies, where the Negroes have similarly neglected trading, only to find the formerly indentured Indians (and Chinese) gaining increasing control of business."

RELIGION⁴

The faiths embraced by the South African Indians are Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism and Zoroastrianism. Indians in Natal are mainly Hindus and the Indians in the rural areas of the Transvaal mainly Moslems. Both groups are about equal on the Witwatersrand and in Pretoria. There is a small Catholic minority in Kimberley and Port Elizabeth. Cape Town Indians are mainly Moslems but there are many followers of Confucians and Buddha among Cape Asians.

According to the 1960 Census figures 68.7 per cent or 327,783 of a total population of 477,974 were Hindus, 20.7 per cent (99,068) Moslems, 7.5 per cent (35,962) Christians and 0.2 per cent (1,073) Confucians. The remaining 3 per cent (14,088) were under "other and unspecified" some of who being Buddhists and Zoroastrians (religion adhered to by the small Parsee community in South Africa - Parsees are ex-Persians who refused to accept Islam after the conquest of Persia and settled in India.)

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4. See table 7 for Religion Data.

HINDUISM

One of the most ancient of all religions, Hinduism, is based on the Rig Veda which was introduced by the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans who conquered India about the second millenium B.C. The Rig Veda contains man's most ancient concept of the world. Three subsequent Vedas, the Yajur, Sama and Atharva were added by the inhabiting Dravidians. These Vedas were consolidated into the Shrutis and laid the foundation of ritual, worship and philosophy in the Hindu cultural system and provided it with a variety of god-concepts ranging from the abstract near agnostic to the theistic and polytheistic.

Broadly, the following are the main Hindu rituals:-

SANDHHYOPASANA

(prayers) performed at the meeting point of two periods of time i.e. dawn mid-day and evening.

SAMSKARAS

or rites of passage, marking the stages in the life of man from birth to death.

PUJAS

or worship of the supreme and unique God Brahman through idols representing Vishnu, Siva and Sakti in their numerous forms.

YAJNAS

(sacrifices) five daily sacrifices to God, man both living and dead and the elements.

SRADDHA

Performed by relatives at a funeral.

PITRUPAKSHA AND Annual offerings to deceased ancestors.
AMAVASYA

NAVARATHRI adoration of the Supreme Mother.

In South Africa Devi, or Mata Mai, the Supreme Goddess is the most popular deity worshipped. Also worshipped is the Divine Mother, Sakti; Gujratis and Hisdustanis (North Indians), emphasize, in addition, Vishnu, and Tamils and Telugus (South Indians), Siva.

THE CASTE SYSTEM

The caste (varna) system was introduced in India by the conquering Aryans who, because of their superior culture refused to intermingle with the local inhabitants. The system implies the existence of a large number of endogamous groups, the members of which are bound together by a common traditional occupation and belief in a common origin.

The original significance of the word varna implied "colour" as denoting purity of breed. The traditional castes, in descending order of importance, were the Brahman (priest), Ksatriya (warrior), Vaisya (merchant) and Sudra (cultivator - menial and untouchable).

The system is far more complicated to-day and with disapproval expressed both in Government and private quarters is on the decline.

From the economic point of view the caste system in India was a drawback in that occupations and roles in life were predetermined by the caste one was born in.

Hence, for example, an Untouchable could not engage in trading, which was exclusively for the Vaisyas. In South Africa the caste system is not practised. The only active differentiation which prevails is caste endogamy, and endogamy in some form or other (racial, religious, linguistic or social standing) regulates marriage in every society and in itself does not constitute caste.

ISLAM

The inhabitants on the West coast of India came into contact with Islam through Arabs who had come to trade with them. The Arabs soon settled in India, intermarried and besides converting many Indians to Islamic faith also influenced the Indian culture and trade. Many Indian Moslems have Arabic physical features and the early Indian traders endeavoured to be regarded as Arabs so as to gain exemptions from the restrictions directed against the indentured Indians.

Islam, founded by Mohammed (570 A.D. - 632 A.D.), is the youngest of the world's religions. Its principles, doctrines and codes are embodied in the Koran, the Holy Book. Broadly, Islam has five principal disciplines:-

1. There is only one God and Mohammed is his Prophet.
2. Prayers - five times daily - at dawn, after midday, in the afternoon, after sunset and at night. The prayers should be performed preferably in congregation at the Mosque.

3. The Moslem must fast during one lunar month each year. He has his last meal just before dawn and is prohibited from eating, drinking or smoking until dusk.
4. Two and a half per cent of the Moslem's gross wealth (not income) is expected to be contributed to charity each year.
5. The Moslem, if physically and financially able has to perform at least one pilgrimage (Haj) during his lifetime. After the haj he is entitled to call himself Haji.

The Koranic codes influences all walks of a Moslem's life. Thus, in trade, for example, the Koranic passage directs:

"When ye deal with each other in transactions involving future obligations, reduce them to writing and get two witnesses so that if one of them errs the other can remind him. This is juster in the sight of God, more suitable as evidence, and more convenient to prevent doubts among yourselves."

The Moslem is expected to be fair and just in all his dealings in business. Muller² says in this regard:

"Under such circumstances one would also expect these individuals to have a high moral code in business, so that the use of correct weights and measures, honesty, care for the under-privileged and other typical moral and ethical attributes could generally be taken for granted."

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2. Muller, A.L. Some Non-Economic Determinants of the Economic Status of Asians in Africa, S.A.J.E. March, 1965 p. 72.

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THE FAMILY ⁵

A common heritage of the diverse Indian groups is the extended patrilineal family or patrilineage, described in Hindi and Gujrati as Kutum and in Tamil and Telugu as Koodoombam. The Kutum is the main social unit of Indian life, the centre in which the individual receives his foundation in social values and behaviour.

Structurally the Kutum consists of a hierarchy with the oldest living patriach at the apex, and constituting with his wife the highest authority. Then follow his younger married brothers and their wives, and so on to the youngest generation of descendants. Respect, consideration and obedience increases as one rises up the hierarchical ladder. The Kutum head is expected to be consulted in all family matters and must on no occasion be ignored.

The Kutum imposes financial strains on a bread-winner in that he is under obligation to support his parent, assist other poor relations, educate the younger members, help in emergencies and contribute goods and services at marriages and funerals. These burdens are particularly severe on people in the low-income brackets.⁶

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5. See Table 9 for Data on Family size and composition.

6. See Table 5 for Data on Income Distribution.

Marriage is regarded not only an alliance between the wedded-couple but between the two Kutums as well. Fixed marriages are still the order of the day, the initiative taken by the girl's kin among the Hindus and the boy's group among the Tamilians and the Moslems. Acceptance criteria include good family background, industry or occupation, health, temperament and education. What surprises the Western observer is the low divorce rates and the stability of the marriage under such conditions. Love-marriages, popular among the young influenced by Western culture, is a recent and disturbing intrusion.

Women are not expected to sell their labour on the market but remain as housewives serving their husbands and children. In the past this resulted in a lower standard of living. However, as a result of economic necessity and the influence of the urban environment more girls have begun attending schools⁷ (a feature absent in the past) and more women are gainfully employed. Their occupations include machinists in factories, typists, nursing, clerical and professional work.

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7. See Table 8(a) and 8(b) for Data on Education.

CUSTOM AND CULTURE CONSTRAINTS ON INDIAN
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

The close-knit family patterns are also reflected on the business sector. Most business concerns are family-owned, family-managed enterprises. Even where partnerships are formed, as in the case of private-owned companies, the partners of the new venture normally are members of the same family. Rarely do their business unions include members of different families. When such a company is formed the members are well-known to each other, belong to the same religious group, speak the same language and (in several cases) are offsprings of parents or grandparents who come from the same village in India.

This "individual" or "go it alone" outlook is manifested mainly in the one-man retail and wholesale concerns. Even the large clothing and textile industries are owned and managed by family groups. Here, too, the organizational chart is structured like the family pattern with the most important men in the family occupying the upper echelons of management. Then follow the "less important" family men in middle management while the lower ranks are filled by distant relatives.

All the employees are drawn from the family. Only in instances where family members are unavailable or cannot fill a particular position that "outsiders" are employed.

Management posts are almost always occupied by family men; an "outsiders" probability of reaching the top being very low indeed.

This oligopolistic type of business structure has restricted the establishment of large corporations. In 1960-61, for example, Indians owned⁴ 6,908 or 20.2 per cent of the total number of retail enterprises and 304 or 3.5 per cent of the total number of wholesale firms. The number of private and public companies controlled by them is considerably less than that of Whites while they control only 1 of the 745 companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

The family pattern structure in business has also resulted in restraints on the economic activity.

If more equity capital is required for instance, raising funds from members outside the family circle is not customary and foregoing the raising of extra money which could be available on the market or from "outsiders" only acts as a barrier to progress.

The recruiting of family members in the various departments and more so in the higher levels of management, puts a restraint on obtaining more skilled people available and must in some cases result in the underutilization of labour and lower productivity.

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4. See Table 4 on Ownership of Private and Public Companies.

The advantage of the close family-bond is that businessmen come to each others rescue in times of financial or other distress. The lending of money or the exchange of employees between "family companies" is not unknown. The percentage of insolvencies among Indian businesses is low. A contributory cause to this factor is that as a result of restrictive legislation (see Section III) licenses are not easy to come by. An Indian businessman, once insolvent, will have great difficulty in re-entering the business field.

The prohibition of usury in Islam has limited investment opportunities and restricted employment. Islam permits the receiving of rent, dividends and profits; but the taking or giving of interest is forbidden. Nor is the acceptance of dividends and profits from companies in the liquor and pork industries (the consumption of both commodities is prohibited) permitted. Therefore, even though the cost of additional capital may indicate to raising more debt, Moslem businessmen will resort to raising more equity. This may result in a dilution of shares of the existing shareholders, a lower return on invested capital and a smaller earnings per share.

Further, the prohibition of usury has prevented the development of tertiary industries such as the banking, insurance and building society sectors.

Refer, for example, to the words of Qureshi:⁹

"The present bankers are nothing but glorified, chartered and licensed money-lenders..... banks should not charge or pay interest."

The tendency of Indian businessmen (both Hindu and Moslem) to invest in land even where the returns do not warrant the investment may be attributed to the following factors.

- (i) Religious Credo: In Islam some Moslems have read in the Koran a direct injunction to invest in fixed property. Further, Zakaat (tax) is payable on movable and not on immovable property. Hence investment in fixed property can be regarded as some form of tax avoidance.
- (ii) Lack of investment opportunities: As a result of restrictions which closed investment by Indians in other avenues, or expanding existing ones, they have turned to investing in property.
- (iii) Land Shortage: Partly because of tradition and partly because of the environmental conditions in India where, as a result of the population size, land shortage, is acute. Indians have valued land as the Africans have valued cattle. Land, which seldom depreciates in value accords a certain security to the Indian.

The investment in land has resulted in by-passing investment opportunities (where available) with greater returns, and inflated property values in Indian areas. The high land values is also the result of the relatively few Indian areas allocated to Indians.

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9. Qureshi, A.I.: Islam and the Theory of Interest pp., *154-156.

The caste system as practised by the Hindus in India is not as marked in South Africa - hence, it does not act as a deterring economic restraint:

"As far as can be ascertained, the Hindu religion has no longer any important direct influence on the economic adherents in Africa. The caste system in India, with the concomitant hereditariness of occupations, had an intensely restrictive influence on the development of managerial and labour talents, but no similar effect was perceived in Africa simply because no Asian wanted to perpetuate this aspect of the system locally. What remains of the caste system today is little more than a vague class consciousness, which has an influence on social relations (e.g. marriage) within the community, but does not seem to extend to the economic field in the form of employers who are prejudiced against prospective Asian employees because of caste."¹⁰

It is also held that certain Hindu credos such as reincarnation and maya lead to a pessimistic attitude to life, and a lowering of aspiration levels. However, this hypothesis has not been tested or shown to have any foundation. Similarly, it is felt that the belief of "What is meant to be for you will be for you" or "Takdeer (fate) will determine the amount of wealth you should have" held by certain sects of the Moslem community results in passive and negative attitudes instead of a forceful and positive exertion for material wealth in business. It is indeed surprising for a Westerner to observe an Oriental having attained a certain level of wealth, retiring from business and devoting his life to writing poetry in his garden!

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10. Muller, A.L.: Op. Cit. p., 73.

However, it must be remembered that with Western influence, particularly among the younger generation, the religions and customary beliefs do not act as strong economic deterrents.

A disturbing trait is the unwillingness of Indians to work for existing organizations. The general trend is to open one's own business after the accumulation of the required capital. Indeed there is a saying among some Moslems:

"At 30 you must leave your employer and start your own business, or you will sell your luck (presumably expertise) to him".

This trend is common among people from under-developed countries (e.g. certain South American countries like Chile) The other factors reinforcing this trend are:-

- (i) Lack of opportunities for advancement to management levels both among Indian and European companies.
- (ii) The belief that one will make more money in having one's own business.

This has resulted in relatively few large corporations which enjoy economies of scale and synergies in management, technology, finance, production and marketing.

S E C T I O N I I I

T H E E C O N O M I C S

O F

D I S C R I M I N A T O R Y

L E G I S L A T I O N S

This section outlines the effects of discriminatory measures and of the social colour bar on Indians and, generally, on the economy of the country.

The actual legislations are discussed in detail in Appendix 1 (Restrictive Trade Legislation) and Appendix 2 (Restrictive Job Legislation) at the end of the section.

Since his arrival, the Indian in South Africa has had to contend with restrictive legislation in the political economic, social and industrial fields. This section deals mainly with the economic (Appendix 1) and industrial (Appendix 2) legislations and the social colour bar. As Indians have no franchise their elimination from the central, provincial and local government spheres exposed them to various discriminatory measures.

1. LOCATION AND EXPANSION OF BUSINESS

In the past, and, as is the case presently, the establishment of a new business or the expansion of an existing one by the addition of new branches was difficult as licenses could not easily be obtained. This has deterred potential businessmen from entering the business field and prevented both diversification and growth, so vital in the existence of a business. The result is that energies are directed to the small overstocked business concern; a father with, say, five children who all wish to become traders will either have to employ them in his business or ask them to find new avenues of employment. In much the same way the White farmer cannot continually subdivide his farm for his children, and new land has to be acquired.

Indian businesses have to be located in "Indian" areas.¹ This "legislated" location need not be the most desirable or most strategic. Economic advantages which result from strategic location are, therefore, lost. Further, the European traders, not impeded by restrictive legislation have an advantage over Indian traders in location, diversification and growth with its resultant economies of scale.

2. LABOUR MOBILITY

The prohibition of inter-provincial migration by Indians (The Immigrant's Regulation Act, 1913) has caused an uneconomic distribution of the population in relation to the growth of economic opportunities in sectors such as mining and industry. This legislation has affected the mobility of labour, enterprise and capital. A situation such as the following is not uncommon: Certain industries in Johannesburg require semi-skilled labour which is available among the Indians in Durban, where the percent of Indian unemployment is high. As the workers cannot migrate from Natal to the Transvaal, the Johannesburg industries face a labour shortage and consequently a lowered output; in Durban the unemployment rate² which could be reduced remains high. The country as a whole therefore, experiences lower productivity, higher unemployment and lower per capita incomes.

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1. See Group Areas Act, 1950 in Appendix 1 of this Section.
2. See table 6 and Figure 3 for Unemployment Rates.

3. UNFAIR APPLICATION OF CERTAIN MEASURES

In theory some laws are not discriminatory against any particular race group provided that the proclamations thereunder are equally beneficial and equally detrimental to all racial groups. It is only in the practical application that the discrepancies occur.

An example is the Group Areas Act of 1950 with its several amendments. Under this measure far more Indians have to leave their existing areas and relatively few areas have been allocated to them. This has resulted in land shortage causing inflated land value in Indian areas.

The Community Development Board purchases Indian-owned properties at Municipal values which in some instances are less than 50% of the market values. Sales to private European buyers are prohibited in most cases. By contrast White property owners who have to vacate areas they occupy (this is seldom the case and Isipingo in Durban is a rare exception) are permitted to sell to private Indian buyers, and often find the value of their properties rising far above the prevailing market values.

Where new areas are allocated to Indians essential needs such as hospitals, post offices, police stations, telephone exchange systems, tarred roads, water-borne sewerage and street lights take an unusually long time to be established.

An example is Lenasia, an Indian area 22 miles from Johannesburg with a population of approximately 30,000 people but which has no hospital, and relatively few tarred roads. (A detailed discussion of the Group Areas Act appears in Section IV).

4. JOB RESERVATION:³

In an endeavour to alleviate the "poor White" problem and also to prevent unfair competition for particular jobs between the different race groups considerable legislations have been enacted. Statutory work reservation does not, in principle, have a racial bias. It is in its implementation that it favours the White group over the other race groups. However, the determinations made thus far are not numerous or far-reaching in effect. The Koornhof Measure of 1970, for example, though passed as law has not been fully implemented. Job reservations have been made in the following industries:

Clothing, Iron, Steel Engineering and Metallurgical and Building, and in the following Services:
Motor Vehicle Drivers, Traffic Police Force and Passenger Lift Attendants. Most of the supervisory positions in industry and services are exclusively for Europeans.

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3. See Appendix 2 for Restrictive Job Legislation.

As a result of job reservation Indians in several industries and services have had to relinquish their jobs. Artisans in the building industry, drivers of certain heavy motor vehicles and Indian barmen in Durban and Pietermaritzburg in "White" hotels have lost their jobs. Temporary exemptions are granted in special circumstances but there is no guarantee whether these will be extended in the future.

In some cases job reservation has worked to the advantage of the Indian. An example is the clothing industry where job reservation has protected the Indian workers by guaranteeing them a certain fixed percentage of all jobs and thus effectively preventing further infiltration by African workers.

Job reservation is practised mainly in the secondary and tertiary industries. The Mining houses excluded Indians as early as 1904, (Transvaal Ordinance 17 of 1904). The consequences of reserving jobs for members of a particular race group and thus barring members of another race group can only have the consequences of lower efficiency, lower productivity, greater unemployment and lower per capita incomes. Further, local investors will prefer investing in neighbouring countries with fewer or no restrictions, and foreign know-how and investment, so significant, for example, in the iron, steel, engineering and metallurgical industries will decrease.

South Africa is not so rich a country as to be able to afford the luxury of job reservations; nor can she afford to continue to project a poor image to the world at large and particularly to the African continent with which she is attempting to build political and economic ties. Barring jobs to the non-White peoples can only result in worsened race relations and consequently a doubtful image.

South Africa is heavily indebted to its non-White labour force and

"the chances of pursuing --- a policy (of limiting the use of non-White labour) on a really large scale would appear to be severely limited."⁴

Thus the Industrial Tribunal arguments like the one that for non-Whites insecurity is the normal stuff of life and between job unemployment "nothing but a rest period"⁵ will only serve to breed animosity.

Indian business has felt the effects of job bars on Indian employees. In the professional occupations there is a dearth of Indian chartered accountants, chemists, medical specialists (e.g. surgeons) engineers and architects. The absence or lack of Indians in specialist business fields such as accounting, production,

Page 33/

4. Report of the Witwatersrand Interim Planning Committee, Natural Resources Development Council, April 1958, Section 5.
5. Industrial Tribunal Report on the Furniture Trade, 8th May 1957, p. 24.

finance, marketing and general management has not served to broaden the horizons and aspirations of the Indian trader.

5. THE SOCIAL COLOUR BAR

The social colour bar has been as effective as the statutory colour bar in keeping Indians (and non-Whites generally) out of the more skilled type of jobs. Until fairly recently Indian apprentices or articled clerks found it difficult and frustrating in finding occupations in the legal, accounting, architectural, engineering, land surveying and pharmaceutical fields. A case in point is Durban where the White chartered accountants accepted Indian articled clerks only since 1970. Although there is no law prohibiting Indians from pursuing the professions mentioned European-owned companies, fearing the reaction of their White employees are not keen on employing Indians. Also, White customers sometimes object to being served by non-Whites. The position is further complicated in that companies employing members of different race groups must provide for separate amenities (canteens, toilets, etc.) for these race groups. Many companies are unwilling to incur additional expenses and hence reject Indian applicants.

Management posts in European-owned companies are seldom (if at all) occupied by Indians. To the best of the writer's knowledge there are relatively few Indians

in middle-management and none in top-management in "White" companies.

The social colour bar, like the statutory one, results in an underutilization of the country's labour resources and lowered productivity. Unfilled and semi-skilled occupations should be filled by the local non-European people rather than overseas Whites who, in most cases, are temporary sojourners. Selection on a basis of merit would yield results to the benefit of all concerned.

Hopeful signs are, however, visible in the environment. Both secondary and tertiary industries are creating more opportunities within the framework of the government policy.

6. THE RATE FOR THE JOB

In both government and private circles equal pay is more the exception than the rule. Hence Indian teachers, university lecturers, administrative and clerical staff, doctors and other civil servants in government departments and employees in industry are paid far less than their White counterparts.

Here, too, the position is changing. Recently, two of the country's biggest banks have initiated a policy of equal pay for equal work and the Port Elizabeth municipality has decided to pay Coloured salaried employees the same as Whites.

Equal pay and better job opportunities will be contributory in raising the aspiration levels and income standards of the Indian people.

Industries applying the rate for the job have generally preferred employing Whites to non-Whites. The restriction of mixed trade unions has the harmful effect on the efficacy of the bargaining power of Indian workers. Mixed-trade unions with stronger bargaining powers will ensure far better results.

7. DISCRIMINATION AMONG FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Although not ascertained, there is a feeling among Indian businessmen that financial institutions such as banks, insurance companies and the Industrial Development Corporation discriminate against them on the grounds of colour rather than the weakness of the proposed project to be ventured into.

The writer was told of a branch of a large bank in Durban which kept separate ledgers for its White and Indian clientele. Requests for investment loans by Indians were turned down with unusual frequency. On one occasion a request for a loan for a particular project by an Indian was declined while the loan on the same project was accepted when applied for under the name of a European friend!

If true, such practises can only be to the detriment

of the Indian community and must rightly be condemned. Profitable ventures will have to be shelved and a high growth rate and the employment of workers not achieved.

With the establishment of the Indian Investment Corporation Indian entrepreneurs are optimistic about receiving financial aid in the future.

APPENDIX I

RESTRICTIVE TRADE LEGISLATION

The following were the main laws restricting economic activity among the Indians. Some of the laws applied generally to the non-White community and not exclusively to the Indians. The proclamations under some of the laws were never implemented.

1885 Law No. 3, 1885. Coolies, Arabs and other Asiatics Act (S.A. Republic) Transvaal.

The law restricted the property rights of the above groups for purposes of sanitation to special areas. Although the Act referred to separate streets, wards and locations no such areas were created and the Indians continued to reside in areas they were occupying. The Indian traders contended in several court cases that the law referred to residential and not trade segregation. The Imperial Government gave judgement in the Indian traders' favour. This led to the Amendment of Law 3 in 1893. The law was then strictly enforced.

1891 State Law of the Orange Free State:

Indians were henceforth prohibited from residing in the Orange Free State. Those Indians who possessed businesses had these winded up without compensation and they were deported from the Province.

These restrictions continued to operate even after the Free State came under British rule.

1897 The Dealers' License Act No. 18 (Natal)

The responsibility of granting licenses to traders was placed on the Municipalities. The intention of the law was "to prevent certain persons coming to this country to compete with the Europeans on equal terms and getting the licenses to trade which are required by the European."⁴

The decision of the licensing officer, who, himself was a trader and saw himself as a victim of Indian competition was final and not subject to review by a court of law.

1898 Law 15 (Transvaal).

Coloured persons were prohibited from trading in gold mining areas except as workmen. This law was directed mainly at the Indians who formed the majority of non-White traders.

A proclamation issued in 1899 set apart the streets, wards and locations for the use of Asiatic trade.

1906 The Johannesburg Municipal Ordinance of 1906.

This Ordinance empowered the Johannesburg Municipality to establish bazaars and locations for the exclusive occupation of Asiatics.

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4. The Rt. Hon. Harry Escombe in moving the second reading of the Bill.

1907 Act 27, Vrededorp Stands Ordinance.

Indians possessing stands were ejected on the pretext of sanitary conditions.

1908 The Township Act No. 34 of 1908 (Transvaal).

Residence in town was restricted to domestic servants. The practical effect of this law was to exclude Indian traders from stands inside the township.

1908 The Precious and Base Metals Act No. 35 of 1908 also known as the Gold law of 1908.

Section 131 of this law reads:

"in the mining district of the Witwatersrand no Coloured person shall be permitted to reside on proclaimed land except in bazaars, locations, mining compounds and such other place the Mining Commissioner may permit"

The practical implication was to deprive Indians of their rights to trade in the mining districts and move to bazaars, locations and compounds.

"The new law put the right to trade in some jeopardy, and there is no doubt it was intended to isolate the Indian to locations for trading activities"⁵

Page 40/

5. Calpin G.H.: Indians in S.A. p. 31.

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5. Calpin G.H.: Indians in S.A. p. 31.

1913 The Immigrants' Regulations Act.

Indians were restricted in moving from one province to another.

1909 Act No. 37.

The Transvaal Companies Act of 1909 deemed that a Company had an independent legal persona and as such no nationality. Indian traders formed limited liability companies to acquire properties in areas in which they, as Indians, would be prohibited from owning. The table⁶ below reflects the rapid increase in the number of limited liability companies owned by Indians since 1913.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Companies</u>	<u>Nominal Capital</u>		
		£	s	d
1913	3	7,500	0	0
1914	9	13,150	0	0
1915	38	84,274	0	0
1916	103	132,255	0	0
1917	91	118,229	0	0
1918	114	113,319	7	0
1919 (31.3.1919)	12	10,600	12	0
Total	370	£479,327	19	0

In 1919 Act No. 37 sealed the loophole created by the Transvaal Companies Act of 1909 and prohibited Indians from owning shares in Limited Companies.

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6. Report of the Select Committee on disabilities of British Indians.

The Act, while safeguarding existing interests, sought to prevent acquisitions by Indians of new leases on proclaimed areas, or of property outside locations, either through nominal trustees or companies.

1924 Boroughs Ordinance 1924 (No. 19 of 1924) and Townships Ordinance of 1926 (No. 11 of 1926) both of which were superseded by Local Government Ordinance of 1924.

The Provincial Government was empowered to insert in the conditions of sale of any available land a clause prohibiting and restricting the ownership and occupation to persons of any particular race. The power has been used to the disadvantage of Indians and the Municipalities and Townships have, under the powers, inserted an anti-Asiatic clause in their sale deeds executed subsequent to 1924. The clause usually reads:

"This transfer is passed subject to the condition that the transferee, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns shall not sell, lease or allow occupation of the aforesaid property to any Asiatic or person of Asiatic descent."

1924 The Class Areas Bill.

This Bill aimed at the total segregation of urban Indians into specified areas, and sought to confine Indians in Natal to the coastal belt only. Before the Bill became law, however, the Smuts Government was defeated by the Nationalists Government under

General Hertzog and the Bill was shelved.

1925 Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration
(Further Provision) Bill.

This Bill embodied most of the clauses of the Class Areas Bill and purported to introduce segregation of Indians in Natal. India protested strongly and this resulted in the Cape Town Agreement of January, 1932. The clause which embodied the principle of segregation by providing for the earmarking of areas for the occupation or ownership of land by Asiatics was deleted, and a clause was inserted instead amending the Gold Law to empower the Minister of the Interior to withdraw any land from the operation of the Gold Law in so far as it prohibited residence upon or occupation of any land by coloured persons.

1925 The General Dealers' Control Ordinance, Transvaal.

Local Authorities were empowered to grant or refuse trading licenses. Applications for new licenses by Indians were refused as a matter of course.

1927 The Asiatics in the Northern Districts of Natal Act.

Indians were prohibited to settle or trade in Vryheid in Northern Natal.

1932 Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Bill also known as Trading Rights Bill. (With its subsequent amendments in 1934, 1935 and 1937).

Indian traders established on the gold lands were given five years to wind up their businesses and move to "defined areas". Any protection or exemptions granted under preceding laws were abolished. The intention was to set up locations and Asiatic bazaars in areas predominantly inhabited by non-Europeans.

1934 The Slums Act.

This Act provided for the demolition of slum areas but it was also used against the Indians whose properties were expropriated in the interests of segregation.

1935 The Rural Dealers' Licensing Act Ordinance, Natal.

This Act further restricted the trading licenses to Indians in the rural areas of Natal.

1937 The Marketing and Unbeneficial Land Occupation Act.

Restrictions were imposed on the agricultural rights of Indian farmers.

1937 The Asiatics (Transvaal) Land and Trading Act.

Indians were prevented from hiring and occupying premises which were not occupied by non-Whites on

April 30, 1939, except through Ministerial permission. All license applications, renewals and transfers were dependent on special ministerial dispensation.

1941 The Asiatics (Transvaal) Land and Trading Act.

This aimed at the extension of segregation policy in rural areas.

1943 The Trading and Occupation (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act, 1943, also known as the Pegging Act.

In the Transvaal the law extended for a further period of three years the provisions of the Interim Legislation enacted in 1939 and extended for another two years in 1941, by which purchases of property by Indians in areas not already subject to other restrictions were prohibited without the special permission of the Minister.

In Natal it prohibited Indians from purchasing property and Europeans from selling property to Indians in predominantly European areas in Durban without the Minister's permission and provided for the extension of similar provisions to other areas in Natal on sufficient cause being shown after enquiry.

1946 Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act.

The Act further extended the provisions of the Pegging Act, 1943, and introduced the principle of racial segregation by providing separate areas.

In Natal, areas specified in the Schedule to the Act (areas known as exempted areas) there would be no restriction between Asiatics and non-Asiatics; and in other areas transfer of fixed property between non-Asiatics and Asiatics both for occupation and acquisition was subject to a permit granted by the Minister.

In the Transvaal the land tenure position was to retain the Natives Land Act (1913) provision, with the exception that trade licenses were no longer to require the Minister's permit but were made again subject to the licensing laws.

The Act also granted Communal franchise to Indians in the Union of South Africa. The "representation" provisions which offered franchise to Indians included:

- (a) Union nationals over 21 years.
- (b) had passed Standard Six or equivalent.
and either
- (c) had an annual income of £84.
or
- (d) owned immovable property of the
minimum value of £250.

This limited participation was rejected by the Indians as it meant acceptance of separate residential and trading areas.

1950 The Group Areas Act.

This Act with its various amendments was re-enacted in consolidated form in 1957. Its main

purpose is to demarcate separate areas for the various race groups.

A Group Areas Board reporting to the Minister of Planning was set up. When a group area is proclaimed for the occupation by a particular race group the Minister sets a date by which disqualified persons (persons prohibited from residing or trading in a particular area) must move out; this date not being under one year after the date of proclamation (after at least three months' prior notice for residences and twelve months for business premises)

Companies other than banks, mines and large factories are granted a group charter according to the race of the persons holding the controlling interest.

Within a controlled area (area not restricted to any race group in particular) specified areas may be proclaimed. Buildings which are completed or extended in these areas will be deemed to be owned by persons owning it prior to the specified date in the proclamation. Defined areas may be proclaimed within specified areas. If a building in a defined area is erected, completed, or extended after the date specified in the proclamation, or if at the date it was unoccupied, the proprietor must enquire from the Minister the racial group by which it is

deemed to have been occupied at such date. If a race group owning or occupying buildings or properties in a defined area and such a group makes alterations to the buildings or properties the group could forfeit its rights to occupy such buildings or properties.

The State President may declare by proclamation that land or buildings in a defined area shall be set aside either for industrial, trading or residential purposes as from a date not less than twelve months after the proclamation.

1965 Group Areas Amendment Act of 1965.

The Minister of Planning was made responsible for the planning of group areas for Whites, Coloureds and Asians by the Group Areas Board, and for permit control up to the time that group areas are proclaimed. After proclamation, the development of the areas and permit control was the responsibility of the Minister of Community Development. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development was made responsible for African areas.

The Act conferred very wide powers on members of the police to ascertain whether or not the provisions of the Act were complied with. Administration and planning of group areas was to be done by Departmental officials.

1965 Community Development Act of 1965 (Replacing the Group Areas Development Act of 1955)

A Group Areas Development Board (renamed the Community Development Board) was established to assist in disposing of properties of disqualified persons and to re-establish them elsewhere.

The functions of the Department of Community Development were widened and included the provision of housing slum clearance, urban renewal, etc.

The Group Areas Board, with the Minister's approval, make payments for any goodwill value attached to any profession or business which is likely to be lost as a result of a group areas proclamation.

INDIAN TRADERS IN CONTROLLED AREAS

Indians leasing plots of land from White owners must obtain permits from the Group Areas Board. These permits are issued for stated periods, their length being at the Minister's discretion. Special conditions may also be stipulated in these permits.

Leases of more than ten years entered into between March 1951 (when the Group Areas came into operation) and 31st October 1952 (when the Transvaal became a controlled area) are not unlawful and the lessee does not have to apply for a permit to occupy the premise. The lease is

valid only between the parties who entered the agreement. Therefore, if the ownership of the property changes hands, the new owner is not bound by such a lease and an Indian tenant would have to apply for a permit to enter into a new agreement.

If an Indian trader who is a disqualified person having a business in a controlled area disposes of his business or sub-leases to another Indian, the new tenant requires a group areas permit before he can enter into a lease agreement with the owner of the property.

Displaced Indians have found that obtaining permits (each application costs R20) to remain in controlled areas is becoming more the exception than the rule.

1967 Community Development Amendment Act, No. 42 of 1967.

The term "market value," as applied to properties affected by group areas proclamations, was clarified, and dates for appeals against determinations of the value of properties were laid.

A stipulation was made that appreciation contributions need not be paid if an affected property is sold or expropriated within five years of the group areas proclamation. The Act made clear the party responsible for any costs of arbitration.

1968 Community Development Amendment Act, No. 58 of 1968

The powers of the Community Development Board were widened. Traders intending to operate in an area where they were disqualified persons had to obtain permits from the Department before the trading licenses are renewed.

1969 Group Areas Amendment Act, No. 69 of 1969.

The Act widened the powers of the State President to provide that land and buildings in a defined area may be occupied or used for particular purposes only e.g. trading.

APPENDIX 2

RESTRICTIVE JOB LEGISLATION

The following laws discriminate against Indians with regards to jobs and wages.

1904 The Transvaal Ordinance 17 of 1904.

Pressure from mine-owners and White miners led to this Ordinance which effectively prevented Asians (mainly Chinese) from performing any tasks but those of an unskilled nature.

1907 The Workmen's Compensation Act, No. 36, Transvaal

The benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act were denied to Indians and the term "worker" was restricted to European employees only.

1911 The Mines and Works Act, 1911.

After Union in 1910, the Mines and Works Act was passed, incorporating into the Union statutes the provisions of the Transvaal Ordinance 17 of 1904.

1922 Apprenticeship Act of 1922.

Indians were excluded from entering organized skilled crafts.

The Act was amended in 1944 (Act 37 of 1944). A National Apprenticeship Board and Apprenticeship Committees were set up to advise the Minister regarding apprenticeship. The Minister may prescribe

whatever qualifications he considers necessary for apprentices in the various trades. Unapprenticed miners may not be employed without the consent of the Registrar of Apprenticeship in consultation with the Apprenticeship Committees. In practice this Act excludes all non-Europeans from apprenticeship.

1924 The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924.

This Act was promulgated as a result of the 1922 strike. Secondary industry was brought into the ambit of restrictive legislation. The Act set up machinery for bargaining between employers' associations and trade unions. The definition of a trade union effectively excluded the non-White from negotiations as non-White unions were not recognized.

The later amendments to the Act prohibited White unions from enrolling non-White members except in exceptional circumstances such as when the number of workers in a trade was so small that separate organizations would be impracticable. However, if permission for mixed membership was granted by the Minister of Labour then separate meetings were to be held for each racial group.

1925 The Wage Act of 1925.

The Act was intended to be complementary to the Industrial Conciliation Act insofar as it was designed

to protect the interests of workers who were not sufficiently organised as to form unions. The Act set up Wage Boards which determined minimum wage levels for industries in regions or on a national basis. Although it would appear that this Act was almost specifically designed to protect the non-White workers who could not form unions no such thing happened in practice and the wage rates of the non-White people left much to be desired.

1926 The Mines and Works Amendment Act (Act 25 of 1926) also known as the Colour Bar Act.

This Act empowered the Governor-General to make regulations about the grant of certificates of competency to certain classes of skilled workers (e.g. mechanical engineers and engine drivers) only to Europeans, Cape Coloureds, Cape Malays and Mauritius Creole. Indians have been excluded.

1927 The Liquor Act, 1927.

The Act prohibited Indians and Africans from being employed in the Liquor Trade.

1941 The Factories Machinery and Building Works Act.

This Act gives extraordinary powers to differentiate between Indians and Europeans employed in factories.

1956 The Industrial Conciliation Act No. 28 of 1956.
(with Amendment No. 41 of 1959, and Amendment 43
of 1966).

This Act, with its several amendments discriminates on grounds of colour. The terms of Section 77 of 1956 empowers a tribunal to reserve work in any industry, trade or occupation in any area for a specific race, and forbids the registration of mixed trade unions. The tribunal may, however, grant exemptions in special instances. The tribunal also acts as arbitrator in industrial disputes. Existing trade unions with mixed memberships must organize separate racial branches.

1960 Factories, Machinery, and Building Works Amendment Act, No. 31, 1960.

This Amendment Act enabled regulations to be made governing the separation in any factory of workers of different racial groups or classes.

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S E C T I O N I V

THE SURVEY

This section discusses the survey (both questionnaires and field discussions) and analyzes the results obtained.

Finally, the directions that future research should take are outlined.

The Group Areas Act,¹ 1950, with its later amendments regulates the areas in which Indian businesses should be located, the size of the new premises permitted, whether expansion or alteration of these premises is allowed, the establishment of new businesses, etc. Although trading licenses are issued by the local municipalities, these are granted within the framework of the Group Areas Act. A license in a White area will, therefore, not be granted to an Indian businessman.

The survey intended to investigate the effects of restrictive legislation, mainly embodied in the Group Areas Act.

A. CENTRAL THEORY

The survey is intended to investigate and, where possible, test the validity of the following central theory:

Restrictive legislation in business has a detrimental effect on the Indian business community and on the economy of the country.

1. ON THE INDIAN BUSINESSMEN

The traders suffer a loss in that their business turnover and profits are lowered and their growth rates retarded.

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1. See, Section III, Appendix 1.

2. ON THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY

The restrictions cause traders to invest outside South Africa, in countries like Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Zambia and, even, Canada, India and Pakistan. This country experiences an outflow of capital resulting in reduced investments, and lowered growth rates and employment opportunities.

B. CONSEQUENCES.

The second objective of the survey intended to determine what consequences had resulted with the implementation (or proposed implementation) of restrictions in the various areas:-

1. COMPENSATION

Are businessmen displaced from an area compensated for the loss of goodwill of their businesses, transport of stock to the new area, and expenses incurred in the establishment of the new business?

2. PREMISES

Are the traders permitted to build their own premises? Where shops are allocated are they of the same size as previously, or bigger, or smaller?

3. BALANCED TRADE

In the new area, are businessmen free to continue the trade they were active in, or, have they to diversify to other trades so as to bring out a balanced trading activity, and, consequently, specialization by individual shop-keepers?

C. ADAPTABILITY IN THE NEW AREA.

Relocation in a completely different area gives rise to a variety of problems. The third objective of the study was to determine how the traders were meeting the changed surroundings. In the new area a trader, for example, may have to change from selling to a different race group of clients than the one in the previous area. How does he adapt to this situation? Does he change his marketing strategy? Does he implement different measures?

D. ATTITUDES

The last objective of the study intended to determine the attitudes of the Indian business community to relocation and towards Government policy. Further, the survey attempted to assess the anticipations of the traders with regard to the future.

METHODOLOGY:

The method employed consisted of

- (i) questionnaires
- and (ii) field discussions, both undertaken by the writer.

1. QUESTIONNAIRES:

Two questionnaires were designed for Indian traders: one for areas where group areas have been implemented (Appendix 1) and one for areas where group areas will be implemented (Appendix 2). The Questionnaires were basically the same except that for areas where removal under the Group Areas Act has yet to take place, the questions were asked in the future tense to determine the traders' anticipations in the new area.

For areas where group areas have been implemented, the traders in their new areas were asked to assess their position presently as compared to their position in the areas they had traded in.

For areas where group areas will be implemented the traders were asked to assess what they expected their position to be in the new areas as compared to their position in the area they were presently trading in.

The questions were kept as flexible as possible to allow a free expression of views, and in some instances, extra questions were supplemented for clarification.

For example, an increase or decrease in business volume (questions 3a, 3b) did not necessarily mean automatic increases or decreases in profits because overheads and/or operating expenses could have increased or decreased as well. Hence, after question 5b, it was asked: Have profits increased or decreased? Further, where a decrease or increase in business volume had occurred it was also asked what time it had taken to reach this volume in the new area.

FIELD DISCUSSIONS:

These were generally held with individuals and/or groups and were not confined to members of the trading community. Further discussions were also held with non-Indians, mainly Whites who were authorities (or experts) on the subject.

The writer also held two meetings: one at the Vrededorp branch of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, Page View Study Circle, Vrededorp, Johannesburg and one at a Commerce Society (name requested not to be mentioned) in Durban.

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRES.

1. A Description of Areas Surveyed.

The areas surveyed were:

GROUP 1: Areas where group areas have been implemented and included Heidelberg, Lenasia and Klerksdorp.

HEIDELBERG:

Indians have traded in this area for about fifty years. Of the 22 traders, 13 (including one dormant license holder who did not operate a business) have already been relocated in an area one mile from the centre of town. The remainder will be placed in this area by mid-October on completion of premises. The residents and business have been re-established in the same area. Of the 13 displaced traders 12 were interviewed. As one trader merely revived his dormant license he was not interviewed as he was not in a position to compare his present position with a previous one. A complete census of traders in the area was therefore taken.

LENASIA:

Lenasia is twenty-two miles from Central Johannesburg. Of the 220 shops relatively few belong to displaced traders, most being new license holders. Three traders from Bank have been re-established in Lenasia. They were forced to move because of a sinkhole **fear** in Bank and were compensated for premises, goodwill and transport by a mining house. As they were not displaced in terms of the Group Areas Act, they were not interviewed.

Ten traders, displaced from Martindale, Johannesburg, had been relocated in Lenasia. Of these 8 were interviewed giving a sample per cent of 80%.

KLERKSDORP:

The Indian traders have been relocated from the Central Area and from Malay Camp (proclaimed a White Area in 1959) an area on the outskirts of the town, to an area approximately a quarter mile from the centre of town. Shops were given on a license-for-license basis and of the 40 shops in the new area, 4 belong to people who have revived their dormant licenses. Of the remaining 36, 20, representing a sample per cent of 55.55% were interviewed. The residential area is in Sakhrol, an area 5 miles from town.

GROUP 2:

Areas where group areas will be implemented. These included Vrededorp-Pageview Complex, Central Johannesburg (Market Street-Diagonal Street Complex) and Standerton.

VREDEDORP-PAGEVIEW COMPLEX:

The Vrededorp-Pageview Complex was previously a Malay Location, but in terms of the 1885 Act, it was set aside for Asians. In 1941 Parliament resolved that it be recognised as an area for Asian occupation

and ownership. The traders of this area are to be housed in the Oriental Plaza (expected completion mid-1973) in Fordsburg. This relocation is unique in that whereas traders in most areas are being moved further away from the centre of town, these traders are to be located nearer town. There are 240 traders of which 40, giving a sample per cent of 16.66%, were interviewed.

MARKET STREET - DIAGONAL STREET COMPLEX:

Although no notices have been served on them as yet, the traders in this area will eventually be moved to Lenasia. Indian landlords of buildings housing Indian traders, fearing that they will be forced to sell their properties at far-below-market-values to the Community Development Board are selling their properties to European enterprises at and above market values. The latter, in turn, have served notices on the Indian tenants who have to find alternate accommodation. Such tenants are granted temporary permits by the Minister of Planning to trade in alternate premises in the city (the onus of finding these premises rests on the tenants). Many of the 340 traders in this area (particularly fruiterers in Diagonal Street) felt that they would not be given alternate accommodation in Lenasia, as the area was over-traded in the lines they carried. Only 22 traders, or 6.87%, were interviewed.

STANDERTON:

Indian traders have been active in Standerton for over 50 years. The traders occupy premises in the main street, Piet Retief Street, and in the lower part of town in Burger Street. They will be relocated near their residential area in Sharpeville, about one mile from town. Of the 50 shopkeepers 30 (or 60%) were interviewed.

TOTAL RESPONSE:

The total number of respondents in the areas surveyed is reflected by the following table.

<u>Area</u>	<u>No. of Traders</u>	<u>Sample Size</u>	<u>Sample %</u>
Heidelberg	12	12	100.00
Lenasia	10	8	80.00
Klerksdorp	36	20	55.55
Vrededorp-Pageview	240	40	16.66
Mkt-Diagonal Streets	340	22	6.87
Standerton	50	30	60.00
Total	688	132	19.18

The breakdown of the response into Group 1 (Heidelberg, Lenasia, Klerksdorp) and Group 2 (Vrededorp-Pageview, Market Street-Diagonal Street, Standerton) is as follows:

<u>Group</u>	<u>No. of Traders</u>	<u>Sample Size</u>	<u>Sample %</u>
1	58	40	68.96
2	630	92	14.60

The low response in Group 2 was the result of fear (government reaction), suspicions and apprehension. A large number of traders whom the writer attempted to interview replied that they were not interested and were not prepared to make any comments.

QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS

In the analysis of the questionnaires Groups one and two are discussed simultaneously and it must at all times be remembered that the responses of Group 2 are future expectations or anticipations. Further, areas are singled out where special mention of particular aspects warrants this or an explanation is needed.

Q. 1. TIME TRADED IN AN AREA

GROUP 1. All 40 of the traders had traded in the new area for under 5 years, ranging between 4 months to almost 3 years, indicating that group areas have only recently been implemented.

GROUP 2. The breakdown here was as follows:

<u>Years</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1 to 10	2	2.17
11 to 25	28	30.43
26 to 50	48	52.17
More than 50	14	15.21

Thus, the majority of the shopkeepers have been in business for more than twenty-five years demonstrating or long-standing, stable business community. The number of new businesses (under 10 years) is very small and indicates to the difficulty in obtaining new licenses.

Q. 2 a, b CLIENTELE BREAKDOWN IN AREAS ACCORDING TO A GIVEN PERCENT IN A GIVEN RACE GROUP

In Group 1, 95% of the trade in the previous area was with non-Indians i.e. Whites, Africans and Coloureds, the former two comprising the bulk of the clientele. As traders become relocated in their new areas a significant shift occurs toward Indian customers. This is especially true of Johannesburg traders who are relocated in Lenasia. An example is the former Martindale traders whose previous customers were mainly (over 75%) African. Six of the eight traders now deal with Indian customers (91 - 100%).

In Group 2, trade is carried on with all the races but Whites and Africans again form the majority. In the future the traders of Vrededorp-Pageview anticipated a similar clientele as was the case presently. The reason for this was ascribed to the fact that the people were being moved nearer the centre of town. The Market Street - Diagonal Street shopkeepers maintained that the bulk of the future trade would be with Indians mainly because other race groups did not reside in or near Lenasia. In total 16 traders were uncertain as to their future

clientele. The latter were mainly from Standerton.

The traders were asked whether a similar breakdown would emerge if they were to categorize the proportion of sales by each race group. The majority felt that this would be the case except that the proportion of sales to White clientele would be higher than the other race groups as the former's buying power was generally bigger.

Number of respondents indicating a given percentage of clientele in a given race group.

GROUP 1: PREVIOUS AREA

% of Customers	Race Groups			
	White	African	Indian	Coloured
1 - 5	5	3	32	14
6 - 25	-	16	-	8
26 - 50	4	2	-	-
51 - 75	7	4	-	-
76 - 90	11	3	-	5
91 - 100	5	5	-	-
<u>PRESENT AREA</u>				
1 - 5	-	13	22	14
6 - 25	3	10	8	-
26 - 50	2	8	-	-
51 - 75	8	4	-	-
76 - 90	10	2	-	-
91 - 100	9	3	6	-
<u>GROUP 2: PRESENT AREA</u>				
1 - 5	6	14	46	10
6 - 25	18	9	15	-
26 - 50	10	3	4	-
51 - 75	3	10	-	-
76 - 90	21	14	-	-
91 - 100	32	10	2	-
<u>FUTURE AREA</u>				
1 - 5	7	16	17	6
6 - 25	2	9	3	5
26 - 50	2	24	1	3
51 - 75	12	2	14	-
76 - 90	10	2	4	-
91 - 100	22	7	2	-

Q. 3a, b PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN BUSINESS VOLUME AND PROFITS.

In Group 1, the traders relocated in (Klerksdorp) or near (Heidelberg) town experienced an overall increase in business volume; the reasons why the profits have not shown a similar tendency is that overheads and/or operating expenses (question 5a, b) have increased substantially. In Klerksdorp the increase in business volume was almost instantaneous taking at most a period of 3 months. Heidelberg traders generally took a longer time (6 to 9 months) to either reach their previous levels or experience an increase. The food shops (cafes, fruiterers, etc) claimed substantial increases (more than 25%) attributing their windfall to their new locality which is near the National Johannesburg - Durban road. The previous traders of Malay Camp, Klerksdorp, who were now brought closer to town not only changed their clientele from Coloured to mainly White and African but also experienced increases of more than 100%. Those who had been relocated in Lenasia experienced a tremendous decrease in business volume and profits and 4 (or half of those interviewed) intended to abandon business immediately after they had sold their remaining stock.

In Group 2, the majority (particularly Market Street - Diagonal Street and Standerton) felt that their business volumes and profits would decrease. Of these, some of the Standerton traders anticipated an improvement as the new area developed into a viable trading centre; however

many were uncertain regarding the future. The traders to be relocated in Lenasia were certain that they would experience a substantial decrease in business volumes and profits. They could not see any improvement in a new, undeveloped area as compared to one where they have established businesses for more than 50 years. The reason they gave as to why the profit decline was not as steep as that of the business volume is that overheads and operating expenses (particularly rental and transport) would be far less than was the case presently. This aspect is further discussed under Question 5a, b.

The two traders who were "Uncertain" are Manufacturer's Representatives or Wholesalers whose clientele is exclusively Indian, i.e. their customers are the Indian retailers throughout South Africa. The future of their business is dependent on how well the retailers fare. As the Group Areas Act has only recently been applied in business no noticeable effect on their business has been felt.

The Vrededorp-Pageview traders saw no reason why their business volume should change drastically and consequently most expected a similar turnover as presently or a slight increase (1 to 10%). Profits would either remain constant or less than constant depending on the effects of the increase in overheads and/or operating expenses.

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS INDICATING GIVEN PERCENTAGE
CHANGES IN BUSINESS VOLUMES AND PROFITS.

GROUP 1.

% Change	No. of Traders			
	Business Volume	%	Profits	%
- 76 - 100	4	10.0	5	12.5
- 51 - 75	2	5.0	2	5.0
- 26 - 50	1	2.5	-	-
- 11 - 25	-	-	2	5.0
- 1 - 10	-	-	2	5.0
Constant	7	17.5	19	47.5
1 - 10	14	35.0	2	5.0
11 - 25	4	10.0	3	7.5
26 - 50	2	5.0	-	-
51 - 75	1	2.5	2	5.0
76 - 100	1	2.5	3	7.5
100 +	4	10.0	-	-
Total Traders	40	100.0	40	100.0

GROUP 2.

- 76 - 100	6	6.5	-	-
- 51 - 75	12	13.0	-	-
- 26 - 50	7	7.6	15	16.3
- 11 - 25	10	10.9	22	23.9
- 1 - 10	8	8.7	16	17.4
Constant	17	18.5	13	14.1
1 - 10	11	12.0	21	22.8
11 - 25	12	13.0	3	3.3
26 - 50	7	7.6	-	-
51 - 75	-	-	-	-
76 - 100	-	-	-	-
100 +	-	-	-	-
Uncertain	2	2.2	2	2.2
Total Traders	92	100.0	92	100.0

Q. 4a, b COMPENSATION

Of the 132 traders interviewed 67 or 50.76% had owned or did own their properties. In all areas except Vrededorp-Pageview sales to private White buyers is permitted. However, a time limit (ranging from 6 months to 2 years) is imposed in which the properties and premises have to be sold. Compensation for properties and premises therefore depends on what the (White) market will bear. However, the time limit (normally if a trader does not sell within the set time limit he is forced to sell to the Community Development Board, and only in exceptions, is the time limit extended) is generally felt to result in panic sales of below market values. Selling to the Community Development Board (as is the case with the Vrededorp-Pageview traders) is a tragic matter. Examples of below market value purchases by the Board abound; and the Board has then resold for market or above market values to White buyers. An example is the following:

In Ladysmith the Board purchased an Indian property for R6,630 and resold it to a White for R9,500².

Further, if a trader sells his property after the set time period (and after which time the Board cannot find a buyer) half the proceeds of the difference between the Board's value and the private value has to be given to the Board.³

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2. Horrell, M: A Survey of Race Relations, 1957-58 p. 107.
3. See Section II, Appendix 1.

Another grievance expressed by the traders is that the Board had valued their properties more than 5 years ago (e.g. Vrededorp-Pageview, Standerton). Appreciations in value over the years is not considered. Although objection to the Board's values and the appointment of an independant arbitrator is permitted the Costs involved deter many from going to Court.

In no instances was any compensation given for the costs incurred in the following:-

1. TRANSPORT:

Moving stock and fixtures and fittings. The Martindale, Johannesburg, people were relocated in an area twenty-two miles away and spent a substantial amount in money and time.

2. IMPROVEMENTS AND/OR ALTERATIONS OF PREMISES OCCUPIED.

Any costs already involved hereunder were regarded as sunk costs by the traders.

3. Necessary Improvements of new premises and of fixtures and fittings.

Where new premises were provided either by the Board or the local Municipality the traders were, as one put it, "merely given four bare walls." The costs of necessary improvements and the installation of fixtures and fittings were borne by the traders.

4. Nor was any compensation paid for loss of the goodwill

of the previous business. Some businesses, particularly in Vrededorp-Pageview and Market Street - Diagonal Street with turnovers of R300,000 to R500,000 per annum could under normal circumstances fetch a goodwill of between R30,000 to R50,000 and more.

In Group 2, the traders, having witnessed what had happened to their fellow-traders in Group 1, were certain that no compensation would be given to them for costs incurred and for goodwill.

Q. 5a, b OVERHEAD AND/OR OPERATING EXPENSES.

The increase in overhead and/or operating expenses was dependent on several variables:

1. DISTANCE BETWEEN RESIDENTS AND BUSINESSES

In the past, Indian traders lived in houses situated behind their shops. Hence, there was a minimum of, or, no travelling. When residents were separated from the shops and re-established in demarcated Indian areas, traders had to bear the additional cost of transport; the further the distance from the business, the higher the cost. Hence, for example, the travelling costs for Klerksdorp traders (distance between residents and businesses: 5 miles) will be higher than for those of Heidelberg where residents and shops are in the same area. So too, for example, will the travelling costs be higher for the traders of the proposed Oriental Plaza as they will reside in Lenasia than those whose businesses and residents will be in Lenasia.

Further, those away from the centre, have to bear the extra costs of coming to town to see their merchants, bankers and other people related to their business.

2. STAFF

Previously, a trader could draw on staff from his family - his wife and children - as he lived behind his shop. The relocation, again depending on the distance between shop and house, may in instances warrant the employment of additional staff, thus increasing overheads. Also the Indian staff who previously lived in close proximity to their places of work, demand higher pay to cover the extra transport costs incurred as a result of the further distance from their new areas.

3. RENTALS AND OTHER RELATED EXPENSES

In the new areas, these expenses could have increased or decreased, depending on the position of the traders in the previous area. A trader may have had a low rental for a premise rented, especially where his plate-glass and other building insurance, and rates and taxes were paid for by the landlord. Such traders experienced increased costs in relation to these expenses. Generally, traders displaced from the centre of town and relocated away from town (Heidelberg, Lenasia) experienced a decrease in rental and those relocated in areas in or nearer towards the centre of town (Klerksdorp, proposed Oriental Plaza) experienced or anticipated an increase in these expenses.

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS INDICATING A GIVEN PERCENTAGE
INCREASE OR DECREASE IN OVERHEADS AND OR OPERATING
EXPENSES

%	No. of Traders			
	Group 1	%	Group 2	%
-100 +	-		5	5.4
-76 - 100	-		8	8.7
-51 - 75	3	7.5	2	2.2
-26 - 50	4	10.0	6	6.5
-11 - 25	3	7.5	-	-
-1 - 10	5	12.5	-	-
Constant	2	5.0	-	-
1 - 10	5	12.5	18	19.6
11 - 25	2	5.0	22	23.9
26 - 50	6	15.0	21	22.8
51 - 75	3	7.5	7	7.6
76 - 100	2	5.0	-	-
100 +	5	12.5	-	-
Uncertain	-	-	3	3.3
Total Traders	40	100.0	92	100.0

6. BUILDING AND SIZE OF NEW PREMISES

In the previous area, traders used part of their houses (perhaps one or two rooms) for business purposes (e.g. storage of stock, food shops used the house refrigerator to stock butter, cheese, margarine, etc.) Although the same-sized-shops were given as those owned previously, many traders, in practical terms, were actually given smaller shops.

However, on a size-for-size basis 28 or 70% of the traders in Group 1, received the same-sized-shop as in the previous area. In all 9 (22.50%) traders had bigger premises (ranging between 25% to more than 100% extra in square footage), of these traders, 5 had build their own, 3 in Lenasia and 2 in Heidelberg. The latter 2 traders in Heidelberg are the only traders who were allowed to build and the other traders in the town who requested to build on their own were refused. In Klerksdorp, 4 traders were allowed bigger premises than the ones they had previously. In total 3 (7.5%) of the 40 traders were given smaller premises. These traders, fearing that they would not be able to meet the extra rent (rent is charged per square foot ranging from 8 to 11 cents per square foot, depending on the area), had requested smaller premises.

The traders of Group 2: 76 (82.60%) of the 92 expected that they would be given the same-sized premises, 11 (11.96%) intended to build on their own

and have bigger premises designed to their own specifications and 4 (4.35%) were uncertain.

7a, b, c BALANCED TRADE.

The table hereunder reflects the breakdown of the shop types in the areas surveyed. In the country areas general dealers predominate while specialization, particularly in the clothing category, is the trend in the city areas.

SHOP TYPES IN GROUPS 1 AND 2.

	No.	%
Outfitters (Men, Women and Children)	49	37.1
General Dealers (Stock including groceries, clothing and even hardware)	40	30.3
Food Shops (Cafes, Restaurants, Dairies, Butchers, etc.)	29	22.0
Shoe Shops	5	3.8
Tailors	4	3.0
Fancy Goods (Records, Ornaments etc.) ...	3	2.3
Manufacturers Representatives or Agents.	2	1.5
Total Traders	132	100.0

No shop-keeper in Group 1 was restricted from continuing the trade he was active in and requested to pursue a particular type of trade. In sum 14 (35%) of the 40 traders had changed from one type of trade to

another. However, the reasons for this change were either economic and/or environmental. Hence, for example, a general dealer who suddenly finds himself in close proximity to several general dealers in the new area may want to change his trade to, say, selling shoes as competition has become too keen and profits dwindled. A change in type of trade may occur as a result of the different environment, mainly leading to a different customer type. Therefore a men's outfitter in Johannesburg having mainly a White and an African clientele may change to selling groceries and Indian spices in Lenasia, where his customers are 100% Indian. In Klerksdorp, a general dealer switched to selling Ladies' crimplene materials and a trader who formerly sold bicycles changed to selling ladies' fashion goods and clothing. In Lenasia several of the traders now operated food shops where previously they were active in other trades.

In Group 2, the traders would generally "feel out" the new area and adapt their trade accordingly to the new conditions. Eighteen of the 40 Vrededorp-Pageview traders who will be relocated at the Oriental Plaza fear that a forced blanced trade will be implemented but the remainder were uncertain.

8a, b, c MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

From the 132 traders interviewed only 2 (1.52%) hbd already entered manufacturing industry (clothing)

and 3, or 2.27%, (2 clothing, 1 furniture) intended to do so. There are several reasons for manufacturing or intending to manufacture clothing⁴:-

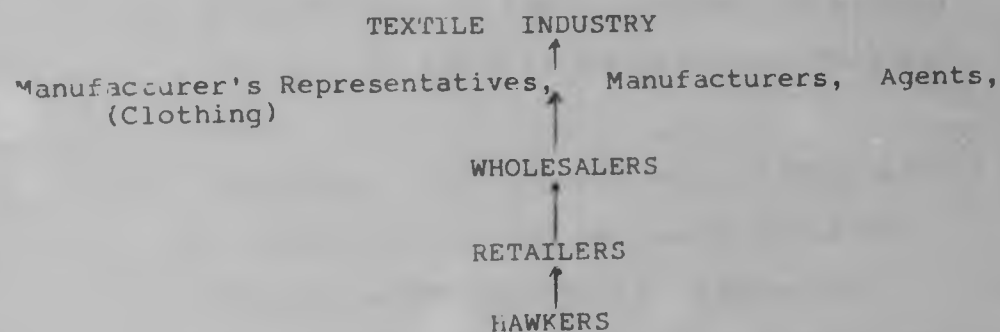
1. Low Capital Requirement: The clothing industry is more labour intensive and less capital intensive.
2. Ready Distribution Outlets: The majority of clothing manufacturers have their own retail outlets which act as a ready distribution outlets. Sales to other Indian retailers also aids in the distribution.
3. Ready Markets: The South African domestic market is growing steadily and with the increasing buying power of the African, clothing manufacturers find a ready market which at times causes demand to exceed production.
4. Little Technical Know-How Required: Training of people such as cutters and designers does not take a long time (between one to two years) while machinists can be trained in under three months.
5. Labour Availability: In Natal, and more so in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, Indian labour is readily available. This is not the case

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4. See the Author's Problems in the Indian Clothing Industry p. 2

in the Transvaal and even where labour is available workers are attracted to industries offering higher pay. In Durban, Indians own 82 of the 146 clothing factories⁵ while the number in Johannesburg is 37⁶.

Generally, Indians began to backward-integrate from wholesaling into manufacturing. The hierarchy of events is depicted in the chart below:-



The majority of the traders (127 or 96.21%) did not enter the manufacturing industry, nor intended to do so. Several factors prevented them from manufacturing:

1. Lack of Sufficient Capital: Most traders claimed to be living "land-to-mouth" and as such could not raise the necessary capital to initiate manufacturing. Nor were the traders keen on grouping their financial resources to start manufacturing.⁷

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5. Indian South Africans, Department of Information, Pretoria, p.12
6. Garmen's Workers' Union, Johannesburg.
7. For Reasons See Section II on Custom and Culture.

2. Labour and Other Restrictions. The Physical Planning Act of 1969 restricts the labour force of industrialists in areas outside Border Areas to the number employed as at January, 1968. This restriction and the fact that new industries may only be established in Border Areas restricts future growth and thus deters potential investors. For Indian manufacturers the labour problem, as pointed out, is more acute in the Transvaal than in Natal.
3. Age Factor. Many traders were in their 40's and felt that at that age could not leave the retail-type business and change to manufacturing. Their children, sensing that the future in business was bleak and strewn with restrictions were active in the professional (doctors, lawyers, teachers, nurses, etc.) or semi-professional fields.

Q. 9 a. b. c, INVESTMENT IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Only 3 (2.27%) traders had invested in foreign countries (2 Swaziland, 1 Botswana) while not a single one intended investing in foreign countries. The traders who invested outside South Africa gave their reasons as fewer restrictions to confront with in the business field.

Even these restrictions, they felt, could be circumvented.

The remainder 129 (97.73%) either did not have the capital to invest elsewhere or, those who did have the capital, did not want to invest in other countries because of the restrictions and political uncertainty. In the former protectorates of Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana, Indians are prohibited from owning businesses. To overcome this they normally appoint an African nominee to conduct their business. Further, Indians are not allowed to reside in these countries or serve in the shops.

On the political side, the treatment of Indian traders in Kenya, Uganda and Zambia (where in some cases Indian businesses were closed "so as to allow the development of the African middleclass") is too-fresh in the minds of South African Indian traders and discourages them from investing in the countries mentioned.

Generally, Indian traders residing near the borders of Swaziland and Botswana invest in these areas. Thus, for example many Indian traders residing in Piet Retief and Ermelo run shops in Swaziland. As they are near Swaziland they travel daily to their shops which are registered in the names of African nominees.

All the traders, including those who have invested in countries outside South Africa wanted to increase their investments in this country provided that the opportunities for such investments exist. Outside the restricted business field, the other avenues of investment

include speculating in properties in Indian areas in Durban and Pietermaritzburg and the Natal coastal towns of Verulam, Tongaat and Stanger, or buying shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, or investing in the tertiary industries: banks, building Societies and insurance companies.

Q. 10 a, PROBLEMS IN THE NEW AREAS

The principal problems in the new areas were:

1. Most new areas were not fully developed.
In many instances (Klerksdorp being an exception) shops were moved to the new area without provision for tarred roads (many roads are narrow, gravel roads) and other business necessities. Nor have some areas become economically viable even after a period of two years. However, one hopes that this is a temporary phenomenon.
2. For those traders who were vacated from the central areas the passing-trade so common in central areas was lost. Farmers who, for example, came to the Post Office, Bank or Building Society in town would, if they required certain goods, purchase it from the nearby Indian shops. They are not prepared to travel an extra mile or two to the Indian shops in the new areas to buy items for say R2 or R3.
3. Also lost is what was described as the "lunch - time" and "after - hours" trade. During lunch-time

a bank clerk would do his shopping with Indian shops in close proximity. People returning home after 5.00 p.m. also purchased from Indian shop which close at 6.00 p.m. These customers will not travel the extra distance for their shopping.

4. Service institutions such as banks, building societies, and insurance companies were lacking in the new areas. Nor were there florists (and in some towns) butchers. The traders had to travel to town for their needs.
5. This travelling for business purposes (particularly calling on merchants in town) increased overheads which have already been discussed.
6. The new locality is far from other settlements as in the case of Lenasia and the traders have suffered heavy losses in non-Indian clientele.

The problems regarding loss of clientele, business volume and profits and increased overheads and/or operating expenses are well founded in the light of the replies to Questions 2, 3 and 4.

Q. 10 b ADVANTAGES IN THE NEW AREAS

The principal advantages in the new areas were:

1. New Premises: In their previous areas traders had, in many cases, old dilapidated buildings with little window-space for display

purposes. Improvements, extensions or alterations to the premises were forbidden. The new premises are generally attractive and have bigger windows for displaying goods. Those traders permitted to build on their own, have built bigger shops than their previous ones and designed to their own specifications. Hence they are able to carry far more stocks.

2. Parking Facilities: The previous locations in central areas were congested and parking for customers was a problem. In the new areas there are adequate parking facilities and traders feel that this has resulted in attracting more customers. At the new Oriental Plaza parking facilities for 2,000 cars is being made.

3. New Locality: The new premises are situated in many cases near the African locations. This has served to increase African clientele. In Heidelberg 65 White families have recently been settled in close proximity to the Indian traders. This has increased White clientele. The passing trade from the main Johannesburg-Durban road has further increased trade in this town.

Q. 11 a. b GOVERNMENT POLICY AND BUSINESS

Laws which retarded expansion or growth of Indian business were, firstly, the local municipality's refusal

to issue new licenses even in some proclaimed Indian areas (e.g. Heidelberg, Klerksdorp); and, secondly, the proclamations of the Group Areas Act which forbade the extension, improvement or alteration of existing premises and the building of new ones. Further, the premises in the new area, whether provided by the local municipality or the Community Development Board, are rented on a lease basis, the lease being renewed once every three years. Traders who approached the relevant authorities to purchase their shops were refused. Although the assurance of a "security of tenure" is given, most traders feel that this is a calculated Government move which can be used to oust them at some future date. This conviction is not unfounded in the light of proclaimed Indian Areas which were deproclaimed as such and reproclaimed areas for White occupations. Two instances of this nature occurred: one in Ladysmith, where an area in the town set aside for Indian traders was reproclaimed for White businessmen; the other incident took place in Newcastle⁸ where Indian traders will be removed from an Indian area near town - this area has subsequently been given to Whites. On 1st October, 1971, the Rand Daily Mail commented in its leading article:

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8. See Rand Daily Mail 30, September, 1971.

"The Department of Planning, having proclaimed one business area of Newcastle for Indians three years ago, is now considering handing it over to Whites instead. It is also considering turning Paradise, an Indian suburb for 80 years, into Paradise Lost for Indians and converting an open trading area into a Whites only one. About 1,000 people face displacement and economic disaster."

The traders felt that, were the above measures cancelled, more growth and a greater sense of security would result. Traders could build more shops, investment would increase, more employment opportunities would be created resulting in a benefit not only to the traders and their employees but to the South African economy as a whole.

Q. 12 FUTURE EXPECTATIONS.

The future expectations of traders depended largely on the areas where they were settled or to be settled.

The traders of Heidelberg and Klerksdorp where there is an overall improvement in trade, or, at worst, the status quo has been maintained can generally be classified as certain and optimistic. A similar though slightly doubtful lot are the traders of Vrededorp-Pageview who will be moving nearer the city-centre. The doubt is largely the result of substantial overhead and/or operating expense increases expected.

Those already in Lenasia or to be moved there (Market Street-Diagonal Street) are unhappy, bitter and pessimistic. Businesses established for almost a century

will be ruined. (As already indicated, 4 traders in Lenasia intended closing down their businesses). Somewhat similar, though less pronounced, are the feelings of the Standeron businessmen who will be moved a mile from the centre of business activity.

Overall, the traders are unhappy at moving from their existing areas and as one businessman put it:

"South Africa must be the only country in the free world which legislates against a law-abiding, peaceful people who are merely seeking their livelihood."

The field discussions held with individuals and groups were intended to investigate the overall attitudes towards the Groups Areas Act and to compare these attitudes with those derived from the questionnaires. Field discussions were not confined to people in the areas covered by the questionnaires but held mainly with people from other areas. The writer made some suggestions or expressed his convictions to initiate discussion on the matter. Questions such as the following were asked:-

1. What do you think of the Group Areas Act?
2. Is the Act a calculated move by the Government to eliminate the Indian from business?
3. Should you, as a result of relocation, be unable to stay in business, what alternate avenues, do you feel, are open to you?
4. Are your children planning to enter business or other fields?
5. Do you plan to leave the country?

Although it is impossible to report on each individual (or group) discussion the following emerged:

That the Group Areas Act was unfair and indeed a calculated move to eliminate the Indian from business. When people were told that in instances such as Heidelberg and Klerksdorp there was an overall improvement in business and the traders there could generally be classified

as satisfied (regarding the new locality) and optimistic (as to the future) the replies were:

"Those are exceptions"

or "Look what happened at Lenas.

When told that Lenasia was more of an exception and that in the majority (if not all) of the towns people were generally displaced about a mile or two from the centre of town, the reply was:

"You cannot trust this Government. The Indians develop an area and once it becomes economically viable, the Government reproclaims it White, as has happened in Newcastle and Ladysmith."

The only alternate avenue for the elderly who may not succeed in the new area seemed to be employed in commercial organizations.

"The Government wants to make labourers out of us Indians and cheat us of the economic independence that trade allows us"

was a remark frequently made.

In the past there was a tendency for a parent to withdraw his children before they had reached high school. The "I will serve in my father's shop" attitude has died because "my father's shop" cannot, firstly, support all the children and, secondly, under the present conditions provisions for the growth of the existing business either through extension or diversification is not allowed, and new licenses are difficult to obtain. The aspiration levels of youth are in the direction of the professional

or semi-professional fields. As more fields both in government and private circles open up to the Indian he is entering fields hitherto unknown or closed to him. In many occupations it is the "age of the firsts" - the first Indian engineer, the first Indian architect, the first Indian police chief, etc.

The role of the woman as guardian of the home has been replaced by a new role - that of worker and part bread-winner. Indian Society's condescending attitude to the working woman has been replaced by one of admiration. This new structure which has resulted in a gradual deterioration of the close-knit family pattern will, I predict, have its effects on the Indian business scene and the family-owned, family-managed organizations must, with time, give way to a more mixed-directorate and top management employees with professional management capabilities.

The people who are leaving the country or intending to leave are the younger professionals, particularly those who feel that they are getting a "raw deal" (unequal pay, lack of advancement opportunities) in South Africa. Instances were pointed out where Indians with higher or better qualifications and experience were subordinate to Whites who had lower qualifications and experience. The main countries they intended emigrating to were Canada, Zambia and the United Kingdom.

The attitudes expressed towards relocation in the field discussions were in sharp contrast to those expressed in the questionnaires. In the latter case attitudes and opinions were largely dependent on the areas the traders had been, or would be, relocated in. In places where traders did levels of business which equalled and/or exceeded their previous levels the shopkeepers were generally content and seemed to think of the Group Areas Act as a kind of windfall to their businesses. In areas where business volumes had dropped (or a reduction was anticipated by those as yet to be relocated) the traders were unhappy and generally antagonistic towards the implementation (or intended implementation) of the Act.

In the field discussions the criticisms against the Group Areas Act had a strong political bias. People normally based their opinions on the effects the application had on a relatively small number of instances and not on any scientific study.

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the findings the central theory needs some modification. The detrimental effect causing reduced turnovers, profits and growth rates is true only in certain instances and is largely dependent on the distance in areas between the previous area from which traders were displaced and the new area where the traders were relocated, and on the distance from the centre of the city or town. Generally, the following pattern emerged:-

<u>AREA OF NEW LOCALITY</u>	<u>BUSINESS VOLUME AND PROFITS</u>
(i) in or near town	same or slight decrease (temporarily for about 3 months) and substantial increase (more than 25%) thereafter.
(ii) away from town (1 to 3 miles)	initial decrease (for up to a year) then rising to previous level and slight increase (up to 10%) thereafter.
(iii) far away from town (about 20 miles)	tremendous decrease (more than 25%) and, at best, reaching the previous level (after 2 years).

Hence for businesses to survive and improve it is imperative that the new locality be as near as possible to the centre of the towns or cities, or, at worst, on

the peripheries of the towns or cities. The traders should at all times be in close proximity to all sections of their clientele. In most of the towns the new Indian business areas are located in town or, at most, a mile from town. In 1961 the town councils of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, for example, were requested by the Secretary of the Group Areas Board that the new Indian areas should be placed on boundaries and near access roads as they would not be able to make a reasonable living as a separate and self-supporting group if shopkeepers were confined to their own racial groups.⁹

In these new areas no restrictions, with regards to future expansion, should be imposed. Hence, if a trader intends to expand or diversify by acquiring and/or building new shops he should be allowed to do so. Restricting the number of businesses to the number which stood in the previous area affords an unfair protection to those already established and, in instances, causes a monopolistic - like situation which a trader could exploit to the detriment of his customers. Further, growth and/or diversification is prevented. The free establishment of new businesses, a fundamental principle of the capitalistic society, should be encouraged.

Nor should there be any restriction as to the type of trade one may desire to pursue (there is no restriction presently). Balanced trade has the advantage of making

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9. Horrell, M.: Survey of Race Relations, 1961, p., 154.

shopkeepers specialize in certain lines. However, if it is forcefully implemented traders (particularly those who have been active in one type of trade for, say, 20 or 30 years) will find it almost impossible to change to a different type of trade. Let the economics in any area determine the type of trade shopkeepers should continue. It is only natural that once a particular line becomes over-traded the profits will fall and businessmen then seek out other trades where there is less competition and more profits.

The size of the premises should, again, not be determined by the size of the ones previously owned. Free building of premises should be allowed and, where premises are to be allocated, the size should in no way be restricted. The size of the premises will be dependent on the stock the trader carries and on the rent he can afford or is prepared to pay.

It is most unfair and almost criminal not to compensate traders for the loss of goodwill of the business and transport costs incurred in moving the stock fixtures and fittings to the new area. Also, sales to private White enterprises should, at all times, be permitted and the time limit within which properties may be sold to Whites (failing which 50% of the difference between the Community Development Board's value and the new sale price has to be given to the Board) must be eliminated as it results

in panic sales below market values. In Rustenburg, for example an Indian property sold to Whites for R70,000 (of which the Board retained R16,000) was resold less than two years later for R453,000.

In instances where traders are forced to sell their properties to the Board the latter should pay the prevailing market values. The stipulation (Community Development Amendment Act, No. 42 of 1967) that appreciation contributions need not be paid if an affected property is sold or expropriated within five years of the Group Areas proclamation should be abolished.

As for the future, more central areas should be set aside for the Indian traders. With the growth of the population in any area trade is bound to increase and the need for more areas is an absolute necessity. The fear of over-crowding and hence of over-trade in the present areas is a real one. While the relocation of businesses from different areas to one area has the advantage of attracting more customers, there is also the danger of increased competition resulting in over-trading. Different trading areas serving a variety of needs must be planned for.

The Group Areas Act's intention of "encouraging" a diversification towards manufacturing industry has clearly failed. Shopkeepers who for years have been playing the role of middlemen cannot be expected to enter

industry, their main problems being lack of capital, expertise, labour and age. A forced diversification into industry will not succeed; on the contrary it should be self-initiated and self-encouraged. This has already happened in Natal, particularly in Durban and in Pietermaritzburg.

The time lag between displacement and relocation should be minimal. The Oriental Plaza, in Fordsburg, for example, will house 340 of Johannesburg's 1,407 traders while only 50 of the 500 traders who have been evicted from Johannesburg have been re-established¹⁰. Such poor planning causes a time lag resulting in the loss of business which could easily cause businessmen to abandon their commercial activities.

Also the new areas should be fully developed with regards to roads, parking facilities and other business amenities before the traders are moved to the new areas.

It is difficult to ascertain precisely what detrimental effects are caused by restrictive legislations on the economy of the country. Of the total number interviewed only 3 or 2.27% were investing in other countries while not a single one intended to do so. It must be remembered, however, that traders residing in close proximity to the foreign territories generally invest there. Discussion held with the traders in Piet Retief and Ermelo who invest in Swaziland confirmed that all preferred to invest in South Africa but maintained that investment opportunities for Indians were absent.

Page 98/ ...

10. See Rand Daily Mail 23rd March, 1968.

As indicated earlier the only investment opportunities are speculating in (already-inflated) properties in the Indian areas in Natal, purchasing shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange or investing in tertiary industries.

Restrictive legislations in business results in a lack of investment opportunities. Potential businessmen are discouraged from entering the commercial field (this trend is most noticeable among the Indian youth). Hence entrepreneurial acumen is not exercised resulting in an unoptimum utilization of financial resources. This in turn results in reduced investment in the country and consequently lowered growth rates and employment opportunities.

Hence, if free development in the new areas recommended is allowed, the result will be increased investment (and consequently) higher growth rates and more employment.

These outcomes will not only benefit the Indian Community but the economy of the country as well.

CONCLUSION

The Group Areas Act, it must be emphasized, does not, in theory, discriminate against any racial group provided that the proclamations embodied therein are equally beneficial or equally detrimental to all racial groups.

It is in the implementation of the Act that discrepancies arise. For example, not a single White trading area in South Africa has been reproclaimed Indian. Even in areas where Indian traders are in the majority, it is these traders and not the White traders who are displaced and forced to move. Such inequitable treatment will not endear the Indian people to the Government; on the contrary, it breeds animosity against and suspicion towards Government policy.

For South Africa's multi-racial society contact between the races is essential if the problems of "the other race" are to be perceived, understood and appreciated. Yet the present policy is bent on development along separate lines. Social, educational, sports and other contacts between races are either non-existent, limited or banned. How ironic that a government which is endeavouring to make political and economic contacts with the African states should actively discourage interaction between its White and non-White peoples!

Compartmentalizing people into different areas has the very real danger of not perceiving "the other

man's" needs. This ignorance causes frustration which can easily end up in disastrous proportions.

In the commercial field, however, there is contact between the race groups. The writer feels that this contact should at all times be encouraged.

The recommendations as to ar as of relocation were made within the framework of the Group Areas Act. This was done so as to be acceptable to Government policy. However, the writer is of the firm conviction that the ideal solution is total economic integration: i.e. the free establishment of businesses in any area by any member of any race group.¹¹ Such a policy will put to test the entrepreneurial capabilities and business acumen of all businessmen (including Whites who will then have to face increasing competition from the non-Whites, particularly Indians).

Total economic integration will, the writer feels, not only result in increased investment and employment opportunities but to a better race relations which will serve to improve South Africa's image in the eyes of the world.

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11. For optimum business location see Hoover, E.M.: The Location of Economic Activity and Richardson, H.W.: Regional Economics.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The writer feels that the research conducted should be useful to the Indian business community and to the Government. The traders could perhaps press for the recommendations set out by the writer, while the Government could help in implementing these recommendations (as they are within the framework of Government policy) and reconsidering some of its intended measures which may be in direct conflict with the recommendations.

The writer feels that the research should not stop where it does. Future researchers in the area could take a bigger sample size in different areas and compare the outcomes with those in this study. Further, a similar study could be made taking a different race group, say, African or Coloured to determine the effects of restrictive legislations on business.

APPENDIX 1

E. E. KHARSANY
University of the Witwatersrand
Graduate School of Business Administration.

A STUDY ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN
INDIAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY

QUESTIONNAIRE ON AREAS WHERE
GROUP AREAS HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED

PLEASE NOTE:

1. All Data collected will be aggregated and used for academic purposes only.
2. Names of Companies or Persons will not be mentioned.

1. How many years have you traded in this area?

(a) Under 5 years.

(b) Under 10 years.

(c) Under 15 years.

2. (a) What was your clientele in the previous area you traded in?

(a) African

Percent

(b) Coloured

(c) European

(d) Indian

2. (b) What is your clientele in this area?

Percent

(a) African

(b) Coloured

(c) European

(d) Indian

3. (a) Since your displacement has your business volume

(a) Decreased

(b) Remained Constant

(c) Increased

3. (b) If your business volume has increased or decreased, by what percent?

Percent Increased

10%

25%

More

Percent Decreased

10%

25%

More

4. (a) Were you compensated for previous premises occupied (if owned by you), transport or other expenses when moved?

YES



NO



4. (b) If Yes to 4 (a) above, please give details.

[illegible]

5. (a) Since your displacement have your overhead and/or operating expenses increased or decreased and if so, by what percent?

Percent Increased

10%

25%

More

Percent Decreased

10%

25%

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More

5. (b) In what way will these expenses Increase or Decrease?

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6. In instances where premises were allocated, is your new premise compared to your previous one

- (a) Very much smaller ☐
- (b) Slightly smaller ☐
- (c) The same ☐
- (d) Slightly bigger ☐
- (e) Very much bigger ☐

(Please give details)

[illegible]

7. (a) What type of business did you own in the previous area?

114

11



(Please specify)

7. (b) What type of business do you own now?

- (a) General Dealer ☐
- (b) Wholesaler ☐
- (c) Other ☐

(Please specify)

.....

.....

7. (c) Were you restricted from continuing the type of business you were active in and requested to pursue a particular type of business?

(a) YES ☐

(Please elaborate)

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(b) NO ☐

8. (a) Since your displacement have you invested in manufacturing industry?

YES ☐

NO ☐

8. (b) If No to 8a above, do you in the near future intend diversifying from your present business into manufacturing industry

YES

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NO

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8. (c) If Yes to 8 (a) or 8 (b), why?

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9. (a) Since your displacement have you invested in other countries such as Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, India, Pakistan, Canada?

YES

☐

(Please specify countries)

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.....

NO

☐

9. (b) If No to 9 (a) above, do you in the near future intend investing in other countries?

YES

(Please specify countries)

.....

.....

NO

100

9. (c) Do you intend increasing or decreasing your investment in S.A.?

Intend Increasing Investment

Figure 1

Intend Decreasing Investment



10. (a) What, do you feel, are your principal problems in this area compared to the one you occupied previously?

[illegible]

10. (b) What, do you feel, are your principal advantages in this area compared to the one you occupied previously?

This image shows a full page of a document template. It consists of approximately 28 horizontal rows of small, evenly spaced black dots on a light gray background. The dots are arranged in straight lines across the width of the page, providing a guide for handwriting or typing. There is no text or other content on the page.

11. (a) Please give details of particular aspects of Government policy which you feel retard expansion or growth of Indian businesses.

[illegible]

11. (b) Could you outline the Government measures which you would like relaxed and the advantages (if any) which would result therefrom?

This image shows a full page of a handwriting practice notebook. It features approximately 20 horizontal rows of small, evenly spaced dots. The dots are arranged in straight lines across the width of the page, providing a guide for letter height and placement. There is no text or other markings on the page.

12. What are your expectations for the future of your business and why?

[illegible]

APPENDIX 2

E. E. KHARSANY
University of the Witwatersrand
Graduate School of Business Administration.

A STUDY ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN
INDIAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY

QUESTIONNAIRE ON AREAS WHERE
GROUP AREAS WILL BE IMPLEMENTED

PLEASE NOTE:

1. All Data collected will be aggregated and used for academic purposes only.
2. Names of Companies or Persons will not be mentioned.

1. How many years have you traded in this area?

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| (a) 1 to 10 years | <input type="text"/> |
| (b) 11 to 25 years | <input type="text"/> |
| (c) 26 to 50 years | <input type="text"/> |
| (d) More than 50 years | <input type="text"/> |

2. (a) What is your clientele in this area?

		<u>Percent</u>
(a) African	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
(b) Coloured	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
(c) European	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
(d) Indian	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

2. (b) What, do you anticipate, will your clientele be in the area you will be moved to?

		<u>Percent</u>
(a) African	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
(b) Coloured	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
(c) European	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
(d) Indian	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

3. (a) Do you feel that in the new area your business volume will

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| (a) Decrease | <input type="text"/> |
| (b) Remain Constant | <input type="text"/> |
| (c) Increase | <input type="text"/> |

3. (b) If you anticipate your business volume to increase or decrease, by what percent?

Percent Increase

10% ☐

25% ☐

More ☐

Percent Decrease

10% ☐

25% ☐

More ☐

4. (a) Would you be compensated for premises occupied (if owned by you), transport or other expenses when moved?

YES ☐

NO ☐

4. (b) If yes to 4 (a) above, please give details

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5. (a) In the new area will your overhead and or operating expenses increase or decrease and, if so, by what percent.

Percent Increase

10% ☐

25% ☐

More ☐

Percent Decrease

10% ☐

25% ☐

More ☐

5. (b) In what way will these expenses increase or decrease?

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6. In instances where premises will be allocated do you feel that the new premise compared to your existing one will be ?

- (a) Very much smaller
- (b) Slightly smaller
- (c) The same
- (d) Slightly bigger
- (e) Very much bigger

(Please give details)

[illegible]

7. (a) What type of business do you own now?

- (a) General Dealer ☐
- (b) Wholesaler ☐
- (c) Other ☐

(Please specify)

.....

.....

7. (b) What type of business will you own in the new area?

- (a) General Dealer ☐
- (b) Wholesaler ☐
- (c) Other ☐

(Please specify)

.....

.....

7. (c) Will you be restricted from continuing the type of business you are active in and requested to pursue a particular type of business?

- (a) YES ☐

(Please elaborate)

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

- (b) NO ☐

8. (a) Has your intended displacement encouraged you to invest in manufacturing industry?

YES

1

NO

103

8. (b) If No to 8 (a) above, do you in the near future intend diversifying from your present business into manufacturing industry?

8. (c) If Yes to 8 (a) or 8 (b) Why?

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

9. (a) Has the intended displacement encouraged you to invest in other countries such as Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, India, Pakistan, Canada?

YES

☐

(Please specify countries)

.....
.....

NO

☐

9. (b) If No to 9 (a) above, do you in the near future intend investing in other countries?

YES

☐

(Please specify countries)

.....
.....

NO

☐

9. (c) Do you intend increasing or decreasing your investment in S.A?

Intend Increasing Investment

☐

Intend Decreasing Investment

☐

10. (a) What, do you feel, will your principal problems be in the new area?

[illegible]

10. (b) What, do you feel, will your principal advantages in the new area be ?

[illegible]

11. (a) Please give details of particular aspects of Government policy which you feel retard expansion or growth of Indian Businesses.

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

11. (b) Could you outline the Government measures which you would like relaxed and the advantages (if any) which would result therefrom?

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

12. What are the expectations for the future of your business and why?

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

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TABLE 1(a): S.A. POPULATION, 1970

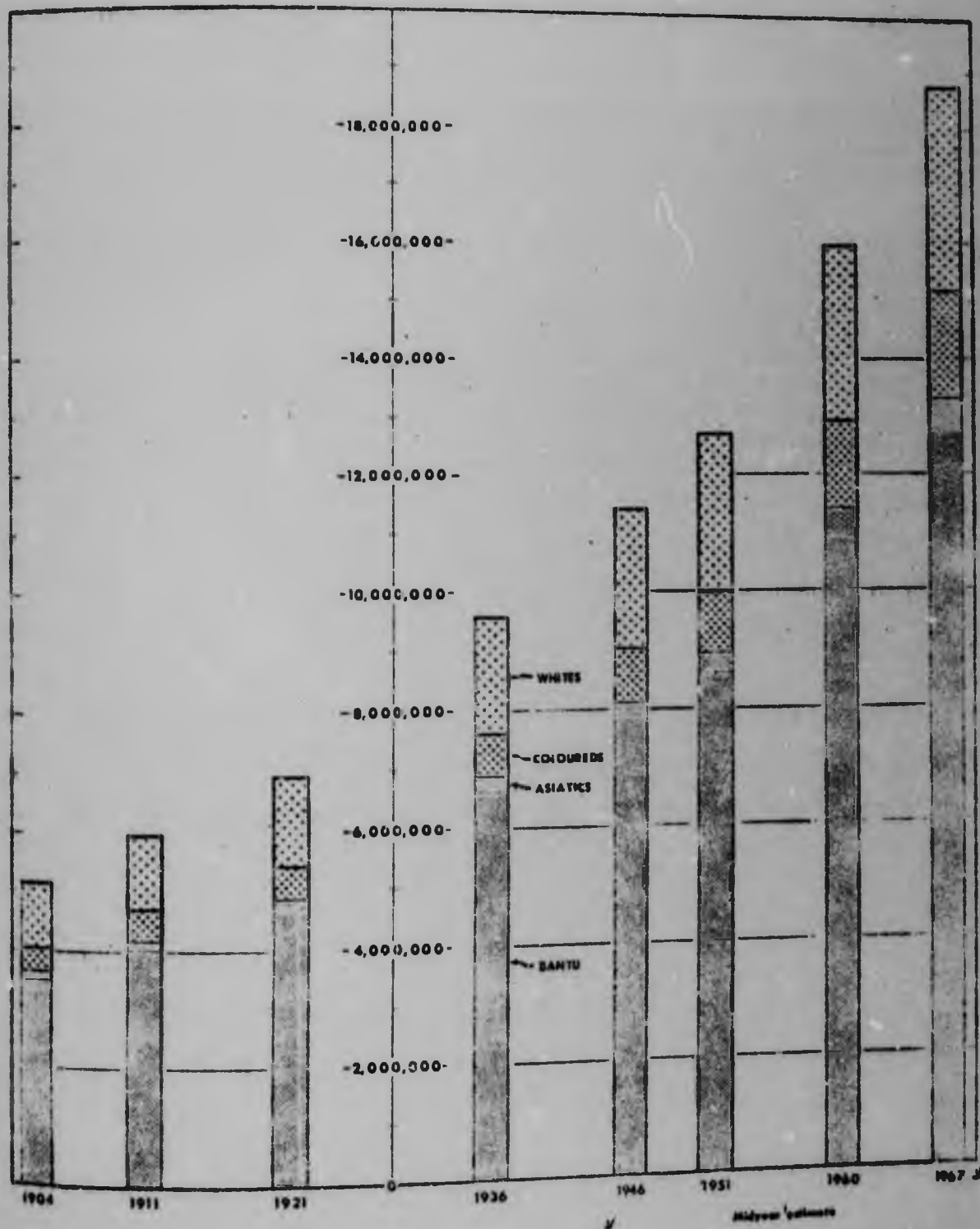
	Whites			Coloureds		
	T	M	F	T	M	F
South Africa	3,750,716	1,867,527	1,883,187	2,018,533	993,649	1,024,884
White Areas	3,729,959	1,857,073	1,872,886	2,005,390	987,143	1,018,247
Cape	1,102,357	540,800	561,557	1,751,546	852,147	889,399
Natal	442,009	217,939	224,160	66,821	32,503	34,318
Transvaal	1,889,600	950,584	939,016	150,831	74,293	76,538
O.F.S.	295,903	147,750	148,153	36,192	18,200	17,992
Bantu Homelands	20,757	10,456	10,301	13,143	6,506	6,637
	Asians			Bantu		
	T	M	F	T	M	F
South Africa	622,422	309,424	310,998	15,057,599	7,389,663	7,667,896
White Areas	616,981	307,662	309,319	8,059,325	4,405,947	3,653,378
Cape	21,617	11,077	10,540	1,359,856	707,527	652,329
Natal	514,803	256,169	258,634	1,115,184	603,747	511,437
Transvaal	80,556	40,413	40,143	4,264,775	2,392,123	1,872,652
O.F.S.	5	3	2	1,319,510	702,550	616,960
Bantu Homelands	3,441	1,762	1,679	6,998,234	2,983,716	4,014,518

TOTAL S.A. POPULATION: 21,449,270

SOURCE: POPULATION CENSUS 1970 PP. 1,9.

Fig. 1 GROWTH OF THE POPULATION

1904 - 1967



SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS 1968 A-1

TABLE 1(b) BIRTHPLACE, 1960

	T.	M.	F.
Total	477,047	241,599	235,448
South Africa	450,750	227,169	223,581
Cape	13,779	6,907	6,872
Natal	383,282	192,946	190,336
Transvaal	48,928	24,889	24,039
O.F.S.	69	36	33
South Africa	4,692	2,391	2,301
Rest of Africa	472	146	326
Asia	26,275	14,516	11,759
India	24,314	13,450	10,864
Pakistan	80	45	35
China	1,755	969	786
Rest of Asia	126	52	74
Other	73	35	38
?	336	179	157

SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS, 1968, p., A-32

TABLE 2(a) AGE DISTRIBUTION, 1960

Age groups	All races			Whites	
	T	M	F	M	F
0 - 4	2,389,279	1,183,020	1,206,199	179,597	172,942
5 - 9	2,171,170	1,090,812	1,080,358	167,037	160,911
10 - 14	1,840,972	928,812	912,160	160,542	154,327
15 - 19	1,506,192	759,590	746,602	137,880	134,130
20 - 24	1,373,229	686,717	118,361	115,876	65,701
25 - 29	1,229,883	627,804	602,029	104,225	102,225
30 - 34	1,063,767	539,209	524,558	102,988	102,357
35 - 39	934,386	487,397	446,989	98,132	98,521
40 - 44	835,595	427,966	407,629	92,710	93,534
45 - 49	703,523	373,539	329,984	92,551	93,169
50 - 54	564,766	285,632	279,134	83,788	84,865
55 - 59	403,693	206,740	196,953	60,243	62,477
60 - 64	337,458	155,649	181,809	44,341	51,357
65 - 69	213,559	105,912	125,647	35,303	43,232
70 - 74	169,189	74,418	94,771	24,605	32,788
75 - 79	104,797	47,560	57,237	16,793	21,892
80 - 84	66,777	18,214	38,563	9,358	12,236
85 - 89	27,312	11,914	15,898	3,758	5,098
90 +	34,050	15,660	18,390	1,578	1,257
Total	15,994,181	8,039,240	7,954,941	1,534,923	1,545,236

TABLE 2(a) CONTINUED

	Coloureds		All races		Bantu	
	Asiatics					
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0 - 4	134,830	135,746	37,319	36,674	831,334	860,837
5 - 9	113,593	112,962	35,884	36,349	774,298	770,136
10 - 14	91,974	92,137	33,800	33,083	642,486	632,613
15 - 19	71,300	72,565	27,740	28,152	522,670	511,755
20 - 24	65,701	68,682	22,431	23,343	480,019	478,816
25 - 29	54,183	56,517	17,594	18,026	451,733	425,261
30 - 34	46,450	46,540	15,316	15,096	374,455	360,565
35 - 39	38,391	37,143	12,526	12,386	338,348	298,939
40 - 44	32,073	31,347	10,731	9,949	292,452	272,799
45 - 49	27,811	27,390	9,119	7,904	244,058	201,521
50 - 54	22,483	21,538	6,623	5,383	172,738	167,348
55 - 59	17,455	16,390	4,627	3,797	124,415	114,292
60 - 64	11,704	13,454	3,116	2,442	96,488	114,556
65 - 69	8,944	9,719	1,829	1,388	59,836	71,308
70 - 74	6,296	7,228	1,414	843	42,103	53,912
75 - 79	3,985	4,275	1,037	410	25,745	30,660
80 - 84	1,903	2,327	449	219	16,504	23,781
85 - 89	842	1,086	191	86	7,123	9,628
90 +	1,395	1,784	311	345	12,376	14,004
Total	750,797	758,256	241,599	235,448	5,511,921	5,416,001

SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS, 1968, P. A-26

TABLE 2(b) AGE DISTRIBUTION-PER CENT, 1960

Age Group (years)	Whites			Coloureds			Asiatics			Bantu		
0 - 4	11.5	11.7	11.2	18.0	18.0	18.0	15.5	15.5	15.6	15.6	15.1	15.9
5 - 9	10.7	10.9	10.4	15.0	15.1	14.9	15.1	14.9	14.2	14.2	14.1	14.2
10 - 14	10.2	10.5	10.0	12.2	12.2	12.2	14.0	14.0	11.7	11.7	11.7	11.7
15 - 19	8.8	9.0	8.7	9.5	9.5	9.6	11.7	11.5	9.5	9.5	9.5	9.5
20 - 24	7.6	7.7	7.5	8.9	8.7	9.1	9.6	9.3	8.3	8.7	8.7	8.9
25 - 29	6.7	6.8	6.6	7.3	7.2	7.5	7.5	7.3	6.1	8.2	8.2	7.9
30 - 34	6.7	6.7	6.6	6.1	6.2	6.1	6.4	6.3	6.3	6.8	6.8	6.7
35 - 39	6.4	6.4	6.4	5.0	5.1	4.9	5.2	5.2	5.9	6.2	6.2	5.5
40 - 44	6.1	6.0	6.1	4.2	4.3	4.1	4.3	4.4	5.2	5.3	5.3	5.0
45 - 49	6.0	6.0	6.0	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.8	4.1	4.4	4.4	3.7
50 - 54	5.5	5.5	5.5	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.5	2.7	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1
55 - 59	4.0	3.9	4.0	2.2	2.3	2.2	1.8	1.9	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.1
60 - 64	3.1	2.9	3.3	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.2	1.3	1.9	1.8	1.8	2.1
65 - 69	2.6	2.3	2.8	1.2	1.2	1.3	0.7	0.8	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.3
70 - 74	1.9	1.6	2.1	0.9	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.8	0.8	1.0
75 - 79	1.3	1.1	1.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6
80 - 84	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4
85 - 89	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
90 +	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS, 1968, PP. A-27 AND A-28

Fig. 2(a) PER CENT OF POPULATION ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE

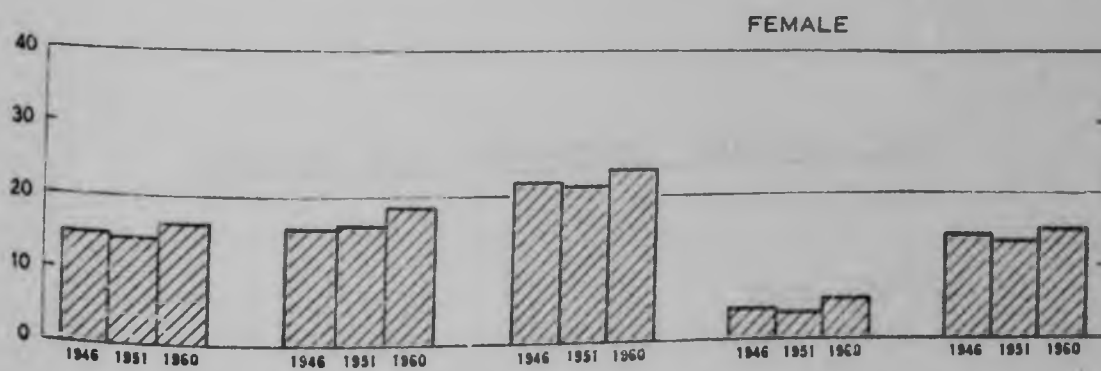
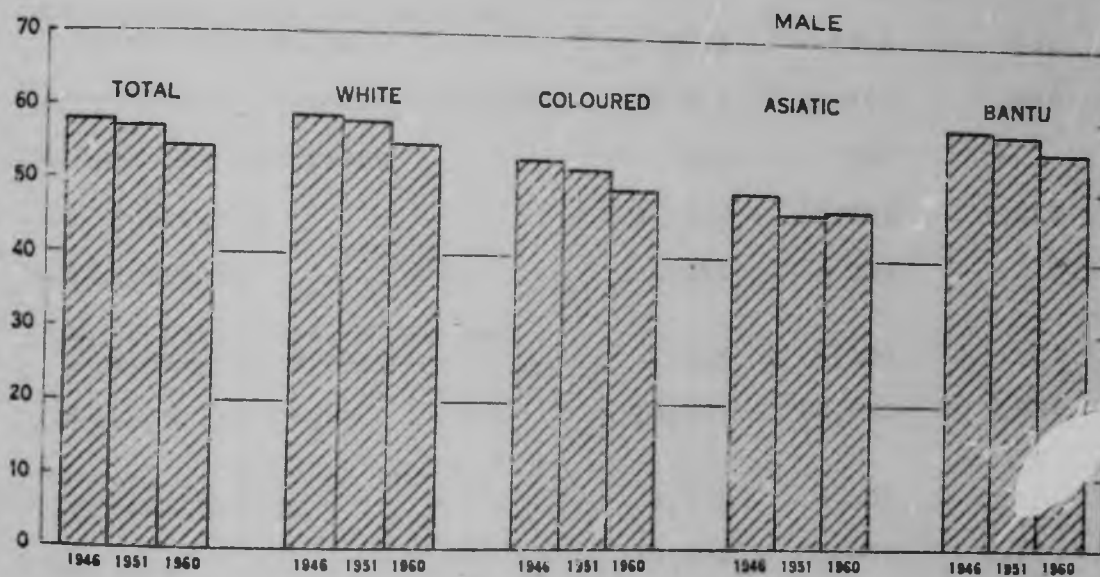
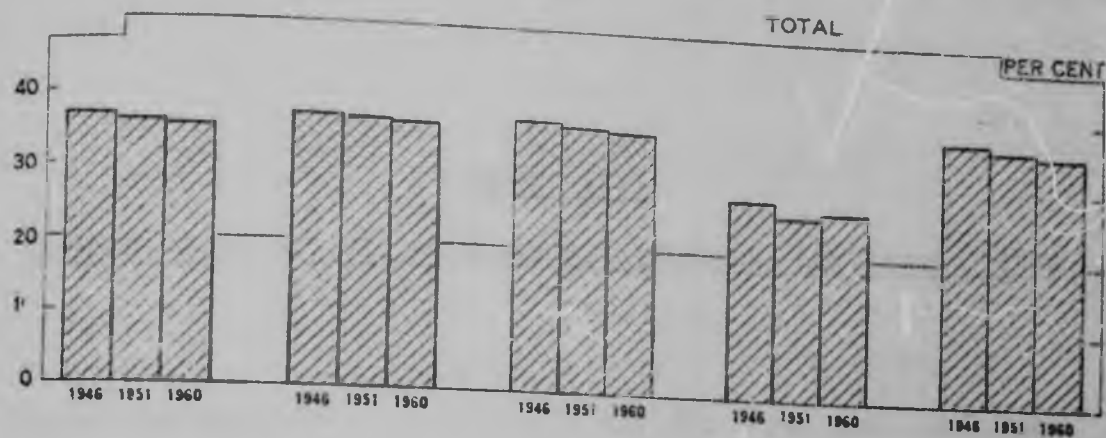


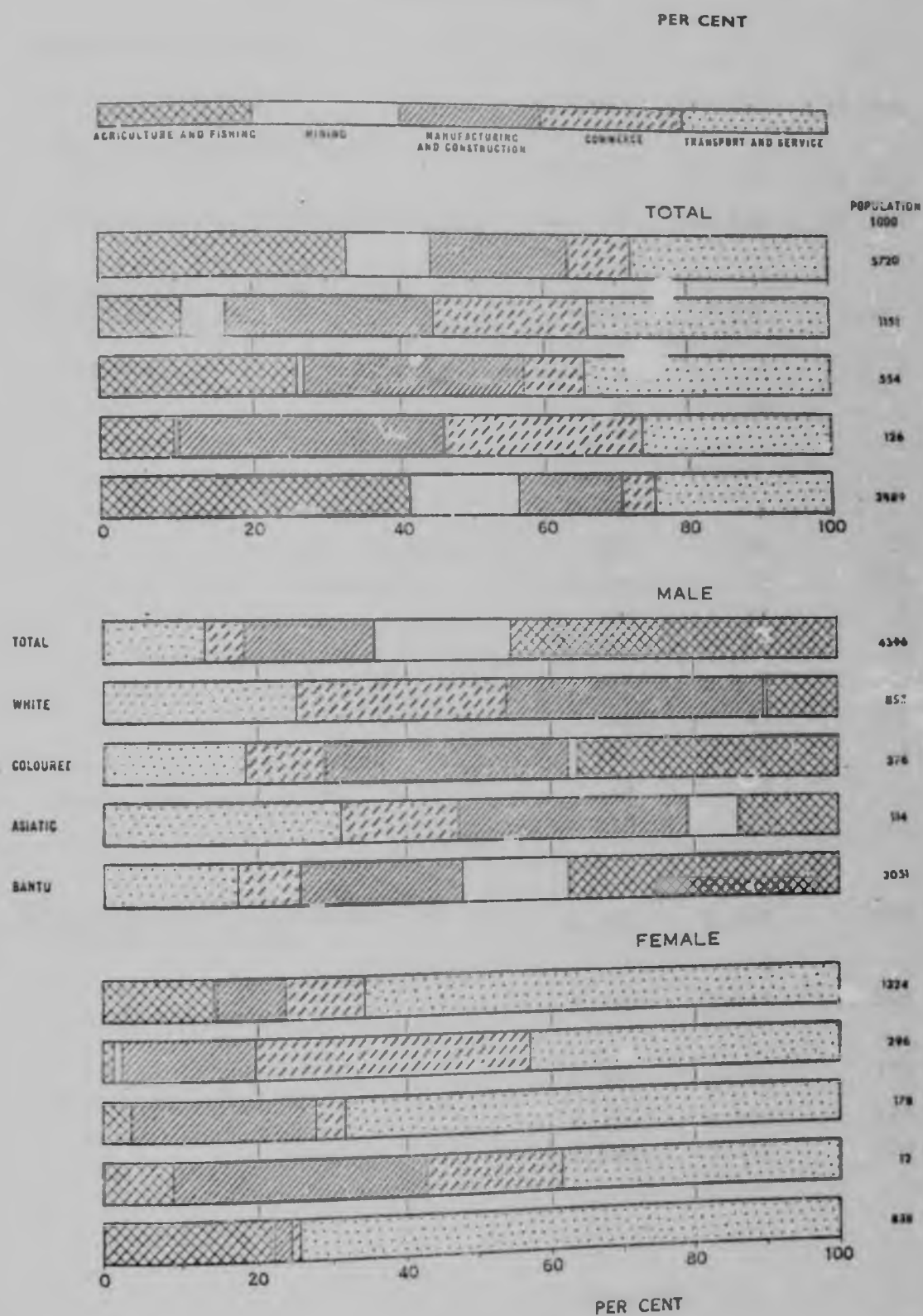
TABLE 3(a)

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION, INDUSTRY DIVISIONS, 1960

	T	M	F
Total Population	477,047	241,559	235,448
Economically Active, 15 + years	128,858	114,299	14,559
Economically Active as % of Total Population	26.4	47.3	6.2
Agriculture, Forestry Fishing	10,847	9,953	894
Mining and Quarrying	595	595	-
Manufacturing	31,642	28 51	3,091
Construction	2,321	2,313	8
Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services	285	284	1
Commerce and Finance	28,977	27,023	1,954
Transport, Storage and Communication	3,750	3,707	43
Services	23,492	19,446	4,046
Unspecified Including Presumably unemployed	23,949	22,427	1,522

SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS, 1968 p.. H-7

Fig 2(b) ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY INDUSTRY DIVISIONS—1960



SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS 1968 H-4

TABLE 3(b): ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION,
OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, 1960

<u>Occupational Groups</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	477,047	241,599	235,448
<u>Not Economically Active Population</u>	352,077	127,762	224,315
<u>Economically Active Population</u>	125,660	114,142	11,546
<u>Professional, Technical and Related Worker</u>	5,202	3,834	1,368
Architect	5	5	-
Engineer	4	4	-
Surveyor	-	-	-
Chemist Phsicist. etc.	-	-	-
Veterinarian, Biologist, etc.	5	5	-
Medical Practitioner Dentist	207	192	15
Nurse, Midwife Nursing Aid	1,234	83	351
Medical Auxiliaries	27	22	5
Other Medical Services	67	63	4
Professor, Teacher, etc	3,846	2,877	969
Jurist	48	46	2
Draughtsman, Technician	203	202	1
Chartered Accountant	18	18	-
Other	338	317	21
<u>Administrative, Executive and Managerial Worker</u>	2,371	2,243	128
Public Administrative Official	2	2	-
Managerial Worker	2,369	2,241	128
<u>Clerical Worker</u>	8,197	7,722	5
Clerk	6,316	6,069	247
Other	1,881	1,653	228

TABLE 3(b) CONTINUED:

	T	M	F
<u>Salesworker</u>	22,938	21,338	1,600
Working Proprietor (Trade)	8,125	7,541	584
Insurance and Estate Agent	363	360	3
Shop Assistant	11,270	10,545	725
Other	3,180	2,892	288
<u>Farmer, Fisherman, Luberman and Related Worker</u>	11,575	10,650	925
Farmer, Market Gardener	3,585	3,368	217
Farmworker	7,798	7,100	698
Other	192	182	10
<u>Miner, Quarryman and Related Worker</u>	49	49	-
Specialized Mining Occupations	39	39	-
Mine Captian, Shiftboss, Other	10	10	-
<u>Worker in Transport and Communication</u>	7,230	7,206	24
Deck Officer, Crew, etc	51	51	-
Aircraft Pilot, Navigator, etc	1	1	-
Driver, Fireman (Railway)	121	121	-
Drive (Road Transport)	5,795	5,781	14
Other	1,262	1,252	10
<u>Craftsman, Production Worker and Labourer</u>	35,876	32,816	3,060
Spinner, Weaver	1,706	1,538	168
Tailor, Cutter	1,936	1,702	234
Upholsterer, Textile Worker	5,598	3,764	1,834
Shoemaker, Leather Worker	3,172	3,143	29
Furnaceman, Roller, Moulder	286	284	2
Precision Instrument Maker	424	422	2
Fitter and Turner Toolmaker	468	465	3
Mechanic (Not Electrical)	805	802	5
Sheetmetal Worker, Plumber	295	295	-

TABLE 3(b) CONTINUED:

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	T	M	F
Welder and Other Metal Worker	266	265	1
Electrician	68	68	-
Mechanic (Radio Household)	109	109	-
Carpenter, Woodworker	1,830	1,825	5
Painter and Paperhanger	900	900	-
Bricklayer, Plasterer	1,713	1,711	2
Compositor	719	710	9
Glass and Clayworker	107	107	-
Miller, Grinder	63	58	5
Baker, Confectioner	577	548	29
Brewer, Winemaker	68	67	-
Other Worker in Food	612	589	23
Chemical Worker	290	283	7
Tobacco Worker	27	27	-
Packer and Labeller	911	836	75
Stationary Engine Operator	723	720	3
Craftsman and Production Worker	2,491	2,386	105
Labourer in Mining	141	141	-
Other Labourer	9,571	9,051	520
<u>Service, Sports and Recreation Worker</u>	14,597	11,891	2,706
Policeman	491	487	4
Caretaker, Cleaner	959	741	218
Housekeeper, Domestic Servant	9,897	7,848	2,049
Other Service Worker	3,250	2,815	435
<u>Unemployed and Unspecified</u>	17,653	16,393	1,260

SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS 1968 pp., H-10, 11, 12, 13

Fig. 2(c) ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS—1960

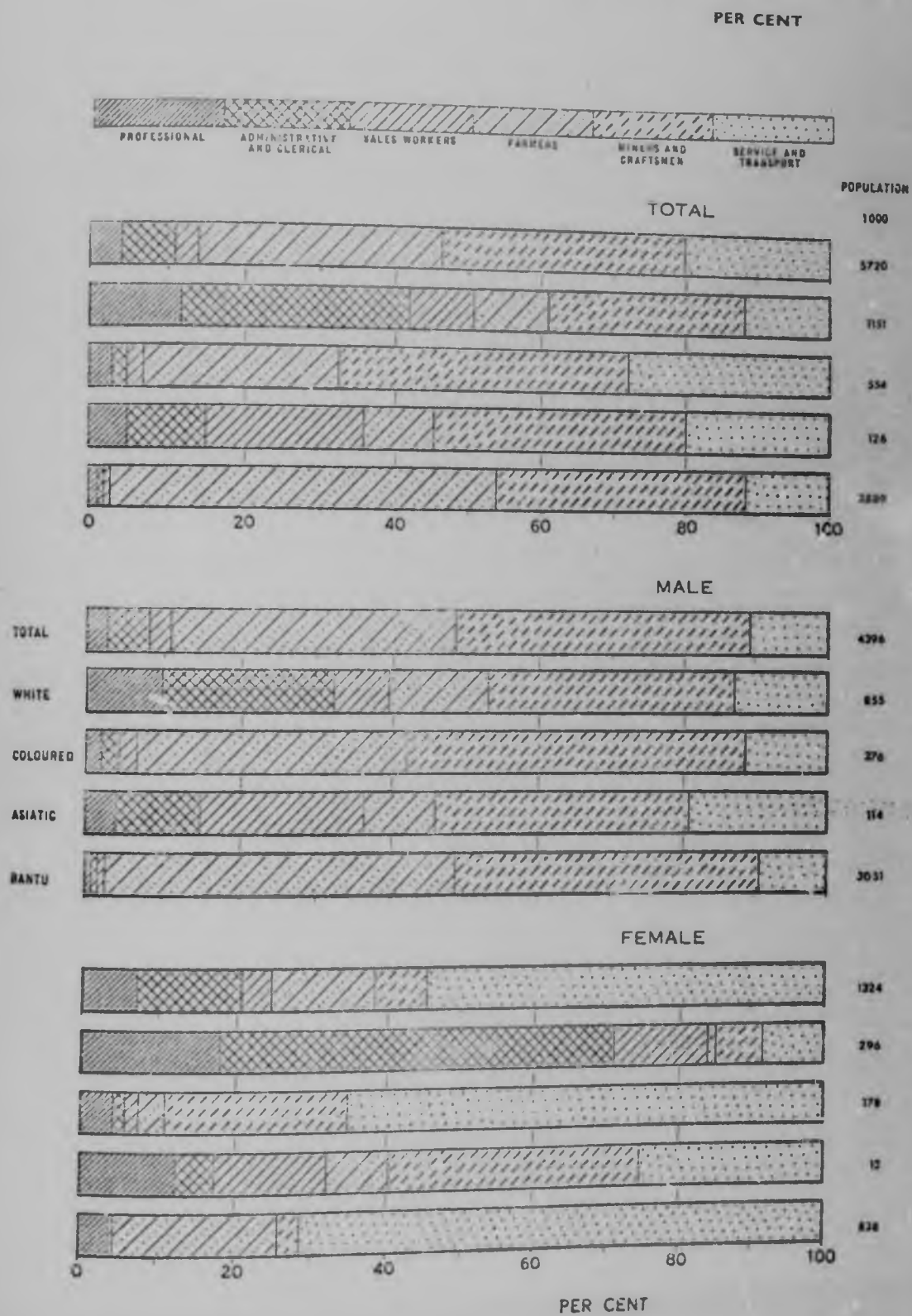


Fig. 2(c) ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS—1960

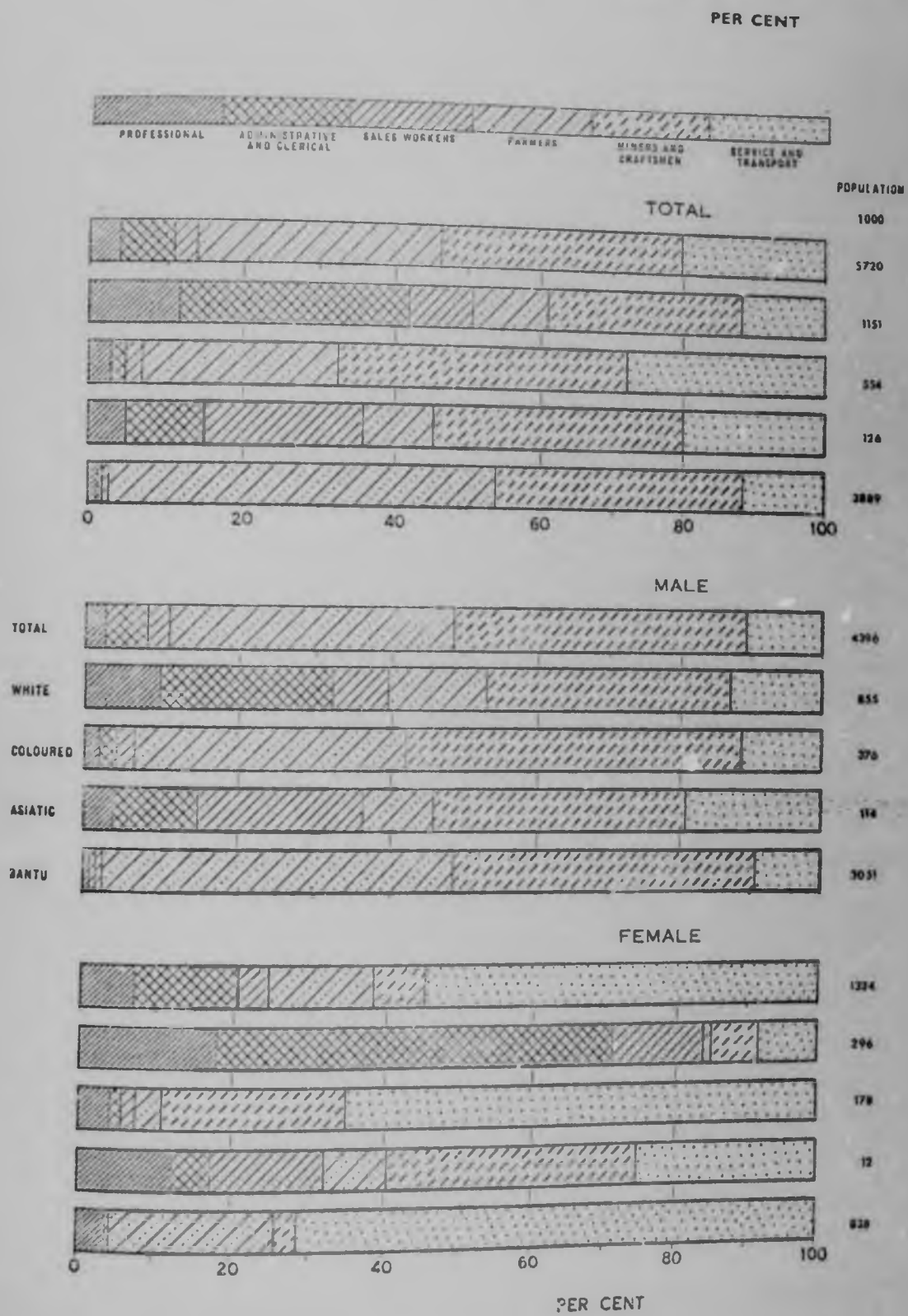


TABLE 4: OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COMPANIES

	Wholesale Trade			Retail Trade			Agents
	1960-61	1952	1946-47	1960-61	1952	1946-47	
Establishments Total	651	735	776	36,330	34,817	29,752	2,097
Individual Ownerships & Partnerships	188	303	415	28,005	28,286	25,568	884
Race of Owner:-							
White	147	243	347	18,538	20,400	18,782	846
Coloured	-	-	-	2,527	525	462	5
Asiatic	41	60	68	6,175	6,242	5,567	30
Bantu	-	-	-	765	1,119	757	3
Private Companies	418	350	294	6,136	4,579	2,878	1,103
Race of Controlling Shareholders:-							
White	362	303	..	5,359	4,021	2,744	089
Coloured	-	-	..	11	5	-	-
Asiatic	56	47	..	739	537	130	14
Bantu	-	-	..	27	16	4	-
Public Companies & Other ...	45	82	67	2,189	1,952	1,306	110

.. = DATA NOT AVAILABLE

SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS, 1968 PP. D4-D22

TABLE 5: INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1960

Area	Total	Income groups - Rand											7
		No Income	-100	100 -199	200 -299	300 -399	400 -499	500 -599	600 -799	800 -999	1,000 -1,999	2,000+	
MALE													
Cape Town	2,385	286	26	48	86	143	263	190	361	215	477	178	112
E.A.													9
N.E.A.	2,489	2,422	20	5	8	2	5	1	4	3	6	4	3
E.A.	431	66	8	10	30	44	54	32	50	24	62	48	3
N.E.A.	429	415	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	-	2	1	-
E.A.	263	41	5	9	13	16	18	23	33	27	47	28	3
N.E.A.	283	274	2	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E.A.	1,119	110	19	42	63	70	95	82	143	99	240	145	11
N.E.A.	1,068	1,045	6	2	4	-	1	1	2	2	3	-	2
E.A.	56,799	11,422	1,640	3,474	8,258	6,616	6,951	3,844	6,231	2,790	4,131	948	494
N.E.A.	62,979	61,295	387	281	159	72	57	27	39	28	42	21	111
E.A.	6,512	1,251	167	324	711	633	592	462	1,015	564	665	93	35
N.E.A.	7,163	6,968	119	23	19	10	2	2	2	1	5	2	10
Pietermaritzburg													
E.A.	1,753	210	34	38	77	108	156	85	283	189	377	183	13
N.E.A.	2,319	2,280	4	5	5	2	3	1	5	2	6	3	3
E.A.	7,004	808	76	133	232	349	565	344	1,146	87	1,752	676	96
N.E.A.	8,030	7,917	36	7	19	3	4	3	8	3	6	7	17
E.A.	545	81	5	22	39	4	60	47	79	44	89	30	8
N.E.A.	678	670	4	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
E.A.	1,481	246	27	20	83	141	163	93	210	154	250	71	20
N.E.A.	1,819	1,786	10	2	2	-	1	2	4	1	2	3	5
E.A.	496	43	10	4	11	15	23	25	65	51	172	71	6
N.E.A.	544	540	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
E.A.	242	24	3	3	7	13	15	10	40	62	38	23	4
N.E.A.	214	214	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 5 CONTINUED:

Cape Town	E.A. N.E.A.	405 3,686	164 3,633	12 11	24 8	36 5	23 3	33 7	21 3	32 2	12 3	18 3	2 2	28 6
East London	E.A. N.E.A.	169 703	28 677	6 10	6 4	28 5	29 1	36 -	10 2	11 1	2 2	7 -	2 1	2
Kimberley	E.A. N.E.A.	73 460	11 441	4 7	7 2	6 4	6 2	7 1	8 1	12 -	4 1	6 -	-	2
Port Elizabeth	E.A. N.E.A.	352 1,706	56 1,657	12 10	15 10	41 9	42 5	45 2	28 -	51 4	14 1	28 4	13 3	7 1
Durban	E.A. N.E.A.	5,453 112,074	776 109,483	1,136 1,221	979 439	841 285	529 124	413 119	168 45	229 78	107 41	62 62	25 27	189 150
Pietermaritzburg	E.A. N.E.A.	7 12	134 12,310	103 168	76 49	45 25	49 18	21 13	26 3	39 8	18 4	15 7	- 1	11 11
Pretoria	E.A. N.E.A.	234 3,740	37 3,643	11 13	24 12	24 21	21 9	14 10	26 3	43 8	15 3	5 9	11 7	3 2
Johannesburg	E.A. N.E.A.	1,228 12,748	306 12,523	42 48	62 26	137 25	85 22	120 20	96 10	185 20	68 17	84 22	14 7	29 9
Germiston	E.A. N.E.A.	103 1,062	17 1,035	3 10	7 4	25 4	11 3	11 1	12 1	9 1	2 3	2 -	-	4
East Rand	E.A. N.E.A.	179 3,062	12 3,000	9 22	21 6	32 11	31 2	18 8	11 2	24 4	7 3	8 2	2	4
West Rand	E.A. N.E.A.	48 907	25 897	1 2	8 1	2 1	1 2	1 -	2 1	4 1	-	2 1	-	1
Vanderbijlpark/ Vereeniging	E.A. N.E.A.	15 438	9 431	- 2	- 1	1 2	- -	2 -	- -	- 2	- -	1 -	2 -	-

E.A. = ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE

N.E.A. = NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE

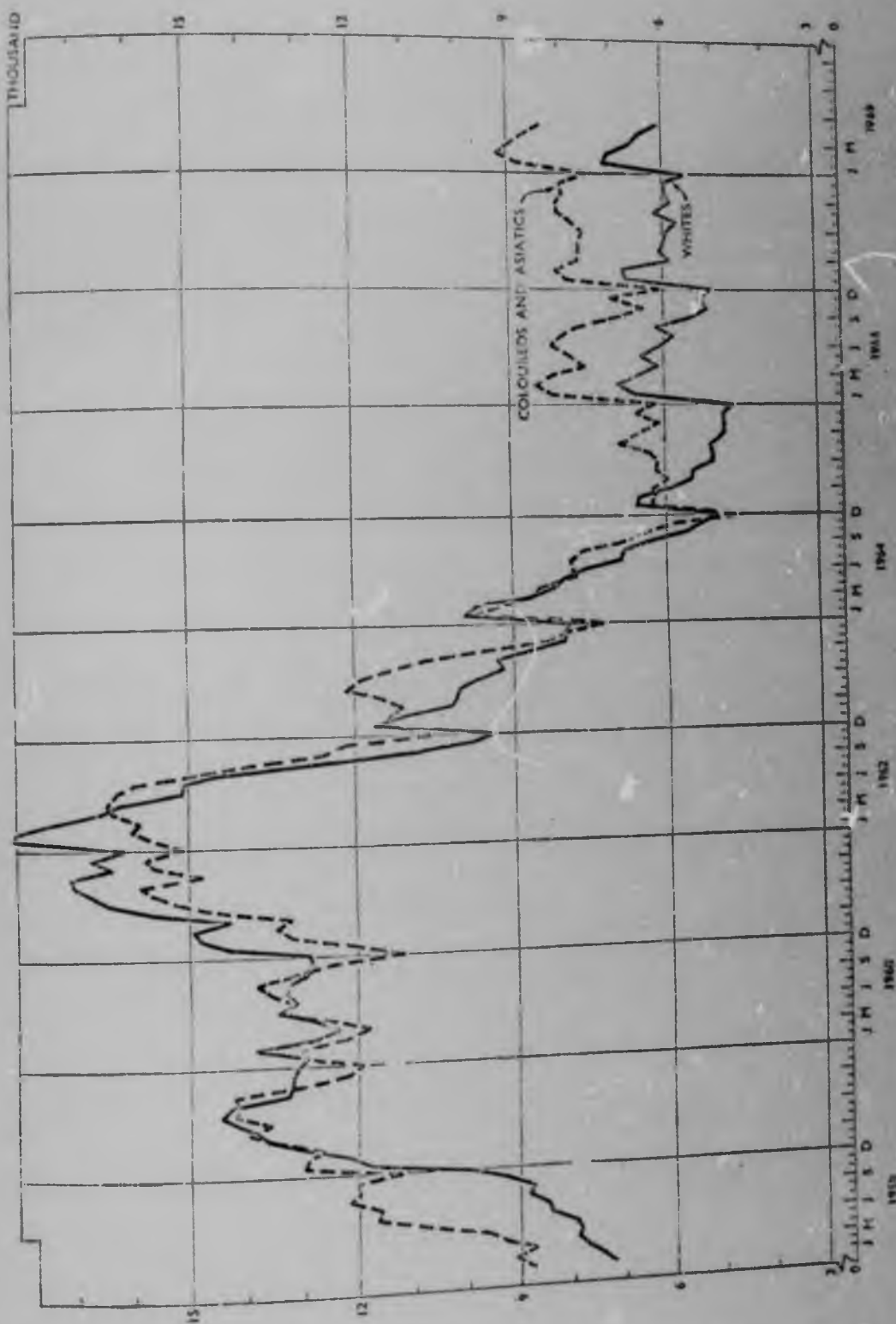
SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS, 1968, P. A-78

TABLE 6 REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED

As at 30th September	Total W., C. and A.	Whites				Coloureds				Asiatics			
		Adults		Juveniles		Adults		Juveniles		Adults		Juveniles	
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male
1956	13,466	4,968	3,148	102	38	7,356	5,376	343	148	658	538	39	28
1957	15,002	5,940	3,882	80	44	7,049	5,206	353	193	1,527	1,446	53	51
1958	20,979	8,649	5,130	136	58	9,270	6,583	575	314	2,264	2,028	85	65
1959	27,474	13,064	7,670	202	87	10,600	7,537	614	418	2,898	2,606	96	77
1960	27,089	13,022	6,461	243	116	9,173	6,133	735	411	3,782	3,260	134	115
1961	31,793	16,785	8,806	272	129	9,827	7,112	784	447	3,996	3,432	129	78
1962	26,597	12,374	6,550	345	140	8,845	6,548	721	495	4,164	3,627	148	122
1963	18,168	8,302	3,931	338	120	5,539	3,946	645	445	3,268	2,997	76	58
1964	13,166	6,097	2,563	192	76	4,049	2,735	500	335	2,259	1,971	69	49
1965	11,334	4,743	1,909	138	56	3,597	2,716	454	342	2,352	2,125	70	57
1966	12,351	5,319	2,507	147	72	3,660	2,684	397	251	2,745	2,400	83	70
1967	13,968	5,734	2,834	151	77	4,757	3,265	432	224	2,824	2,509	70	57

SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS, 1968, P., H-55

Fig. 3 REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED



SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS H-6 1968

TABLE 7(a) RELIGION. 1960

Religion	Whites	Coloureds	Asiatics	Bantu
Total	3,080,159	1,579,053	477,047	10,927,922
Nederduits Gereformeerde	1,324,052	440,370	334	524,706
Gereformeerde	99,359	7,184	25	18,112
Nederduits hervormde	191,933	2,921	26	21,565
Anglican	384,448	260,849	6,000	752,095
Presbyterian	111,267	6,191	2	203,929
Methodist	267,122	177,123	2,481	1,320,566
Roman Catholic	192,234	118,900	10,316	755,073
Apostolic Faith Mission	60,691	17,245	658	119,960
Congregational	15,487	139,873	123	136,330
Lutheran	34,080	73,918	61	542,668
Baptist	53,929	11,269	2,665	103,700
Full Gospel	21,930	5,499	6,542	33,326
Seventh Day Adventist	11,401	8,165	307	22,504
Bantu Christian Churches	-	-	-	2,313,365
Other Christian	151,823	162,196	6,212	552,060
Jewish	114,762	105	112	135
Buddhist	59	36	338	72
Confucian	9	2	1,073	26
Hindu	96	470	327,783	207
Islam	240	92,130	99,068	5,599
Other	2,063	4,384	409	9,927
Object to state and no religion	36,874	14,162	7,013	3,001,659
?	23,840	27,335	6,216	483,947

SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS, 1968, p., A-36

TABLE 7(b) RELIGION BY INDUSTRY. 1960

Industry divisions						
Religion	Total	Agriculture	Mining	Manufacturing	Construction	Electricity
Christians						
M.	18,317	415	62	2,223	166	17
F.	17,645	51	-	722	-	-
T.	35,962	466	62	2,945	166	17
Budhist						
M.	179	13	1	13	-	-
F.	159	3	-	-	-	-
T.	338	16	1	13	-	-
Confucian						
M.	598	9	-	12	3	-
F.	475	-	-	8	-	-
T.	1,073	9	-	20	3	-
Hindu						
M.	165,373	8,867	483	22,427	1,785	246
F.	162,410	800	-	1,933	7	1
T.	327,783	9,667	483	24,360	1,792	247
Islam						
M.	50,319	350	26	3,057	288	16
F.	48,749	10	-	342	-	-
T.	99,068	360	26	3,399	288	16
Other						
M.	276	7	3	30	4	-
F.	245	-	-	3	-	-
T.	521	7	3	33	4	-
Objected to state and no religion						
M.	3,625	261	14	448	38	11
F.	3,388	27	-	35	-	-
T.	7,013	288	14	483	38	11
7						
M.	3,417	40	8	372	28	2
F.	2,799	6	-	51	1	-
T.	6,216	46	8	423	29	2
Total						
M.	42,104	9,962	597	28,582	2,312	292
F.	215,870	897	-	3,094	8	1
T.	477,974	10,859	597	31,676	2,320	293

SOURCE: S.A. POPULATION CENSUS VOLUME 3-4, PP., 122, 123

TABLE 7 (b) CONTINUED:

Commerce			Transport	Services	Unem- ployed and un- specified	Not economy- cally active
Wholesale and retail trade	Motor trade	Other				
27	-	-	3	21	17	84
5	-	-	2	9	1	129
32	-	-	5	30	18	223
258	3	-	5	36	31	241
61	-	-	-	5	7	394
319	3	-	5	41	38	635
10,134	838	318	2,878	14,425	15,405	87,567
731	5	13	26	2,708	742	155,444
10,865	843	331	2,904	17,133	16,147	243,011
12,726	212	174	463	1,339	4,128	27,040
520	-	8	5	364	357	47,143
13,246	212	182	468	2,203	4,485	74,183
26	3	-	8	29	35	131
11	-	-	-	7	4	220
37	3	-	8	36	39	351
405	18	10	53	284	325	1,758
106	-	1	4	72	29	3,114
11	18	11	57	356	354	4,872
464	18	6	54	257	789	1,379
92	-	2	1	67	196	2,383
556	18	8	55	324	985	3,762
25,265	1,203	562	3,710	19,441	22,427	127,751
1,914	0	32	44	4,044	1,522	224,306
27,179	1,211	594	3,754	23,485	23,949	352,057

TABLE 8(a) LEVEL OF EDUCATION: SCHOOL. 1960

Age group	Total	Highest school standard passed									
		?	None	Sub A. B.	Std. 1 & 2	Std. 3 & 4	Std 5	Std. 6	Std. 7	Std. 8 & 9	Std. 10
Total	477,047	6,141	186,321	31,422	62,898	76,695	35,579	46,272	11,030	14,751	6,748
- 15	213,085	2,867	110,424	28,635	36,040	25,228	6,463	2,759	536	105	28
15 - 19	35,888	714	6,282	432	4,552	13,405	9,188	11,714	4,494	4,472	635
20 - 24	45,760	343	7,093	419	3,964	9,631	5,925	9,685	2,243	4,349	2,108
25 - 34	65,016	607	15,402	741	7,026	13,382	7,793	12,648	2,151	3,830	2,429
35 - 64	88,586	1,380	40,539	1,138	10,815	14,478	6,041	9,226	1,536	1,930	1,503
65 +	8,058	184	6,311	49	463	524	142	221	60	60	44
?	464	46	263	8	38	47	27	19	10	5	1

MALE

Total	241,559	3,001	73,283	15,552	30,763	39,531	21,928	33,247	8,171	10,817	5,724
- 15	106,992	1,513	54,178	14,328	18,107	13,199	3,632	1,598	358	69	14
15 - 19	27,738	430	1,449	145	1,392	5,252	5,058	7,407	3,140	3,014	451
20 - 24	22,426	153	1,285	104	1,079	3,671	3,210	6,547	1,627	3,037	1,713
25 - 34	32,902	202	2,104	226	2,476	6,333	5,050	9,695	1,683	3,003	2,130
35 - 64	46,728	556	10,643	711	7,285	10,586	4,838	7,797	1,302	1,638	1,372
65 +	5,030	112	3,542	39	404	470	124	190	54	52	43
?	201	35	82	3	20	20	16	13	7	4	1

FEMALE

Total	235,448	3,140	113,038	15,870	32,135	37,164	13,651	13,025	2,859	3,934	1,024
- 15	106,793	1,354	56,246	14,311	17,933	12,029	2,831	1,161	178	36	14
15 - 19	28,150	284	4,833	287	3,160	8,153	4,130	4,307	1,354	1,458	184
20 - 24	23,334	190	5,808	315	2,885	5,960	2,715	3,138	616	1,312	395
25 - 34	33,114	405	13,305	515	4,550	7,049	2,743	2,953	468	827	299
35 - 64	41,258	824	29,896	427	3,530	3,892	1,213	1,429	284	292	131
65 +	3,028	72	2,769	10	59	54	18	31	6	8	1
?	263	11	181	5	18	27	11	6	3	1	-

TABLE 8(b):

LEVEL OF EDUCATION: UNIVERSITY

Year	Number	Number of students				
		Total	Full-time		Part-time	
			W.	Non-W.	B.-W.	Non-W.
1956	8	23,583	21,689	915	927	52
1957	8	25,462	23,12	1,162	1,110	63
1958	8	27,390	24,825	1,316	1,168	81
1959	8	29,644	26,848	1,573	1,140	83
1960	8	31,739	28,771	1,634	1,240	94
1961	8	33,123	30,363	1,412	1,252	96
1962	8	33,859	31,098	1,339	1,314	108
1963	8	36,176	33,526	1,298	1,264	88
1964	8	37,649	35,109	1,285	1,178	77
1965	9	40,642	38,025	1,165	1,392	60
1966	9	44,124	41,448	1,152	1,500	84

RACE OF NON-WHITE STUDENTS IN UNIVERSITIES AND UNIVERSITY COLLEGES

Year	Grand total	Full-time				Part-time			
		Tot.	C.	A.	Ban.	Tot.	C.	A.	Ban.
1956	1,335	1,283	267	504	512	52	43	6	3
1957	1,603	1,540	346	645	549	63	52	8	3
1958	1,835	1,754	432	706	616	81	68	11	2
1959	2,145	2,057	554	891	612	88	57	24	7
1960	2,383	2,276	619	1,026	631	107	73	18	16
1961	2,447	2,323	658	1,018	647	124	77	23	24
1962	2,748	2,486	654	1,139	693	262	84	141	37
1963	3,001	2,687	693	1,216	778	314	78	207	29
1964	3,373	2,992	688	1,384	920	381	71	289	21
1965	3,526	3,079	623	1,406	1,050	447	100	315	32
1966	4,003	3,452	676	1,501	1,275	551	123	391	37

RACE OF STUDENTS IN NON-WHITE UNIVERSITY COLLEGES

1960	655	642	210	66	366	13	-	-	13
1961	939	911	339	155	417	28	-	11	17
1962	1,301	1,147	333	331	483	154	-	123	31
1963	1,615	1,389	356	425	608	226	-	197	29
1964	2,011	1,707	392	567	748	304	-	283	21
1965	2,301	1,914	346	662	906	387	44	312	31
1966	2,767	2,300	421	745	1,134	467	56	384	27

TABLE 9 NUMBER OF FAMILIES
BY SIZE AND COMPOSITION. 1960

Composition of Family	Number of:-	
	Families	Persons
Husband and Wife	8,584	17,168
Husband, Wife and 1 child	10,354	31,062
" " " 2 children	11,067	44,268
" " " 3 children	10,529	52,645
" " " 4 children	9,388	56,328
" " " 5 children	7,932	55,534
" " " 6 children	6,905	55,240
" " " 7 children	3,865	34,785
" " " 8 + children	5,560	60,525
Total	65,600	390,377
Father and 1 child	387	774
" " 2 children	286	858
" " 3 children	232	928
" " 4 children	185	925
" " 5 children	109	654
" " 6 children	102	714
" " 7 children	49	392
" " 8 + children	50	494
Total	1,400	5,739
Mother and 1 child	2,210	4,420
" " 2 children	1,772	5,316
" " 3 children	1,438	5,752
" " 4 children	1,044	5,220
" " 5 children	797	4,782
" " 6 children	477	3,339
" " 7 children	313	2,504
" " 8 + children	214	2,071
Total	8,265	33,404
Total: All families	83,849	446,688
No. of persons		
Average size of family		
Husband and Wife	2.0	
Husband, Wife and children	6.0	
Father and Children	4.1	
Mother and children	4.0	
All families	5.3	

SOURCE: S.A. STATISTICS, 1968, p., A-51

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