DEPARTMENT OF

Sociology

UNIVERSITY OF RHODESIA

Two Aspects of Social Change Highfield African Township Salisbury

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P. STOPFORTH

Faculty Research Fellow
Urban Studies Research Unit

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF RHODESIA
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INTRODUCTION

This paper presents the results of a structured enquiry survey which is a sequel to a sociographic survey of Highfield African township (Stopforth: 1971). The general introduction to the 1971 publication outlines physical and general information on the township and will not be repeated here. Since the completion of the field research for this project in December 1969, Highfield township has passed from the administration of the Ministry of Local Government and Housing to that of the Greater Salisbury Municipality (July 1971). However, the responsibility for continuing a scheme of local government for urban African townships remain the prerogative of the minister of Local Government and Housing (Municipal Amendment Act 1971, sect. 30).

For many Africans, the change in township administration constituted a threatening situation. The convention of central government at that time had been to promote home-ownership schemes, whereas local government administrative authorities were known to favour rented (non-ownership) housing for urban Africans. Many home-owners now feared that they would have to relinquish title to their homes. This general fear was exacerbated by some ill-considered debate in the lower house concerning the fate of African townships, viz. whether urban African townships should remain as part of the urban complex or be "transferred" to neighbouring tribal trust lands.

The structured enquiry survey is designed to show whether sociographic changes in social structure are accompanied by substantial and significant sociological changes from a traditional towards a modern order. Put another way, the question is whether urban settlement, new urban family structures, participation in modern institutions, structural differentiation etc. are expected to mean more than a simple sojourning and temporary transformation in the urban environment. It is apparent from the results of this enquiry that African urbanization has been conterminous with radical and historical sociological change. Centralization of values in genealogical units has given way to a new identity. This new identity of the urban African, characterised by modern aspirations, a wish for modern standards of living, heightened understanding of a new way of life and rapidly proliferating structural organization, places a severe strain on conservative political views regarding socio-economic policy in a plural society. It is inconceivable that political policies based on the assumption of "tribal man" in town can have any efficacy given the rapid resolution of urban Africans towards a modern form of society.

A new socio-cultural entity has emerged where structural change has been more rapid than cultural change, clearly manifested in the case of institutions of the traditional familial organization. It is perhaps unneccessary to point out that social planning and policy based on criteria of culturally plural differences will deteriorate already poor race relations in Rhodesia without in fact contributing to any concept of national well-being. It is

imperative that increasing structural similarity between Europeans and Africans in the urban plural system, a function of modernization among urban Africans, becomes acknowledged as a basis for future political development in Rhodesia. The emphasis on social change in this paper underlines the comparability of certain forms of urban African social structure with *modern* forms of social organization.

I. THE STRUCTURED ENQUIRY SURVEY

The results of the Structured Enquiry Survey constitute a sequel to the sociographic Survey of Highfield African Township (Stopforth, 1971). This prior survey of Highfield was conducted in 102 dwelling units (houses) which represented a stratified systematic random sample of all the dwelling units in the township. While the sociographic survey investigated formal conditions and structural aspects of the urban African township population, the present survey has concentrated on informal social structure emerging in the urban environment. This further survey has the comprehensive aim of discovering generalized patterns of social relationship and attitude during transitional aspects of social change. In effect the structured enquiry survey is an exercise in revisiting an already known sample of a population with the intention of investigating the sociological consequences of sociographic change.

Aim of the Survey

The survey instrument consisted of five sections, viz. enquiries concerning family institutions, life goals and styles, media and communications, formal forms of social control and a final section including hypothetical questions which was designed as a face validity check to the responses elicited in the foregoing sections. All the questions are designed so as to elicit an attitude, an action or an intended action on variables considered to be the subject of transitional social structure in the urban township. The substantive survey tables (Appendix B) are arranged under the headings of the first four sections above. The tables are not necessarily mutually exclusive to any section but reflect the initial aims of this survey; that is to" . . . elucidate important sociological structures . . ."[1] (Stopforth: 1971, p. 13) on the confirmed basis of "physical" structures in the township.

Changing family structure in Highfield together with the acknowledged key role of the family and kin groups in social change attendant on urbanization, necessitated investigation of various customary institutions and their form in town. Examples of these institutions include family reliance, traditional family authority, reciprocal obligations, the role of children, etc. Following the example of Lerner (1958) life goals and media participation were included as important variables in that they relate to the modernizing aspects of social life in transition. In order to gauge orientations to life in the urban township such questions as happiness in town, satisfaction with standard of living, occupations and aspirations, attitudes to children, voting, etc., were posed. Finally, by investigating attitudes and preference in situations of control (politics, courts, family, township administration, influential people in town, chiefs) it was hoped that some reliable information on the effects of both traditional and modern orientations in the township could be gathered that would refer to more formal institutions.

[1] Sociological structure is used here to denote various arrangements of structural-functional categories as they appear in the local social system of the African township environment (see Loomis: 1960 and Stacey: 1969).

The initial aims of the survey were met and from an analysis of the results the *post factum* notion of two distinct aspects of social change emerged inductively from the data. These aspects are introduced in section II of this paper.

Survey Technique

Following the field research of the sociographic survey which ended at the beginning of September 1969, the field research for the structured enquiry survey spanned the period 10th September to 16th December. A questionnaire type survey schedule (corresponding to the table headings in Appendix B) was constructed and administered by two African field assistants, both of whom were graduates of the School of Social Work, Salisbury, as well as having been especially trained for the purposes of this survey.

Although much personal as well as sociographic data were available for each potential respondent in the sample, an enquiry survey was preferred to a case-study method. Even carefully chosen subjects for case analysis on known variables (e.g. differences in family structure) would not have satisfied the requirement of explicating sociological structure in a meaningful general manner for an urban African context. Further, the advantage of a survey technique in a relatively unexplored universe is that it provides the very type of information on sociological structures necessary to "in-depth" research of the "Situational Analysis" kind suggested by Van Velsen (1967, pp. 129-149).

The survey is conceived of as an enquiry (merely to differentiate it from paradigms of The Sociological Survey) because general rather than specific hypotheses and relationships were sought. It is apparent (Appendix B) that a very wide range of sociological material was sought in the survey but this was not haphazard as has been indicated earlier under the heading "Aim of the Survey". It is structured toward social change in that the effects of both traditional and modern orientations are investigated with a view to determining their relative influence in the urban African environment. This structured aspect of the survey in no way prevents independent analysis of what will be referred to as "emergent" structures in African township social life later in this paper.

As this survey was administered as a follow-up to a previous survey, using the same sample, and because of the nature of the information sought, the field researchers were issued with strict instructions as follows:

(i) To approach the heads of household (95 dwelling units) and the senior member or caretaker (7 dwelling units) where no head of household was recorded, for an interview in the first instance. As a high non response rate[2] was expected in the follow-up survey, field researchers were instructed to seek further interviews (time allowing) from wives, sons, daughters and lodgers, preferably in dwellings where the head of household was reluctant to respond.

[2] In the sociographic survey field researchers spent on average 45 minutes to establish sufficient rapport to conduct an interview. There is also a general reluctance to part with information -- many fear that information will be used against them at a later date.

(ii) To make every attempt to establish rapport, but not to be "forceful", in the usual manner of ensuring interviews when using a survey technique.

The precautions taken in field research were justified by the resulting response. The benefits accruing to a follow-up survey were somewhat marred by response fatigue, suspicion at the revisit and some reluctance (often total) to answer the type of question involving government, politics etc.[3] It was essential that only tractable respondents be interviewed, again in the light of the type of information sought (some questionnaire schedules were discarded where it was obvious that respondents were prevaricating due to fear, suspicion, etc.).

The total sample of respondents (and type of respondent) representing 87 interviews shows a shortfall over the range of 102 dwellings. This shortfall as well as the merits and demerits of the final sample are discussed in detail under the next heading.

Scope of the Survey

A revisit to heads of household on the basis of the sociographic survey sample (stratified systematic random sample of dwelling units) evades the problem of what, for that survey, constituted essentially cluster sampling.[4] However, in order to increase the number and spread of the structured enquiry survey sample, respondents other than heads of household were included, which will tend to verge on cluster principles and thus detract from the random nature of the sample (See footnote 4). Detail of the response to the survey is set out below:

Respondents	Number
Male heads of household	56
Female heads of household	4
Wives of householder respondents	12
Wives only	2
Sons of householders	3
Sons only	1
Daughters of householders	3
Male lodgers where householder has responded	4
Male lodgers only	2
	87

3 Questions on formal forms of social control were preceded by questions on family institutions and customs which were designed to put respondents at their ease. The second group of questions which involve life goals and media participation were then administered allowing respondents to speak about themselves. After the questions on social control, which were often threatening, hypothetical questions were posed in the hope that these would contribute toward allaying any anxiety caused by the interview.

4 In retrospect, as all members of a dwelling unit were interviewed in the sociographic survey and taking into account that a mean of 2,16 lodgers per dwelling unit was recorded, the variation in the clusters yields a higher level of precision for that survey than was first thought. See Stuart (1962, pp. 70-71).

From the original 102 dwelling units respondents were interviewed in 65 houses (63,7 per cent.), and from a total of 95 householders 60 respondents (62,2 per cent.) were interviewed, yielding a total sample size of 87 respondents. It is apparent that two principles of self selection operated in the survey which could constitute sample bias:

(i) Only tractable, willing householders were interviewed.

(ii) Similarly, other respondents selected themselves in terms of their willingness, or the willingness of the head of household for the interview to be conducted.

The effective sample therefore suffers two distinct disadvantages, i.e. an element of clustering as well as some self-selection bias. It is not in order to make such statements without attempting to clarify the meeting and usefulness of this sample, especially as it relates in continuity to a prior survey. An exercise in the "goodness of fit" between the effective samples in the prior and follow-up survey utilizing a selection of key variables will clarify the relationship between the surveys and the use that can be made of the structured enquiry survey sample.

"Goodness of Fit"

In comparison with the sociographic survey heads of household and men are overrepresented while lodgers (mean 2,16 per dwelling unit) and females are underrepresented.[5] At a mean age of 37,2 years for the respondents in this survey, they exceed the mean age of adults in the sociographic survey by four years. The sample is stratified by house-type with comparative effective surveying as follows:

	Sociographic Survey %	Structured Enquiry survey %
Low cost rented housing	33,3	32,2
High cost rented housing	33,3	40,2
Home-ownership scheme	33,3	27,6

The two "main" family structures recorded in Highfield during the sociographic survey are well represented by the respondents in this survey:

	Sociographic Survey %	Structured Enquiry survey %
Elementary family structure	40,2	44,8
Enlarged family structure[6]	35,3	32,2

Respondents in the second survey have spent an average of two more years of their life in town than recorded in the earlier survey and 13,8 per cent. were born in town as opposed to 14,7 per cent. recorded in the larger

[5] See section headed "Statistical Notes" for information on the significant differences between males and females. There is very little significant difference.

[6] See Stopforth (1971, pp. 12-13) for a definition of the enlarged family structure.

survey. There is not much difference between the samples as regards educational achievement of respondents:

	Sociographic Survey %	Structured Enquiry Survey %
No Schooling	12,8	11,5
Grades 1 - 5	24,6	28,0
Grades 6 - 7	47,6	40,0
Forms 1 - 6	20,0	19,5

In general there is little difference between the structured enquiry sample and the sociographic sample. Descriptively, the sample of the structured enquiry survey is slightly older, and has spent fractionally more time in town. Respondents drawn from high cost rented housing and the home-ownership scheme are slightly overrepresented and underrepresented respectively. Respondents from elementary family structures receive more attention in this survey.

In relation to the prior sociographic survey it is possible to conclude that the sample of the structured enquiry survey is representative of the same population.

Statistical Notes

The relatively small number of respondents comprising the enquiry survey sample renders direct cross tabulation with sociographic survey variables questionable. The resulting cells would at times be very small, stretching even the most sophisticated proportions tests beyond the limits of veracity (e.g. the 13,8 per cent. second urban generation respondents in the enquiry survey sample represent 9 males and 3 females). Similarly (as with the sociographic survey) no complicated cross tabulations of variation within the enquiry survey data are attempted.[7]

In order to test the credibility of the study, four tables (Appendix A) are provided from which sample error, significance of sample percentages (Reader and May: 1971) and significant differences between males and females (Marsh: 1967) can be read off for the tables (Appendix B) of the survey. The results of the survey show certain characteristics of statistical significance: firstly, that the greater number of variables contain significantly reliable responses; secondly, that there are few significant differences in response between males and females. The differences that do occur are in the categories of political or quasi-political variables.

The sample of the structured enquiry survey is comparable with the sample of the sociographic survey (Scope of the Survey), the same sample in both cases representing the population of Highfield African township. Such

7 The results of the sociagraphic survey and this survey have since formed the basis of a one in ten replicated sociological survey administered in three different African townships. The very large number of respondents in that further survey will allow for very complex treatment of variations in African urbanization and social change.

comparability, bearing in mind certain variations, allows an extrapolation from the sociographic survey regarding the reliability of the structured enquiry survey sample. From the sociographic survey sample (Stopforth: 1971, p.3) seven calculated coefficients of variation show a good to fair reliability at the 5 per cent. level of confidence. This extrapolation can be used in conjunction with the error and significance tables mentioned above.

II. SOCIAL CHANGE IN PERSPECTIVE

Although resettlement does not necessarily determine a new way of life for a people (Gans: 1968, p. 114), the removal of an essentially rural traditional population, or part of it, to an already established urban industrial environment does presage certain types of change. The nature of an urban plural society consisting of politico-economically dominant Europeans on the one hand and an immigrant urban African proletariat on the other, serves in some measure to formulate the type and direction of this change. The types of change concomitant with industrial urbanization in Central and Southern Africa are well documented and have gained wide acceptance.[8] More contentious, the direction and meanning of change in the formation of new local social systems has received little attention due, most probably, to an absence of adequate theoretical concepts and formulations.

In an attempt to shift the emphasis from the rural-urban continuum in the study of African urbanization Pahl (1968, p. 30) states, "Analysis of urbanism in Africa must be based on an urban system of relationships; the tribal origins of the population are of secondary interest." This statement of sociological intent is a direct attempt to satisfy the neglect that theoretical concepts of urbanization in Africa have experienced, a fact pointed out by Mitchell (1966, p. 41). This slow development of theoretical concepts is probably attributable to two factors: Firstly, Reader (1970, p. 71) has concluded that too much reliance has been placed on sociographic material which ignores the essentially sociological content in social change situations. Secondly, investigation of urban Africans has fallen largely under the mantle of Social Anthropological research which has very often attempted to describe the urban social structural pole of the continuum in terms of the surviving traditional culture. While this is a totally valid approach and deals with a very complex system of social reality, it has allowed little for the type of analytical urban sociology pioneered by Riessman (1964, p. 20).

However, Pahl's zeal in directing an approach towards analytic systematic sociology for African urbanization reveals the extent to which analysis can be divorced from situational reality, as is apparent from his subsequent statement, "The urban social system may be considered in its own right with no obligation to look back to tribal, subsistance society, or to base the analysis on some notion of social change." Such an *ad hoc* approach begs too many questions in the African context. The influence of traditional cultural values, norms and sacred institutional arrangements on the urban African society is probably the main cause of socio-cultural incompatibility where new urban structures develop in a situation of cultural malaise. Further, social change is inherent in urban African society, where Southall's (1961, p. 2) concept of "change of system" pertains. It is in order to discard the various dichotomous approaches as over-polarized, but not sufficient to

[8] Among a host of authors such names as Epstein, Forde, Gluckman, Mayer, Mitchell, Reader, Wilson and others come readily to mind.

treat "emergent" structures as lacking all antecedent, or by the same logic, to deny all reference for these new structures.

If we eschew traditional cultural determination of urban African social structure without discarding the obvious influence of cultural continuity, a similar line or argument may be pursued with reference to the dominant sector of the plural situation. The recent trend, in the face of radical changes in Africa, of discarding a "reference group" approach, sometimes denoted as "Westernization", "Europeanization", etc., in favour of a concept such as Modernization allows a more formal evaluation of the process of social change. The legitimate reference to the dominant society is to be found in the imposition of modern structures on the immigrant society, e.g. involvement in the industrial process, contact with various agencies such as township administrations etc. However, this reference is far more tenuous than the one with the traditional culture. There is no inevitable relationship between a society in transition and a contiguous established modern society. The concept of emergent social structure intervenes at this juncture and goes some of the way towards an explanation of the diversity shown in social change situations.

Cultural lag (Ogburn and Nimkoff: 1953, pp. 592-597) and socio-cultural incompatibility (Hertzler: 1961, pp. 135-149) are readily recognizable concepts. The different emphases of the concepts (viz. cultural and structural respectively) suggest an approach which analytically separates cultural values and structural relationships. For the purpose at hand, culture refers to the social definitions of how activities should be regulated and how social relationships ought to be arranged.[9] Structure refers to the forms of action which are being conducted and to the actual social relationships that exist in any situation. The concepts lag and incompatibility describe in general a differential rate of change between culture and structure. Characteristically, in African urbanization social structure changes at a more rapid rate than culture (Southall: 1961, p. 16). However, the seeming sociological paradox, where rapid structural changes are precipitated by the urban environment without concomitant change in the traditional culture, is not established in social action. As a result of interaction by the participants in the new situation emergent definitions of social action develop which show little clear-cut adherence to either traditional or Western patterns. These emergent structures manifest qualities which are particular to the urban African. They are the result of adherence to sacred cultural tradition in the face of altered social relationships on the one hand and participation in external institutions without adopting fully an appropriate set of definitions to the situation on the other. A good example of one such structure is what has been termed the "enlarged" family in Highfield township (Stopforth: 1971, p. 12). This particular family structure, as well as other forms of the family group in the township, cannot be related absolutely to either traditional or modern forms and function.

[9] A normative definition of culture is preferred when sociological constructs are to be analytically separated in a useful way. Such definition has become commonplace in modern structural sociology (Becker: 1957, pp. 140-143) with the emphasis on social definition of interaction (Homas: 1951, p. 94).

While discarding a rural/urban continuum approach on the grounds of overpolarization and traditional cultural determinism in the urban situation, the question of typification as a criterion of evaluation of ongoing action remains relevant. The mere description of emergent social structure without its evaluation in social change terms would be of little assistance to the greater field of comparative analysis. Two factors determine the choice of a typology, depending on the dimension of purpose, which is essentially heuristic, in the present investigation (McKinney: 1969, pp. 5-6).

Firstly, the urban township population is drawn largely from a particular local traditional culture; secondly, the effects of social change form part of a greater more universal social movement applicable in a multiplicity of situations, usually referred to as modernization. Appropriately, both inductively as well as heuristically, two types emerge: the types, characteristically specific-general and local-universal, provide a balance of abstraction suitable for analysis of a multi-dimensional change situation. These typologies are referred to as *traditional* and *modern* respectively.

The traditional typology is specific and local, meeting however many of the categories described by Redfield (1947, pp. 292-308) in his classical ideal typology of folk society. The urban recruitment patern[10] for Highfield township shows a predominant influx from the rural areas populated by the Shona people, the subject of the traditional typology.[11] Peculiarly, ". . . *tribe* as a category of belonging . . . has little meaning in Rhodesia" (Reader: 1970, p. 60). Apart from the basic distinction between the Ndebele and Shona the characteristic distinctions among Rhodesian Shona peoples are those of "territorially-defined chiefdom" and dialect rather than tribe. Custom and dialect transcend lineage and clan membership ties, thus weakening the development of a tribal configuration. Further, departure from the rule of primogeniture in favour of collateral succession to the chieftainship (Holleman: 1969, p. 21) makes for a more fragmented and less powerful form of tribal organization among the Shona than, for example, among the Zulu or Xhosa of the Southern Nguni. Institutionalization is centred in kinship, family and lineage, which groups tend to crystallize as the units of action and categories of experience. Consequently, and aided by a strong ancestor religion, loyalty and identification with the orienting homestead and local district are paramount as well as inclining to transcend tribal affiliation. Centralization of instituted activity in familial groups includes economic, educational, religious, political and much associational action. The family group is extended, often as a compound structure, characterized by patrilineal descent. Marriage is ideally polygamous but this is often not realized.

Before proceeding to the modern typology it is necessary to qualify some of the type characteristics above. While it is possible to use a relatively constant modern type for evaluative purposes, the local traditional type varies historically to some extent as the result of a slow but enduring process of social change invading the rural traditional society. Murphree (1969, pp. 129-151) has shown that religion among the Budiga consists of a spectrum

10 See Map B in Stopforth (1971, p. 53).

11 The traditional typology relies heavily on a passage from Stopforth (1971, p. 33).

containing traditional religion and various Christian denominations. Again Murphree (1970, p. 21) contends, in a particular case study, that not only can modern education in the body of a village school be established without outside help but that the "village school has had a profound effect upon the structure of community leadership in tribal trust lands, that it has assisted the adults of these communities to acquire the new attitudes and skills required by the social situation, . . ." Weinrich (1971, pp. 74-75) has demonstrated leadership crises in rural councils as well as commenting on the political role of younger educated people.

Chavunduka (1970, pp. 7-13), speaking of a rural community approximately 80 kilometres from Salisbury indicates the extent to which the traditional economy can be disturbed by labour migration. It is clear that "urbanization" constitutes only one of a variety of social change situations in Rhodesia, albeit probably the most important and rapid form.

The modernity typology is general and universal, and as such, can be used as a yardstick for the evaluation of any society or social system, especially those systems undergoing particular processes of social change, often referred to as modernization. Eisenstadt (1968, p. XXV) formulates the characteristic development of modernization as follows: "The most important . . . changes attendant on modernity . . . are a high level of structural differentiation and of so called 'social mobilization', and a relatively large-scale, unified, and centralized institutional framework." If we take structural differentiation as the orienting variable in the modernizing process, three type characteristics emerge which, though sufficiently general and universal, come together in the local situation. These characteristics include increasing scale of association, a redistribution of social values and greater participation and empathy in the changing society.

An increasing scale of association implies an increase in the number and type of social relationships entered into. Further these new social relationships are tied to a number of different and diffuse goals. (Wilson: 1968, p. 25).

Increasing scale of operation and more diffuse participation in the organization of an expanding society determines a redistribution of social values. Changes in the distribution of interests, goals, roles and power categories as well as changes in institutional arrangements, norms of conduct and social values become apparent. (Kuper: 1965, p. 3).

Changes in scale and distribution require that increasing numbers of people participate in a range of activities and ideas and that they should be able to project their minds into unfamiliar situations and hypothetical occurences. The development of the "mobile personality" is often reflected by the incidence of media-consciousness, emphasis on education and politics as well as awareness of relative deprivation. (Lerner: 1958, pp. 47-65).

Mayer (1962, p. 589), speaking of detribalization as a working concept says, "The valid objection . . . is not that it implies change, but that it tends to imply synchronized change of the whole man." The literature on African

urbanization[12] (see note 8), African social change[13], modernization[14] as well as an international plethora of community social change studies reinforces the view that social change (especially rapid change of system) advances on an uneven and often broken front. At the same time is would be erroneous to suggest that these uneven social categories of change are brought about by mutually exclusive processes. The heuristic purpose of the typologies above is to find the extent of a differential in social change with particular reference to traditionalism and to gauge the overall impact of the process of modernization. These two aspects of social change are in no way exhaustive and will not in the following discussion yield an integrated process model of social change, which might form the subject of a further study.

In the present case, differential social change refers to the apparent variation in the reliance of the social structure of the township local social system on traditional cultural formulations. That is to say, as structural orders change at a more rapid rate than cultural formulations, tenets of traditionalism inhere far more strongly in the structures and institutions which are historically more resistant to change, e.g. familial institutions, than structures that refer more specifically to the local situation. That is not to say that traditional structures themselves have not changed or that traditional culture exercises no influence in the emergence of new structures (see Stopforth: 1971, pp. 33-36). The idea of emergent social structure (in the context of new behaviour and definitions) means that no clear cut adherence pattern to either a traditional or "European" typology is a necessary outcome of change.

Given an indefinite number of cultural variations (Loomis: 1960, pp. 6-8) in society, evaluation of general social change for a particular system would be chaotic without an abstract theoretical or typological category, hence the typology of modernity. The second aspect of social change discussed in this paper, viz. modern social change, concerns a wide range of structural situations. Essentially, the question posed is: to what extent do local structures resemble the universal typlogoy of modernity?

12 See *African Urbanization*, University of Edinburgh, (1965).

13 See *Some Aspects of Social Change in Africa South of the Sahara 1959-66*, Deregowska (1967).

14 See *The Process of Modernization*, Brode (1969).

III. DIFFERENTIAL SOCIAL CHANGE

The prior sociographic survey outlines some of the "physical" structural change, vis-a-vis traditional rural society, apparent in Highfield urban township. While these changes are distributed over a wide range of institutions (from family structure to voluntary association) the sociological consequences of sociographic change are not consistent with respect to either one or both of the typologies. The most discriminating variable for any prediction involving the structural disjunction of differential change appears to be the type of social process which is effective in the situation. Where the disjunction coincides with *adaption* of traditional structures to the urban environment on the one hand and *conversion* to posterior structures peculiar to the urban environment on the other; then traditional custom and belief manifests a greater influence on the adaptive process.[15] Concomitantly, social change occasioned by conversion to posterior structures resembles the modernity typology more closely than the traditional one. At the same time the influence of modernization can be seen to be present in all institutions,[16] a matter which will be discussed as the second aspect of social change.

The first three sections of the tables (Appendix B) viz. family institutions, life goals and styles and media participation, will be used to exemplify differential change as well as modern change, though media participation refers almost totally to the second aspect. The section on family institutions comprises five different emphases for consideration: family reliance (Tables I and Ia), *roora* (Tables II-IIIb), elementary family relationships (Tables IV-IX), orientation to the rural homestead (Tables X and Xa) and extended family relationships (Tables XI-XIII). The section on life goals and styles incorporates three emphases: general aspiration (Tables XIV-XVIII), standard of living (Tables XIX-XX) and aspirations for children (Tables XXI-XXVIb). Media participation can be divided between an emphasis on media consciousness (Tables XXVII-XXXII) and one on empathy (Tables XXXIII-XXXVI).

In order to show the differential influence of the traditional culture on social structure in the township expected configurations of action and attitude can be compared with observed configurations. Adhibiting the specific, local typology, the following configurations within each of the three sections discussed above might be expected. As institutionalization is centred in kinship in the traditional society it can be expected that family institutions will conform strongly with the traditional typology. Reliance on family relationships will be effective over a wide range of need variables. Roora, which relates marriage and children to other institutions will be strictly

[15] See Stopforth (1971, p. 32). Adaptation describes the process where traditional institutions and values change to meet the exigencies of modern institutions. Conversion describes part of the process whereby posterior institutions and values are accepted.

[16] See Stopforth (1971, p. 32). Conversion is linked to modification by a dual process whereby modern institutions effect changes in traditional orientations and traditional institutions alter the meaning of modern institutions.

adhered to. Within the elementary family an expected pattern of relationship would include obedience to the authority vested in the husband and father as the representative of the patriline, strong sex role differentiation rooted in traditional customs and reciprocal arrangements between males of the ascendent and coming generations for well-being during old age and childhood respectively. The rural homestead, the seat of the ancestors, will exercise a strong influence on the loyalties of family members. As the basic genealogical group is represented by the extended family, the integrity of this unit will be ensured by continued practice of the *ukama* (kinship) obligations. All these institutions include an investment in and entrenchment of a way of life which has the sacred quality of resistance to change. It is well known that societies characterized by centralization of institutionalization are very prone to "social shock" when change occurs, simply because any change is reflected in all the related institutions (Becker: 1961, p. 8).

Life goals and styles would be expected to confirm activities and attitudes directed at the maintenance of the solidarity of the immediate and wider kinship units of the traditional order. In general, aspirations will reflect the expected patterns listed under family institutions above. Standards of living should depend upon the subsistance economy and cattle which would be consistent with the maintenance of traditionalism. Children would be expected, in their socialization, to learn the patterns of traditional life and to replace their parents in the traditional order. The traditional typology requires that structural differentiation be at a minimum and that skills, attitudes and values should inhere in a tightly knit kinship and political network of relationships.

Traditional societies are usually preliterate, communication is by word of mouth and empathy is limited only to the immediate experience of the traditional order. Consequently, media consciousness and empathy, one a product the other a consequence of a different order, would not be expected among people typified by traditionalism.

Expected configurations of action and attitude accord more closely with family institutions than with life goals and styles, and hardly at all when media participation is considered. As the effect of traditional custom and belief is being considered as a differential factor, more emphasis is placed on its relative incidence than on the other aspect of change which will be discussed in the next section. Sociographic changes affecting the urban sample of this survey have a conditional bearing on the traditional differential in social change and these will be outlined as each group of institutions is considered. Media participation will be more fully developed as a subject under the next heading, "Modern Social Change".

The familial institutions studied in this survey constitute something of a response to urban settlement and changes in the physical aspects of family structure.[17] A survey of the *main*[18] family structures in Highfield township shows that the traditional *extended* family does not exist in town. Further,

17 See Stopforth (1971, pp. 9-18).

18 See Stopforth (1971, p. 9). Main family structure refers to the family of the head of household in a dwelling.

most of the lodger families in the township have an elementary structure, while many single lodgers do not lead family lives at all. This means that many key kinship status figures are absent in the township and reliance can be referred to only a limited number and type of kinsman. As the relatives of either one or both parties to a marriage are often absent, *roora* becomes difficult to contract or enforce. Similarly the elementary family has to rely largely on its own economic and emotional resources.

Identification with the rural homestead and obligations to kin is impaired by distance and derived needs. However, the following survey results reflect some of the truth of Gluckman's (1958, p. 63) statement, ". . . all culture tends to survive."

Considerable reliance on kinsmen is evident over a wide range of need variables (Tables I and Ia). However, reliance on kin is more prevalent when the need refers to the type of variable that can be directly experienced by people within the traditional order. These variables include the safeguarding of property (dwelling), fines, sickness and calamity. Reliance on kin when unemployed is also high, due most probably to lack of any other alternative. Reliance on kin for derived needs of the urban environment is generally much lower. These variables include children's education, jobs for relatives, the general need for cash, house rents and credit. It is apparent that many people do not rely on the extended family for *any* of these need variables while it is also true that in some cases the family in town is able to adapt to derived needs. The "other" category (Table I, col. H) of reliance refers overwhelmingly to employers.

Of note, females are more reliant on relatives in job seeking than males (Table Ia, row 2). Tables I and Ia indicate that the family in town is able, in the majority of cases, to carry forward traditional functions while adapting marginally to cope with new exigencies.

Roora, probably the most sacred institution of marriage, is vigorously attested to as a value, as well as being a claim that will be made by most parents (Tables II and III). While intended adherence to this aspect of the traditional culture is preponderant, the new environment has added two qualifications: one to payment, which is now in cash only (Table IIIa), the other to value of a prospective wife, through the medium of education (Table IIIb).

While *roora* maintains a cultural insistence, the data on elementary family relationships are more ambivalent, presenting something of a differential within the category similar to reliance data above. Wives from the rural area are preferred in most cases (Table IV); the predominant reason advanced for this preference being their adherence to traditional behaviour (Table IVa). Approximately 50 per cent. of respondents stated that men retained the same type of authority over the family in town as is prevalent in the rural area, the balance stating that authority had declined in town or was greater in the rural area (Table V). The traditional content of the relationship between spouses and the authority of the man is more manifest than that between generation. Children are thought, by the majority of respondents, not to learn all the traditional customs in town (Table VI).

Many reasons are advanced for this apparent lack of customary behaviour, ranging from the charge that children consider customs old fashioned to the statement that parents themselves do not know the customs (Table VIa). Further, respondents stating that some or all children learned the customs, qualified this by saying (Table VIa) that some parents did not teach their children customs and that some children do not learn what they are taught. As 67,6 per cent. of children are second urban generation (Stopforth: 1971, p. 18) this result is not surprising; and the attitude of the majority of adult respondents, namely, that "children" are mature and should be self-supporting by the age of 21 years is something of a departure from the traditional view (Tables VII and VIIa). Despite the changing role of children in town many fathers and mothers expect children to support them in their old age in return for education (Table VIII). There is however some realization that such reciprocation might not be forthcoming (Table IX).

Although the urban population of Highfield has been described as relatively settled (Stopforth: 1971, pp. 18-24), the orientation to, and identification with, the rural homestead remains strong. Sixty-five per cent. of respondents stated that they would return to the rural area (home) permanently (Table X.) Of these respondents, by far the majority advanced reasons of land holding and security for their intention to return (Table Xa). The results of the sociographic survey (especially sections IV and V) suggest that many of the aspirants to rural life in their old age will in fact never return. The *aspiration* is however clear-cut.

Relationships with members of the extended family in the rural area are still maintained. Table XI shows that there are many people who are willing to help rural relatives at all times. This sentiment is somewhat qualified in relation to relatives living in town. Less than half the respondents prefer to live near their relations in town (Table XII), and females show a significantly different preference for living far away from relatives (probably an indication of the wish for emancipation). Further, 70 per cent. of respondents claimed that people do not maintain all the traditional kinship obligations in town (Table XIII).

In general, the observed configurations of the familial institutions seem to accord reasonably well with the expectations drawn from the traditional typology; but this is less true when variables referring more strictly to urbanization are encountered. Such is the case in family reliance where derived needs are tested. It is also the case of children regarding urban socialization and reciprocal obligations, and of obligations to town-based relatives.

The sociographic conditions affecting social change in the life goals and styles of the township population are definite. Previous study has shown that participation in formal institutions of a modern nature is relatively high (education, religion, occupations, marriage and voluntary associations) and that there is a differentiation between first and second urban generation dwellers in Highfield (Stopforth: 1971, pp. 24-29). The effect of participation in new institutions, is to change traditional status arrangements (education, occupation, money) and to create a consciousness of needs

appropriate to the new situation. The observed configurations concerning life goals and styles are discussed below.

The first configuration, general aspiration, is marked by ambivalence, showing typical traditional cultural aspiration on the one hand, but keeping the town option open on the other. More male respondents feel that people are definitely happier in the rural area than in town (Table XIV), the main reasons given being that living is free and that there are no restrictions in the rural area (Table XIVa). However, when responding to a general question concerning aspiration for life achievement (Table XV) only 25 per cent. of respondents registered a traditional bias or orientation. Education and economic prosperity (from employment) receive similar incidence of response. Despite the necessity of a town-bound existence in terms of occupation (Table XVI), 67 per cent. of respondents stated a preference for cattle over a pension on their retirement (Table XVII); the reasons advanced for this preference showing no cognisance of the incompatibility of their situation (Table XVIIa). More respondents thought that older people could not change their customary ways when living in town (Table XVIII); clearly in contradiction with the findings reported in the next paragraph on standards of living. It is evident that rural-oriented aspirations are reserved for retirement and old age while other general aspirations refer more immediately to the urban situation.

The Urban African Budget Survey (Central Statistics Office (Rhodesia): 1969) shows that African families in Salisbury arrange their utilities on the basis of a "Western" rather than a traditional pattern of consumption. Given this fact, which is already contrary to the typified expectations, further indication of the extent of such a commitment is evidenced by data. Eighty-six per cent. of respondents registered a dissatisfaction at their standard of living (Table XIX). Of these respondents 78 per cent. complained of low wages and lack of money, while 14 per cent. felt that they suffered general privation (Table XIXa). It is important to note that only 6 per cent. of respondents registered dissatisfaction at their standard of living because this did not accord with traditional standards. On enquiry, 69 per cent. of respondents stated that they would change their standard of living in town if more money was available to them. Of these, 70 per cent. mentioned either a bigger, better or owned house in their response (Table XX). The following configuration, aspirations for children, delineates the extent to which urban (changed) values have been espoused by the township sample.

In response to the question, "Do you want your children to have a *different* life from your own?", the response was a categorical yes of 95 per cent. (Table XXI). Respondents wish for more jobs and better wages as well as more education for their children (Table XXIa). The necessity to educate children is rationalized in terms of providing knowledge and skill and the *probability* of increased job opportunity (Table XXII). Eighty-two per cent. of respondents feel that it is as necessary to educate girls as it is to educate boys (Table XXIII). The specific aspiration of obtaining education for children is linked to optimism for future opportunities in town; opportunities in a modern economy, far removed from traditional conceptions. The best jobs in town are ranked as professional, white-collar

and well paid (Table XXIV), and the variables dictating this response are high salary, security, prestige and humanitarianism, in that order (Table XXIVa). Respondents' replies to the question, "What type of job will your children get?", reflect the ranking above, i.e. professional, white-collar and well paid[19] (Table XXV). Reasons advanced for the prediction of children's success in the job market are ranked as security, humanitarian[20], prestige and high salary (Table XXVa).

It is plain that young people are destined, and are being socialized, for a life with little traditional content. Further, tables XXVI and XXVIa show that adults are aware of change in young people, which they perceive chiefly as a disinclination to observe and practice traditional customary behaviour. While preparing children for a different life, parents, paradoxically though understandably, consider these changes in the young as a derogatory factor (Table XXVIb).

Unlike the configurations of the family institutions the observed configurations of life goals and styles bear little resemblance to the expected configurations, except for a generalized wish to return to traditional ways in old age. More specifically, aspirations show little traditional bias. Standards of living have no relation to a subsistance economy, and once again, cattle refer to some later stage of life. Children do not learn traditional ways of life; on the contrary, they are being socialized with modern expectation patterns in mind. It is doubtful whether they will be able to operate a "situational selection" (Mitchell: 1961, p. 19) mode characteristic of migrants who seek to rationalize the gap between old and new. Traditionalism has little impact on the social configuration describing a *conversion* in life goals and styles.

It is in town that mass media prosper and where they are more readily available. Scrutiny of Tables XXVII-XXXII describing media consciousness, and Tables XXXIII-XXXVI describing empathic ability, reveals that both these variables undoubtedly effect much of the participation in urban life. The substantive tables of this configuration will be exhaustively discussed in section IV of this paper. The observed configurations bear *no* resemblance to expected configurations and traditionalism has little, if any, role in the media consciousness or empathy of township dwellers.

The original hypothetical construction of the differential influence of traditional custom and belief on a range of social structure has been tested by reference to the substantive survey tables. Traditionalism plays a major role in familial institutions, has little influence in determining life goals and styles and is all but non-existent in media participation. The structures concerned with family institutions describe adaptations to the urban situation;

[19] It may well be that the enhanced view of children's potential job opportunities is dictated by superstition. That is, the superstitious principle whereby statements can effect the objective situation, e.g. an imperative attached to future professional status might result in the realization of that status.

[20] Humanitarianism or "helping people" might well reflect a rationalization where security, prestige, etc. are qualities which, by experience, are seldom seen to operate in specific group membership.

developing life goals and styles dictate a relative conversion to a new order while media participation presents a completely new set of skills. As is apparent, the differential in social change is not mututally exclusive for the different configurations. However, overlap of traditional influence into life goals and styles and other influences in family institutions has been attributed to reference to traditional and modern orientations respectively. This is consistent with the adaptation/conversion thesis.

Differential social change defines the categories of disparate progress of any process of modernization in a plural traditional-modern society. The specific local typology used in the analysis of differential social change now gives way to the general universal typology which allows an analysis of the same data in terms of the second aspect of change, namely, modernization.

IV. MODERN SOCIAL CHANGE

Modernization, though not absolutely dependent on urbanization, is most often linked to urbanization of a population. This is true historically (Reissman: 1964, pp. 151-158) as well as for contemporary modernization of many parts of the world, including the African continent (UNESCO: 1965). Modernization, like urbanization, may be viewed as an "objective" social process, possessing something of the impetus that has been manifest in rural to urban migration during the last one and a half centuries. Lerner, (1958, p. 61) using data collected in 73 countries distributed over all continents claims that, ". . . modernization follows an autonomous historical logic — that each phase tends to generate the next phase by some mechanism which operates independently of cultural and doctrinal variations." While this may be generally true, national and local politico-economic conditions play some part in the development or retardation of the modernizing process. Before outlining some of the local conditions which will have a bearing on the modern typology, it is as well to place that typology in context.

Mindful of the structural differentiation emphasis of the modern typology and its heuristic purpose, Inkeles' (1969, p. vi) use of the term modern might well be emulated, "We use the term 'modern' much in the sense that Weber used the term 'rational' as a way of characterizing the preponderant tone or ethos of relations in the contemporary industrial world." In agreement with Inkeles, this does not mean that "modern" can be substituted for everything contemporaneous or that value judgements are implicit in the use of the term modern as against traditional. Rather, the structural reality of a situation is compared with the characteristics of the modern typology not forgetting that traditionalism is the point of departure for most of the people in this survey sample.

Although the revolution of "rising expectations" (Lipset: 1964, p. 332) is manifest in Highfield, as can be attested to by scrutiny of survey tables relating to education (XXIa, XXII and XXIII), jobs (XXIV and XXV) and general wants[21] (XV, XIX, XIXa and XXIVa); the revolution of "rising frustrations" is more apparent in terms of an adverse "Want: Get Ratio" (Lerner: 1968, pp. 136-138). The same tables above mark a feeling of privation where high aspiration is thwarted by low achievement, hence dissatisfaction. Within a national boundary such as that of Rhodesia, where there is an attempt to ". . . be a single society in a political and economic sense, but at the same time insist (s) on cultural and social differentiation" (Dickie-Clarke: 1971, p. 215), the African in the "Whitemans" city suffers the consequence of a double load, that is, from discrimination and insecurity. Schlemmer (1971) shows, however, that despite conditions adverse to modernization, Africans in a Southern African town[22]

[21] Smout (1969) shows that the Africans in Highfield shop for high-cost consumption articles in Salisbury shopping areas rather than in the under-capitalized shops of the township.

[22] Schlemmer's data is drawn from two surveys: one among migrant workers and domestics in Durban; the other in a medium-sized African township within the municipal area of Durban.

are able to *compare* themselves with other races in the city and that imposed "*cultural revivalism*" is superficial and merely exacerbates discontent. Lerner's proposition regarding doctrinal and cultural variation would seem to be credible even in discriminatory plural situations. The effects of politics in the local situation do however exercise a restraint on modernization. Using De Vries' (1961: p. 32) paradigm of catalytic (accelerating) forces inspiring rapid social change, reward-awareness and generation tension are apparent in this sample, while in general, prophetic pronouncement and emotioned mass movement are notably absent.[23] The latter forces, it is contended, are the chief accelerators of modernity.

Having shown the differential influence of traditional culture on the urban African by reference to the specific local typology, the second aspect of social change may be elicited by comparing the ongoing actions and attitudes of the township sample with the general universal modern typology. This exercise consists of comparing the various configurations (family institutions, life goals and styles and media participation) with the factors that characterise the modern typology; namely, increasing scale of association, redistribution of social values and participation and empathy. By these definitions of modernity it is explicit that relative change *from* the traditional culture *to* some other social order (linked with differential change) is contemplated. The advantages of using local-universal linked typologies are apparent in that the continuum approach is subsumed, local variation is accounted for and social change can be evaluated against general objective criteria.

Discussion under the heading "Differential Social Change" necessarily included facets of modern social change. Repetition of the same arguments will be avoided here. Although family institutions reflect much of the traditional culture, many aspects of modernity are apparent. The relatively low mean percentage of family reliance for the Highfield sample (Table I), 45,5 per cent, compared with 55.3 per cent, family reliance for an urban community in Tokyo (Koyama: 1966, p. 98)[24], has meant a reliance on other agents for the need variables specified. A network of relationships, extending to neighbours, friends, co-workers and employers, incorporating welfare institutions and clubs, is in evidence. Greater reliance on non-kin agents for needs incorporating education, jobs, cash, rent and specific consumption articles attests, in some degree, to developing structural differentiation.

Although *roora* is a traditional custom with strong value overtones, three factors detracting from its traditional function are apparent. Payments are made in cash only with a range from 20 to over 200 dollars (Table IIIa), education emerges as a qualification forcing this price upward and, as a result of urban settlement where fathers have become avaricious rather than concerned with solidarity, increasing reluctance to meet *roora* payments is being experienced. While *roora* might retain the "social" function of uniting

[23] African Nationalist political parties are banned in Rhodesia.

[24] Table I, which was incorporated in the questionnaire schedule, was adapted and amended from Koyama (1966) to suit the African township situation of this survey.

different families into a kinship group it seems unlikely that the more concrete sociological functions (Mair: 1969, pp. 14-17; Holleman: 1969, pp. 148-156; Radcliffe-Brown: 1950, pp. 43-54) will be satisfied in town, thus creating an imbalance between price and function.

Many respondents state no preference for town or rural origin of a wife (Table IV), some of those indicating that love is the chief determinant of marriage partnership (Table IVa). Six per cent. of the respondents preferred a wife from town, desiring one exhibiting modern rather than traditional behaviour. A total of 48 per cent. of respondents thought that men in town were losing the degree of authority over the family common in the rural area (Table V); and this is explicable in terms of the changing role of children in the elementary family. Very few children learn all the traditional customs and are replacing them with other orientations (Tables VI and VIa). Further, many children are expected to become *self-supporting* at a reasonably early age (Tables VII and VIIa). The value of reciprocal support between generations is waning in town (Table VIII) and many (64 per cent.) realise that few sons are willing to support parents once they are educated. Clearly, elementary family relationships deviate from the traditional ideal.

Although only 13.8 per cent. of adults in this sample have been born in a town, 31 per cent. of the respondents claimed that they would never return to the rural area (home) permanently (Table X). This informal index of commitment to an urban way of life is further reinforced by the fact that 40 per cent. of respondents are willing to aid relatives in the rural area only on the basis of emergency, their own financial ability to do so and with ploughing (Table XI). Forty-nine per cent. of respondents prefer living far away from their own relatives in town; women more so than men (Table XII). The majority of respondents claim that many of the traditional kinship obligations are not maintained in town. Given the differential in social change, it seems safe to conclude that even the sacred institutions of the traditional order manifest a degree of loss of function and adaptation consistent with modernizing processes.

Increasing scale of association is most evident in the reliance placed on non-kin agents for the satisfaction of needs. A greater number of network points of many different *types* are established in town. The types of relationship within the elementary family (between spouses as well as spouses and children) are being influenced by greater *individual* participation in a wider social system rather than corporate existence within some genealogical unit. Similarly, there is a tendency for some people to qualify their traditional relationship to relatives both in the rural area and in town. Structural changes in associative activity that go to the heart of the traditional culture define new possibilities not only for family institutions, but other configurations of action and attitude.

Within the family institutions social values undergo change and are redistributed. The family is unable to cope with many of the urban needs of its members. The withdrawal of identification with the family, and consequently identification with other agents, places a strain on the practice

of traditional customs, e.g. *roora*. There is some evidence that the roles and authority statuses of spouses are changing and more definitely that the role of children has undergone rapid social reorientation to the urban environment. The goals of those respondents choosing a permanent urban existence indicate a shift of value which is unthinkable to traditional man. The traditional value invested in kinship relationships as well as the norms governing these relationships are slowly being replaced by other values, more explicit in the state of life goals and styles below, while it can be inferred that new norms of conduct are emerging to cope with transition from one order to another.

Participation has not been emphasised in this configuration. However, the changes within family institutions suggest the necessary pre-condition for the development of a mass rather than traditional society. Similarly, the ability of some to identify with urban rather than traditional goals and to interpret ongoing change in family institutions anticipates the extent of specific participation and empathy detailed below. The traditional emphasis of the differential in family institutions dictates an approach of change *from* an order. The modernity of the actual order in town can now be evaluated more objectively in terms of the modern typology criteria.

Although only 34 per cent. of respondents claimed that people were happier in town than in the rural area (Table XIV), 67 per cent. stated modern achievements as their own life aspirations (Table XV). It is also clear that most people are willing to work for the extended period necessary to achieve modern life aspirations (Table XVI). Thirty-two per cent. of the sample would choose a pension instead of cattle on retirement (Table XVII) and while this incidence is inconclusive, it marks a revaluation in the value orientations of those respondents. It is also a relatively high incidence of response for what might be termed a society in transition. This change in value orientation might be accelerating as 41 per cent. of respondents felt that even older people could change their ways if they came to town (Table XVIII).

The overwhelming response (86 per cent.) showing dissatisfaction with present standard of living in town (Table XIX) reflects very strongly the revolution of rising expectations which could be met only within a modern social and economic entity (Table XIXa). There is also a positive response (69 per cent.) to change in terms of wants if more money was available to the respondents (Table XX). The emphasis is on housing, which in the urban township provides the essential base from which other modern aspirations can be attempted with relative security.

Modern aspirations centre around the education of the coming generation (Tables XXII and XXIII). Ninety-five per cent. of respondents wish their children to have a life different from their own (Table XXI). Education, jobs and wages as well as other advantages of a modern order feature in this general aspiration (Table XXIa). Expectation of job attainment is very high (Tables XXIV-XXV), and the wish for children to participate in the higher echelons of a modern economy is reinforced by reasons relating to security, prestige and earning ability as well as a wish to contribute to the

wellbeing of the population[25] (Table XXVa). These reasons reflect not only modern aspirations, but changes in general motivation for the good life. The type of security generated by a good job in town is very different in emphasis from traditional security which is encapsulated within a family group. Prestige from high earning in town is related to different and necessary patterns of consumption if social status is to be maintained. Some emphasis on humanitarianism might well indicate the centripetal force of modernization which is a necessary condition if social organizations are to transcend kin association. Young people already represent a changed social order in town (Table XXVI). Respondents state that changes have occurred in custom and behaviour, dress, language, etc., as well as claiming that the young tend to be "Westernized" (Table XXVIa). Very few respondents think that this rapid resocialization is beneficial (Table XXVIb), suggesting an aggravated situation of generation tension, an obvious consequence of rapid social change.

Structural differentiation is most apparent in the emphasis discussed under life goals and styles. Aspirations of adults for their own life achievements include satisfaction in the job market, education for themselves and possibly *buying* a farm, all of which contribute to the loss of traditional functions of the family group. Acceptance of a different standard of living requires participation not only in new institutions but a reorientation to new values and attitudes appropriate to the new definitions. Young people are already involved in the modern local system of township life. The manifest structural differentiation indicates a greater scale of association, both in number and type of relationship necessary for a modernizing style of life.

Redistribution of social values is generally evident. Few instances in life goals and styles dictate a response required by the orienting traditional culture. Life goals are centripetally defined and children are being socialized to live in the new modern order. This means a change in interest (explicit under media participation below), goals, the roles people have to play and the distribution of authority effected by differential modern participation. Modernization is not of course an absolute process, especially in African townships; and it is the change in social *norms* required by both aspects of change to regularise the emerging social structure in the township which provides the most stimulating challenge in this field. Some attempt will be made to investigate normative standards in the township under the heading of "Socio-cultural Meaning of Change".

While people are conforming to a relatively modern participation pattern, they are also developing empathic qualities common in modern society. They are able to place themselves in a modern context and project the needs of their children into the future: the need for security, education, jobs, money and urban residence attest to this quality. This is even more astounding when it is recalled that the older generation is not always in sympathy with the younger people. The volition towards a modern order, is however not in question.

[25] See footnote number 20.

As the configuration of media participation concerns media consciousness and empathy specifically, it is easier to restrict the discussion to the typological factor "participation and empathy". The extent of participation and empathy automatically reflects scale of association and redistribution and types of social value. Empathy is probably the most predictive variable in any consideration of the modernity of a social order. It is at once an index of what people know and how they use their knowledge. Without a well developed empathic quality, no society can hope to generate prophetic and emotioned mass movements in a modern context.

Media consciousness and participation determine in some measure the range of new ideas[26] that a modernizing population will be exposed to.[27] Exposure, however, is not sufficient reason to assume that people will be able to digest and use what they might learn. Some judgement of the use made of the knowledge available to African urban dwellers can be inferred from the emphasis on empathy below. Manipulation and understanding of "modern" categories of knowledge are further facilitated by the fact that most of the respondents have some formal education, the modal standard of education falling between grades 6 and 7 (Stopforth: 1971, p. 26).

Ninety-two per cent. of respondents in this sample had seen a film at the time of the survey. Sixty per cent. had seen many films (Table XXVII). Forty-one different films featured in the total response to a requested description of films seen; indicating that many different films were seen by a wide range of respondents. Only seven respondents had never seen a film.

Newspapers are read by 58 per cent. of the sample; 26 per cent. reading them daily, 18 per cent. less regularly and 14 per cent irregularly (Table XXVIII). All respondents mentioned The Rhodesia Herald, among a few others, as the newspaper read. Forty-two per cent. of the respondents are not in the habit of reading newspapers. Thirty-nine per cent. of the sample had access to magazines or periodicals in the place where they lived. Of the 23 magazines named by respondents, Parade was the most popular. Seventy-four per cent. of respondents had access to a radio in the place where they lived (Table XXIX). Most of these respondents favoured musical programmes, while 44 per cent. listened to news broadcasts. Stories and women's programmes were also popular. In general media participation is high if the sample represents a transitional population.

Respondents showed more discrimination in judging the media generally, than they did on specific content questions (Tables XXX-XXXIa). Seventy-eight per cent. indicated that one could not *believe* everything that is written in newspapers or broadcast over the radio network. Some suggested that nothing could be believed. While 80 per cent. of respondents had heard of the United Nations Organization, only 35 per cent. were able to give a satis-

[26] Censorship of the media was imposed in Rhodesia directly after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence.

[27] In a traditional society where modernization is not evident, media would scarcely be noticed by the population.

factory definition of that body.[28] Women were more ignorant in this respect than were men. It would seem that the media have a generalized impact on a population; the understanding of abstract concepts or organizations might however be wanting in that population. Notwithstanding this qualification, people are very well able to understand abstract things that affect them personally; sending money through the post office is a good example (Table XXXII).
The empathic ability to use abstract ideas that affect the sample personally is demonstrated below, where considerable reliance is placed on variables used by Lerner (1958).

Seventy-eight per cent. of people think that Africans should be allowed to vote for their representatives in government; the idea that these representatives be appointed received little support (Table XXXIII). This is consistent with the emphasis placed on democratic and representative forms of government by respondents (Table XXXIIIa). The sample in Highfield showed a relatively high empathic ability to imagine not only the situation where they might not be able to live in Rhodesia, but to state a positive alternative country of residence in such a situation (51 per cent. of respondents, Table XXXIV). The most illuminating data from this survey occur in tables XXXV and XXXVa: respondents were able to understand the question "What things would you have changed if you were ever to become Prime Minister of Rhodesia?", and to answer positively and meaningfully. Only 11 per cent. of the sample was unable to comprehend this question. The list of changes provides an index of privations and complaints as they are experienced in the township. In descending order of opinion the following constitute the variables most in need of change: discrimination, wages, police raids, Land Tenure Act, accommodation, educational system, employment, welfare, specific political issues, rural matters, tax and dress (Table XXXV). Many people laid stress on the need for more educational facilities, especially secondary schools (Table XXXVI).

The response to the questions on media consciousness and empathy show clearly that the individuals of the survey sample in general are aware of their own social problems. The perception of these problems is seen through a *modern* tinted glass; i.e. the respondents relate themselves to a modern order of society using criteria of judgement that are consistent with modern socio-economic and political ends.

Modern social change is manifest in structural differentiation over a wide range of social structure. Increasing scale of association is evident from a propensity to withdraw affiliation from the family; to become involved in modern life goals and styles and to participate in the facilities and proliferated interest of modernity. Consequently, in comparison with the traditional typology, social values have changed, new values have accrued and roles and authority have become dependent on modern criteria of status and

[28] Definitions of the United Nations Organization were judged to be correct if they included concepts of peace keeping, custodianship of human rights, international co-operation and regulation as well as the idea that UNO is a separate organization of many different states.

prestige. This is still less evident in those institutions most heavily influenced by traditional belief and custom. It is difficult to determine a causal relationship between structural change and increase in knowledge and empathy. However, the empathic ability of the sample is well developed, suggesting a projected increase in the revolution of "rising frustrations" for urban Africans. The second aspect of social change, modernization, is an entrenched and developing process in Highfield African township.

V. EFFICACY OF THE TWO ASPECTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Typologies are not hypotheses (Becker: 1958, p. 500). Any typology can however be used either as a proposition or a consequence in a predictive hypothesis[29] of the form "If P, then Q". So far, the traditional and modern typologies have been used only to exemplify the simplest form of hypothesis, i.e. ". . . . that something is the case *in a given instance*," (Selltiz et al: 1959, p. 35): that both a differential and a modern aspect of social change are characteristics of social transition in an urban African township. A more complex form of predictive hypothesis requires that a proposition (as the one above) be related to effective consequences in a prescribed form. In order to test the efficacy of the two aspects of social change the following hypothesis is stated as a guiding principle in the investigation. If a traditional-modern differential in social change is characteristic of an urban African township, then modern social change will be more evident in forms of formal social control. Note that while the original typologies are still implied, the two aspects of social change are now being used as interrogatively defined constructed types in the ordering of this hypothesis. The two aspects of change, now transmuted into sociological types of action, refer inductively to the social situation (township), and as such, will have greater heuristic value than either the traditional typology referred to or the comparative modern typology. The first proposition of the hypothesis has been established, and the related consequences are now investigated with reference to the substantive survey tables under the title "Forms of Formal Social Control" (Appendix B).

The methodological structure in the variety and use of typologies may seem somewhat academic. However, scientific confirmation or rejection of the idea that, in the urban African township context, the process of *conversion* to posterior structures is more rapid than the process of *adaptation* of traditional structures in social change, is of utmost importance to social planning and policy affecting urban Africans in Rhodesia. Careful analysis and proof of the changing order among deprived members of a particular "community" in a plural societal situation, may well deny certain arguments that purport to justify social inequity on the basis of ineradicable cultural difference. Cumulative evidence of modernity in Highfield township seriously discounts the "differential role expectation" assumption on which many arguments for the "separation" of Europeans and Africans rest.

Forms of formal social control were chosen as test variables in the structured enquiry survey simply because this type of information is more amenable to survey technique. The present level of knowledge concerning social structure of urban African townships in Rhodesia hardly allows in-depth investigation of groups and institutions that could then be meaningfully related to an ongoing social system. Further, the relatively "concrete" and objective nature of the forms of control discussed below represent a social superstructure defining situational parameters for the urban African

[29] Becker (1958, pp. 502-504) outlines the methodological use of the predictive hypothesis for sociological investigation.

population. The "internal" definition and appraisal of this superstructure by the township sample will clarify some operative variables of the external system in the township vis-a-vis officially accepted assumptions of how *administration* ought to apply.

Five forms of formal social control were investigated. These include politics (Tables XXXVII-XLIII), courts (Tables XLIV-XLVIIa), settlement of grievances (Tables XLVIII-XLVIIIc), community control (XLIX-LV) and the role of chiefs (Tables LVI-LXa). Each of these forms will be discussed in terms of the relative effectiveness of the relevant aspects of social change in their determination. The results from this investigation will determine the level of confidence of the probability of the orienting hypothesis, and hence, the efficacy of differential and modern social change.

It has been established that most respondents in the sample would prefer to be allowed to vote for their representatives in government (Table XXXIII), advancing arguments for democracy and representation as the justification for this mode of political selection (Table XXXIIIa). This sentiment regarding possible achieved status in public life as well as general participation in the distribution of power is a far cry from hereditory status which is the kingpin of traditional power structures. Table XXXVII describes the incidence of preference for political parties that respondents stated they would like to see in power. A moderate multiracial party was followed by African nationalists in popularity. It must be noted that these attitudes represent conditions before the national election of May 1970 when there was a rising optimism among Africans that the Centre Party would register gains at the expense of the Rhodesian Front Party. This did not eventuate, and it is likely that more support would then be given to *banned* African Nationalist parties. This is reinforced by the lack of support lent to a European conservative party which is considered not to represent African political opinion (Table XXXVIII). In fact, most respondents thought that "nobody" represented African political opinion then in Rhodesia (Table XXXVIII). An institutional African party, then the National Peoples Union, received no support at all. This is not surprising as the National Peoples Union did not develop and manipulate customs and values of the particular ethnic category to link partisanship to new organizations in town, as African nationalist parties are wont to do. Cohen (1969, p. 2) refers to this phenomenon as "retribalization", i.e. " . . . socio-cultural manifestation of the formation of new political groupings."[30] This is necessitated by social change which brings about new cleavages and alignments of power in urbanization. Township Africans are clearly aware of the political situation in Rhodesia, and how this affects them.

While people in the township are aware of political issues (Table XXXV) and modern forms of political representation, it is difficult to estimate levels of participation in political institutions.[31] However, 26 per cent. of respond-

[30] Ethnic categories aligned with political division so prominent in recent developments of modern African nationalist politics are erroneously, though popularly, confused with the concept "tribalism".

[31] Some fear was noted by field researchers when respondents were asked questions of a political nature.

ents showed a willingness to participate actively in politics if they were asked to (Table XXXIX), a reasonably high figure for a transitional population. Sixty-six per cent. of the sample stated that they discussed political issues with friends (Table XL); the main issues discussed being land tenure, the Rhodesian constitution, education, employment, accommodation and police raids. This corroborates the findings discussed under empathic ability (Table XLa). Although "participation" describes what may be only a trend, the respondents in this sample are able to relate political forms to social prerequisites. The young and educated are judged to be most active in politics (Table XLI) because they are said to be able to understand not only what politics are about, but how to go about political activity (Table XLIa).

The influence of modernity for African politics is clearly attested to by modern values and cognisance of the political situation. Political participation is probably as yet undeveloped, partly because of ignorance and possibly fear as well as the absence of a functioning political organizational infrastructure. Popular political parties are banned and few people are organised into trade unions (Table XLII); local government has only recently been introduced into the African urban townships (Municipal Amendment Act: 1971, Section 30). Once again the political aspirations and wants of the township population are geared to modernization, while on specific issues not directly related to the goal, a level of ignorance prevails, e.g. 46 per cent. of the respondents were unable to define the aim of a trade union, women more so than men (Table XLVII). The volition to modernity is not absolute. The "traditional" influence or lack of change in the urban environment may be inferred from negative or non-response replies to some of the questionnaire variables. Eleven per cent. of the respondents evidently knew little about political parties (Table XXXVII) many people say that they do not discuss political issues (Table XL) and 9 per cent. did not know what sort of people were likely to be active in politics (Table XLI). The efficacy of modern social change is however far more manifest than traditional influence with respect to political orientations.

A feature of the Rhodesian judicial system is that separate courts deal with most civil litigation where Africans and Europeans are concerned, while the same courts enjoy criminal jurisdiction over all races (Palley: 1966, pp. 513-515). The Magistrates' courts have civil jurisdiction in respect of Europeans, but this jurisdiction passes to District Commissioners' and Chiefs' courts where Africans are concerned (except where Africans consent to jurisdiction in another court, hold business licences or have been exempted). During the period of this survey District Commissioners' and Chiefs'[32] courts held no criminal jurisdiction.[33] The substantive survey tables (XLIV-XLVIIa) on courts include data representing responses to questions on preference and hypothetical intended action over a range of variables relating to the courts (High Court, Magistrates' Court, District Commissioners' Court and African Courts — ususally Chiefs' Courts). Appellate courts and

32 Palley (1966, p. 538) states that many customary African courts which are unauthorised by the state exercise illegal jurisdiction in the rural area.

33 During November 1970 the African Tribal Courts Act conferred limited criminal jurisdiction on the tribal courts.

jurisdiction were not considered. Unfortunately it must be assumed that *some* respondents couched their replies in terms of their own knowledge of courts' jurisdiction; a bias in the data which is impossible to estimate.[34] However, this variable can be taken into account during analysis, and furthermore, in a survey oriented to social change such equivocation might be expected.

In general, the District Commissioners' and Chiefs' courts represent traditional interests in jurisdiction while the Magistrates' and High courts refer to a modern corpus of legal practice. While the modern aspect of social change registers as a clearly dominant influence in political matters, the efficacy of both aspects of change can be seen to operate when respondent relate themselves to the courts. The ambivalence in the sample regarding the desirability of the different courts is apparent from Table XLIV where no reliable[35] general preference for any one court emerges. Among the differentiated response to general court preference those that chose a tribal court stressed leniency and traditional practice as factors influencing their choice; District Commisioners' courts were thought to be lenient and fair, sentences are enforced, and they are said to have a knowledge of customs; Magistrates' courts are said to be fair, and above all competent while the High court is preferred by some because of its obvious authority (Table XLIVa). However, when specific issues are introduced, more reliable incidences of response are recorded.

When a civil matter concerning a traditional institution (e.g. *roora*) is introduced, hypothetical would-be litigants prefer the jurisdiction of District Commissioners' and tribal courts (Table XLV). Assault would however be referred to the magistrates' courts in most cases (Table XLVa). Claims for debt, a civil offence which can refer to both traditional and modern circumstances, would be sought by most respondents in a District Commissioner's court (51 per cent.) while 27 per cent. of respondents would have recourse to a Magistrates' court. Differential social change is manifest between traditional civil offences and criminal offences while some civil matters invoke differential choice among urban dwellers.

Given that traditional culture is the chief determinant deciding the appropriateness of the tribal courts for traditional civil cases (Table XLV) the more ambiguous differential within general civil litigation is further attested to by Tables XLVI and XLVIa. Whether respondents see themselves as offended or offenders in a civil case, greater reliance is placed on the jurisdiction of the District Commissioners' and tribal courts, with 35 per cent cent. and 26 per cent. of respondents choosing the Magistrates' and High courts in terms of the respective hypothetical responsibility above. The differential is clearer when respondents imagine themselves to be *offended* parties (Table XLVI); 59 per cent. choosing the traditional courts and 35 per cent the modern courts. The main differential in preference for court jurisdiction exists between civil and criminal offences. This is apparent

[34] Field researchers reported that some respondents gave replies which they thought would be expected in terms of the actual jurisdiction of the various courts.

[35] See Appendix A, Table 2.

from Tables XLVII and XLVIIa which refer to preferences relating to criminal offences. The Magistrates' and High courts receive overwhelming support from respondents with the same proviso that response is more definite when respondents imagine that they are accusers and not accused. Although Magistrates' and High courts had sole criminal jurisdiction during the period of this survey, the response suggests that people rely more on the modern courts, which are thought to be fair, competent and just (Table XLIVa) when criminal procedure is contemplated than they do on traditional courts.

While the modern typology was seen to be predominantly operative in political matters, both typologies can be seen to be efficacious in the manner in which the respondents view the jurisdiction of the courts. Two facets of differential social change are apparent: firstly, the differential influence of traditional concepts of legality as they apply to organization of *traditional* institutions on the one hand and hardly at all to criminal matters on the other, and secondly, differential among the respondents regarding the proper jurisdiction of the courts in general civil matters, where traditional influence is still seen to be more pervasive than a modern orientation. Conseqeuntly the modern typology has most efficacy regarding criminal matters and some regarding general civil litigation.

Respondents were asked whom they would consult in the case where settlement of grievances relating to different status categories was at issue. Where the grievance was *within* the family most people referred to a *relative* as the appropriate arbitrator in such a case (Table XLVIII). A very small minority mentioned a church leader or the District Commissioner with respect to settlement of intra-family grievances, but it is clear that internal traditional mechanisms operate as forms of social control when grievances within the family group occur. Reliance on family members to solve conflicts within that group is of course not peculiar to traditional societies. Adams (1968, pp. 30-32) has shown that reliance on kin is prevalent even in the modern world. However, the relative pattern among the urban Africans suggests greater family inclusion than would be expected within families of a modern society (Table XLVIII: senior relatives, parents and in-laws). Little recourse to other agents of control is contemplated in the solution of family conflict.

The differential influence of traditional custom operates very selectively in the control of general grievances. Grievances within the neighbourhood (Table XLVIIIa) with a co-worker (Table XLVIIIb) and at work with the authority (Table XLVIIIc) are generally referred to other established agents or organizations of control. Only 8 per cent. of respondents would attempt to arbitrate a neighbourhood grievance through relatives; relatives are not mentioned in the co-worker and authority categories of grievance. Obviously relatives would be inappropriate consultants for grievances in the urban "community" and work situation. Nevertheless ability to conceive of referring problems to modern agents for arbitration (town manager, police, employer, foreman, manager, labour office, etc.) is consistent with expectations relating to modern social change.

Once again differential social change refers directly to traditional forms of social structure only, while modernization is manifest in the structures developing as a result of urbanization. Both aspects of social change operate in the settlement of general grievances, with the emphasis on modern social change for extra-familial problems.

The reality of "community" in Highfield township is a contentious matter: this will be discussed in the following section of the paper. However, to the extent that community exists in the township, respondents were able to discuss the government *administration* as well as internal aspects of what amounts to social control. The town manager (then a government official) is accorded much authority in the township (Table XLIX); 72 per cent. of the respondents erroneously attributing "ownership" of the township to the town manager.[36] Most respondents felt that the town manager of Highfield has as much authority in the township as a District Commissioner does in a rural district[37] (Table L) — a very high appraisal of authority indeed. Both town managers and District Commissioners are thought of as "bosses" (Table La); consequently the town manager in Highfield is viewed as a focal point of formal social control. It is difficult to evaluate the efficacy of either aspect of social change with regard to the respondents' view of management. However, some influence of traditional concepts of the authority vested in prestigious status positions might be inferred from the overestimation of the town manager's powers.

Much more definite, respondents advance a modern view on community organization and representation. Asked, "What kind of person would you like to see elected to a representative community body?" (Table LI), the response was as follows: ordinary residents (29 per cent.), church leaders (28 per cent.) teachers or businessmen (16 per cent.) and able residents (8 per cent.) It is significant that only four respondents mentioned a tribal leader in this respect. The community body in question was not specified and the general picture of potential community organization that emerges is one where education and status are important attributes with some insistence that *ordinary* residents ought to become involved in community affairs. This picture is further reinforced by Table LII where the most influential people in the township are thought to be church leaders, businessmen, ordinary people and teachers. Only one respondent thought that a tribal leader was influential in the township. Attributes that are thought to lend "power" to township residents include ability, education and money (Table LIII).

When a community body is specified, viz. a Community Development representative board,[38] far more emphasis is placed on ordinary residents

[36] See Appendix B, Table XLIX. Police raids account for the attitude of some respondents that the Police are in administrative authority in the township.

[37] In fact the confusion of the role of a town manager with that of a District Commissioner is not strange as both represent the interests of a government rather remote in the eyes of township residents.

[38] The government policy of community development being propagated at this time was viewed with considerable suspicion by township residents who feared that "separate development" was intended by the policy.

(62 per cent.), residents with specialized ability are also recommended (16 per cent.) with some indication (12 per cent.) that government help would be required in such a venture (Table LV). One respondent thought that a chief should be elected to a community development board. Again, the general volition to a democratic system of local government is apparent, but in this specific instance only 33 per cent. of respondents were able to define community development (Table LIV)[39]. Females were less certain of the meaning of community development than were men, but showed a greater tendency to accept ordinary residents in the role of leaders.

Apart from the views on the town manager, community control is envisaged in a modern light. The absence of support for tribal and traditional leadership in the urban situation, and emphasis on democratic representation as well as criteria such as ability, education and money shows radical shift in the conception of community organization and leadership. The predominance of the modern aspect of social change in community control is articulated with a similar influence in political matters. The volition to structural differentiation — scale of operation, change in values and participation — and modern socio-political life is reinforced by these views on *local* government. Harking back to responses outlining dissatisfactions, wants and needs (life goals and styles, media participation) of the sample it is doubtful whether people in the township can restrict their concept of "community" to the socio-political enclave that African townships are designed to be.

That chiefs' and other tribal and traditional leadership is rejected by the urban sample is to be expected. Epstein (1958, p. 235) has shown that traditional authority has no legitimacy in *modern* locality removed social structures and association. The role of chiefs is limited to traditional activity in the *rural* area; they receive little support from the respondents of this sample in relation to the urban African community and its affairs. Seventy-four per cent. of the respondents disclaimed that chiefs had any authority over people in the urban township (Table LVI), while the same people rejected the idea that chiefs ought to have authority in township affairs (Table LVII). Reasons advanced for the rejection of chiefs and their "possible" authority in the township included the ideas that chiefs were interfering, ignorant and old fashioned (Table LVIIa). This rejection of chiefs in the urban situation suggests an impetus toward bureaucratic forms of social control rather than traditional customary control of activity.

Although aspects of social change in an *urban* township are the subject of discussion, it is fruitful to investigate some of the townsmen's views on the role of a chief in the rural area. The differential aspect of social change operates when the urban role of chiefs vis-a-vis a rural role is compared. Eighty-one per cent. of the respondents thought that chiefs ought to have the right to allocate land in the rural area (Table LVIII). This sentiment was reinforced by the self-evidence of respondents' views (81 per cent.) regarding the *duty* of chiefs with respect to land. Clearly, Africans in town distinguish

[39] This low percentage might reflect fear at stating the "separate development" interpretation placed on community development by urban Africans at that time.

two social orders, a traditional tribal order for the rural area and a modern urban order in the township.

The position of chiefs is seen to be somewhat ambivalent when the tribal order is related to the *state* (or including both orders above). In this context 51 per cent. of respondents felt that tribal courts should *not* be given more power[40] while 34 per cent. thought that they should receive greater powers (Table LIX). Females place higher reliance on tribal courts than do males. Seventy per cent. of the respondents felt that chiefs should be represented in government (Table LX) but the reasons advanced for their representation shows a qualification to the supposed competence of chiefs in modern politics. Table LXa comprises the response to a question "Why should chiefs and tribal elders be represented in government?" Forty-one per cent. of the respondents who answered positively in this regard stated that chiefs should *be represented* by educated Africans. There is however a sentiment that chiefs and rural interests should be represented in government and that they should be informed about modern political matters.

The modern response negating the power of chiefs in the urban area is clear, as is the differential applied to the role of the chief in the rural area. Suggestion of a wider participant role for chiefs is more ambiguous — townsmen fearing that chiefs will come to assume too much authority via court jurisdiction, and so interfering with their modernizing life style; while at the same time realizing that if chiefs do not maintain some representation in the modern government form, the traditional culture of the ethnic category will be rendered impotent in the struggle for national identity and development.

It is apparent from the data on forms of formal social control that neither aspect of social change, differential or modern, is sufficient explanation for social action and attitude in the urban township. While the use of both typologies does not exhaust explanation, it allows a reasonable level of predictability regarding the pattern of social change with respect to a range of social structures. In general the differential disjunction in forms of formal social control occurs, as was shown previously, between traditionally oriented and posterior social structure. It is now necessary to evaluate the modernity of action and attitude in formal forms of social control in order to validate or discredit the terms of the predictive hypothesis.

Political and community life of the people of Highfield African township refers almost totally to a modern structurally differentiated social order. Social relationships are centripetally structured toward independent forms of organization such as modern political parties and potential local government bodies. Changing *from* a traditional *to* a modern order, social values reflect a shift from recognition of ascribed to achieved status represented by ability, education, money, etc. While empathic ability is developed, participation in political and community institutions is low. It is unnecessary to reiterate the argument of the revolution of "rising frustrations". Grievances referring to urban life, excepting family grievances, are referred to appropriate status encumbents of the modern institutions designed to cope with

[40] Compare respondents' view with government action: note 33.

urban problems. Preference among the four courts discussed falls on the modern courts with respect to criminal jurisdiction and some civil jurisdiction while chiefs and other tribal leaders are repudiated in the urban social situation.

Three definite forms of social control are reserved for traditional proclivity. Civil disputes involving "sacred" institutions are referred to tribal courts, grievances within families are settled by arbitration of various kinship authorities and the allocation of land in the rural area is thought to be the right and duty of chiefs. Only the first two traditional proclivities refer to the urban township *per se*. It is apparent that traditional influence is effective only in specific structural congeries that link the modern urban African to his distinctive orienting culture when a formal social superstructure like forms of social control is considered. Further, the findings from the range of data presented in this survey suggest that the contention above will hold true for a variety of posterior social structural forms in the African township.

The data on courts and chiefs suggest that modernity is infiltrating into what might be considered traditional spheres of influence. The civil jurisdiction over Africans held by the Chiefs' and District Commissioners' courts is not accepted by all Africans (Tables XLVb, XLVI and XLVIa), and this might very well be related to a cognizance that chiefs are unable to understand the needs of the urban African, while District Commissioners who have been described as lenient, obeyed, fair, with a knowledge of customs, have not been described as *competent* in this survey. There is a distinct feeling that chiefs should be represented in a modern form of government which vitiates their traditional role. The intrusion of this modern sentiment into the traditional culture is further exemplified by the attitude of some that chiefs might be represented by products of the modern urban order rather than attempting to learn new skills themselves.

Returning to the contention of the hypothesis, the efficacy of modern social change is more evident in forms of formal social control in Highfield African township than is differential social change. Further, the methodology used in this investigation to study social change shows that a "cultural determination" approach will yield diminshing returns. The rural-urban continuum concept is probably faclacious and completely separate analysis of an urban African social system will sacrifice the tenets and influence of differential social change. By comparing the urban local social system with a general typology of modernity, at the same time gauging the influence of the specific traditional culture, a clearer picture of the social structure *emerging* in an urban African township has been achieved.

VI. SOCIO-CULTURAL MEANING OF CHANGE.

Tiryakian (1970, pp. 131-132) following Comte's dictum (analysis of the seen must be geared to the forseeable) writes, "What we must look for in the present must be in part the conditions of institutional life and the extrapolations we can make from these as projections of the future." Pluralism in a multi-racial state where Europeans conceive of the state, not as an association, but as constituting the meaningful community[41] in which their interests are protected (Rogers and Frantz: 1962, pp. 331-336), places a severe strain in the form of external conditions on institutional life in the urban African townships. The Rhodesian Constituton (1969, 18(2)) limits African participation in the state and body politic through a restrictive franchise[42]. The Land Tenure Act (1969, Part II) provides for separate rights of Europeans and Africans in urban residential settlement and land use. Proposed legislation like the Residential Property Owners (Protection) Bill (Government Gazette: 1970, XLVIII, 60), put aside for the time being, exacerbates the awareness of conditional inequity by Africans. The Unitary System of Local Government for Greater Salisbury, introduced in July 1971, means that the greater Salisbury Municipality will administer townships without any African representatives on the Council. The Municipal Amendment Act (1971, Section 30(6)) ensures that the Minister of Local Government and Housing retains the prerogative for promotion and existence of local government township boards within African townships. These external conditions constrain African participation in national, local and community growth which in effect leaves African urban townships with the status of an addendum to, or social enclave in, the urban developmental process. The strain that will emerge, given modernization of the urban African population, as a result of such inequitable "parallelism" are self-evident. In order to gauge the extent of this conflict some appraisal of "community" in Highfield African township is undertaken.

The difficulties of referring to Highfield as a community are inherent in the confusion and lack of general reference of the concept. As Stacey (1969, pp. 134-136) has shown, the precision and meaning attributed to the consept is variable, ranging from situations of tenuous social relationship contact to the nation state, as well as identifying particular ways of life within some physical or geographical locality. None of these abstractions describe the peculiar social situation of Highfield township in particular, or Rhodesian African urban townships in general. Highfield is not a community in the sense that the whole of life can be spent there; it is almost wholly residential and many instituted relationships and activities take place elsewhere with actors of another "community", viz. European society. It cannot be claimed that social relationships occur only within a definite physical area as there is continued interaction with rural kinsmen. Highfield is not a collectivity

[41] See Maciver and Page (1962, pp. 8-13) for definitions of association and community.

[42] A document incorporating Proposals for a Settlement of Anglo-Rhodesian Relations (Rhodesian Government: 1971) contains proposals for a progressive increase in the franchise for Africans.

forming a total social system; many values derive from another system, i.e. the traditional order. Rather, Stein's (1960, pp. 110-101) definition of a community ". . . an organized system standing in a determinate relation to its environment which has a local basis but not necessarily a rigid boundry . . . ." provides a balance suitable for examining the township situation. The concern is for a system of relationships as they appear among people in a particular locality, and the advisability of referring to such a situation as a sociological whole.

It has been indicated that the local basis of the social system in Highfield is contentious and this requires qualification. Again, following Stacey (1969) one can postulate the existence of a *partial local social system* and set out some criteria as substantiation of its existence. The partial nature of the social system in Highfield township is reflected in the structures which are prone to traditional cultural influence and the modifications effected on posterior structures by the indigenous culture. Firstly the system is partial as a result of continued interaction with rural relatives already mentioned. These contacts are concerned with mutual obligations to support relatives, the fear of failing in town as well as claims on land rights in the rural area. Further, as has been shown, urban Africans have some cultural investment in the rural role of chiefs who are at once status encumbents and guardians of an ethnic cultural identity. Secondly, the data exemplyfying differential social change in the urban township attests to the partial or transitional nature of the (modern) social system in Highfield. To reiterate, the influence of traditional culture on institutions in the urban township is more effective within the moiety of familial and directly related social structure.

Partial systems breed ambivalence and the attitude of mind where different value systems are utilized to cope with a variety of social situations is in operation. Such bifurcation of value and action (often referred to as alternation model, situational selection, segmentation, etc.) is by no means absolute or, more *a propos*, mutually exclusive to any structural situation. Circumspectly, while substantial bifurcation is manifest in such structures, as for example *roora*, and can be regarded as contributing to the partial aspect of the social system, adaptation of traditional structures as well as modification of modern values and action by the traditional culture in the urban township might be regarded as part of the ongoing *local* social system (Stopforth: 1971, p. 35). These processes (adaptation and modification) contribute to the emergence of new social structures which can be regarded as typical of African urbanization and theoretically appropriate to a modernizing style of life. Differences in modernization are comparative, not quintessential.

The local basis of the social system in Highfield is a function of identification with the types of relation and activity necessary and appropriate for continued survival in what is becoming a more modernized and urban environment. The prior survey (Stopforth: 1971) describes sociographic substantiation of change while the modern aspect of social change of this survey describes the consequences of urban settlement, changes in traditional structures, participation in posterior institutions, etc. In short the modern typology and modern social change describe a wide range of institutions

and actions which are consistent with an urban social system. These embody a wider network of relationships necessitated by modern activities, aspirations, standards of living, attitudes and organization. Social relationships (network) are distributed over a wide range of "institutions" called forth by modern activities such as involvement in the cash economy and employment market, changes in standard of living, material end-oriented aspirations, exposure to new political and legal ideas, identification with the urban (township) situation and rejection of many tribal and some traditional institutions which previously determined associational parameters.

It has already been stated that differential social change is not absolute, that is to say, in this case, that modern structures are influenced in some ways by the traditional culture. Such modification occurs where traditional familism and features of tribal organization are incorporated (adapt) into the social system. This is exemplified in continued reliance on relatives for a multiplicity of purposes and in preference for traditional settlement in civil disputes. At the same time, adaptations of traditional structure in the urban situation are only made possible by *modification* of these same structures as a consequence of the effects of modern social change. Once again these processes which provide some articulation to the differential aspect of social change are regarded as part of the modernizing social system, and not as a retardation of social change. The local basis of the social system is posited on the grounds of modern social change and the dominant efficacy of modernity in the African urban township.

Social structure and system models are not necessarily characterized by a "static quality" in African social change research as claimed by Reader (1964, p. 25). Rather, the approach to African urbanization in the past has shown little of the inventiveness in processual evaluation of social structure common in sociology for two and a half decades. The attempt to relate compartmentalized individual characteristics to rigid reifications of formally instituted social structure has resulted in oversimplified and overpolarized theory of social change. It might be contented that bifurcation, when it occurs in Highfield,[43] is comparable with social segmentation found in other societies, e.g. the tendency among western peoples to the segment religious practice from economic activity. It is contended that the generalized theoretical category of a partial local system (as represented by the substantive data of differential and modern social change) provides a more adequate analytical frame for evaluating social change among urban Africans. Social processes (e.g. adaptation, conversion, modification) are necessarily built into the structural system. The system can be compared with any other system (conditionally) in terms of generalized criteria, e.g. modernity. Further the conditions of institutional life, the type of institutionalization and their articulation within the system allows conditional typological and processual analysis of ongoing activity which is necessary for exemplification of sociological prediction.

[43] Situational selection is probably more evident as a social process when rural labour migrants in town are the subject of analysis. Highfield is characterized by *immigrant* settlement (Stopforth: 1971, pp. 18-24).

The partial local social system manifest in Highfield township is at a critical point of social transition. Applying Homans' (1951, pp. 119-125) famous theory of the dual process of interaction, where the internal system continually elaborates the definition of the external system[44], the meaning of social change and some of its consequences can be interrogatively approached. The complexity of the interaction system derives from the real existence of three external systems defining situations (sometimes mutually exclusively, but often simultaneously) within the social entity. Briefly, these external systems comprise the conditional elements of government policy, European superordination and protectionism, the influence of a traditional type culture which can possibly be transmuted for new ends (Cohen: 1969) as well as modern socio-cultural developments of the local social system. Interaction is very much dependent on the external system for day-to-day predictability in action. However, traditional cultural norms have been modified by interaction in the local situation (internal system) and are fast being replaced by norms more appropriate to a modernizing society. While the normal social processes of interaction and redefinition of norms to cope with the changing social structure are in progress, the external force of government and the dominant society is static, if not retrogressive, in the boundry maintenance and surveillance directed at urban African social action.

Inability of the community at this time to re-define the constituted conditional aspects of the external system raises the question of socio-cultural compatibility in the plural situation. An example incorporating urban African local government and leadership will demonstate the type of incompatibility envisaged. The terms of reference of urban African local government[45] will give rise to a situation where the externally constituted definitions of the association will attempt to cater inappropriately for a system of interaction that is developing its own more appropriate norms, i.e. the emphasis of modern social change. Clearly, as Davis (1948, p. 53) has shown, norms without reference to the realities of social experience do not work. If local government, in its present definition, is incompatible with the modern socio-cultural developments in the urban township, then the consequences for leadership roles are explicit. The attitudes and activities of the members of a representative township board will always be incompatible with either the conditional external (government policy) or internal (modernizing) systems. Weinrich's (1971) previously mentioned finding in the rural area, that both pro- and anti-government chiefs place themselves in *intercalory* situations in community development, will be true for urban African local government representatives. Deference to government policy will alienate the community and identification with community defined problems (without official approval) will attract pressure from government. Similarly, any attempt to establish leaders on the principle of traditional, inherited authority will clash with the modernizing nature of the social system and any attempt to impose traditional ends will be totally incompatible with the internal developments of the local social system. Homans

44 The elaborated external system also influences interaction in the internal system.
45 Municipal Amendment Act, 1971, Section 30.

(1951, p. 426) has shown that leaders must conform, more than others, to established normative patterns, and that in interaction situations, the leader is dependent on concurrence of opinion for his prowess. While the need for a local government scheme might be recognised by the African urban community, it is doubtful that the external difinitions of government policy, contradicting modern aspirations of the community in question, will result in effective representative boards.

The partial nature of the social system in Highfield, effective to the extent that traditional cultural influence is manfest in town (differential social change) will complicate many attitudes to urban institutions and associations. The processual principle of *modification* has already been stated. The traditional typology suggests centralization of institutionalization, in this case familial institutions. Any social system in transition from traditionalism to a modern order must be able to sustain both generally applicable and diffuse forms of social organization (via increasing scale of association and redistribution of value). Banfield (1958, Chap. 5) ascribes the lack of wider association and organization, as well as incompetant and unacceptable leadership in politics among groups of Southern Italians, to elementary family amoralism. The critical emphasis hinges not only on demonstrating that a wider basis for association exists but also an ability to reject amoralism previously projected to non familial institutions. Conditions in the local social system are such as to ameliorate many parochialisms inherent in traditionalism. It has been shown that many needs are satisfied outside of kin association and that many aspirations accord with a modern situation. Ability to identify with issues on a community and national basis, rather than a limited clan basis provides some framework for co-operation in the organization of a wider urban community. Further, the dissociation and distance of the urban locality from rural settlements and land investment lessens the motivation to exclusive family prosperity at the cost of wider association. Stopforth (1971) has shown that the *traditional extended* family has no basis for existence in town. The results of this survey provide some evidence of the waning of family amoralism in Highfield. This is most clearly manifest in political and community attitudes. Frustration of modern aspirations will also tend to direct attention to general popular movements which promise immediate consummation of the socio-economic millenium.

It is apparent that government policy and traditional influence, while encumbering certain processes of modernization, do not operate as *deterministic* external references for social action in Highfield township. The comparative modern typology describes ends and structures which are consistent with an entirely different emergent order, and in fact, militate against ends prescribed by other external forces. The existence of a local social system, characterizing the social life of urban Africans in Highfield, attests to a new emergent order. The order is referred to as *emergent* simply because there is no necessary reference to either the traditional or modern "European" societies (Stopforth: 1971, pp. 35-36). Certainly features of both are apparent as the processes of adaptation and conversion imply. However, the dual nature of the process of interaction is the key to social change where

elaboration results in added or plus factors, i.e. something new. Hence the necessity of using abstract general typologies in comparative analysis of modernization. Pahl's (1968) contention that an African "urban social system" should be analysed without taking into account the orienting traditional system or social change seems to recommend mere description without evaluation of social structure.

The two aspects of social change and their efficacy in formal forms of social control give a general description of the partial local system and *how* such a system has come into being. As institutions represent the abstract conditions of social structure, it is these congeries rather than historical cultural notions which determine both definitions of action in the external system as well as interaction in the internal system. Change "of system" has resulted in a revolution of expectation and in the present transitional phase social norms within the community are not always standardized. However, the prevalent aspiration of adults for their children heralds consolidation of a particular type of modern society among urban Africans. This phase of rapid social change effecting the emergence of a modern urban African community has generated its own problems which are inextricably bound up with the plural situation. These problems now require a political solution rather than administrative direction. That is to say, the new society must be incorporated into the association of the "state", not relegated to the status of a cultural community requiring paternalistic supervision.

The sociological field of "social problems" has been traditionally divided into two approaches: the study of deviant behaviour and social disorganization respectively. That these fields are only analytically separable is attested to by Nisbet (1966, pp. 2-4). The former aspect deviant behaviour, has not been considered in the context of this paper[46]. The concept "social disorganization" and its implications are somewhat misleading as well as being outdated in the field of social change. Rapid social change does lead to what might be termed social disorganization, but this is not necessarily a pathological development. More often such a situation marks the social transition of a people from one social order to another and constitutes a "normal" aspect in this type of social change. Racial politico-economic inequity in the plural situation exacerbates community problems; a condition persistently manifest where dominant "fragment" and indigenous societies, as in parts of ex-colonial Africa, co-exist (Hartz: 1964). Sociologically, three determinants of community problems are isolated which bear a logical relationship to the multiple externality of the township social system. Community problems are determined by physical conditions, internal relationships and external relationships respectively, though these determinants are not necessarily unrelated in the problem complex.

Problems determined by physical conditions can be summarized from the data on Highfield township which manifest a wish for better standards of living, for more housing, better service facilities as well as a wish for a better and different life for the coming generation. It is the awareness of what

46 See Reader and May (1971) for an analysis of "heavy drinking" in Highfield township.

is possible (not necessarily probable) that leads people to spend relatively large sums on their children's education and to ensure where possible that children receive education. Further, African urban dwellers live a precarious life at the mercy of unforseen circumstances that might arise. While in Highfield approximately half the houses are held under a homeownership scheme, security of tenure is doubtful if illness or death occurs. Very few people have insurance policies, belong to a trade union or have security of job tenure. They are also dependent to a large degree on decisions emanating from the township administration. Township administration is viewed with suspicion as is the role of police who are regarded as enemies of the community rather than as providing security for community members. The relationship to the external force is obvious: little machinery to negotiate social security, better wages, wider community association etc., exists. The impact of physical conditions is also felt in the internal community situation.

In Highfield township housing has to accommodate not only immigrants from the rural area but increasingly it will have to cater for urban natural increase unless more housing is provided. It is evident from the composition of people inhabiting dwelling units (Stopforth: 1971, p. 7) that shortage of accommodation is one of the most pressing physical and humanitarian problems in African urbanization. The dwellings in Highfield are evidently designed as family accommodation; but very few dwellings house only single families. Family life is often disrupted by having more than one *household* in a dwelling, the presence of lodgers and overcrowding. Stopforth (1971, p. 11) shows that 50 per cent. of the elementary family structures in Highfield have arisen without the physical pressure of limited accommodation space. The tendency to nucleate family structure (enforced by lack of space or voluntarily) will probably give way to the phenomenon of *enlarged* family structure[47] as the scarcity of accommodation becomes more acute. Future township planning and dwelling design might profit by considering this type of family adaptation to urbanization. The housing problem is general and is likely to remain so in the forseeable future. The stage has been reached where pressure of population will automatically cause whatever accommodation is made available to be saturated. The only way to avoid a squatter problem is to provide as much housing as possible because the phenomenon cannot be controlled once population increase[48] significantly outstrips provision of housing (Abrams: 1964, p. 14).

Awareness of the inequities in the plural situation is a function of empathy that has demonstrably developed with interaction in the local social system. Although the volition to modernity has been shown to exercise the most relevant force in the social change situation of Highfield township, the consequences of differential social change are embodied in a social psycho-

[47] The enlarged family structure is characterized by an elementary core that accretes relatives over a wide range of agnatic, cognatic and affinal definition which defies the definition of *extended* family structure.

[48] The African population in the urban areas of the Republic of South Africa rose from 3,5 million in 1960 to 4,2 million in 1970 (Schlemmer: 1971), despite official government policy directed at limiting the increase of urban African population.

logical dilemma affecting all who have been socialized in the traditional orienting culture. Cultural lag and socio-cultural incompatibility, discussed earlier, introduce a problem determined by internal relationships within the community. This problem can be stated as an allegorical social complex[49] to Sophocles' play *Antigone* (Leinhardt: 1964, pp. 115-116). Which association, characteristically family or "state", among others, will be identified with the accomplishment of communal goals? When state demands or situational conditions conflict with cultural imperative, the tragedy in choice of action is as real and inexorable in an urban African township as the agonies of either *Antigone* or *Ismene*. Obedience to the demands of a modern order results in loss of kinship solidarity and security in spiritual and social life. Satisfaction of cultural (family) obligations, required and sanctioned by the ancestral spirits, often results in privations regarding employment, standard of living, modern aspiration and security in town. Logically, either alternative leads into the abyss.

However, in sociological terms the paradox is not finally established, as this type of dilemma is characterized by the emergence of new structures, and through interaction, some adaptation of culture to the complex. In reactionary cultural terms Sophocles' support for *Antigone's* actions, reflected in the punishment of *Creon*, is consistent. In terms of adjusting to social change however, adherence to inappropriate cultural tenets is disfunctional. Andreski (1968, Chap II) and Hunt (1966, p. 23) both see societal investment in familial institutions as detracting from the process of modernization in Africa. While modernity in the local social system is assailed by traditional conservatism on the one hand, political conservatism of a "European" government and community spreads a shroud over African development on the other.

The emergence of an urban African society in the plural situation has emphasised the relative deprivation of the African population. More modern political views and derived needs together with increasing empathic ability have led to a focus on the problems of the relationship between the urban African community and the external force of government. These external relationships give rise to problems which are more readily apprehended than problems of the internal interaction system. Problems such as discrimination, land distribution and use, authoritarian administration, poverty, policing etc., can be related to the distribution of power and control of resources which affect Africans adversely. Increased media participation, empathic ability, education and nationalistic politics combine to produce a societal entity which challenges European supremacy on comparable criteria of modern aspirations and needs. Of three sources of social and community problems the objective relationship of African township communities to the smaller but more powerful external community is the most pressing, and

49 The idea of a "social complex" is not new as attested to by Merton's concept of latent function. Social complex is used in this instance as an analogy to Jung's view of "complex" which is characterized by an intrapsychic nature that originates in a realm which is beyond the objective control of the conscious mind (Jacobi: 1959, p. 7). Similarly the nature of a social complex is generated as a result of "disturbance" within a social system which cannot be objectively controlled by the actors.

is the most deeply felt problem, the present *status quo* being repudiated by township residents.

Further, there is ample evidence of a potential for community organization on modern lines. Two trends seem to predominate: the democratization of community organization leadership with some realization that education, business acumen and specialized abilities are consistent with leadership and representative roles; and total repudiation of encumbents of tribal traditional authority as possible leaders in the urban community and local social system.

A social revolution has been wrought in Highfield African township. As Highfield is thought to represent as wide a range as possible over a number of townships[50], this social revolution subsumed by the process of modernization, can be generalised to include other urban African communities with some confidence. If this is true, then the general plural urban society has reached a crisis where culturally different but comparative structurally convergent systems are competing within the same arena. Irrespective of the inductive generality of the social change conditions in Highfield township, a new societal phenomenon, viz. modern urban African society, has emerged and has to be recognised as such.

Two essential steps in such recognition would include the application of "secular rationalism" and the practice of "humanitarianism" (Nisbet: 1966, pp. 6-10). Socio-cultural change in Highfield is the cynosure for analytic understanding derived from "intellectual" control of the real social context as opposed to intuitively defined categories of urban African social systems. It is axiomatic that social plans and policies must be related to *real* social systems if they are to meet with any measure of success. Such a rational application of knowledge cannot be undertaken without the practice of humanitarian standards. That is to say, the same moral values must be extended over the whole range of society. Racial amoralism on cultural grounds cannot ultimately alter the objective reality of increasing social structural similarity. Sociologically, the local social system of the Highfield African township is more comparable to European society than to the traditional order in Rhodesia.

50 See Stopforth (1971, p. 1) for a discussion on the choice of Highfield as the survey(s) universe.

CONCLUSIONS

The scope of this paper allows a summary in three related fields. These are, methodological considerations in the study of urban African social change, general sociological conclusions and applied propositions relating to the plural society. The methodology of urban African research provides a history, albeit a short one, against which the endeavours of this paper can be evaluated. The general socialogical conclusions listed below might appear somewhat trite: however little urban research has been completed in Rhodesia and these conclusions might provide a stepping stone to further research, especially research oriented to "group" phenomena not considered here. The recent political history of Rhodesia shows an investment in *authoritative administration* of the urban African population, with little consideration for changes wrought by a process of modernization. As these administrative "solutions" are often based on intuitive and erroneous premises and assumptions, substantiated propositions concerning the relationship of the *local* to the *national* are summarized for political consideration.

Methodological Considerations

1. Pahl's (1968a, p. 293) notion that the rural-urban continuum is a falacious concept (false continuity) in modernization due to development of a "series of continua" as well as "sharp discontinuities", is reflected in the results of this survey. Discontinuity is manifest by differential social change, and multiple continua are apparent in adaptation and modifications of traditional social structure. The "change of system" (modernity) equation defeats an overall application of the rural-urban continuum which relies on a theory of evolving social structure.

2. An approach to African urbanization that espouses the cause of traditional cultural determination of social structure can have only very limited efficacy as exemplified by the differential influence of the traditional culture on social structure (familial). Such an approach neglects the process of conversion to posterior structures and the emergent quality of social structure. General societal comparison is thereby vitiated.

3. Analysis of the local system (Highfield) without reference to the traditional culture or social change would not exemplyfy differential aspects of community life nor would processes responsible for emergent social structure become apparent.

4. Typification of social structure is not necessarily a static or synchronic method. In this paper, a heuristic rather than end-oriented use of validated constructed types has allowed a description of social structure, some analysis of how such structures come into being and consequently some projection of sociological trends in the local social system.

General Sociological Conclusions

1. Sociographic or "physical structural" changes in Highfield (Stopforth: 1971) are attended by radical sociological changes in attitude and action

confirming the view that, ". . . a new, emergent social entity, i.e., urban African society" (Stopforth: 1971, p. 36) has come into being in Rhodesia.

2. The (partial) local social system of Highfield African township can be described as undergoing a process of modernization.

3. The effect of differential social change in twofold: firstly, adaptation of traditional structures to the new order and modification of posterior structures gives urban African society a unique emergent quality (not wholly traditional or Western); secondly, adherence to many traditional familial structures creates problems of internal ambivalence in the modernizing situation.

4. The results of modernity in Highfield may be summarized as a wish for higher standards of living and consumption, an empathic awareness of a wider world and the realization of inequity in socio-economic distribution in the plural society. This is to say, a volition toward a modern as opposed to a traditional form of political control.

5. High aspiration coupled with low achievement in a modernizing situation is leading to rising frustration, a cause of which is identified with the external force and white "protectionism" of national government.

6. While empathic ability has made urban Africans aware of many abstract notions and introduced concepts of modern structural control, much general ignorance of the structure and purpose of these institutions prevails. Frustration and ignorance is indeed an explosive condition in a situation of rapid social change.

7. Traditional (rural, tribal) leadership and authority in urban African communities will be repudiated by township residents, and objectively could not be effective or legitimate.

8. A high level of aspiration and sufficient structural differentiation within the urban community suggest a basis for modern patterns of relationship necessary to support modern associations, e.g. a local government association.

9. Social problems occur at three levels: the socio-economic standards related to physical conditions (housing, wages etc.), internal sociological problems generated by differential social change and political problems relating the local to the national.

10. This survey recorded little significant difference between the attitudes of males and females, save that females evinced greater ignorance of political and quasi-political matters.

11. The perpetuation of modernity is secure in that urban oriented socialization is being meeted out to the coming generation.

12. Given modernization among urban Africans, this community will have to be incorporated politically in the state and not merely instrumentally administered by sectional interest of an oligarchical government if any semblance of representative government is to be maintained.

Applied Propositions

1. The differential aspect of social change and greater efficacy of modernity within the urban African community suggests that any policy of "traditional cultural revivalism" directed at urban Africans will be doomed to failure.

2. As traditional counseling is limited to domestic matters, traditional civil and some other civil matters only, such counseling has little meaning in the context of modern social problems.

3. The emerging socio-cultural patterns of modernity in the urban African townships constitute the only real basis and criteria for social planning and policy.

4. While urban African communities are the subject of limiting and rigid external forces defined by government policy and the local social systems are developing internal structures of norms and goals, African community leadership is bound to be fraught with ineffective compromise in any attempt to adjust to disconnected systems, or to be characterized by illegitimacy in the event of accepting either alternative system.

5. The development of a local social system within which aspirations and goals are clearly defined means that African leaders will increasingly reject externally imposed goals and attempt to propagate the collective wishes of urban Africans. Legitimacy, related to African aspiration, will overrule considerations of effectiveness.

APPENDIX A:
TABLES OF SAMPLE ERROR, SIGNIFICANCE OF PERCENTAGES AND SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE.

Table 1. Reader's Table for Sample Error in Pairs of Percentages.*

Table 1 gives the sample error of sample sizes between 25 and 500 to e expected in any given pair of percentages in a table totalling 100 per ent. Thus in a sample of n=375, percentages of 80 per cent. and 20 per ent. can be expected to have a range of inaccuracy due to sampling of 4.1 er cent. on either side: that is, 75,9-84,1 per cent. and 15,9-24,1 per cent. spectively. Interpolations can be made according to the formula:

Sample Error $= \frac{2\sqrt{p.q}}{n}$ where p.q are the two percentages and n is the sample size.

Interpolation for sample size n=87 included.

Table 2. Reader's Table for Significance of Percentage in Terms of Sample Error and Sample Size.*

* See Reader and May (1971).

Table 2 shows in the light of sample error and sample size how significant a given percentage from 5 per cent. to 95 per cent. is likely to be. In the table the sample error for each percentage for a given sample size is expressed as a per cent. of the numerical value of the percentage itself. It is generally agreed that percentages which have a sample error of 50 per cent. or more are not likely to be significant, and that those with a sample error of 25 per cent. or less are likely to be significant. Accordingly percentages which obtain in the top left-hand corner of the table, having per cent sample errors of 50 per cent. or more, are not recorded in detail and are considered not significant. Percentages read off between this blank space and the stepped line have a sample error of between 50 and 25 per cent. and may be described as probably significant. Percentages which apply to the right of the stepped line have sample errors of less than 25 per cent. and are likely to be significant. Where the sample error is shown in the table as less than 10 per cent. of the precentage, the latter may be described as highly significant. Interpolation for sample size n=87 shows a significant value at 47 per cent.

Tables 3 and 4. Zubin-Marsh Tables for Testing the Significance of Difference Between Proportions.*

Procedure for use of tables**

1. Lay out the substantive table in the usual way for a 2 x 2 Chi-squared test:

e.g.

	A	B	Total
Men	35	31	66
Women	8	13	21

* See Marsh (1967).
** Procedure adapted from a note by D. Munro.

2. Enter Table 3 for the co-ordinates of the numbers making up one of the proportions, and record the *top* value shown. In the example above, enter for 35 and 31 and record 1,65.

3. Note whether the two proportions are in the same direction or not. In the example above they are not.

4. Enter Table 3 again for the other pair. If both proportions are in the same direction, again record the top value. If not, record the bottom value. In the example, for 13 and 8 record 1,33.

5. Subtract the two values from one another: 1,65-1,33=0,32.

6. Enter Table 4 for the *sums* of the numbers making up the proportions. In this example 66 and 21 give values 0,50 and 0,66. These are the *minimum* values for $p<,05$ and $p<,01$. The proportions in this example are therefore not significantly different at either the 5 per cent. or 1 per cent. level.

TABLE I

Reader's Table for Sample Error in Pairs of Percentages

Sample Size	PERCENTAGES																		
	95	90	85	80	75	70	65	60	55	50	45	40	35	30	25	20	15	10	5
25 ±	% 8,7	% 12,0	% 14,3	% 16,0	% 17,3	% 18,3	% 19,1	% 19,6	% 19,9	% 20,0									
50	6,2	8,5	10,1	11,3	12,3	13,0	13,5	13,9	14,1	14,1									
75	5,0	6,9	8,2	9,2	10,0	10,6	11,0	11,3	11,5	11,5									
87	4,7	6,4	7,7	8,6	9,3	9,8	10,2	10,5	10,7	10,7									
100	4,4	6,0	7,2	8,0	8,6	9,2	9,6	9,8	10,0	10,0									
125	3,9	5,3	6,3	7,2	7,7	8,2	8,5	8,8	8,9	8,9									
150	3,6	5,0	5,8	6,5	7,1	7,6	7,8	8,0	8,1	8,2									
175	3,3	4,5	5,4	6,0	6,5	6,9	7,2	7,4	7,5	7,6									
200	3,0	4,2	5,0	5,6	6,2	6,4	6,8	6,9	7,0	7,0									
225	2,9	4,0	4,8	5,3	5,8	6,1	6,4	6,5	6,6	6,7									
250	2,8	3,8	4,5	5,1	5,5	5,8	6,0	6,2	6,3	6,3									
275	2,7	3,6	4,3	4,8	5,2	5,5	5,8	5,9	6,0	6,0									
300	2,6	3,4	4,2	4,6	5,0	5,2	5,5	5,6	5,8	5,8									
325	2,5	3,3	4,0	4,4	4,8	5,1	5,3	5,4	5,5	5,6									
350	2,4	3,2	3,8	4,3	4,6	5,0	5,1	5,2	5,3	5,3									
375	2,3	3,1	3,7	4,1	4,5	4,7	4,9	5,1	5,2	5,2									
400	2,2	3,0	3,6	4,0	4,4	4,6	4,8	4,9	5,0	5,0									
425	2,1	2,9	3,5	3,9	4,2	4,4	4,6	4,7	4,8	4,8									
450	2,0	2,8	3,4	3,8	4,1	4,3	4,5	4,6	4,7	4,7									
475	2,0	2,7	3,3	3,7	4,0	4,2	4,4	4,5	4,6	4,6									
500	2,0	2,7	3,2	3,6	3,9	4,1	4,3	4,4	4,4	4,5									

Reader's Table for Significance of Percentages in terms of Sample Error and Sample Size

PERCENTAGES

Sample Size	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90	95
25	17,4%							49,0	44,2	40,0	36,2	32,7	29,4	26,1	23,1	20,0	16,8	13,3	9,2
50	NOT				49,2	43,3	38,6	34,8	31,3	28,2	25,6	23,2	20,8	18,6	16,4	14,1	11,9	9,4	6,5
75	Significant			46,0	40,0	35,3	31,4	28,3	25,6	23,0	20,9	18,8	16,9	15,1	13,3	11,5	9,6	7,7	5,3
100			48,0	40,0	34,4	30,7	27,4	24,5	22,2	20,0	18,2	16,3	14,8	13,1	11,5	10,0	8,5	6,7	4,6
125			42,0	36,0	30,8	27,3	24,3	22,0	19,8	17,8	16,2	14,7	13,1	11,7	10,3	9,0	7,4	5,9	4,1
150			38,7	32,5	28,4	25,3	22,3	20,0	18,0	16,4	14,7	13,3	12,0	10,9	9,5	8,1	6,8	5,6	3,8
175		45,0	36,0	30,0	26,0	23,0	20,6	18,5	16,7	15,2	13,6	12,3	11,1	9,9	8,7	7,5	6,4	5,0	3,5
200		42,0	33,3	28,0	24,8	21,3	19,4	17,3	15,6	14,0	12,7	11,5	10,5	9,1	8,3	7,0	5,9	4,7	3,2
225		40,0	32,0	26,5	23,2	20,3	18,3	16,3	14,7	13,4	12,0	10,8	9,8	8,7	7,7	6,6	5,6	4,4	3,1
250		38,0	30,0	25,5	22,0	19,3	17,1	15,5	14,0	12,6	11,5	10,3	9,2	8,3	7,3	6,4	5,3	4,2	2,9
275		36,0	28,6	24,0	20,8	18,3	16,6	14,8	13,3	12,0	10,9	9,8	8,9	7,9	6,9	6,0	5,1	4,0	2,8
300		34,0	28,0	23,0	20,0	17,3	15,4	14,0	12,9	11,6	10,5	9,3	8,3	7,4	6,6	5,8	4,9	3,8	2,7
325		33,0	26,7	22,0	19,2	17,0	15,1	13,5	12,2	11,2	10,0	9,0	8,2	7,3	6,4	5,5	4,7	3,7	2,6
350	48,0	32,0	25,3	21,5	18,4	16,6	14,6	13,0	11,8	10,6	9,6	8,7	7,8	7,1	6,1	5,4	4,5	3,6	2,5
375	46,0	31,0	24,7	20,5	18,0	15,7	14,0	12,8	11,6	10,4	9,5	8,5	7,5	6,7	6,0	5,1	4,4	3,4	2,4
400	44,0	30,0	24,0	20,0	17,6	15,3	13,7	12,0	11,1	10,0	9,1	8,0	7,4	6,6	5,9	5,0	4,2	3,3	2,3
425	42,0	29,0	23,3	19,5	16,8	14,7	13,1	11,8	10,7	9,6	8,7	7,8	7,1	6,3	5,6	4,9	4,1	3,2	2,2
450	40,0	28,0	22,7	19,0	16,4	14,3	12,9	11,5	10,4	9,4	8,5	7,7	6,9	6,1	5,5	4,8	4,0	3,1	2,1
475	40,0	27,0	22,0	18,5	16,0	14,0	12,6	11,3	10,2	9,2	8,4	7,5	6,8	6,0	5,3	4,6	3,9	3,0	2,1
500	40,0	27,0	21,3	18,0	15,6	13,7	12,3	11,0	9,8	9,0	8,0	7.3	6,6	5,9	5,2	4,5	3,8	3,0	2,1

Sample errors as a percentage of the value of percentages 5 to 95 per cent. (above)

TABLE 3

Values of Zubin's t for Given Proportions or Ratios

Larger N	*Smaller N* 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	75	100
1	1,57																											
	1,57																											
2	1,91	1,57																										
	1,23	1,57																										
3	2,09	1,77	1,57																									
	1,05	1,37	1,57																									
4	2,21	1,91	1,71	1,57																								
	0,93	1,23	1,43	1,57																								
5	2,30	2,01	1,82	1,68	1,57																							
	0,84	1,13	1,32	1,46	1,57																							
6	2,37	2,10	1,92	1,77	1,66	1,57																						
	0,77	1,05	1,23	1,37	1,48	1,57																						
7	2,42	2,16	1,98	1,84	1,74	1,65	1,57																					
	0,72	0,98	1,16	1,30	1,40	1,49	1,57																					
8	2,46	2,21	2,04	1,91	1,80	1,71	1,64	1,57																				
	0,68	0,93	1,10	1,23	1,34	1,43	1,50	1,57																				
9	2,50	2,26	2,09	1,96	1,86	1,77	1,70	1,63	1,57																			
	0,64	0,88	1,05	1,18	1,28	1,37	1,44	1,51	1,57																			
10	2,53	2,30	2,14	2,01	1,92	1,82	1,75	1,68	1,62	1,57																		
	0,61	0,84	1,00	1,13	1,23	1,32	1,39	1,46	1,52	1,57																		
11	2,56	2,34	2,18	2,06	1,96	1,87	1,79	1,73	1,67	1,62	1,57																	
	0,58	0,80	0,96	1,08	1,18	1,27	1,35	1,41	1,47	1,52	1,57																	
12	2,58	2,38	2,22	2,10	2,00	1,91	1,84	1,77	1,71	1,66	1,62	1,57																
	0,56	0,77	0,92	1,05	1,14	1,23	1,30	1,37	1,43	1,48	1,52	1,57																
13	2,60	2,40	2,25	2,13	2,03	1,95	1,88	1,81	1,75	1,70	1,65	1,62	1,57															
	0,54	0,75	0,89	1,01	1,11	1,19	1,26	1,33	1,39	1,44	1,49	1,53	1,57															
14	2,62	2,42	2,27	2,16	2,06	1,98	1,91	1,85	1,79	1,74	1,69	1,65	1,61	1,57														
	0,52	0,72	0,87	0,98	1,08	1,16	1,23	1,29	1,35	1,40	1,45	1,49	1,53	1,57														
15	2,64	2,44	2,30	2,19	2,10	2,01	1,94	1,88	1,82	1,77	1,72	1,68	1,64	1,60	1,57													
	0,50	0,70	0,84	0,96	1,04	1,13	1,20	1,26	1,32	1,37	1,42	1,46	1,50	1,54	1,57													
16	2,65	2,46	2,32	2,21	2,12	2,04	1,97	1,91	1,85	1,80	1,76	1,71	1,67	1,64	1,60	1,57												
	0,49	0,68	0,82	0,92	1,02	1,10	1,17	1,23	1,29	1,34	1,38	1,43	1,47	1,50	1,54	1,57												
17	2,67	2,48	2,34	2,24	2,15	2,07	2,00	1,94	1,88	1,83	1,78	1,74	1,70	1,66	1,63	1,60	1,57											
	0,47	0,66	0,80	0,90	0,99	1,07	1,14	1,20	1,26	1,31	1,35	1,40	1,44	1,48	1,51	1,54	1,57											
18	2,68	2,50	2,36	2,26	2,17	2,09	2,03	1,96	1,91	1,86	1,82	1,77	1,73	1,70	1,66	1,63	1,60	1,57										
	0,46	0,64	0,79	0,88	0,97	1,05	1,11	1,18	1,23	1,28	1,32	1,37	1,41	1,44	1,48	1,51	1,54	1,57										
19	2,69	2,51	2,38	2,28	2,19	2,12	2,05	1,99	1,94	1,88	1,84	1,80	1,76	1,72	1,69	1,66	1,63	1,60	1,57									
	0,45	0,63	0,77	0,87	0,95	1,02	1,09	1,15	1,20	1,26	1,30	1,34	1,38	1,42	1,45	1,48	1,51	1,54	1,57									
20	2,70	2,53	2,40	2,30	2,21	2,14	2,07	2,01	1,96	1,91	1,86	1,82	1,78	1,75	1,71	1,68	1,65	1,62	1,60	1,57								
	0,44	0,61	0,75	0,84	0,93	1,01	1,07	1,13	1,18	1,23	1,28	1,32	1,36	1,39	1,43	1,46	1,49	1,52	1,54	1,57								
25	2,74	2,59	2,47	2,39	2,30	2,23	2,17	2,11	2,06	2,01	1,97	1,93	1,89	1,86	1,82	1,79	1,76	1,73	1,70	1,68	1,57							
	0,40	0,55	0,67	0,76	0,84	0,91	0,97	1,03	1,08	1,13	1,17	1,21	1,25	1,28	1,32	1,35	1,38	1,41	1,44	1,46	1,57							
30	2,78	2,64	2,53	2,44	2,38	2,30	2,24	2,19	2,14	2,09	2,06	2,02	1,98	1,94	1,91	1,88	1,85	1,82	1,80	1,77	1,66	1,57						
	0,36	0,50	0,61	0,70	0,77	0,84	0,90	0,95	1,00	1,05	1,08	1,12	1,16	1,20	1,23	1,26	1,29	1,32	1,34	1,37	1,48	1,57						
35	2,81	2,67	2,57	2,49	2,42	2,36	2,30	2,25	2,20	2,16	2,12	2,08	2,04	2,01	1,98	1,95	1,92	1,89	1,87	1,85	1,74	1,65	1,57					
	0,33	0,47	0,57	0,65	0,72	0,78	0,84	0,89	0,94	0,98	1,02	1,06	1,10	1,13	1,16	1,19	1,22	1,25	1,27	1,29	1,40	1,49	1,57					
40	2,83	2,70	2,61	2,53	2,46	2,40	2,35	2,30	2,26	2,21	2,18	2,14	2,11	2,07	2,04	2,01	1,99	1,96	1,93	1,91	1,80	1,71	1,64	1,57				
	0,31	0,44	0,53	0,61	0,68	0,74	0,79	0,84	0,88	0,93	0,96	1,01	1,03	1,07	1,10	1,13	1,16	1,18	1,21	1,23	1,34	1,43	1,50	1,57				
45	2,85	2,73	2,64	2,56	2,50	2,44	2,40	2,34	2,30	2,26	2,22	2,19	2,16	2,12	2,09	2,06	2,04	2,01	1,99	1,96	1,86	1,77	1,69	1,63	1,57			
	0,30	0,42	0,50	0,58	0,64	0,70	0,74	0,80	0,84	0,88	0,92	0,95	0,98	1,02	1,05	1,08	1,10	1,13	1,15	1,18	1,28	1,37	1,45	1,51	1,57			
50	2,86	2,75	2,66	2,59	2,53	2,48	2,42	2,38	2,34	2,30	2,26	2,23	2,20	2,17	2,14	2,11	2,08	2,06	2,04	2,01	1,91	1,82	1,75	1,68	1,62	1,57		
	0,28	0,40	0,48	0,55	0,61	0,67	0,72	0,76	0,80	0,84	0,88	0,91	0,94	0,97	1,00	1,03	1,06	1,08	1,10	1,13	1,23	1,32	1,39	1,46	1,52	1,57		
75	2,91	2,83	2,75	2,69	2,64	2,59	2,55	2,51	2,47	2,44	2,41	2,38	2,35	2,32	2,30	2,28	2,25	2,23	2,21	2,19	2,09	2,01	1,94	1,88	1,82	1,77	1,57	
	0,23	0,32	0,40	0,45	0,51	0,55	0,59	0,63	0,67	0,70	0,73	0,76	0,79	0,82	0,84	0,86	0,89	0,91	0,93	0,95	1,05	1,13	1,20	1,26	1,32	1,37	1,57	
100	2,94	2,86	2,80	2,75	2,70	2,66	2,62	2,59	2,56	2,53	2,50	2,47	2,45	2,42	2,40	2,38	2,36	2,34	2,32	2,30	2,21	2,14	2,07	2,01	1,93	1,19	1,71	1,57
	0,20	0,28	0,34	0,38	0,44	0,48	0,52	0,55	0,58	0,61	0,64	0,67	0,69	0,72	0,74	0,76	0,78	0,80	0,82	0,84	0,93	1,00	1,07	1,13	1,21	1,23	1,45	1,57

TABLE 4

Values of Zubin's t at the 5 Per cent. and 1 Per cent. Levels of Significance

Larger N	*Smaller N* 2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	75	100
2	1,96																										
	2,58																										
3	1,80	1,60																									
	2,35	2,10																									
4	1,70	1,50	1,39																								
	2,16	1,97	1,82																								
5	1,64	1,43	1,32	1,24																							
	2,10	1,88	1,73	1,63																							
6	1,60	1,39	1,27	1,19	1,13																						
	2,07	1,82	1,66	1,56	1,49																						
7	1,57	1,35	1,23	1,15	1,10	1,05																					
	2,04	1,78	1,61	1,51	1,43	1,38																					
8	1,55	1,33	1,20	1,12	1,06	1,02	0,98																				
	2,01	1,74	1,58	1,45	1,39	1,33	1,29																				
9	1,53	1,31	1,18	1,09	1,03	0,99	0,95	0,92																			
	2,00	1,72	1,55	1,44	1,36	1,30	1,25	1,21																			
10	1,52	1,29	1,16	1,07	1,01	0,97	0,93	0,90	0,88																		
	1,98	1,69	1,52	1,41	1,33	1,27	1,22	1,18	1,15																		
11	1,51	1,28	1,15	1,06	1,00	0,95	0,91	0,88	0,86	0,84																	
	1,97	1,68	1,50	1,39	1,31	1,25	1,20	1,16	1,13	1,10																	
12	1,50	1,26	1,13	1,04	0,98	0,93	0,89	0,87	0,84	0,82	0,80																
	1,96	1,66	1,49	1,37	1,29	1,22	1,17	1,14	1,10	1,07	1,05																
13	1,49	1,26	1,12	1,03	0,97	0,92	0,88	0,85	0,83	0,88	0,78	0,77															
	1,95	1,65	1,47	1,36	1,27	1,21	1,16	1,12	1,08	1,06	1,03	1,01															
14	1,48	1,25	1,11	1,02	0,96	0,90	0,87	0,84	0,81	0,79	0,77	0,75	0,74														
	1,94	1,64	1,46	1,34	1,26	1,19	1,14	1,10	1,07	1,04	1,01	0,99	0,97														
15	1,48	1,24	1,10	1,01	0,95	0,90	0,86	0,83	0,80	0,78	0,76	0,75	0,73	0,72													
	1,93	1,63	1,45	1,33	1,25	1,18	1,13	1,09	1,05	1,02	1,00	0,98	0,96	0,94													
16	1,47	1,23	1,10	1,01	0,94	0,89	0,85	0,82	0,79	0,77	0,75	0,73	0,72	0,71	0,70												
	1,93	1,62	1,44	1,32	1,24	1,17	1,12	1,07	1,04	1,01	0,98	0,96	0,94	0,93	0,91												
17	1,47	1,23	1,09	1,00	0,93	0,88	0,84	0,81	0,78	0,76	0,74	0,72	0,71	0,70	0,68	0,68											
	1,92	1,61	1,43	1,31	1,22	1,16	1,11	1,06	1,03	1,00	0,97	0,95	0,93	0,91	0,90	0,89											
18	1,46	1,22	1,08	0,99	0,93	0,87	0,83	0,80	0,78	0,75	0,73	0,72	0,70	0,69	0,68	0,66	0,66										
	1,92	1,61	1,42	1,31	1,21	1,15	1,09	1,05	1,02	0,99	0,96	0,94	0,92	0,90	0,89	0,87	0,86										
19	1,46	1,22	1,08	0,99	0,92	0,87	0,83	0,80	0,77	0,75	0,72	0,71	0,69	0,68	0,67	0,66	0,65	0,64									
	1,91	1,60	1,42	1,30	1,21	1,14	1,09	1,04	1,01	0,98	0,95	0,93	0,91	0,89	0,88	0,86	0,85	0,84									
20	1,45	1,21	1,07	0,98	0,91	0,86	0,82	0,79	0,76	0,74	0,72	0,70	0,68	0,67	0,66	0,65	0,64	0,63	0,62								
	1,91	1,59	1,41	1,29	1,20	1,13	1,08	1,03	1,00	0,97	0,91	0,92	0,90	0,88	0,87	0,85	0,84	0,83	0,81								
25	1,44	1,20	1,06	0,96	0,89	0,84	0,80	0,76	0,73	0,71	0,69	0,67	0,65	0,64	0,63	0,62	0,61	0,60	0,59	0,55							
	1,89	1,57	1,39	1,26	1,17	1,10	1,05	1,00	0,96	0,93	0,90	0,88	0,86	0,84	0,83	0,81	0,80	0,79	0,77	0,73							
30	1,43	1,19	1,04	0,95	0,88	0,82	0,78	0,75	0,72	0,69	0,67	0,65	0,63	0,62	0,61	0,59	0,58	0,58	0,56	0,53	0,50						
	1,88	1,56	1,37	1,24	1,15	1,08	1,02	0,98	0,94	0,91	0,88	0,86	0,83	0,81	0,80	0,78	0,77	0,76	0,74	0,70	0,66						
35	1,43	1,18	1,04	0,94	0,87	0,81	0,77	0,73	0,70	0,68	0,66	0,64	0,62	0,61	0,59	0,58	0,57	0,56	0,55	0,52	0,49	0,47					
	1,87	1,55	1,36	1,23	1,14	1,07	1,01	0,96	0,93	0,89	0,86	0,84	0,81	0,80	0,78	0,77	0,75	0,74	0,72	0,68	0,64	0,62					
40	1,42	1,17	1,03	0,93	0,86	0,80	0,76	0,72	0,70	0,67	0,65	0,63	0,61	0,59	0,58	0,57	0,56	0,55	0,54	0,50	0,47	0,46	0,44				
	1,87	1,54	1,35	1,22	1,13	1,06	1,00	0,95	0,91	0,88	0,85	0,82	0,80	0,78	0,77	0,75	0,73	0,72	0,71	0,66	0,62	0,60	0,58				
45	1,42	1,17	1,02	0,92	0,85	0,80	0,75	0,72	0,68	0,66	0,64	0,62	0,60	0,58	0,57	0,56	0,55	0,54	0,53	0,49	0,46	0,44	0,43	0,41			
	1,86	1,54	1,34	1,21	1,12	1,05	0,99	0,94	0,90	0,87	0,83	0,81	0,79	0,77	0,75	0,73	0,72	0,71	0,69	0,64	0,61	0,58	0,56	0,54			
50	1,41	1,16	1,02	0,92	0,85	0,79	0,75	0,71	0,68	0,65	0,63	0,61	0,59	0,58	0,56	0,55	0,54	0,53	0,52	0,48	0,45	0,43	0,42	0,40	0,39		
	1,86	1,53	1,34	1,21	1,11	1,04	0,98	0,93	0,89	0,86	0,83	0,80	0,78	0,76	0,74	0,72	0,71	0,70	0,68	0,63	0,59	0,57	0,55	0,53	0,52		
75	1,41	1,16	1,01	0,91	0,84	0,78	0,73	0,70	0,66	0,64	0,61	0,59	0,58	0,56	0,55	0,53	0,52	0,51	0,50	0,46	0,43	0,41	0,39	0,38	0,37	0,34	
	1,85	1,52	1,33	1,19	1,10	1,02	0,96	0,91	0,87	0,84	0,81	0,78	0,76	0,74	0,72	0,70	0,69	0,67	0,66	0,61	0,56	0,54	0,52	0,49	0,48	0,45	
100	1,40	1,15	1,00	0,90	0,83	0,77	0,72	0,68	0,65	0,62	0,60	0,58	0,56	0,55	0,53	0,52	0,51	0,49	0,48	0,44	0,41	0,39	0,37	0,35	0,34	0,31	0,23
	1,84	1,51	1,31	1,18	1,08	1,01	0,95	0,90	0,86	0,82	0,79	0,76	0,73	0,72	0,70	0,68	0,67	0,65	0,63	0,58	0,53	0,51	0,48	0,46	0,45	0,41	0,86

APPENDIX B: SUBSTANTIVE SURVEY TABLES

FAMILY INSTITUTIONS

Family Reliance

TABLE I

Distribution over Different Agents of Reliance on Ten Need Variables

VARIABLES	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*
Who would you go to for help if or:	*Kinsman*	*% Kin Reliance*	*Neighbour*	*Friend*	*Co Worker*	*Welfare Inst.*	*Club*	*Other*
1 When it is difficult for you to find school or money for your children's education	39	44,8	1	14	2	8	1	22
2 When you have to find a job for a relative	5	5,7	0	48	5	4	0	25
3 When you are short of money	36	41,4	2	30	7	3	1	8
4 When you need somebody to look after your property when your family is absent	54	62,1	19	8	0	0	0	6
5 When you cannot pay your rent	33	37,9	2	18	5	2	0	27
6 When you cannot pay a fine	50	57,5	2	19	1	1	1	13
7 When you are unemployed	50	57,5	0	11	0	17	0	9
8 When you cannot provide for your family due to sickness	50	57.5	1	4	1	13	1	17
9 When you want to borrow money for a particular purpose or to buy a particular article	25	28,7	4	27	6	1	2	22
10 When you are unexpectedly struck by calamity	56	64,4	2	5	1	2	2	19
$\bar{X}$ percentage reliance		45,5	3,8	21,1	3,2	5,9	0,9	19,3

n = 87

TABLE 1a

Distribution over Kin and 'Other' Agents of Reliance on Ten Need Variables

Variable*	Total Response				Males				Females			
	Kin		Other		Kin		Other		Kin		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	39	44,8	48	55,2	30	45,5	36	54,5	9	42,9	12	57,1
**2	5	5,7	82	94,3	1	1,5	65	98,5	4	19,0	17	81,0
3	36	41,4	51	58,6	25	37,9	41	62,1	11	52,4	10	47,6
4	54	62,1	33	37,9	34	51,5	32	48,5	11	52,4	10	47,6
5	33	37,9	54	62,1	23	34,8	43	65,2	10	47,6	11	52,4
6	50	57,5	37	42,5	37	56,1	29	43,9	13	61,9	8	38,1
7	50	57,5	37	42,5	37	56,1	29	43,9	13	61,9	8	38,1
8	50	57,5	37	42,5	35	53,0	31	47,0	15	71,4	6	28,6
9	25	28,7	62	71,3	17	25,8	49	74,2	8	38,1	13	61,9
10	56	64,4	31	35,6	40	60,6	26	39,4	16	76,4	5	23,8
$\bar{X}$ percentage ..		45,5		54,3		42,3		57,7		52,4		47,6

* See Table I.
** Response of males and females is significantly different at the 1 per cent level.

Should people in town still pay Roora?

TABLE II

Response	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	81	93,1	60	90,9	21	100,0
No	4	4,6	4	6,0	—	—
Don't know ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

77 respondents (88,5%) cited custom (self-evidently) as the reason for continuing Roora practices.

TABLE III

Will you demand Roora for your Daughters?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Yes	85	97,7	64	97,0	21	100,0
No	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Don't know ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE IIIa

Amount of money stipulated as the Requirement for Roora payment for Daughters

R$	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	*N**	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
20– 99	19	25,3	17	29,3	2	11,8
100–199	32	42,7	23	39,7	9	52,9
200+	24	32,0	18	31,0	6	35,3
Total	75	100,0	58	100,0	17	100,0

* N excludes respondents who stated that "payments were not a woman's duty", who responded "No" and those who failed to stipulate any amount.

TABLE IIIb

Qualifications affecting the Requirement for Roora payment for Daughters

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
No qualification	44	50,6	35	53,0	9	42,9
Education ..	27	31,0	20	30,3	7	33,3
Character.. ..	8	9,2	7	10,6	1	4,8
No Response ..	8	9,2	4	6,0	4	19,0
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

Elementary Family Relationships

TABLE IV

Which is better, a Wife from Town or a Wife from 'Home'?

Preference	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Rural Area (home)	43	49,4	36	54,5	7	33,3
Either	36	41,4	26	39,4	10	47,6
Town	6	6,9	3	4,5	3	14,3
Don't know ..	2	2,3	1	1,5	1	4,8
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

TABLE IVa

Reasons given for preference of a Wife by Origin

Preference for Wife from:		*Reasons given for preference*				
		Traditional behaviour	*Love*	*Modern behaviour*	*Other behaviour*	*Similar behaviour*
Rural Area	43	43				
Either	36		24		12	
Town	6			6		
Don't know	2					2
	87					87

TABLE V

Do Men in Town have the same Authority over the Family as they do at Home?

Judgement of Authority	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Same authority in town or rural area	45	51,7	34	51,5	11	52,4
Less authority in town	30	34,5	21	31,8	9	42,9
More authority in the rural area ..	12	13,8	11	16,7	1	4,8
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE VI

Do Children in Town learn all the Customs?

Response	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
No	62	71,3	47	71,2	15	71,4
Yes	9	10,3	6	9,1	3	14,3
Some children	14	16,1	12	18,2	2	9,5
Don't know	2	2,3	1	1,5	1	4,8
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE VIa

Reasons advanced for Children's Lack of Customary Behaviour or otherwise

	Reasons	*N*	%
NO	Children consider customs old fashioned	17	27,4
	They have no time to learn the customs	6	9,7
	No respect for elders	5	8,1
	Parents themselves don't know the customs	8	12,9
	The children want to follow the Western culture	8	12,9
	Some parents don't teach their children the customs	5	8,1
	Influenced by many things	3	4,8
	Hate everything traditional	2	3,2
	Some customs cannot be practised in town	2	3,2
	Other	4	6,5
	No comment	2	3,2
Total		62	100,0
YES	Some eildren do not follow what they are taught	6	66,7
	Some parents teach children—others don't	2	22,2
	Most do follow the customs	1	11,1
Total		9	100,0
Some Children	Some parents don't teach their children the customs	13	92,9
	Some children don't follow what they are taught	1	7,1
Total		14	100,0

TABLE VII

At what Age should Young People be Earning Money and be Self-Supporting?

Age	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Less than 20 years	19	21,9	15	22,7	4	19,0
20 - 21 years ..	29	33,3	18	27,3	11	52,4
22 - 25 years ..	27	31,0	23	34,8	4	19,0
Over 25 years ..	6	6,9	4	6,1	2	9,5
Other	5	5,7	5	7,6	—	—
Don't know ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	99,9	66	100,0	21	99,9

TABLE VIIa

Reasons advanced for the various stages by which Young People ought to be Earning Money and be Self-Supporting

Reasons	*Less than 20 years*	*20 - 21 years*	*22 - 25 years*	*Over 25 years*	*Other*	*Total* *N*	*Total* %
Young are mature at this age	10	26	25	6	2	69	80,2
Able to support themselves at this age	3	1	2	—	3	9	10,5
They should be allowed to work	3	2	—	—	—	5	5,8
Other	3	—	—	—	—	3	3,5
						86	100,0

TABLE VIII

If you Educate your Son what will you expect from him in return?

Expectation	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
To Reciprocate support	48	55,2	36	54,5	12	57,1
Nothing	38	43,7	29	44,0	9	42,9
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE IX

Do all or most or only a few Educated Sons help their Families these days?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Few	56	64,4	43	65,2	13	61,9
Most	28	32,2	21	31,8	7	33,3
Don't know ..	2	2,3	1	1,5	1	4,8
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

Orientation to Rural Homestead

TABLE X

Will you ever Return to the Rural Area (Home) Permanently?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Yes	57	65,5	43	65,2	14	66,7
No	27	31,0	20	30,3	7	33,3
Don't know	3	3,4	3	4,5	—	—
Total	87	99,9	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE Xa

Reasons advanced for Intention of Returning to Rural Estate

Reasons	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	*N**	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Land and security at home	45	75,0	34	73,9	11	78,6
Easy life at home	7	11,7	4	8,7	3	21,4
Preference for living with kin ..	5	8,3	5	10,9	—	—
Uncertain future in town	3	5,0	3	6,5	—	—
Total	60	100,0	46	100,0	14	100,0

*N includes 2 Don't know from table X

Extended Family Relationships

TABLE XI

When should Relations in Town Help those in the Country?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
At all times ..	49	56,3	41	62,1	8	38,1
In emergency ..	22	25,3	11	16,7	11	52,4
When financially able	8	9,2	6	9,1	2	9,5
With ploughing ..	5	5,7	5	7,6	—	—
Never	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Don't know	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XII

If you Live in Town it is Better to Live With or Near Relatives?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Far away from relatives	43	49,4	28	42,4	15	71,4
*Near relatives ..	42	48,3	36	54,5	6	28,6
Don't care	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

* Response by males and females significantly different at the 5 per cent level.

TABLE XIII

Do People Maintain all Traditional Kinship Obligation in Town?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
No	61	70,1	44	66,7	17	81,0
Yes	24	27,6	20	30,3	4	19,0
Don't know	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
No response	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	99,9	66	100,0	21	100,0

LIFE GOALS AND STYLES

General Aspirations

TABLE XIV

Are People Happier in Town than in the Country?

People are happier in:	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Rural Area	44	50,6	37	56,1	7	33,3
Town	30	34,5	17	25,8	13	61,9
Both	11	12,6	10	15,2	1	4,8
Neither	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Don't know	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XIVa

Reasons advanced for Town or Rural Area Response on Happiness

People Happier	*N*	*Reasons*	*N*	%
Rural Area	44	Free Living	20	27,0
		No restrictions	16	21,6
		Other	8	10,8
Town	30	Entertainment and money	23	31,1
		Satisfaction of wants	5	6,8
		Less work	2	2,7
Total	74		74	100,0

TABLE XV

What do you Want to Achieve in Life?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
To educate children	25	28,7	15	22,7	10	47,6
Traditional bias	22	25,3	18	27,3	4	19,0
Economic prosperity	19	21,8	17	25,8	2	9,5
*Farming	5	5,7	4	6,0	1	4,8
Self education ..	5	5,7	2	3,0	3	14,3
Other	10	11,5	9	13,6	1	4,8
Don't know ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

* The category 'farming' refers to buying a farm.
It is statistically significant that respondents do not choose traditional ends as life achievements.
There is no significant difference between males and females in this respect.

TABLE XVI

Until What Age should one Work?

Years	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
40 - 49	5	5,7	3	4,5	2	9,5
50 - 59	15	17,2	12	18,2	3	14,3
60 - 69	44	50,6	38	57,6	6	28,6
70 and over	17	19,5	10	15,2	7	33,3
Don't know	6	6,9	3	4,5	3	14,3
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XVII

Preference for Cattle or Pension on Retirement

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Cattle	59	67,8	44	66,7	15	71,4
Pension	28	32,2	22	33,3	6	28,6
Total	87	100,0	66	100,I	21	100,0

TABLE XVIIa

Reasons advanced for Preference of Cattle or Pension on Retirement

Preference	*Reasons*	*N*	%
Cattle	Increase rapidly and naturally	21	24,1
	Good investment	19	21,8
	Little waste with cattle	15	17,2
	Provides continuity	5	5,7
*Pension	Bears interest	17	19,5
	Cattle useless in town	7	8,0
	Cattle die	3	3,4
	Total	87	99,7

* One illogical response.

TABLE XVIII

Can Older People Change their Ways in Town?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
No	48	55,2	35	53,0	13	61,9
Yes	36	41,4	28	42,4	8	38,1
Don't know ..	3	3,4	3	4,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

Standards of Living

TABLE XIX

Are you Satisfied with your Standard of Living?

Response	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
No	75	86,2	60	90,9	15	71,4
Yes	11	12,6	5	7,6	6	28,6
Don't know	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XIXa

Reasons advanced for Dissatisfaction at Standard of Living

Reasons	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Low wages and lack of money ..	59	78,7	44	73,3	15	100,0
General privation	11	14,7	11	18,3	—	—
Traditional bias	5	6,7	5	8,3	—	—
Total	75	100,1	60	99,9	15	100,0

TABLE XX

If you had More Money would you Change your Way of Living in Town?

Response	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
*Yes	60	69,0	45	68,2	15	71,4
No	26	29,9	20	30,3	6	28,6
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

* 42 of the 60 respondents mentioned either a bigger, better or owned house in their response.

Aspirations for Children

TABLE XXI

Do you want your Children to have a Different Life from your Own?

Response	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Yes	83	95,4	64	97,0	19	90,5
No	4	4,6	2	3,0	2	9,5
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XXIa

Enumeration of the Manner in which Children should have a Different Life from Parents

More	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	*N**	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Education	71	53,4	57	55,3	14	46,7
Jobs and wages ..	42	31,6	28	27,2	14	46,7
Other	20	15,0	18	17,5	2	6,7
Total	133	100,0	103	100,0	30	100,0

* Enumeration of total response from $N = 83$

TABLE XXII

Reasons advanced for the Necessity to Educate Children Today

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Provides knowledge and skill	43	49,4	35	53,0	8	38,1
Increases job opportunity ..	24	27,6	19	28,7	5	23,8
Security	20	23,0	12	18,2	8	38,1
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

TABLE XXIII

Is it Necessary to give Girls as Good an Education as Boys?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Yes	72	82,8	55	88,3	17	81,0
No	14	16,1	10	15,2	4	19,0
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XXIV

What is the Best Job in Town?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Professional ..	39	44,8	31	47,0	8	38,1
White-collar ..	21	24,1	13	19,7	8	38,1
Well paying ..	19	21,8	16	24,2	3	14,3
Other	5	5,7	4	6,0	1	4,8
Don't know ..	3	3,4	2	3,0	1	4,8
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,1

TABLE XXIa

Enumeration of the Manner in which Children should have a Different Life from Parents

More	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	*N**	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Education	71	53,4	57	55,3	14	46,7
Jobs and wages ..	42	31,6	28	27,2	14	46,7
Other	20	15,0	18	17,5	2	6,7
Total	133	100,0	103	100,0	30	100,0

* Enumeration of total response from $N = 83$

TABLE XXII

Reasons advanced for the Necessity to Educate Children Today

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Provides knowledge and skill	43	49,4	35	53,0	8	38,1
Increases job opportunity ..	24	27,6	19	28,7	5	23,8
Security	20	23,0	12	18,2	8	38,1
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

TABLE XXIII

Is it Necessary to give Girls as Good an Education as Boys?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Yes	72	82,8	55	88,3	17	81,0
No	14	16,1	10	15,2	4	19,0
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XXIV

What is the Best Job in Town?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Professional ..	39	44,8	31	47,0	8	38,1
White-collar ..	21	24,1	13	19,7	8	38,1
Well paying ..	19	21,8	16	24,2	3	14,3
Other	5	5,7	4	6,0	1	4,8
Don't know ..	3	3,4	2	3,0	1	4,8
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,1

TABLE XXIVa

Reasons advanced for the response to Stating the 'Best Job in Town'

Reasons	*N*	%
High salary	33	37,9
Security	20	23,0
Prestige	13	14,9
Humanitarian	12	13,8
Other	6	6,9
Don't know	3	3,4
Total	87	99,9

TABLE XXV

What Type of Job will your Children get?

Job	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Professional	68	78,2	55	83,3	13	61,9
White-collar	7	8,0	2	3,0	5	23,8
Well paying	6	6,9	3	4,5	3	14,3
Other	4	4,6	4	6,0	—	—
Don't know	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,8	21	100,0

TABLE XXVa

Reasons advanced for the response to Stating the Type of Job Children would get

Reasons	*N*	%
Security	28	32,2
Humanitarian	20	23,0
Prestige	18	20,7
High salary	16	18,4
Other	4	4,6
Don't know	1	1,1
Total	87	100,0

TABLE XXVI

Have Younger People Changed their Ways in Town?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Yes	85	97,7	64	97,0	21	100,0
Don't know	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
No response	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	99,9	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XXVIa

How have Young People Changed?

*Changes	N	% out of 85
Customs and behaviour	68	80,0
In dress	44	51,8
Westernized	30	35,3
Language	19	22,4
Total	161	

* These changes represent the more prominent changes mentioned by the respondents in the total sample.

TABLE XXVIb

Is this Change in the Young a Good Thing?

Judgement of change	N	%
No	62	72,9
Yes	10	11,8
Undecided	12	14,1
Don't know	1	1,2
Total	85	100,0

MEDIA PARTICIPATION

Media Consciousness

TABLE XXVII

Frequency with which Films have been Seen*

Films seen	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Many films ..	53	60,9	42	63,6	11	52,4
Few films	24	27,6	17	25,8	7	33,3
Once	3	3,4	3	4,5	—	—
Never	7	8,0	4	6,1	3	14,3
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

* 41 different films featured in the total response to description of films seen.

TABLE XXVIII

Frequency with which Newspapers are Read

*Newspapers**	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Daily	23	26,4	22	33,3	1	4,8
Twice a week ..	12	13,8	9	13,6	3	14,3
Once a week ..	4	4,6	4	6,0	—	—
Irregularly	10	11,5	9	13,6	1	4,8
When bought ..	2	2,3	1	1,5	1	4,8
Scarcely ever and never	36	41,4	21	31,8	15	71,4
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

N= 87

* All respondents mentioned Rhodesia Herald among few other newspapers as the one read.

TABLE XXIX

Most Popular Radio Programmes

Sixty-five (74,7%) respondents had access to a radio in the place where they lived.

Popular Programmes	**Number of responses*	*% out of 65*
Music	50	76,9
News	29	44,6
Stories	18	27,7
Women's programmes	11	16,9
Total	108	

* Enumeration of responses from 65 respondents.

Thirty-four (39,1%) respondents had access to magazines or periodicals in the place where they lived. Of the 23 magazines names by respondents, 'Parade' was the most popular.

TABLE XXX

Can you Believe What is Written in Newspapers or what is Said over the Radio?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Yes	14	16,1	12	18,2	2	9,5
No	17	19,5	14	21,2	3	14,3
Not everything	51	58,6	38	57,6	13	61,9
Don't know	5	5,7	2	3,0	3	14,3
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XXXI

Have you ever Heard of the United Nations?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Yes	70	80,5	56	84,8	14	66,7
No	16	18,4	9	13,6	7	33,3
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

TABLE XXXIa

Definitions of United Nations Advanced on request from respondent

Definitions	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Correct definition	25	35,7	25	44,6	—	—
*Don't know ..	26	37,1	14	25,0	12	85,7
Incorrect definition	11	15,7	10	17,9	1	7,1
Partially correct	8	11,5	7	12,5	1	7,1
Total	70	100,0	56	100,0	14	99,9

* Response of males and females significantly different at the 1 per cent level.

TABLE XXXII

How would you Send Money to Someone Far Away?

Through	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Post Office ..	78	89,7	60	90,9	18	85,7
Bank	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Other	7	8,0	4	6,0	3	14,3
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

Empathy

TABLE XXXIII

Should people be allowed to Vote for their Representatives in Government, or should the Representatives be Appointed by other Important People?

Choice	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Vote	68	78,2	52	78,8	16	76,2
*Appointment ..	9	10,3	7	10,6	2	9,5
Don't know ..	7	8,0	4	6,0	3	14,3
No response ..	3	3,4	3	4,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

* Of the 9 respondents who preferred government representatives to be appointed, 8 thought that representation ought to be the responsibility of important people.

TABLE XXXIIIa

Reasons Advanced for Preference to Vote for Government Representatives

Reasons	*N*	%
Democratic	40	58,8
Concerning representation	21	30,9
Other	7	10,3
Total	68	100,0

TABLE XXXIV

If You Could not live in Rhodesia? Where would you live?

Choice of Residence	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
African ruled States	21	24,1	16	24,2	5	23,8
England	7	8,0	4	6,0	3	14,3
America	9	10,3	7	10,6	2	9,5
Canada	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
South Africa	4	4,6	2	3,0	2	9,5
Mozambique	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
* Outside Rhodesia	45	51,6	33	50,0	12	57,1
Cannot leave	38	43,7	30	45,5	8	38,1
Don't know	3	3,4	2	3,0	1	4,8
No response	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,8	21	100,0

* Comprises the first six rows

TABLE XXXV

What Things would you have Changed if you were ever to become Prime Minister of Rhodesia?

Changes	*N*	% *out of* 87
Discrimination	44	50,6
Wages	35	40,2
Police Raids	30	34,5
Land Tenure	27	31,0
Accommodation	25	28,7
Education system	24	27,6
Employment	20	23,0
Welfare	15	17,2
Political (specific issues)	14	16,1
Rural Orientation	14	16,1
Tax	12	13,8
Dress	5	5,7
Other	6	6,9
Don't know	10	11,5
No response	3	3,4
Total	284	

TABLE XXXVa*

What Things would you have Changed if you were ever to become Prime Minister of Rhodesia

Changes	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Discrimination ..	44	15,5	43	19,8	1	1,5
Wages	35	12,3	26	12,0	9	13,4
Police raids ..	30	10,6	20	9,2	10	14,9
Land Tenure ..	27	9,5	25	11,5	2	3,0
Accommodation	25	8,8	18	8,3	7	10,4
Education system	24	8,5	14	6,5	10	14,9
Employment ..	20	7,0	13	6,0	7	10,4
Welfare	15	5,3	10	4,6	5	7,5
Political	14	4,9	10	4,6	4	6,0
Rural Orientation	14	4,9	13	6,0	1	1,5
Tax	12	4,2	8	3,7	4	6,0
Dress	5	1,8	2	0,9	3	4,5
Other	6	2,1	3	1,4	3	4,5
Don't know ..	10	3,5	9	4,1	1	1,5
No response ..	3	1,0	3	1,4	—	—
Total	284	99,9	217	100,0	67	100,0

* Total responses recorded for $N = 87$.

TABLE XXXVI

Are Education Facilities Adequate in Highfield?

Response	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
*No	75	86,2	56	84,8	19	90,5
Yes	3	3,4	3	4,5	—	—
Don't know	8	9,2	6	9,1	2	9,5
No response	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	99,9	66	99,9	21	100,0

* 49 respondents suggested that more secondary schools were needed.

FORMS OF FORMAL SOCIAL CONTROL

Politics

TABLE XXXVII*

What Sort of Party would you Like to See in Power? (Institutional African, Moderate Multiracial, African Nationalist, European Conservative)

Type of Party	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Moderate Multiracial	35	40,2	23	34,8	12	57,1
African Nationalist	29	33,3	23	34,8	6	28,6
European Conservative	7	8,0	6	9,1	1	4,8
**Majority of all Races	6	6,9	6	9,1	—	—
Don't Know	10	11,5	8	12,1	2	9,5
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

* This table represents attitudes before the May 1970 National election. It is interesting to note that not one respondent took up the option of 'Institutional African' party (then represented by N.P.U.) in considering the four options supplied in the interview.

** Majority of all races represents an extra response to the question posed.

TABLE XXXVIII

Who Represents African Political Opinion?

Type of party or representative	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Institutional African	5	5,7	5	7,6	—	—
African Nationalists	4	4,6	4	6,0	—	—
Chiefs	3	3,4	2	3,0	1	4,8
Moderate multi-racial	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
European Conservative	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Nobody	48	55,2	40	60,6	8	38,1
Don't know	25	28,7	13	19,7	12	57,1
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

TABLE XXXIX

Do you take an Active Part in Politics?

Response	*Total*		*Males* +		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
*Yes	23	26,4	17	25,8	6	28,6
No	62	71,3	47	71,2	15	71,4
No Response ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

* The affirmative response above refers more to willingness to accept office and participate in political activities than actual participation.

TABLE XL

Do you Discuss Political Issues with your Friends?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Yes	58	66,7	44	66,7	14	66,7
No	27	31,1	20	30,3	7	33,3
No Response . .	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,8	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XLa

Which Political Issues do you Discuss with your Friends?

Political Issues	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Educ., Employ., Accommodation, Police Raids	28	32,2	16	24,2	12	57,1
Rhodesian Constitution . .	24	27,6	23	34,8	1	4,8
Land Tenure . .	5	5,7	4	6,0	1	4,8
No Response . .	30	34,5	23	34,8	7	33,3
Total	87	100,0	66	99,8	21	100,0

TABLE XLI

What Sort of People are Most Active in Politics?

Type of Person	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Young and Educated	58	66,7	45	68,2	13	61,9
People with understanding ..	13	14,9	8	12,1	5	23,8
Uneducated ..	2	2,3	1	1,5	1	4,8
Businessmen ..	2	2,3	1	1,5	1	4,8
Europeans	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Don't know ..	8	9,2	7	10,6	1	4,8
No response ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

TABLE XLIa

Reasons Advanced for the Type of Person being Active in Politics

Reason	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Understanding ..	73	83,9	55	83,3	18	85,7
Have Money ..	2	2,3	1	1,5	1	4,8
Nothing to Lose	2	2,3	1	1,5	1	4,8
No Response ..	10	11,5	9	13,6	1	4,8
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

TABLE XLII

Do You Belong to a Trade Union?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Yes	5	5,7	5	7,6	—	—
No	80	92,0	59	89,4	21	100,0
No Response ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XLIII

What is the Aim of a Trade Union?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
*Know	45	51,7	42	63,6	3	14,3
Don't know ..	40	46,0	22	33,3	18	85,7
No Response ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

* Response of males and females significantly different at 1 percent level.

Courts

TABLE XLIV

Which Court Authority do you Prefer? (Tribal, D.C., Magistrate, High Court)

Court	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Tribal	15	17,2	10	15,2	5	23,8
D.C.	23	26,4	15	22,7	8	38,1
Magistrate	19	21,8	16	24,2	3	14,3
High Court	15	17,2	11	16,7	4	19,0
No Preference ..	13	14,9	12	18,2	1	4,8
No Response ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XLIVa

Reasons advanced for General Preference for Courts

Preference	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Tribal is leninent and traditional ..	15	17,2	10	15,2	5	23,8
D.C. Lenient, obeyed, fair knows customs ..	23	26,4	15	22,7	8	38,1
Magistrate fair and competent ..	19	21,8	16	24,2	3	14,3
H.C. top authority and just	15	17,2	11	16,7	4	19,0
Not familiar with courts	13	14,9	12	18,2	1	4,8
No response ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XLV

To Which Court would you take a Dispute over Roora

Court	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
D.C.	52	59,8	37	56,1	15	71,4
Tribal	29	33,3	24	36,3	5	23,8
Magistrate	4	4,6	3	4,5	1	4,8
Don't know ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

TABLE XLVa

To Which Court would you take an Assault?

Court	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Tribal	8	9,2	5	7,6	3	14,3
D.C.	3	3,4	1	1,5	2	9,5
Magistrate	66	75,9	52	78,8	14	66,7
High Court	7	8,0	5	7,6	2	9,5
Don't know ..	3	3,4	3	4,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XLVb

To Which Court would you take a Claim for Debt?

Court	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Tribal	10	11,5	3	4,5	7	33,3
* D.C.	45	51,7	40	60,6	5	23,8
Magistrate	24	27,6	18	27,3	6	28,6
High Court	4	4,6	2	3,0	2	9,5
No preference ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Don't know ..	2	2,3	1	1,5	1	4,8
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

* Response of males and females significantly different at the 1% level.

TABLE XLVI

At Which Court would you get the Most Favourable Judgement in a Civil Case if you were the Offended Party?

Court	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Tribal	24	27,6	16	24,2	8	38,1
D.C.	28	32,2	22	33,3	6	28,6
Magistrate	21	24,1	16	24,2	5	23,8
High Court	10	11,5	9	13,6	1	4,8
No Response ..	4	4,6	3	4,5	1	4,8
Total	87	100,0	66	99,8	21	100,0

TABLE XLVIa

At Which Court would you get the Most Favourable Judgement in a Civil Case if you were the Offender?

Court	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Tribal	25	28,7	18	27,3	7	33,3
D.C.	23	26,4	19	28,7	4	19,0
Magistrate	14	16,1	9	13,6	5	23,8
High Court	9	10,3	7	10,6	2	9,5
Don't know ..	8	9,2	5	7,6	3	14,3
No response ..	8	9,2	8	12,1	—	—
Total	87	100.0	66	99,9	21	99,9

TABLE XLVII

At Which Court would you get the Most Favourable Judgement in a Criminal Case if you were Laying the Charge?

Court	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Tribal	2	2,3	1	1,5	1	4,8
D.C.	4	4,6	2	3,0	2	9,5
Magistrate	59	67,8	44	66,7	15	71,4
High Court	17	19,5	14	21,2	3	14,3
Don't care	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Don't know ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
No response ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XLVIIa

At Which Court would you get the Most Favourable Judgement in a Criminal Case if you were the Accused?

Court	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Tribal	4	4,6	2	3,0	2	9,5
D.C.	6	6,9	4	6,0	2	9,5
Magistrate	44	50,6	32	48,5	12	57,1
High Court	19	21,8	15	22,7	4	19,0
Don't Care	11	12,6	10	15,2	1	4,8
Don't know ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
No Response ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,1

Settlement of Grievances

TABLE XLVIII

In the Case of Serious Grievance, Who would you Consult: if the Grievance is within the Family?

Response	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Senior Relative ..	36	41,4	25	37,9	11	52,4
Relative	12	13,8	10	15,2	2	9,5
Parents	21	24,1	15	22,7	6	28,6
In-laws	6	6,9	6	9,1	—	—
Church leaders ..	4	4,6	4	6,1	—	—
U.C.	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Family Council ..	1	1,1	—	—	1	4,8
Other	2	2,3	1	1,5	1	4,8
No-one	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	99,9	66	100,0	21	100,1

TABLE XLVIIIa

In the Case of a Serious Grievance, Who would you Consult: if the Grievance is within the Neighbourhood?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Town Manager ..	40	46,0	29	43,9	11	52,4
Police	20	23,0	16	24,2	4	19,0
Settle it ourselves	7	8,0	5	7,6	2	9,5
Relatives	7	8,0	5	7,6	2	9,5
Neighbour ..	4	4,6	4	6,1	—	—
Magistrate	3	3,4	2	3,0	1	4,8
Other	5	5,7	4	6,1	1	4,8
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	99,8	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XLVIIIb

In the Case of a Serious Grievance, Who would you Consult: if the Grievance is at Work with a Co-worker?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Employer	32	36,8	21	31,8	11	52,4
Foreman	25	28,7	18	27,3	7	33,3
Manager	13	14,9	11	16,7	2	9,5
Authority	5	5,7	5	7,6	—	—
Settle ourselves ..	6	6,9	5	7,6	1	4,8
Police	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
No-one	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Other	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	99,8	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE XLVIIIc

In the Case of a Serious Grievance, Who would you Consult: if the Grievance is at work with Authority?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Labour Office ..	21	24,1	20	30,3	1	4,8
Manager	8	9,2	8	12,1	—	—
Higher Authority	12	13,8	7	10,6	5	23,8
Magistrate	10	11,5	7	10,6	3	14,2
Police	9	10,3	4	6,1	5	23,8
Trade Union ..	4	4,6	4	6,1	—	—
D.C.	5	5,7	2	3,0	3	14,2
Leave job	3	3,4	1	1,5	2	9,5
No-one	8	9,2	7	10,6	1	4,8
Other	6	6,9	5	7,6	1	4,8
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	99,8	66	100,0	21	99,9

Community Control

TABLE XLIX

Which Formal Body has the most Authority in Highfield, the Police or the Town Management?

Formal Body	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
*Town Management	63	72,4	46	69,7	17	81,0
**Police	22	25,3	18	27,3	4	19,0
Don't know ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

* The 63 respondents choosing the Town Management stated that the management owned Highfield.

** Police raids account for the attitude of some residents that the Police are in authority in the township.

TABLE L

Does the Town Manager have as much Authority in Highfield as the D.C. has in the Rural Area?

Authority	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Town Manager more authority ..	8	9,2	4	6,0	4	19,0
D.C. more authority	25	28,7	18	27,3	7	33,3
Equal authority ..	49	56,3	41	62,1	8	38,1
Don't know ..	4	4,6	2	3,0	2	9,5
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	99,9

TABLE La

Reasons Advanced for Comparative or Differential Authority of the Town Manager and a D.C. in their own Spheres

Authority	*N*	*Reasons*	*N*	%
Equal	49	Both "Bosses"	49	56,3
D.C. more authority	25	D.C. tries cases	13	14,9
		Greater area to control ..	12	13,8
Town Manager more authority	8	Has more work	8	9,2
Don't know and No response ..	5		5	5,7
	87	Total	87	99,9

TABLE LI

What kind of Person would you like to see Elected to a Representative Community Body?* (Tribal Elder, Church leader, Teacher, Businessman, Someone like Yourself)

Kind of Person	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Ordinary residents	26	29,9	20	30,3	6	28,6
Church leaders ..	25	28,7	20	30,3	5	23,8
Able residents ..	7	8,0	7	10,6	—	—
Teacher	7	8,0	4	6,0	3	14,3
Businessman ..	6	6,9	3	4,5	3	14,3
Teacher or Church Leader ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Tribal Leader ..	4	4,6	2	3,0	2	9,5
Teacher or Businessman ..	1	1,1	—	—	1	4,8
No faith in commun. bodies ..	3	3,4	3	4,5	—	—
Don't know ..	3	3,4	2	3,0	1	4,8
No response ..	3	3,4	3	4,5	—	—
Total	87	99,7	66	99,7	21	100,1

* Representative Community Body unspecified.

TABLE LII

Who are the Most Influential People in the Township?

Influential People	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Church Leaders . .	18	20,7	15	22,7	3	14,3
Businessmen . .	19	21,8	13	19,7	6	28,6
Ordinary People	18	20,7	13	19,7	5	23,8
Teachers	9	10,3	7	10,6	2	9,5
Able residents . .	4	4,6	4	6,0	—	—
Teachers, Church Leaders	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Church leaders and Businessmen . .	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Tribal Leaders . .	1	1,1	—	—	1	4,8
Educated people	3	3,4	3	4,5	—	—
Don't know . .	11	12,6	7	10,6	4	19,0
No response . .	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,8	21	100,0

TABLE LIII

What makes One Person More Powerful than Others? (Education, Money, Friends, Relations etc.)

Personal Attributes	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Ability	28	32,2	23	34,8	5	23,8
Education	17	19,5	11	16,7	6	28,6
Money	11	12,6	8	12,1	3	14,3
Education and money	10	11,5	6	9,1	4	19,0
Education and Ability	5	5,7	4	6,1	1	4,8
Education and Friends	5	5,7	4	6,1	1	4,8
Personality	4	4,6	4	6,1	—	—
Other	5	5,7	4	6,1	1	4,8
Don't know ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,1

TABLE LIV

Do you Know what "Community Development" Means?

Response	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
*No	57	65,5	38	57,6	19	90,5
Yes	29	33,3	27	40,9	2	9,5
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	99,9	66	100,0	21	100.0

* Response of males and females is significantly different at the 1 per cent. level.

TABLE LV

If a Community Development* Scheme was Established, Who should be in Charge?

Response	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
**Residents ..	54	62,1	37	56,1	17	81,0
Specialised Ability	14	16,1	13	19,7	1	4,8
Government ..	11	12,6	9	13,6	2	9,5
Chief	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Don't know ..	5	5,7	4	6,0	1	4,8
No response ..	2	2,3	2	3,0	—	—
Total	87	99,9	66	99,9	21	100,1

* Community Development was specified and defined for respondents.

** Response of males and females is significantly different at the 1 per cent. level.

Role of Chiefs

TABLE LVI

Do the Chiefs have Authority over People Living in the Township?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
No	65	74,7	49	74,2	16	76,2
Yes	16	18,4	13	19,7	3	14,3
Very little	3	3,4	2	3,0	1	4,8
Don't know	2	2,3	1	1,5	1	4,8
No response	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

TABLE LVII

Should Chiefs have Authority in Townships?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
No	65	74,7	49	74,2	16	76,2
Yes	14	16,1	10	15,2	4	19,0
Don't know	4	4,6	3	4,5	1	4,8
No response	4	4,6	4	6,0	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	99,9	21	100,0

TABLE LVIIa

Reasons Advanced for Chiefs not to have Authority in the Townships

Reasons	*N*	%
Chiefs would interfere	35	53,9
Chiefs are ignorant	22	33,8
Chiefs are old fashioned	8	12,3
Total	65	100,0

TABLE LVIII

Should the Chiefs have the Right to Allocate Land?

Response	*Total*		*Males*		*Females*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
*Yes	71	81,6	53	80,3	18	85,7
No	12	13,8	11	16,7	1	4,8
Don't know	3	3,4	1	1,5	2	9,5
No response	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

* All 71 respondents felt that the role of allocating land was a chief's duty.

TABLE LIX

Should the Tribal Courts be given more Power?

Response	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
*No	45	51,7	40	60,6	5	23,8
Yes	30	34,5	18	27,3	12	57,1
Don't know ..	11	12,6	7	10,6	4	19,0
No response ..	1	1,1	1	1,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	99,9

* Response of males and females significantly different at the 1 per cent. level.

TABLE LX

Should the Chiefs or Tribal Elders be Represented in Government?

Response	Total		Males		Females	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Yes	61	70,1	47	71,2	14	66,7
No	13	14,9	11	16,7	2	9,5
Don't know ..	10	11,5	5	7,6	5	23,8
No response ..	3	3,4	3	4,5	—	—
Total	87	100,0	66	100,0	21	100,0

TABLE LXa

Reasons Advanced Why Chiefs and Tribal Elders should be Represented in Government

Reasons	*N*	%
*Represented by educated Africans	25	41,0
Their interested should be represented	21	34,4
They should be informed	15	24,6
	61	100.0

* This question, see table title above, elicited a reply which would be more appropriate to the question "Who should represent chiefs and tribal elders in Government?" It appears that while people feel that chiefs have a role in the rural area, they are not necessarily thought competent at a modern political level.

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