

Henderson Page 32

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THE UNDERDEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES FOR URBAN AFRICANS IN
RHODESIA, 1929-1953, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOCIAL SECURITY

by

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Introduction

In every human society, men have set up institutions to protect the individual against social risks the consequences of which he is no longer able to face alone. And at all times, all over the world, there have been the sick, the mentally and physically handicapped, the aged and the young unable to work to maintain themselves.

Definitions of social welfare differ widely from one country to another both in theory and practice. Any definition is therefore arbitrary and open to criticism. There have been two definitions that have appeared with the greatest frequency.

The first sees social welfare as a group of activities devoted to the improvement of the living conditions of individual families and groups in society. The flaw in this is that these activities are not taken to include either health services or education. The second definition embraces in the category of social welfare services everything affecting a population's well being, without any limitation on the sectors of activity considered: income security, housing, education, leisure, and culture. The latter, however, tends to view social welfare as a means of aiding 'marginal' members of society. (Schaefer, 1975: 138).

By far the most plausible definition is that proposed by a Commission which reported on the Role of Social Welfare in Economic and Social Development at the International Conference on Social Welfare held in Nairobi in July 1974:

The term 'social welfare' is used to include the range of policies and services designed to bring about life acceptable to individuals, groups and communities sometimes thought of collectively as the 'social aspects of development' and including policies and services designed to strengthen individuals, groups and countries confronted with economic, physical, mental, social disabilities, together with those aimed at influencing the remedy of conditions leading to dependency. (Commission I, 1975: 317).

Social Welfare in Africa has passed through three stages: the pre-colonial stage, the colonial stage and the independence stage. These stages are not however, exclusive but overlap considerably because of the

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differential rates of change between urban centres and rural areas [Shawky, 1974: 44]

In the traditional stage or pre-colonial stage, the responsibility for all services for its members whether economic or social was borne by the extended family, which in itself constituted a social security scheme. Meillassoux's work on a West African peasant society has provided some insights into the functions of the extended family in pre-colonial Africa. He advances the view that the social organisation of the peasantry was built around the relations of production, as they grew from the economic straits of agricultural activities and around the need for reproduction of the productive unit. The agricultural economy by delaying the production, accumulation and storage of produce and by the management of redistribution created bonds between people on two levels: first between people working together from the time of planting to the time of harvesting, and who had a vested interest in remaining together to benefit from their combined labour; secondly, between successive teams of labourers who at each season depended on survival during the unproductive period on the previous year's crop. Security was created by a 'continually renewed cycle of advance and restitution of food..... between the producers of each successive season: each successive team is advancing food (and seeds) to the following one'. (Meillassoux, 1973: 83).

Thus within its limits the kinship system provided social security, and by the reproduction of the cycle, solidarity and hierarchy were generated between successive generations:

The perpetuation of the distributive cycle which means the opportunity for the members of the group to benefit in future from their past labour is subordinated to their capacity to recreate the social organisation along a repeated scheme and along the same structures. [Meillassoux: 83; for Rhodesia Cf. Bullock 1927: 67 and Hollemann 1952: 7, 320).

On the wider level of the community villages were made up of related lineages in order to provide security, common protection and common exchange of agricultural labour.

During the second stage of social welfare in Africa, the pre-colonial structures which had provided security for the individual child or adult were undermined. With the development of exchange and the expansion of the market economy brought about by colonialism, kinship lost its actuality as the main expression of peasant social organisation by bringing about new relations of production:

In the capitalist economy the elements of production are dissociated further and each becomes an object of property: land, tools, means of production and the labour force - now distinguished from the producer himself are becoming merchandise. [Meillassoux: 89; for a similar historical process in Rhodesia Cf Arrighi 1973: 216).

Agriculture thus lost its primacy as the dominant mode of production and kin dependents gave way to wage earners and in the process of transformation the rural sector provided the capitalist sector with labourers.

The capitalist system in Rhodesia, unlike the pre-colonial domestic economy did not fulfill the needs of the labourer. Because of low wages and precarious employment the labourer was periodically expelled from the capitalist sector and returned to the rural areas where the domestic economy which had provided him with security was no longer able to do so.

In discussing the provision of social welfare services under colonialism it is useful to refer to the concept of 'underdevelopment'. It does not refer to the absence of development, but to differential rates of development, and expresses a particular relationship of exploitation in a given society. Rodney, 1972: 21. Colonialism therefore underdeveloped African welfare services firstly by undermining precolonial structures of social security and failing to substitute viable systems in their place; secondly by the type of services it provided and in settler colonial societies such as Rhodesia, as we shall show, by instituting different welfare services for the two major racial groups.

In the colonial stage of social welfare in Africa, programmes designed to solve the urban problems of highly industrialized countries were transplanted into African societies without any regard to local needs and as a consequence, '... African social welfare services developed to be a distorted picture of British and French social welfare services'. Shawky, 1974: 45. Rodney has described the social services provided for Africans during the colonial era:

..... the limited social services within Africa during colonial times were distributed in a manner that reflected the patterns of exploitation and domination. 1972: 224.

There will be no attempt to deal with the scope of social welfare services as defined above and we shall restrict ourselves to two aspects of social welfare, which illustrate the social underdevelopment of Rhodesia's black urban population, and the factors that brought and conditioned this underdevelopment:

- (1) The theories about social welfare and the rationale behind the limited social services for Africans which we shall term the 'ideology of social welfare'. The conceptual scheme of this part of the study will embrace a critique of the definitions of social welfare, and reasons advanced for the limited services provided for Africans, by agencies and individuals dealing with African welfare in Rhodesia in the period 1929-1953 - the Native Department, the Municipalities, and voluntary organisations such as the Federation of African Welfare Societies.
- (2) Differential Racial Access to social welfare services, as determined by the political economy and legislative mechanisms with particular reference to the following:
 - (i) The industrial worker and social security: systems of workman's compensation and pension schemes.
 - (ii) child welfare and juvenile delinquency.

PART I THE IDEOLOGY OF SOCIAL WELFARE AND ITS FUNCTIONS

Ideology has played an important part in legitimating the dominant position of the ruling group in Rhodesia. [Clarke 1974; Bourdillon 1976]. Karl Mannheim described the functions of ideology in a society:

..... ruling groups can in their thinking become so intensively interest bound to a situation that they are simply no longer able to see certain facts which would undermine their sense of domination. There is implicit in the word 'ideology' the insight that in certain situations the collective unconscious of certain groups obscures the real conditions of society both to itself and to others and thereby stabilizes it (Mannheim, 1936 : 36).

This paper deals with a particular ideology in society - 'the ideology of social work', which developed contemporaneously with the study and application of sociological theories to social work. It is therefore not surprising that ideologies of social work, have derived in the main from the two major types of theoretical speculation about the nature of the social order: the integration of consensus theory and its antithesis, the coercion of conflict theory.

The consensus theory states that in a society in which there is a considerable division of labour and where tasks are specialized, some occupational positions require greater degrees of skill and knowledge than others. (Davis and Moore, 1945).

The conflict theory as typified by Marx states that there are two classes in every industrial society - defined by their ownership or non-ownership of the means of production, and by the unequal distribution of privileges. Since the ideology of social work has been influenced by these two models of society, its importance cannot be overrated, as:

... Attitudes to the social services and the social worker relate not simply to differences in cultural norms but to the authority of one group over another and to the legitimacy of that authority... (Herald, 1970: 133).

Much of the thinking about the role of social work has been based on the acceptance of the consensus or integrationist model of the social order which suggests a fundamental consensus about the social values underlying the social system, and which therefore allows for an interpretation of the social work service as one of helping to hand on accepted values to individuals and groups who have been insufficiently socialized into a given society and its value system. (Timms, 1964).

There has therefore been little attention given to the alternative model which forms the basic analytical framework of this paper - the conflict model which stresses dissension and conflict and sees society as being composed of opposing group and opposing value systems. Social work and social welfare services in this model have control functions and this control is exercised not on behalf of a unitary system of values for which there is consensus and legitimacy, but on behalf of the values of the dominant group. In the Marxist model of society, dominant groups always seek to reduce the likelihood of inter-group conflict and to protect their privileges and positions. One way they could achieve their ends is by the

creation of social or welfare services, which whilst not seeking to upset the distribution of power and wealth would provide palliatives for social problems stemming from social inequality. (Rex, 1963). A group of Social workers in Britain described social work and social services as:

props to mask and perpetuate the underlying injustices and inequalities of an acquisitive society. (Socialist Medical Association, 1965 cited in *Herald* : 194). The provision of social welfare services in a plural society can therefore be interpreted as strategems by which the privileges of the dominant group are kept intact.

The two models of society were referred to have not only affected theories about social work, but the actual role attributed to social welfare in a given society. This varies from country to country and is influenced by a particular country's 'political philosophy, social thought, culture, socio-economic system and patterns of development'. (Sanders, 1975: 132-133). From the consensus and conflict theory there have arisen two contrasting roles of social welfare: the 'residual welfare model' and the 'institutional redistributive model' respectively. In the residual welfare model: 'social welfare is viewed more as an adjunct of the economy, there is minimal or no provision for the consequences of social changes and the beneficiaries of social welfare are seen as being mainly the poor and the dependent who are categorised as problems...' In the institutional redistributive model social welfare is viewed as a 'positive and dynamic agent of change' and has important development and change rôles', and positive steps are taken to apply social welfare objectives to economic policies, with a view to ensuring equal distribution of resources. (Sanders, 1975: 133).

From the institutional redistributive model, has grown from the concept of 'developmental social welfare', which was coined in the 1970's. Developmental social welfare ~~services~~ differs from the remedial and rehabilitative programs based on an assumed consensus in society, in that it encourages institutional change as opposed to social work maintenance of existing social structures. (Ankrah, 1975: 371, 372).

In Rhodesia, the ideology of social work for Africans followed closely on the lines of the 'residual welfare model'.

In the 1930's, African urbanisation was not desired by both the central government and the local government. The administration of the locations was a major bone of contention between the government and the municipalities; most of this controversy centred on the distribution of social and financial costs, ~~costing~~ arising from the presence of Africans in towns, and the consequential pressures on limited social services. (cf. Devittie, 1974). Urban Africans were therefore generally seen as a body for whom the government did not have to concern itself with. (Gray, 1960).

Huggins found it difficult to define a native policy his government was to pursue; there is however a measure of consistency between the two pyramid policy he enunciated in the 1930's, and his rejection of this in the late 1930's and more especially after World War II. Africans were merely an appendix to the development of the whites. In 1934, he declared:

...I shall do all I can to develop the native, if I'm allowed to protect my own race in our own areas, if I am not, I will not do anything(Legislative Assembly Debates, hereinafter L.A.D.:7,

1934: col 533). In 1941, Huggins declared that he saw no need to provide social services for Africans working in towns, as he argued:

... In the white towns what might be described as the white reserves as opposed to native reserves - the African has to conform to white requirements. It should be noted that he is not obliged to go to a white town; he can earn outside the town what for him is a good living, if he does not like the restriction in the towns ... (Southern Rhodesia Government hereafter SRG 1941).

In 1945-6, he was to change his stance and argue for the provision of accommodation for Africans to keep pace with changes in the economy and minimize labour costs by increasing the efficiency of black labour. (LAD, 1945-6: col 3077). This of course was to promote the development of what he had termed in 1934 'my own race'.

Many of the justifications for the limited social services provided for Africans are part and parcel of the white 'collective unconscious' and world view, which has been termed the 'white Rhodesian myth', whose junction has been described thus:

... The white Rhodesian myth serves to rationalize the privileged position of the whites in Rhodesia. The myth purports to justify white privilege and white power and thus soothes and deceives the consciences of many who might otherwise be disturbed by economic and political suppression..... (Bourdillon, 1976: 8-9).

There was the 'cultural lag' theory which sought to systematise scattered problems, but was essentially an assertion of unequal progress which ignored the conditions underlying differential rates of development, (cf. Wright Mills, 1943 : 176); and justified neglect. C. Olley, Mayor of Salisbury in 1944, perhaps best exemplifies the cultural lag ideology in Rhodesia, in a speech in which he justified poor and insanitary housing for urban Africans:

... The majority of the natives are still uncivilized or at least partly civilized: not yet ready for the European's conception of home life; brick built homes are actually foreign to natives and it is not an exaggeration to suggest that in respect of a very large number of natives, brick built, closed door and open window kios are irksome..... In my view there is too great a tendency to nolly coddle the natives and give them conditions and wages never given to white people in Great Britain and Ireland..... (National Archives of Rhodesia hereafter NAR (a)).

More refined and yet still asserting the cultural and moral backwardness of Africans, were those views which blamed the social underdevelopment of Africans on 'traditional' attitudes. The Howman Commission SRG 1944(a): 20-21 referred to 'the widespread failure to absorb those moral standards on which master-servant relationships, industrial efficiency and community progress depend.....', and to 'deficiencies in his traditional attitude whose design was naturally never evolved to meet urban conditions.....' Attention was thus directed away from the real issues which had precipitated African social underdevelopment: the migrant labour system, rural underdevelopment, low wages, poor housing and the general lack of social services.

In the same vein, were the social change theories, which though advocating

the provision of social services, were to limit any effect they might have had on African social development. Implicit in the ideology of social change is the assumption that human beings are adjusted to a particular social order (Wright Mills, 1943: 177). It derives from the Victorian ideology which held that societies which had not attained a comparative level of civilisation had laboriously to pass through numerous stages before they could aspire to the upper reaches of western civilisation. The social welfare task within the confines of this ideology was therefore defined as one of adjusting Africans to white standards and to the white social order: no consideration was given to whether or not the social development of Africans could be improved by drastic institutional changes.

The Native Development Act of 1929 created the Department of Native Development whose sphere was:

the education of natives and any other work designed primarily to further the agricultural, industrial, physical or social advancement of Africans. (SRG 1951 : 4).

Social welfare was therefore conceived primarily as an updated version of the 'white man's burden': this however for those times was regarded as a progressive and 'liberal' view. An official of the Native Development Department told a meeting of the Native Welfare Society in Bulawayo in 1929:

We here in Rhodesia are Trustees to these primitive people(NAR b/)

The Reverend Percy Ibbotson who was appointed Organising Secretary of the Federation of African Welfare Society in 1936, writing in 1944 spoke of this tremendous burden that whites had to bear:

..... The presence of substantial African populations in the urban and semi-urban areas involving the breakdown of many tribal customs and restraints placed upon the Europeans grave responsibilities from which there can be no reasonable escape..... (F.A.W.S. 1944).

Among the aims of the Native Welfare Societies was the 'mental, moral and physical improvement of Africans'. (NAR c/)

The Ballenden Report on Salisbury City's African administration, referring to the security of tenure for Africans in urban areas stated:

Experience has shown that Natives do not adjust themselves easily, economically and socially to the violent changes of environment which take place when they settle in the towns and that they need a great deal of tuition... (Ballenden 1945: 28).

In 1948 following accusations that the Federation of African Welfare societies had fomented the general strike, the Reverend Ibbotson, pleaded not for institutional changes, but for changes in the attitudes of whites:

.... It is also necessary to recognise the transition which is taking place in African life, The contact of Africans with industry and commerce is comparatively recent. Urbanisation means the transformation of African life and Africans have obviously not adjusted themselves to the new conditions. Those who are able to analyse the present changes which are taking place must have sympathy with the African in the present difficult period. Patience, tolerance and sympathetic

understanding are necessary... [NAR (d)]

In 1952, a government report on social and welfare services, stated that the main problem posed by African urbanisation was to assist the African 'in adjusting himself to a new environment which is entirely alien to his traditions'. (SRG 1952 : 36)

Aspects of African traditional society have been upheld in order to justify the limited social welfare services provided, for the African worker. There is the ideology of the African 'ideal past' which sought to show that the African was not an individual, and emphasised the rural ties of urban Africans:

.... the belief that all black people have rural homes, where they can be supported in childhood and in old age on subsistence agriculture, excuses white controlled industries from taking responsibility for the childhood or old age of their employees, which in turn keeps wages low and labour cheap.... (Bourdillon : 27).

The assessment of Africans welfare needs throughout the period 1929-1953 was based on the premise that the Rhodesian economy was dual one : the white capitalist sector, and the 'traditional' African sector, functioning independently of each other. The underdevelopment of Africans in the theory of the dual economy is seen as 'an original state which the development of a capitalist sector gradually eliminates'. (Arrighi, 1973 : 182). Barber postulated that the African indigenous economy in Rhodesia was self sufficient, with low real incomes and limited wants (Barber, 1961 : 93). Africans therefore delayed in responding to and adjusting to the market economy, as they were self sufficient in the 'traditional sector'. There was therefore no problem of unemployment and what existed, when an African worker withdrew to the reserves was a form of 'disguised unemployment'. (Barber, 1961 : 46). Arrighi has criticised this by arguing that this so called 'disguised unemployment' was in effect, the result of capitalist development which undermined traditional economy and society. (Arrighi 1973 : 186). Frank has commented on the theory of the dual society:

.... the entire dual society thesis is false and the policy recommendations to which it leads will if acted upon serve only to intensify and perpetuate the very conditions of underdevelopment they are supposedly designed to remedy.... (Frank, 1970 : 6).

It was already evident by the 1920's in Rhodesia, that the capitalist system had effectively penetrated all sectors of society and that the dual society thesis was a fallacy.

In 1928, the Native Commissioner in Marandellas, Posselt had expressed concern for the growing '.... necessity for the provision of waifs and strays'. He recommended that the government accept responsibility for them, and that finance for their relief be provided from the Native Reserve Trust Fund. He considered this necessary, because, as he asserted:

With the rapid disintegration of the tribal system much of the good of the Native social institutions is being lost. Even the much prized child has in some cases been abandoned by the mother

(NAR [e](i))

Posselt's suggestions were rejected by the Prime Minister because as he

argued:

I am under the impression that under native custom the liability for their old people is recognised and cheerfully undertaken by the natives, and in the case of children, that there are always those anxious to take them over, as whether they are boys or girls they are recognized as an asset, and not as is unfortunately, the case with Europeans as a liability. (NAR e(ii))

In 1933, the Superintendent of Natives in Bulawayo, drew the Chief Native Commissioner's attention to the need for old age relief for Africans but was advised by the Chief Native Commissioner that the solution to the problem lay in strengthening the tribal system. (NAR f)

In a memorandum to the Select Committee on the Relief of Poverty in 1942, the Chief Native Commissioner, Simmonds, wrote that it was no longer feasible to argue that the rural areas could afford Africans adequate social security. The Committee had been appointed to investigate the extent of poverty, brought about by the War, but as Simmonds wrote:

.... conditions brought about by the war merely served to stress the existence of a social problem which had shown signs of becoming acute before the war and it is not likely to become any less difficult when conditions return to normal (SRG 1944 c: 2).

The Select Committee on the Relief of Poverty, in its recommendations drew attention to the poor social conditions for Africans prevalent at the time, and the laissez-faire attitude of government.

....In general your Committee feels that the problem of poverty as it affects all sections of the community, should be dealt with in a progressive and comprehensive manner, and your committee strongly suggests that while this might appear to entail at the moment expenditure in excess of that which has been deemed adequate in the past, it would ultimately be of considerable economic value.....; sufficient attention to avoiding the causes of deterioration and to the great need for better provision of rehabilitation has not received the support it should, and the problem therefore has grown with the passing years.....(SRG, 1944 c: 6)

And yet for the next ten years after these recommendations, the rural ties of Africans and their communalism were advanced as reasons why it would not be necessary to provide comprehensive social services for urban Africans. An inter-departmental Committee on social welfare in 1947, recommended the establishment of an African social welfare Department (SRG 1947 : 13); but in 1952, a Report on Social Welfare services rejected this on the following grounds:

.... The African population of this colony the majority of whom maintain attachments in one way or another with the Native Reserves where the old concepts of interdependence of individuals within the family group still prevail has not yet reached the stage where the organisation of welfare services by Government has become necessary. In the past they have maintained a double economy - the cash economy of labour in the European areas and the subsistence economy of the Native areas, where those Africans unable to fend for themselves have always found the

minimum social security.....(SRG 1952 : 36).

These justifications for negligence were not based on a realistic assessment of whether the rural areas could in effect provide social security. There has grown a tradition amongst Rhodesian Africans to return to the rural areas on being unemployed. (Mswaka, 1974 : 59). This tradition, far from being influenced by the African's love for his culture, and wish to remain a tribesman has been conditioned by legislative mechanisms.

It must not be forgotten that the *raison d'être* of the reserves was not to provide social security for Africans but rather they were 'sources of labour which could be retained (under specific terms) in order to initiate and consolidate white capitalism.... (Mswaka : 60). The Pass Laws prevented the development of an urban based extended family system, and the low wages received made saving for retirement unlikely. These factors rather than the much avowed communalism of Africans forced them to rely on rural areas during times of distress. In the final analysis, rural area instead of supporting the African worker, proved to be a fillip to capitalist producers by contributing towards the maintenance costs of labour during periods of unemployment.

The emphasis on the rural ties of Africans also overlooked the low productivity, and chronic state of underdevelopment of African reserves as a result of land alienation policies, differential prices for produce and marketing difficulties. (Clarke, 1975 : 253; Arrighi, 1973 : 204). The levies on all African maize sales were used to subsidize losses on European maize exports; and those on all African and European cattle slaughtered were used to pay bounties to European exporters of chilled beef so that Africans paid a levy, though they were not exporters (Keyter : 1974).

In view of the reluctance of white employers to provide social security, the reserves were thus forced to bear an increasing burden of providing for the dependants of wage earners, the unemployed, the sick and the aged.

Though the general trend indicated negligence of social services for Africans there were attempts to provide what at the time was considered to be 'social welfare services'. The main motif for these services was control, this control was exercised primarily for the benefit of the white group. In the period during which the foundations of Rhodesia's 'native policy', were laid the desire to control Africans, was central:

..... Effective 'control' of the African majority had been the keynote of administration from the commencement of European colonisation in Rhodesia. The fundamental aspects of this control, the preservation of internal security, execution of justice and collection of native revenue retained their importance after self government, comprising the bulk of NC's work.... (Steele, 1972 : 147).

This control was also exercised with specific reference to what was termed 'social welfare', for the purposes of meeting the labour requirements of white employers, to ensure the minimum labour unrest and to control African political thinking. One of our main aims in this part of the study will be to give an appraisal of Heraud's contention, in the Rhodesian context that:

... In a society characterized by social inequality, social work may be seen as a means of legitimizing and supporting the status quo in particular of manipulating individuals to accept underprivileged positions. (1970 : 17)

Throughout this period the term 'social welfare' was taken to refer to sport and recreational facilities, by the Native Department, the Municipalities and the Federation of African Welfare Societies.

The Federation of African Welfare Societies did much in the pre World War II period to provide recreational services for urban Africans. The rationale behind the drive for recreational services for Africans was deeply rooted in the stereotype of the African as a child : if he became too bored, he would get into mischief. In a letter to the Secretary for Native Affairs, in 1935 the Mashonaland Welfare Society, argued:

' an unoccupied native - like a European child or youth is liable to get into mischief, and be a danger not only to himself but to others. (NAR g)

The Native Commissioner of Bulawayo in 1936, attributed the absence of tribal riots to the provision of games and recreation by the Native Welfare Society. (NAR h)

After the second World War, the municipalities took a more active interest than they had hitherto shown in their African populations, but the bulk of the welfare work they did concerned games and recreation. The sole object of these 'social welfare services' was to provide an outlet for surplus energy and to keep Africans off the streets where their presence in large numbers was found irksome by Europeans. (Gussmann, 1952 : 248).

A more sophisticated argument for restricting the scope of social welfare services for Africans to games and recreation was advanced by Howman. He argued that the whole problem of the social development of Africans had nothing to do with their economic position in the towns, but was caused by the changes that were involved when an African left his kraal for the town, and the resultant effects on his personality; from a tribal and kinship community based on primary association, Africans were deposited in the non-primary association of the town, and being the emotional children of nature that they were, they were left helpless and became easy prey to 'random impulse and hooligan self expression'. In Howman's opinion the administrative, educational and welfare programmes had failed to cater for the emotional needs of Africans. He therefore advocated that:

... By specifically catering for emotional needs recreation can become a powerful measure of social control (NAR i)

Among those who sought to promote African welfare in urban areas one of the ends it was intended to serve was to provide the pull for labour supplies from the rural areas, so that the definition of social welfare services was widened to include the housing and feeding of labourers. The Native Commissioner in Salisbury advised employers in 1936:

.... While wages are low and the Native's requirements are simple it is less exacting to remain at the kraal, live on the crops which have been grown the prices for which offers no inducement to sell and convert the surplus into beer with which to make merry, than to go forth to face the doubtful comfort on an employer's

coumpound and rations..... (NAR h (i))

The F.A.W.S. therefore spent much time in the 1930's and 1940's preparing memoranda on the feeding of labourers and their accommodation. Ibbotson submitted a memorandum to the Howman Commission on what he considered to be provisions relating to African welfare - included were the Master and Servants Act, the Native Labour Regulations of 1911. (NAR i)

There was therefore no inconsistency between the two pyramid policy of the 1930's, and the policy pursued by government after 1945, Gussmann has commented with reference to the two pyramid policy:

...Under such a policy it was quite logical to provide hospitals, free clinics, free education, free recreation and sub-economic rentals in Municipal built homes. All such services helped to make the African a better worker, and the fact that they were available meant that lower wages could be paid. (1952 : 1).

But besides minimizing labour costs, these services contributed little to Africans' social development:

'.... The first twelve years of municipal responsibility illustrate little more than indifference, reluctance and apathy on the part of local authorities to facilitate the settlement of a healthy urban community. (Nussbaum, 1974 : 17)

African members of the F.A.W.S. considered the work done by the latter as palliatives, and compared its role to that of the S.P.C.A. (NAR k i)

Though the F.A.W.S. was at pains to deny the political objectives behind its work, political control of Africans was one of its main aims. This was especially evident after the Second World War, when the F.A.W.S. ~~lent~~ vigorously supported the proposed Central African Federation.

The ^{main} Constitution of the African sections of the constituent welfare societies with regard to political issues:

... The section will be strictly non political and will try to encourage respect for authority and co-operation with Europeans in all matters.... (NAR k i)

In its Annual Reports the F.A.W.S. prided itself in affording avenues of co-operation between Africans and Europeans. The chairman of one African welfare society in 1949, stated:

.... It is our responsibility to guide the African community on the right lines, to protect them from subversive elements and to make them better citizens of Rhodesia (Kirkpatrick papers, 1948).

There was no doubt in Ibbotson's own mind about the ends to which social welfare services were ^{here} directed. In a letter to Reverend Carter in 1950, he wrote:

.... the best means of combating communism and subversive activities is the provision of satisfactory housing and living conditions with adequate social and economic standard for all sections of the community..... (Methodist House, 1950).

Accordingly, in 1953 with the advent of the Federation, a change in the direction F.A.W.S. activities ~~were to take~~ was announced, it was no longer going to concentrate on providing recreational and social amenities, but on 'educating the public to ensure the harmonious development of a multi-racial state....' (F.A.W.S., 1954). This, meant in essence the maintenance of consensus and management of conflict, arising from the inequalities of Rhodesian society by concentrating on the public's attitudes, but leaving the political and economic structure intact.

In the final analysis, the ideology of social work for Africans in Rhodesia in the years 1929-1953, did not embrace their total social development - but was limited to ad-hoc measures which operated in favour of the white ruling class.

PART II : Differential Racial Access to Social Welfare Services

Kuper and Schermerhorn urge us to study structurally plural societies such as Rhodesia by focusing on two independent variables,

- (1) 'The degree of control exercised by dominant groups over access to scarce resources by subordinate groups in a given society, and the consequential differential access material resources'.
- (2) The extent to which the institutional structures of the relevant groups are enclosed. (Schermerhorn, 1970 : 15, 238; Kuper, 1971: 473-74).

This part of the paper will analyse the legislative mechanisms, which by institutionalising differential racial access to certain welfare services, brought about African social underdevelopment. The scope of enquiry will not cover all the aspects affecting a population's social development, but will be restricted to the following:

- (1) The industrial worker and social security - workman's compensation and pension schemes.
- (2) Juvenile delinquency.

The main contributory factor to the differential racial access to welfare services, was the policy pursued by the government to prevent the emergence of white poor class in Rhodesia. European society had to be kept pure, and its weaker members were to be protected from themselves. (Rodgers and Franz, 1962 : 157) The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 excluded Africans from the definition of 'employee' ~~thus excluding from the definition of 'employee'~~ thus excluding them from employment in the skilled trades. Section 31 of the Industrial Conciliation Act, empowered the Minister to fix the wage rates for African skilled workmen in specified areas. This was however amended in 1937, to exclude African artisans from employment in municipal areas in which the 'rate of the job' principle operated (L.A.D., 1937 : col 226).

In the Report on Unemployment and the Relief of Destitution in 1934, Africans featured only as contributors to European unemployment. (SRG, 1934 : 2). In 1944, the Report of the Social Security Officer which was based on the Beveridge Report in Britain, recommended a minimum level below

which no European was to be allowed to fall; the programme of social welfare services recommended would be directed at preserving the standard of living of the 'civilized section of the community', through the risks of illness, unemployment and old age'. (SRG, 1944 b : 2) The pattern of social welfare services for the dominant white group, that developed therefore closely followed on that of the western countries. (Etheridge, 1963 : 5) Africans feature in the Report of the Social Security Officer as an investment for the future prosperity and security of whites:

.... The development of the African people may in fact be regarded as a sound investment by the European community in its own interests... (SRG 1944 b : 2)

The African Industrial Worker and Social Security

Among the threats to the economic security of wage earners whose incomes are obtained from employment by other, perhaps the most important are personal misfortunes such as sickness and accidents, debility and loss of working capacity due to old age.

In 1929, there were two sets of legislation which dealt with workmen's compensation: the Masters and Servants Ordinance of 1901 and the Native Labourer's Compensation Ordinance 15 of 1922.

Under the Master and Servants Act if a servant fell ill, he was entitled to receive wages for the first month of such incapacity. If the disability persisted until the second month, the master was released from his obligations and could terminate the contract.

The Workman's Compensation act of 1922 excluded Africans from the definition of 'workman'. They were provided for under the Native Labourer's Compensation Ordinance of 1922, which provided £1 and not more than £10 for disablement and £10 not more than £25 for death. For Europeans the basis of compensation was three years wages for total incapacitation.

By 1930, it was quite clear to the Native Department that the figures under the 1922 Ordinance were far from adequate. The Colonial Secretary reported:

... the communal responsibility for the sick and incapable is being affected by our own individualistic system.... (NAR. 1)

And the Chief Native Commissioner saw no justification for the differential rates of compensation paid to black and white:

... I must point to the increasing complexity of Native life. A distinctly higher standard of living has by imperceptible degrees been set up What must be accepted is that the male Native is a breadwinner in a wider and fuller sense than he formerly was. Provision for those depending on him must approximate more and more to the degree recognised in the case of a European..... (NAR re i)

The Native Labourer Compensation amendment Act of 1930, hardly improved the position - compensation for disablement was increased to £2 and not more than £25, and £15 and not more than £50 for death. The Amendment still left

an African worker's dependants unprovided for, and it did not define partial disablement.

The mere existence of the legislation, however, did not guarantee the automatic payment of compensation, and workers experienced great difficulty in getting employers to pay. (Van Onselen, 1976 : 62).

In 1941 Africans were included in the Workman's Compensation Act, and a Commissioner appointed to investigate its operation. In 1942, the provision relating to the amount of compensation to be paid to Africans were reported to be 'vague and embarrassing'. Africans received no payments for a period of lasting for less than 14 days. In the case of Europeans, Asians and Coloured, the period for which no payment was made was only 3 days (SRG 1942/b : 4).

In 1943, the Commission reported adversely on the fact that European, Asian and Coloured workmen received children's allowances during periods of incapacitation, whereas Africans were paid a lump sum vaguely designated as '..... a sum as may be agreed upon.....'. He also commented on the absence of legal advice for Africans when laying their claims, and the undue interference by the Native Commissioners. (SRG. 1943 : 12).

In 1948, the Workman's Compensation Act was again amended : European workmen were to receive 100 per cent of their monthly earnings for earnings up to £20, and 50 per cent of monthly earnings for those between £25 and £40, plus children's allowances. And for total disablement; a monthly pension for earnings of £40, and a third of monthly earnings for those between £40 and £60. For Africans, the provisions for compensation remained as vague as ever: unspecified periodical payments for partial disablement; for death and total incapacitation, 50 per cent monthly earnings up to £6 was awarded, and 25 per cent of monthly earnings between £6 and £12. This meant that the few Africans earning more than £12, were not catered for. The Workman's Compensation Act, moreover excluded agricultural and domestic workers.

Labour cost minimization policies which were institutionalized in the Workman's Compensation Act, were even more evident with regard to pension schemes. Before the 1940's African workers were dependent on the peasant economy for their pensions, as employers held the view that: '.... once workers became non functional they were dispensable'. (Clarke 1975: 478). The file in the National Archives of Rhodesia (NAR f/7), dealing with the question of old age pensions for Africans - shows that old age pensions of up to £1 a month, were only granted to Africans who had either been in government service, or who could prove that they had worked for the Pioneer Column. The only form of assistance rendered to aged alien Africans who had worked in the country for periods ranging from 10 to 20 years or more, was the payment of the cost of their repatriation. The prevailing attitude in the 1930's towards post-employment remuneration for Africans, is perhaps best exemplified by the following statement, concerning an application by a certain Mkosa for domicile in the colony:

... I do not think we owe Mkosa anything. He no doubt came here attracted by the scale of wages and labour conditions generally and has received a quid pro quo only for any work he has done but in return for the tax paid, has had the protection afforded by good government resulting in the peaceful enjoyment of the fruits

of his labour (NAR h).

The Select Committee on the Relief of Poverty in 1942 reported widespread destitution of aged Africans in both rural and urban areas. (SRG 1942/a:43). Social assistance was provided on a basis of need to all Europeans, Asians and Coloured, over 60; and for those in destitution the government made out grants to them either at their homes or in institutions. There were no pensions payable to Africans under the 1936 Old Age Pension Act, and very little was done in the way of relief for the destitute. (SRG, 1944, b: 48).

Under the Native Labour Boards Act of 1947, contributory pensions were left to private arrangements. In 1948, 78 per cent of employers in the main urban areas did not pay either pensions or gratuities (SRG 1948:23) The Native Labour Boards Act, therefore did not indicate a shift from the cheap labour policies of the 1930's but institutionalized the inequalities existing in working conditions. The majority of African workers continued to purchase their social security by maintaining links with the rural areas, which practice was made more difficult by the Land Husbandry Act of 1952.

The low wage structure of black workers in conjunction with the inadequate social security provided, created the need for a complex system of social service supports linked to incomes earned. Thus there grew a 'paternalistic dependency' relationship between the black worker and his white supervisor, his firm, and his local government authority..... (Harris, 1974 : 38).

Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency is caused by a combination of causes, both material and personal, which are difficult to measure. There will be no attempt to deal with all the issues, related to juvenile delinquency, and we shall restrict ourselves to the analysis of statutory provisions and administrative policies.

In 1929 the Children's Protection Act which provided for the protection of orphans and the establishment of institutions dealing with child welfare, excluded Africans, following a recommendation from the Chief Native Commission that Africans had not yet reached that stage of civilization provided for by the Act. (NAR m ii). It was not until 1949 that Africans were covered by the Children's Protection and Adoption Act.

African juveniles were an important component of the labour force. The Native Employment Act of 1926 had been first proposed in 1921 by the Superintendent of Natives. (Bulawayo) in order to maintain greater control over African juveniles in towns. (NAR o : 22). In 1926 it was extended to cover the whole country : it prohibited juveniles under the age of 14 from seeking employment without the Native Commissioner's permission. The Children's Protection Act defined a child as someone under the age of 16, but it excluded Africans.

The Commission of Enquiry on Native Labour in 1928 had justified the conscription of child labour in these terms:

... the native youngster forms the 'HABIT OF WORK' when at his most impressionable age. It must be remembered that the native child in his kraal is put to work at a very early age and that the work which is expected of him on farms is light than that which he is set to perform at home. (NAR f)

At the Conference of Senior Native Commissioners in 1935, Posselt raised the question of the anomaly in the statute law concerning the definition of an African child. He proposed that the definition of a 'native' in the Native Affairs Act of 1927, and in the Native Pass Consolidation Ordinance of 1913, be regularized in order to exclude children as defined by the Children's Protection Act, by raising age limit under the pass laws from 14 years to 16 years, so as to conform with the Criminal Procedure Act, in which offenders under 16 were regarded as juveniles. He reminded his colleagues to consider the welfare of Africans as a whole, in deciding on this question:

I know very well that we shall be met with the cry that juvenile labour is very essential to industrial purposes..... But I submit that the interests of the Native population as a whole must weigh far more with us than to meet temporary requirements of a section of the European employers..... (NAR /o/: 222).

Carbutt, the CNC, poured cold water on Posselt's suggestions by reminding him that agricultural interests in the Legislative Assembly would veto anything to do with the prohibition of juvenile labour. (NAR /o/ : 228). The 1947, Natives Employment Amendment Act, defined a juvenile as any African under 16, but in the absence of a system for registering African births, the age Africans was still estimated by appearance.

The effects of these legislative provisions, are seen in the juvenile delinquency prevalent in Rhodesia from the 1930s onwards. Ibbotson's survey of African juvenile delinquency in the 1940's showed that there were no remand homes for African juveniles, and they were mixed with adult prisoners. There was considerable confusion on what a juvenile was, and there were several instances of ten year old children in employment. Another aspect highlighted in Ibbotson's survey, was the lack of educational facilities, for African children in urban areas: 70 per cent of the juveniles in prison and at Drifontein had not attended school. (Ibbotson, 1944).

Due to the uncontrolled employment of African children, juvenile delinquency ~~to~~ rates were swelled out of all proportion by statutory offences under the Masters and Servants Act, Pass Laws and the Tax Act. St Leger (1965:23) has commented:

.... The Southern Rhodesia juvenile delinquency rates have been deeply affected by administrative or police policy rather than by sociological reasons....

The extent of juvenile delinquency amongst Rhodesia's African population is further illustrated by the fact that for 15 years, the services undertaken for Africans by the Social Welfare Department were primarily concerned with juvenile delinquency. (Gargett, 1971 : 135).

Conclusion

I have attempted in this paper to discuss the history of social welfare services in Rhodesia from an interdisciplinary approach. Bearing in mind the relationship between sociology and social welfare. I have found certain sociological perspectives in particular the consensus theory, and the conflict theory, to be very useful analytical tools.

In a book published in 1931 Melver distinguished between the 'science of sociology' and the 'act of social work': the former was concerned solely with understanding what is, i.e. society as it exists, while the latter is concerned with the manipulation, control, and change of individuals and society, thus involving the specific use of values to guide such ends; a Heraud (1970 : 17) has commented:

... the goals of social work agencies are related to the goals of the social work profession which in turn are linked to more general nouns held by certain dominant groups in society....

These ^{nouns} nouns, formed a substantial part of what we have termed 'the ideology of social work'; in Rhodesia. This ideology has been consensualist or integrationist, so that 'social welfare' for Africans has merely been an adjunct of the labour economy, and has not been directed at the total social development of Africans; rather the ends of 'welfare' have been directed at adapting Africans to white settler economic development, social work in Rhodesia therefore amounted to the accomodation of emergent strains within the social system. My analysis of this ideology, has therefore incorporated '... different value commitments from the point of view of subordinate rather than superordinate groupings....' (Murphree, 1974 : 6).

In the second part of the paper I attempted to discuss the differential social access to social welfare services, consequential to the ideology of the white dominant group. My analysis of social welfare services, however, was restricted to ~~a~~ those aspects of 'social development', that affect the industrial worker and the labour economy - workman's compensation, old age pensions, and juveniles. I restricted my scope of enquiry, firstly, in order to illustrate the fact that social services in Rhodesia were distributed in a manner that reflected the patterns of domination and exploitation; secondly to illustrate the fallacy of what Yudelman (1975 : 82) has called the 'conventional wisdom' of Southern ^{African} historiography, which aims to show that industrialization leads to the liberalization of race relations.

By 1953, the social development of whites and blacks in Rhodesia was poles apart. African social life in the urban areas, was characterized by a breakdown in family life, limited social services, a low wage structure, and insecurity. (Gussmann; 1952). For whites the picture was radically different: they had little to complain of, for Rhodesia was for them a welfare state with comprehensive social services at little cost. (Henderson, 1972 : 398; Etheridge, 1963).

A study that would embrace all the aspects of social development in Rhodesia, would, considering the differential rates of social development, between black and white derive much value from one of the three broad formulations of racially subordinated groupings in Southern Africa, proposed by Murphree (1974 : 24):

Formulation Two : The racial subordinates of Southern Africa form an externally oppressed subsociety with imposed, exploited sub-cultures.

- (a) The racial subordinates of Southern Africa form a structurally distinct subsociety, and their life is therefore situationally distinct from that of the White superordinates.
- (b) Elements of pathology, distortion and incompleteness in the life of the subordinates have their source in the structure and

processes of the total system, mediated by the denial of cultural resources to them.

- (c) The disadvantaged position of the subordinates is maintained primarily by the behaviour of the superordinates, acting in their own interests as they see it, to preserve their advantages by preventing a redistribution of resources accomplished, before the problems of race can be eliminated.

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