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CHATSWORTH RESIDENTS, WHITE SUPERMARKETS AND POLICY PREFERENCES: A POLICY-ORIENTED SAMPLE SURVEY

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1. INTRODUCTION

The settlement of the different races in separate "Group Areas" has always been a controversial issue. This pattern of settlement also raises perplexing problems as regards the development of the African, coloured and Indian group areas.

Because most development capital is in the hands of the white group, major commercial and industrial development tends to take place in so-called white group areas. One of the effects of this is to prevent the "non-white" group areas from acquiring the kind of tax-base that would allow them to become anywhere near self-sufficient in terms of municipal finance. This issue is particularly relevant in the light of proposals by the central government that major Indian and coloured residential areas should acquire separate municipal status so as to create the greatest possible degree of homogeneity within municipalities. [1)]

Another implication of the pattern of Group Areas is that very often the very large and popular white-owned discount stores are situated in white areas far away from coloured and Indian communities, which may involve quite considerable costs for shoppers from these communities.

These kinds of issues have led to a consideration of the possibility of white capital being allowed into "non-white" Group Areas. This possibility, however, is fraught with complications. For example, the question may legitimately be asked why white capital should be allowed to compete with Indian and coloured capital in "non-white" areas when it is protected from competition in the white areas.

These problems have been considered in some depth by the Durban City Council in recent months with particular reference to Chatsworth, a very large Indian residential area within the municipality of Durban.

1) This policy is part and parcel of the recent proposals by the President's Council for the development of new constitutional arrangements as regards the second and third tiers of government.

2. BRIEF METHODOLOGY

The following report is based on information contained in 449 interviews with householders in Chatsworth. Homes were sampled on a random basis, proportionate to house and flat type within neighbourhood units, numbers of which were supplied to us by the City Engineers' Department. Heads of households (or where not available, their spouses) were interviewed as well as one member from any other married couple living on the same premises, whether family or tenant, if available. Approximately half of the respondents were interviewed in December 1982 and half in January/February 1983. Interviewing took place during evenings and weekends. Seven of the ten interviewers were white and three were Indian. Interviewers were carefully briefed and trained for the project.

The interview schedule (questionnaire) and details of the target and achieved samples may be seen in the appendix, together with the representation of the sexes and other basic data concerning the characteristics of the respondents. Of particular note is the age distribution. Because the sample was drawn on a random basis within units, it should be appreciated that age was an uncontrollable variable. The distribution of ages that was in fact obtained is a good approximation of the normal curve, with the three measures of central tendency falling at approximately the same point. This achievement suggests that a random sample was reliably obtained. Comments in the following report are based solely on observed differences between groups or answers.

From these results it is clear that access to shopping facilities is seen as a key priority for improvement by slightly less than one-fifth of the people. This does not mean that it is unimportant. The proportion has to be assessed in the light of other more urgent problems in a mass-housing estate.

also possible that the Indian interviewers had the effect of making respondents self-conscious about admitting to a preference for white supermarkets.

4.1 Chatsworth versus other areas

An important step in the investigation was the establishing of the overall locality in which most shopping was done, i.e. whether inside or outside of Chatsworth. The emphasis in this question was on "most" shopping (see interview schedule), the respondent being left to decide for himself the basis of his judgement.

It seems that approximately half (48%) of all respondents, whether male or female, shop mainly within Chatsworth and half (49%) outside of Chatsworth. The proportions varied between individual neighbourhood units of Chatsworth, however, there being in some cases widely diverging patterns. As may be seen in Table 2 below, the most distinctive pattern occurs in Unit 4, Mobeni Heights, which is possibly the top unit in terms of social hierarchy and affluence. Of these respondents 79 percent claimed to shop mainly outside of Chatsworth.

TABLE 2.

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH UNIT WHO SHOPPED MAINLY: *

	Outside Chatsworth	Within Chatsworth
	%	%
Unit 4	79	14
1	66	31
2	63	37
7 (and part of 8)	57	42
6	57	39
11	46	54
9 (and part of 8)	46	51
10	43	57
5	38	60
3	28	70

* Percentages for each unit do not necessarily sum to 100% because some respondents did not know, or gave equal value to both localities.

It would seem a possibility worth bearing in mind that the higher up the social scale the Chatsworth resident may be, the more he or she may be inclined to shop in white shops/areas for reasons of status.

There are, however, also specific material factors which help to account for the pattern of shopping. The fact that 70 per-cent of shopping in Unit 3 occurs in Chatsworth may be partly due to its superior shopping facilities.

Analysis of responses according to age suggests that the youngest age group is more inclined to shop mainly outside than inside, while the reverse is true for the oldest age group. (See Table 10a in the appendix.) This may be partly due to status reasons, and partly due to the fact that the younger people are more likely to work near white shopping facilities.

No differences due to sex of respondent were apparent for this question.

4.2 Choice of particular shopping areas

Having considered the broad balance in shopping as between Chatsworth and other areas, we turn to look at the extent to which particular shopping areas are patronised. In this context (Q.3 on the interview schedule), only regular usage is being considered. These areas are contained in Table 3.

From the information in the 'Total' column, it is apparent that shops in the unit of residence attract the largest body of respondents on a regular basis. Spontaneous comments by respondents, both recorded and unrecorded, suggest that a large proportion of this shopping is accounted for by the buying of the daily necessities of break and milk, this taking place not necessarily at established shops but to a large extent from mobile vans. Cross-tabulation of this figure (66% of all respondents, i.e. 298 in number) against general locality of most food shopping shows that 59 percent of these respondents claimed to do most of their shopping within Chatsworth itself. This may be seen in Appendix Table 10b. Nevertheless, a number of these respondents do also engage in regular subsidiary shopping in other areas. Appendix Table 11(i) shows that just under half (44%) shop regularly at the central Durban supermarkets; that 38 percent shop at Warwick Avenue market; and that between approximately two and three out of every ten shop at the Warwick Avenue/ Grey Street outlets, at Clairwood and at the Hypermarket or Hyperama.

Those respondents (154 in number) who claimed to shop regularly in other units of Chatsworth displayed shopping habits similar to those of the respondents discussed in the previous paragraph. Approximately the same proportion (58% in Appendix Table 10b) said that they shopped mainly within Chatsworth, yet the majority of listed areas outside of Chatsworth were each regularly patronised by between 32 percent and 45 percent of these respondents. (Appendix Table 11(j).)

Focussing now on the shopping areas <u>outside</u> of Chatsworth, one may note (Table 3) that the two most popular venues - the central Durban supermarkets and Warwick Avenue market - each regularly attract just over four out of every ten of all the respondents in this sample, while the smaller shops in the Warwick Avenue/Grey Street area and the Hyperama and Hypermarket each attract roughly three out of every ten. If this finding is generalised to the whole Chatsworth population, it suggests that a substantial number of people flow regularly between Chatsworth and these areas, quite aside from those additional people who patronise these shops intermittently. It would therefore seem higher up the respondent on both these scales, the stronger the association with this venue. In other words, upper class respondents show a marked tendency to be the ones who patronise these particular shops.

Montclair supermarkets would appear to appeal to respondents with some qualities in common with Hyperama/Hypermarket shoppers, in that they attract the better-off and more educated respondent rather than the poorest, least educated people. A further feature of note concerning shoppers at Montclair is that they tend to be older rather than younger, with the greatest concentration of respondents in the 35-49 age category. Customers from this sample are equally likely to be male or female.

Regular shopping in the unit in which they live was mentioned by 66 percent of all respondents, with, proportionately, somewhat more females than males using these shops. Younger people rather than older people tend to be associated with this practice. Level of income did not appear to influence the habit of shopping in their own unit but this was associated with a higher level of education rather than a lower.

Compared to within-unit shops, shops in other units were said to be used by roughly half as many respondents (34%). Here again, proportionately more females than males were responsible for this result, being drawn from any age group. No consistent trend due to the effect of education is apparent, but people with middle incomes are more strongly associated with shopping in other units than are the most or least well-off.

(At this stage it would be as well to point out that, in all discussions concerning level of education, it should be kept in mind by the reader that the number of respondents in the two highest categories is very low. As percentaged answers tend to mislead the unwary, it is suggested that relative rather than absolute value be placed on answers from these categories.)

The picture that emerges of the Warwick Avenue market shopper, then, is that of a group of people containing slightly more males than females, whose incomes are probably near the lower end of the scale, who may be educated to any level, lowest or highest, and who probably live in a low class area.

The remainder of Table 4 may be examined in similar fashion. It may be seen that Jacobs market attracts proportionately more residents in this sample from Unit 4 (the most affluent unit) than from other units, respondents from Unit 6 (a fairly affluent unit) showing least similarity here to Unit 4 respondents. Again, proportionately more respondents from Unit 4 patronise the Hyperama/Hypermarket than from other units, but in this case Unit 6 respondents show the greatest similarity to Unit 4 respondents.

Supermarkets such as the O.K. Bazaars, Pick n Pay and Checkers in central areas of Durban are patronised proportionately the most by Unit 5 respondents (the unit at the bottom of the scale) but also almost equally by respondents from Unit 7 which would appear to be fairly affluent. Respondents from Unit 4 are least likely to shop here.

Montclair supermarkets are patronised proportionately least by respondents from Units 3, 5 and 11 (not very affluent) but most by Unit 4 respondents.

A noteworthy feature of Table 4 is that respondents from Unit 3 patronise shops within their own unit proportionately more than any other group patronises any other area. This practice is perhaps testimony to the general opinion about the better shopping facilities in that unit. Respondents from Unit 10, on the other hand, seem proportionately least happy with shopping in their own unit, being the respondents most likely to go to other units, while respondents from Unit 2 are least happy about shopping in Chatsworth at all.

Further examination of Table 4, column by column, reveals some remarkable points, the most notable of these being perhaps that

It would appear, from a column-by-column inspection of this table, that for respondents regularly shopping at all venues other than those within Chatsworth, a main consideration is that it is cheaper to do so. Of equal importance, however, to those who shop at Warwick Avenue market (i.e. a substantial number from most units, as seen in Table 4) and to those who shop at Jacobs market (mainly Unit 4 respondents) is the state of freshness or quality of the goods. The latter aspect is the main feature unique to the two fresh produce markets. Warwick Avenue market has an advantage over Jacobs market in that it is also well-regarded in its selection of goods, which in some cases are not readily available elsewhere.

Hyperama/Hypermarket shoppers, who consist mainly of Unit 4 respondents, are particularly attracted by the idea of cheapness, this being mentioned by 63 percent. Other reasons for going there, which also demonstrates a concern about cost, are bulk-buying facilities implying a lower price, mentioned by 17 percent, and "special offers", mentioned by 18 percent. A second major reason for using these shops, mentioned by 41 percent of these respondents, is that a good selection of wares is available, which may not be obtainable elsewhere.

Shoppers at the large supermarkets in central Durban would appear to be attracted to these shops for much the same reasons as those given by "hyper" shoppers for their choice of shop. Of the former group of respondents, who consist mainly of Units 5, 6 and 7 respondents, 59 percent give cheapness, 29 percent give special offers and 8 percent give bulk-buying facilities as reasons for going there. These reasons are all cost orientated. Again, a second reason of major importance, mentioned by 30 percent, is the good selection of wares available.

Apart from the belief that it is cheaper to shop there, 26 percent of the respondents using the Grey St./Warwick Avenue shops regularly (Units 10 and 5) and 35 percent of those using the supermarkets at Montclair regularly (Unit 4) do so because the selection of goods includes those which are not available elsewhere. Second with 184 respondents regularly go there. The Hyperama and Hypermarket are as frequently mentioned as is Warwick Avenue market in having the best selection of goods, although these must inevitably be of a different variety. This, together with their believed cheapness, must account for the large number who patronise them. After these two venues - Warwick Avenue market and the two "Hypers" - the supermarkets at Montclair have the best reputation for selection and unusual items. But their best features - cheapness and good selection - are not sufficient to draw many respondents. The big supermarkets in central Durban are more frequently patronised because of "special offers" (29%) than any other venue, the Hyperama/Hypermarket featuring next in importance in this respect (18%). As these central supermarkets attract more respondents than any other venue outside of Chatsworth, the importance of their strongest features - cheapness, good and wide selection and "special offers" should not be overlooked. These three characteristics are also the strongest of the attractions of the Grey Street/Warwick Avenue shops, which attract the third highest number of respondents.

4.8 Summary of section 4

To sum up very briefly these various shopping habits and patterns, it may be said that the Chatsworth shopper is as likely to shop mainly outside as mainly inside Chatsworth for foodstuffs and groceries. Large numbers of respondents leave Chatsworth regularly, making for shopping areas in many parts of Durban, in search of the foodstuffs they particularly want, with cost a primary consideration. Their choice of locality is determined to a certain extent by the type of person they are, for example, whether male or female, rich or poor, while their unit of residence may afford us some help in making predictions about this choice.

supermarkets, but a general tendency by those more highly educated rather than the less educated to opt for this category is present. A fairly sharp rise at the highest education levels associated with opting for Indian control of supermarkets is apparent, but this is not reflected amongst the income sub-groups. Perhaps this represents a conflict of idealism and pragmatism.

Although, for the general public, the question of cost is probably of prime importance in determining the choice of shop, other factors may also be sufficiently influential to override the former. (An example in the context of the study is the degree of mainly within-Chatsworth shopping in spite of the general opinion that shops elsewhere are cheaper.) Question 7, therefore, attempts to establish whether opinions shown in the preceding question, tied to value for money, hold good if the respondent were to consider all reasons for choosing a particular type of shop. Table 6 below presents these results.

In terms of the sample as a whole, although the observed differences between these answers and those of the previous question are slight, the direction is towards entrenchment of the more strongly held choices of the preceding question; including the greater polarisation of younger people towards only Indian supermarkets.

Within the sub-groups of male and female, the emphasis would appear to have changed slightly: a greater proportion of those choosing the white chain stores is made up of females in this question than in the preceding question, these apparently having previously chosen jointly-controlled supermarkets.

Two apparent changes amongst the age sub-groups may be noted. The first of these is the reversal of emphasis between the "under 24" and "25-34" groups in respect of the choice of white chain stores. When the question referred only to value for money, the response from the former age group (55%) was noticeably below that of the sample as a whole (61%), while the response of the latter age group (65%) was almost as much above that of the total sample. With reference to all reasons for choosing a type of shop, the younger age group response rose to that of the sample as a whole, while the older age group would appear to have dropped. The second change also concerns these two age groups, but in respect of jointly-controlled supermarkets. In this case a greater response amongst the younger age group and a lower response in the older group, for the first question, has given way to a lower response from the younger group and a higher response from the older.

No particular effect due to income or education is to be found except amongst those who have achieved some post matric education in the form of diplomas or certificates. For these, a big supermarket jointly controlled by whites and Indians was decidedly the best option of all whan all reasons were taken into account. This category gained, so to speak at the expense

Whereas a decided majority of all respondents, whatever their age or sex, favoured the idea of having white-owned supermarkets in Chatsworth, this idea appears to be in slightly greater favour amongst females (84% in favour, 14% against) than amongst males (80% in favour, 16% against), while the age group 25-34 appears less in favour (77% for and 20% against) than other age groups.

As regards income and education sub-groups, it is of interest that in response to the option "like in general", a positively-skewed distribution of answers is to be found. That is to say, a greater concentration of answers is situated near the lower end of the income and education scales. It would appear to be a lower middle class "quality" to like the idea of white supermarkets in Chatsworth. No particular trend appears to exist in response to the option "dislike in general".

It is relevant at this point to ask whether these attitudes are affected by the tendency to shop mainly within or mainly outside of Chatsworth. Table 17 in the appendix contains these results but little deviation from the overall trend is apparent.

On the whole, a large majority of respondents said that they liked the idea in general of white-owned shops in Chatsworth. This feeling was more strongly associated with the lower levels of income and education. The next questions concerned some of the implications of white-owned shops operating in Chatsworth.

5.3 Consequences of having white shops in Chatsworth

It may tentatively be assumed that, if any antipathy exists amongst these respondents to the idea of white ownerhips, it was not reflected any large extent in their answers: instead it would appear that material benefits outweigh political considerations. It would further appear, as answers to the following question suggest (Table 8), that the preference stated above exists in spite of the submission by approximately half of the sample that allowing white supermarkets into Chatsworth would harm the present shops (Q.9 in interview schedule). That this may be a selfish attitude is suggested in Appendix Tables 18 and 19, in which the answers to these two questions are cross-tabulated in two ways. Here it may be seen that 157 (or 35 percent of the total sample) respondents give an apparently selfish response: that is, 157 respondents state that they like the idea of white-owned supermarkets in Chatsworth while directly acknowledging that the present Chatsworth shops would be harmed by them. (These respondents comprise 43% of those who like the idea of such shops and 71% of those who believe the existing shops would be harmed - Appendix Tables 18 and 19 respectively.) In contrast, those who could be said to be altruistic in their responses regarding the existing shops consist of 53 respondents (77% in Appendix Table 18 and 24% in Appendix Table 19), these being the ones say both that they disliked the idea of white-owned shops in Chatsworth and that they thought such shops would harm the existing shops.

TABLE B.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELIEVED THAT EXISTING CHATSWORTH SHOPS WOULD BE HELPED OR HARMED BY WHITE SUPERMARKETS

		SEX		AGE				INCOME					EDUCATION					
	Total	M	F	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Present shops would be helped	30	25	41	26	26	32	34	46	35	24	27	18	48	31	24	19	40	10
Present shops would be harmed	49	52	41	55	46	48	49	42	36	56	54	64	33	48	46	72	53	80
Not affected	19	21	16	17	26	19	15	11	27	20	15	18	17	19	29	9	7	10
Other	1	2	1	1	3	- *	1		2		4		2	2	1			
Total	99	100	99	99	101	99	99	99	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	449	308	141	76	101	179	93	54	108	99	120	55	58	207	105	53	15	10

* Denotes less than ½%.

TABLE 9.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS WITH PARTICULAR EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING EFFECTSOF WHITE SHOPS ON PRICES

		SEX		AGE				INCOME					EDUCATION					
	Total	M	F	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prices would go up a little	8	7	11	19	10	8	5	9	11	7	7	9	16	8	5	6	13	10
Prices would stay the same as now	14	13	18	14	18	14	11	13	17	19	8	13	16	14	15	17	7	10
Prices would drop a little	60	63	55	57	56	58	73	63	56	62	63	58	53	60	70	55	60	50
Prices would drop quite a lot	12	14	8	12	13	16	4	11	7	9	17	18	3	14	8	19	20	30
Other answers/no information	5	4	8	8	4	4	6	4	8	3	5	2	12	5	3	4		
Total	99	100	100	100	100	100	99	100	99	100	101	100	100	101	101	101	100	100
No. of respondents	449	308	141	76	101	179	53	54	[illegible]	99	120	55	58	207	105	53	15	10

6. POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The attention of the respondent was next directed to issues of a political nature. Questions 11, 12, 13 and 19 deal with trading rights and Questions 14 and 15 with political affiliations.

6.1 Trading rights in Chatsworth

The first of these questions investigated the stance taken by the respondent with regard to the right of allowing big supermarkets into Chatsworth and the next the strength of the respondent's stand in the face of opposition from Indian leaders. Tables 10 and 11 contain these responses and they are presented consecutively for easy reference.

The response to the clearly-defined question as to whather big supermarkets should be allowed into Chatsworth or not showed a strong feeling in favour of the idea. Approximately 90 percent of the respondents answered affirmatively. Only a slight reduction of this percentage was noted amongst these people if faced with the proposition that Indian leaders would argue strongly against the idea of supermarkets in Chatsworth.

Males appear to have a firmer attitude than females against white supermarkets, with larger percentages of answers at each stage of this question (10% and 5% against 7% and 2%). Those in the highest income and education groups appear to have the strongest feelings against white supermarkets, this being observable both in the downward trend with rise in income and education for the permissive approach and the upward trend with rise in income and education for negative answers.

The general finding regarding white traders is that approximately 80 percent of the sample submit that whites should be allowed to trade in Chatsworth, as of right, in spite of opposition from Indian leaders. It is necessary to examine their view of those traders displaced under the Group Areas Act.

Respondents were asked in Q.13 to make a choice from three possible options expressive of opinions about displaced Indian traders vis-a-vis white traders. Comments by interviewers afterwards suggested that the options and their political implications were not readily comprehended by all respondents. Be that as it may, it would appear that a majority of respondents believed that traders displaced by the Group Areas Act as well as big white supermarkets should be given trading opportunities. These answers are presented in Table 12.

Responses to this question amongst the various sub-groups are varied. Males seem somewhat more strongly motivated politically than females, but no obvious trend is apparent amongst the age groups.

TABLE 12.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS HOLDING PARTICULAR OPINIONS ABOUT DISPLACED INDIAN TRADERS

	Total	SEX		AGE				INCOME					EDUCATION					
		M	F	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Displaced traders instead of white supermarkets	16	19	12	15	18	18	13	11	14	13	19	29	12	14	18	19	47	20
Displaced traders as well as white supermarkets	76	74	81	75	77	76	77	83	80	79	75	58	74	80	78	72	53	50
White supermarkets not allowed at all	5	5	4	9	5	3	6	2	5	7	5	7	9	4	4	9		20
Other/no information	2	1	3	1		2	3	4	2	1	1	5	5	2				10
Total	99	100	100	100	100	99	99	100	101	101	100	99	100	100	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	449	303	141	76	101	179	93	54	108	99	120	55	58	207	105	53	15	10

Question 19, asked at the conclusion of the interview, again tapped attitudes towards the rights of ownership of shops in Chatsworth. These answers are tabulated in Table 13.

An effect due to income and education was evident, the trend being for the most affluent and most educated to be most closely assoicated with ant-white, pro-Indian options. Variation amongst age and sex sub-groups was slight.

Overall, however, at least eight out of every ten respondents reaffirmed a preference for the big white supermarkets in saying that they would rather have a big shopping centre with a supermarket, shops such as CNA, Truworths and dozens of smaller Indian shops, than a shopping centre without the supermarket, CNA or Truworths.

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS WHO CONSIDERED THE FOLLOWING GROUPS AS BEST FOR REPRESENTING INDIANS IN DURBAN

	Total %
LAC	21
SAIC	29
NIC	17
Reform Party	3
Others	2
None	5
Not answered	23
Total	100
No. of respondents	449

The fact that hardly any NIC figures appear in Table 14 and yet this organisation figures prominently in Table 15 is fairly odd. It is possibly to be explained by the fact that many of the more prominent NIC leaders live outside of Chatsworth and are not known by name.

It is very difficult to infer the relative strengths of the SAIC versus the NIC from the results in Table 15 due to the large proportion of people who did not answer. If one assumes that there is an "overlap" in political views between the SAIC and the LAC, then it would seem, however, that a more conservative or what is often referred to as "moderate" leadership has an edge on more critical or what is referred to as "militant" leadership.

It must be noted that these estimates apply only to Chatsworth. One may not assume that the same patterns of political preference exist among Indians elsewhere in Durban. In fact, there are likely to be large variations between areas.

A ranking of these statements in order of magnitude of agreement indicates, on the whole, that a benign view of the council tends to prevail. This assessment is based on the fact that, in the first five statements, three are positive while in the last five statements, four are negative. However, as the list does include both positive and negative statements, the responses made up from failure to agree,should also be considered. The general view of the City Council, then, could be said to be as follows: that it works to improve life for all Durban people, not only whites (the first of the statements read to respondents); that it gives Indians a better deal than in the past (statement 3) but this treatment may be attributable to a minority of councillors (statement9); and that it is not thought of as mainly interested in the whites (statament 11) although it could do much more than it does in attempting to influence Government policy.

7.2 Chatsworth's municipal status

The second of the three additional issues concerned opinions as to the municipal status of Chatsworth. Respondents were asked whether Chatsworth should become a separate municipality on its own, separate if assisted with funds, or stay part of Durban. The responses are tabulated below.

For this question, it would appear that whatever the sub-group, whether the respondent was male or female, young or old, approximately 87 percent thought that Chatsworth should stay part of Durban. Nor was there any correlation between attitude and income or education levels. It would further appear that the topic was one on which nearly all respondents had opinions - i.e. a very low "no answer" or "don't know" rate.

This very clear trend in the answers is very significant in the light of the apparent intention of the central government to separate municipal populations into distinct "ethnic" local authorities as far as possible. If the government persists in this intention a great deal of controversy and opposition will be generated among the populations affected.

7.3 The Indian beach

The third issue concerned multi-racial beaches. Respondents were asked to choose one of several options concerning the future of the Indian beach, as shown in the table below.

A majority of all respondents answered that the Indian beach should be opened to all races, with males rather than females, and the oldest age group, being more closely associated with this answer. The two youngest age groups were more inclined than the other age groups to say that the Indian beach should be opened to whites, coloureds and Indians only. Females rather than males, and the two middle age groups were more inclined to say that the Indian beach should stay as it is. No effects due to race of interviewer were apparent.

There was, however, a curious anomaly in the sub-groups of income and education: hitherto, trends along these variables have tended to go hand-in-hand with one another; in answer to this question however, the response gradients tend to take opposite courses. A downward trend with rise in income is apparent for the category "should be opened to all races", but this is associated with an upward (though not strong) trend with rise in level of education. Similarly, for the option "should stay as it is", a rising trend is associated with rise in income and a decreasing trend with level of education. Thus it would seem that the wealthier respondents and those with low levels of education are the ones who would prefer to stay within their own race group rather than mix with all races at the beach.

8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study, a sample of 449 Indians from Chatsworth was asked brief questions about shopping habits and attitudes to the contentious issue of allowing white-owned shops to operate in Chatsworth. Some political background and certain additional topics relating to local government policy were included.

It was found that the major proportion of shopping for food was equally divided between areas outside of Chatsworth and within. Factors of age, sex, income and education were likely to affect the choice of shopping area, as well as particular characteristics of the type of shop itself.

The majority of the respondents were found to be in favour of having large white-owned shops in Chatsworth, even though this was largely seen as likely to be harmful to the existing shops in Chatsworth. White-owned shops were mainly thought to have a right to operate in Chatsworth, but it was largely agreed that Indian traders displaced under the Group Areas Act should be allowed to open as well.

Considerable variation between sub-groups in the population was present, and there was also some variation (some of it associated with sub-group variation) between respondents interviewed by whites and those interviewed by Indians. Nevertheless, in no grouping of respondents is there a majority <u>against</u> the entry of white-owned commerce into Chatsworth. A majority attitude favourable to the establishment of white-owned commerce persisted even when our respondents were faced with the proposition or notion that Indian leaders were opposed to it, that Indian traders would be harmed and that Indian traders displaced by the Group Areas Act needed to be accommodated.

An inspection of all our results, taking into account variations between age, income and educational groups and race of interviewer, suggests very strongly that <u>at least two-thirds</u> of any

On the issue of the future of the Indian beach, it is clear that some two-thirds or more of the people of Chatsworth would endorse the City Council's current policy of cautiously opening certain beaches to all races, including the Indian beach. This support is general throughout the community and even the more conservative groups are prepared to accept an open beach.

Finally, on the issue of the future municipal status of Chatsworth our respondents left us in no doubt about their convictions, which appear to be firmly held; they wish to remain part of Durban. The reasons for this, although not investigated, are probably obvious — they realise that it would be impossible for a separate Indian municipality for an area composed mainly of lower-income people to establish and maintain facilities and servicesof the quality that the Durban Corporation offers. We suspect, furthermore, that there is a great deal of political sentiment in favour of racially integrated urban development for the future. This sentiment is probably also quite important in influencing their choices on other issues we have covered, such as the opening of beaches to all groups and the establishment of white-owned commercial facilities in their areas.

TABLE 1.

NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT REPRESENTATION

	Target Sample		Observed Sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Unit 1	30	7	32	7
2	54	13	65	15
3	61	14	71	16
4	13	3	14	3
5	41	10	47	11
6	22	5	24	5
7, 8, 9*	139	33	130	29
10	27	6	28	6
11	35	8	38	8
Total	422	99	449	100
No. of respondents	422	422	449	449

* Units 7, 8 and 9 could not be separately identified according to type of house, as this information was not available. For sampling purposes, they were treated as one. For discussion purposes, respondents were categorised according to unit as per road number.

TABLE 2.

SEX OF RESPONDENTS

	No.	%
Male	308	69
Female	141	31
Total	449	100
No. of respondents	449	449

TABLE 6.

EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS

	Category	No.	%
Less than Std. 3	1	58	13
Std. 3 - 7	2	207	46
Std. 8 - 9	3	105	23
Std. 10/matric	4	53	12
Post matric certificate or diploma	5	15	3
University degree	6	10	2
No information		1	-
Total		449	99
No. of respondents		449	449

TABLE 7.

TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION

	No.	%
House	397	88
Flat	52	12
Total	449	100
No. of respondents	449	449

TABLE 10 a

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO SHOP EITHER MAINLY INSIDE OR MAINLY OUTSIDE OF CHATSWORTH

	Total	SEX		AGE *				INCOME *					EDUCATION *					
		M	F	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Shop mainly within Chatsworth	48	48	49	40	51	48	53	63	54	52	41	33	53	56	42	34	47	[illegible]
Shop mainly outside of Chatsworth	49	49	50	59	47	51	45	33	43	47	58	64	41	43	55	66	53	[illegible]
Other responses	3	3	1	1	2	1	2	4	3	1	1	3	5	1	3			[illegible]
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	100	100
No. of respondents	449	308	141	76	101	179	93	54	108	99	120	55	58	207	105	53	15	10

* In this and all similar subsequent tables, categories of age, income and education will for convenience be referred to by number. These categories are identified in the appendix in the section on basic data. The point to be kept in mind in reading the tables is that the categories are arranged in ascending order.

Table 11

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS REGULARLY SHOPPING AT EACH AREA AND THE OTHER AREAS THEY PATRONIZED REGULARLY

a. Warwick Ave. Market shoppers also shopped at:

	%
Jacobs market	6
Hyperama/Hypermarket	32
Central white supermarkets	54
Grey St./Warwick Ave. area	45
Clairwood shops	28
Montclair supermarkets	13
Other white supermarkets	12
Shops in own unit	61
Shops in other units	32
No. of respondents	184

b. Jacobs shoppers also shopped at:

	%
Warwick Ave. market	35
Hyperama/Hypermarket	42
Central white supermarkets	45
Grey St./Warwick Ave. area	39
Clairwood shops	26
Montclair supermarkets	39
Other white supermarkets	
Shops in own unit	65
Shops in other units	39
No. of respondents	31

c. Hyperama/Hypermarket shoppers also shopped at:

	%
Warwick Ave. market	44
Jacobs market	10
Central white supermarkets	60
Grey St./Warwick Ave. area	36
Clairwood shops	31
Montclair supermarkets	25
Other white supermarkets	16
Shops in own unit	62
Shops in other units	39
No. of respondents	134

Table 11 Continued

h. Other white supermarket shoppers also shopped at:	%
Warwick Ave. market	47
Jacobs market	
Hyperama/Hypermarket	45
Central white supermarkets	49
Grey St./Warwick Ave. area	51
Clairwood shops	38
Montclair supermarkets	19
Shops in own unit	68
Shops in other units	38
No. of respondents	47

i. Own unit shoppers also shopped at:	%
Warwick Ave. market	38
Jacobs market	7
Hyperama/Hyermarket	28
Central white supermarkets	44
Grey St./Warwick Ave. area	33
Clairwood shops	25
Montclair supermarkets	15
Other white supermarkets	11
Shops in other units	31
No. of respondents	298

j. Other unit shoppers also shopped at:	%
Warwick Ave. market	38
Jacobs market	8
Hyperama/Hypermarket	34
Central white supermarkets	45
Grey St./Warwick Ave. area	35
Clairwood shops	32
Montclair supermarkets	16
Other white supermarkets	12
Shops in own unit	60
No. of respondents	154

TABLE 13.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS GIVING PARTICULAR REASONS FOR SHOPPING AT THEIR REGULAR VENUES

	Warwick Ave. Market	Jacobs Market	Hyperama/ Hypermarket	Central Super-markets	Grey St./ Warwick Avenue	Clairwood	Super-markets at Montclair	Super-markets other white areas	Home Unit	Other Units
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Cheaper	54	44	63	19	49	43	51	52	12	25
Convenient to work	7	9	5	12	15	13	12	25	2	3
Convenient to get there/convenient transport arrangements	21	18	14	10	13	20	16	11	17	20
Convenient - close to home	1	12	4	1	1	9	19	7	85	59
Better quality goods/better state of freshness	53	44	17	12	10	8	9	5	2	9
Can buy in large quantities therefore cheaper	8	9	17	8	3	8	7	7	2	5
Best selection/can't get required goods elsewhere	41	15	41	10	26	17	35	21	3	15
Have or can have account	1		1	1	3	1			1	1
Can get or gets discount			2	4	3	3	1		-*	
Other facilities nearby, therefore convenient for other types of shopping/activities/can do other things on same outing	4	13	8	14	11	5	6	5	3	6
Special offers	1		18	29	13	12	9	9	2	7
Buys from Indians	1			1	11	6			2	1
Meets friends/is a social occasion	2	3		1	5	2	1	5	1	1
Other answers - notably, delivery service available	3	6	4	2	3	3	4	7	5	10
Total	197	213	194	184	166	150	170	154	137	162
No. of respondents	184	[illegible]	134	194	150	107	71	47	298	151

* Denotes less than ½%.

TABLE 15.

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SHOPPING MAINLY WITHIN OR OUTSIDE OF CHATSWORTH ASSOCIATING TYPE OF OUTLET WITH BEST VALUE FOR MONEY

	Shop mainly within Chatsworth	Shop mainly outside Chatsworth	Total
	%	%	%
A big supermarket run by P n P, O.K. or Checkers	60	63	61
A big new supermarket run by Indian businessmen	9	12	10
A big new supermarket jointly controlled by Indians and whites	14	21	17
Existing smaller supermarkets in Chatsworth	11	3	7
Some ordinary shops in Chatsworth	3	-	2
Undecided/don't know	3	1	2
Total	100	100	99
No. of respondents	216	222	449*

TABLE 16.

	Shop mainly within Chatsworth	Shop mainly outside Chatsworth	Total
	%	%	%
A big supermarket run by P n P, O.K. or Checkers	61	64	62
A big new supermarket run by Indian businessmen	9	10	9
A big new supermarket jointly controlled by Indians and whites	15	23	19
Existing smaller supermarkets in Chatsworth	11	2	6
Some of the ordinary shops in Chatsworth	-	-	1
Undecided, don't know	4	1	2
Total	100	100	99
No. of respondents	216	222	449*

* NOTE: Not all respondents answered Question 2.

TABLE 20

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS AT DIFFERENT LEVELS OF INCOME AND EDUCATION WHO WERE INTERVIEWED BY WHITE AND INDIAN INTERVIEWERS

	RACE OF INTERVIEWER	
	WHITE	INDIAN
	%	%
Income		
R199 and under	9	18
R200 - R349	23	26
R350 - R499	23	21
R500 - R799	28	24
R800 and over	14	9
No information	3	2
Total	100	100
No. of respondents	287	162
Education		
Less than Std. 3	10	17
Std. 3 - 7	46	46
Std. 8 - 9	24	22
Std. 10/matric	14	8
Post matric certificate/diploma	3	4
University degree	2	2
No information		
Total	99	99
No. of respondents	287	162

TABLE 23.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS WHO LIKED OR DISLIKED THE IDEA OF HAVING WHITE-OWNED SUPERMARKETS IN CHATSWORTH

		RACE OF INTERVIEWER	
	Total	White	Indian
	%	%	%
Like in general	81	90	67
Dislike in general	15	6	31
Other	1	1	1
No information	2	3	1
Total	99	99	100
No. of respondents	449	287	162

TABLE 24.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELIEVED THAT EXISTING CHATSWORTH SHOPS WOULD BE HELPED OR HARMED BY WHITE SUPERMARKETS

		RACE OF INTERVIEWER	
	Total	White	Indian
	%	%	%
Present shops would be helped	30	31	28
Present shops would be harmed	49	45	56
Not affected	19	21	16
Other	1	2	
Total	99	99	100
No. of respondents	449	287	162

TABLE 25.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS WITH PARTICULAR EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING EFFECTS OF WHITE SHOPS ON PRICES

		RACE OF INTERVIEWER	
	Total	White	Indian
	%	%	%
Prices would go up a little	8	7	11
Prices would stay the same as now	14	15	12
Prices would drop a little	60	59	64
Prices would drop quite a lot	12	13	10
Other answers/no information	5	76	2
Total	99	101	99
No. of respondents	449	287	162

TABLE 28.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS HOLDING PARTICULAR OPINIONS ABOUT DISPLACED INDIAN TRADERS

		RACE OF INTERVIEWER	
	Total	White	Indian
	%	%	%
Displaced traders instead of white supermarkets	16	10	27
Displaced traders as well as white supermarkets	76	83	65
White supermarkets not allowed at all	5	4	7
Other/no information	2	3	1
Total	99	100	100
No. of respondents	449	287	162

TABLE 29.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOSE A PARTICULAR TYPE OF SHOPPING CENTRE

		RACE OF INTERVIEWER	
	Total	White	Indian
	%	%	%
Big centre with supermarket, CNA, Truworths and dozens of smaller Indian shops	88	93	80
Shopping centre without white-owned shops	11	7	19
Other/no information	1		1
Total	100	100	100
No. of respondents	449	287	162

TABLE 32.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING TO PARTICULAR STATEMENTS ABOUT THE CITY COUNCIL

	Total	Race of Interviewer	
		White	Indian
	%	%	%
1. This Council works to improve life for all people in Durban not only whites	76	82	66
2. This Council is no different from any white City Council	39	41	35
3. This Council gives Indians a better deal than in the past	69	77	55
4. This Council - too many promises and no action	52	49	56
5. No matter what the Council may want, the Corporation officials still do too little for Indians	51	46	59
6. The Council does its best to listen to Indian leaders	42	46	35
7. The service the Corporation gives is improving all the time	60	71	42
8. The Council can do much more than it does to persuade the government to change its policies	62	63	60
9. Some councillors are trying their best but the majority still neglect Indian problems	68	66	72
10. This City Council is determined to make progressive changes	60	67	46
11. This Council on the whole is mainly interested in the whites	33	26	46

CASS.64/82

CENTRE FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
DURBAN

CHATSWORTH SURVEY

Introduction:

I am from the University of Natal. I work for a department at the University called the Centre for Applied Social Sciences. We do surveys on topical issues - that is on problems or events which are in the news. We do these surveys in order to keep everyone, including the decision-makers, informed on what people really think.

We have selected streets and houses in streets at random - i.e., as in a lottery. In such a way we can interview a few hundred people who will scientifically represent the views of the whole area.

Your answers are very important to us because you will be answering for many other people like you. What you say will be completely confidential. We add all the answers together in a computer and publish results only for groups. For example, men or women, teenagers, adults or older people, clerical workers, artisans, nurses, etc.

My interview with you will not take long and I am sure you will enjoy it. The questions are easy, for instance:

1. Thinking of Chatsworth as a whole, what are the most urgent problems that need to be put right? (Probe for at least two.)

----

4. (For each area shopped at regularly - see above, ask):
Would you tell me how often you generally shop at __________
(Interviewer: mention area and read completely through the list of possible frequencies each time and tick appropriately).

	Not Selected	Every Day	2 - 3 times per week	1 X week	1 X 2 weeks	1 X 3-4 weeks	Less Fre-quently
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							

6. Think of the shopping facilities for food that one might have in Chatsworth. Which one of the following will offer people like you best value for money? (Read - rotate)

	(Ring)
A big Supermarket run by Pick and Pay, O.K. Bazaars or Checkers	1
A big new Supermarket run by Indian Businessmen	2
A big new Supermarket jointly controlled by Indian and white Businessmen	3
The existing smaller Supermarkets in Chatsworth	4
Some of the ordinary shops in Chatsworth	5

7. Value for money is only one of the things which are important in shopping for food, but there are other things as well. If you think now of all your reasons together, which would you shop at most? (Read - rotate)

	(Ring)
A big Supermarket run by Pick and Pay, O.K. Bazaars or Checkers	1
A big new Supermarket run by Indian Businessmen	2
A big new Supermarket jointly controlled by Indian and white Businessmen	3
The existing smaller Supermarkets in Chatsworth	4
Some of the ordinary shops in Chatsworth	5

8. As you may know, there is talk about white-owned Supermarkets being allowed to open in Chatsworth. In general, do you like or dislike the idea of having white-owned Supermarkets here in Chatsworth?

	(Ring)
Like in general	1
Dislike in general	2

Other (specify) ______________________________

9. If the big Supermarkets were allowed in Chatsworth, do you feel they would help the shops here now by bringing in more customers to shop in Chatsworth, or would the shops already here be harmed?

	(Ring)
Present shops would be helped	1
Present shops would be harmed	2
Not affected	3

14. Which person or persons would you see as leaders with most support from the Indian people in Durban?

----

15. Which one of the following groups are best for representing the Indian community in Durban?

	(Ring)
LAC'S	1
SAIC	2
Reform Party	3
Natal Indian Congress	4
Other groups (specify) ________________	
____	

16. Think of the present Durban City Council and of the Durban Corporation. I will read you a number of things that can be said about them. Please tell me which ones you agree with.

	(Ring)
This Council works to improve life for all people in Durban, not only whites	01
This Council is no different from any white City Council	02
This Council gives Indians a better deal than in the past	03
This Council - too many promises and no action	04
No matter what the Council may want, the Corporation officials still do too little for Indians	05
The Council does its best to listen to Indian leaders	06
The service the Corporation gives is improving all the time	07
The Council can do much more than it does to persuade the government to change its policies	08
Some Councillors are trying their best but the majority still neglect Indian problems	09
This City Council is determined to make progressive changes	10
This Council on the whole is mainly interested in the whites	11

A few personal details:

Sex:

Male	1
Female	2

Religion:

Hindu	1
Islam	2
Christian	3
Other	4

Age: (of respondent and spouse, where necessary)

Under 20 yrs	01	45 - 49 yrs	07
20 - 24 yrs	02	50 - 54 yrs	08
25 - 29 yrs	03	55 - 59 yrs	09
30 - 34 yrs	04	60 - 64 yrs	10
35 - 39 yrs	05	65 + yrs	11
40 - 44 yrs	06		

Income: (rough indication of income per month of you, your spouse and any people that share their income with you)

R - 0	01	R 400 - 449	09
R 1 - 99	02	R 450 - 499	10
R 100 - 149	03	R 500 - 549	11
R 150 - 199	04	R 550 - 599	12
R 200 - 249	05	R 600 - 799	13
R 250 - 299	06	R 800 - 999	14
R 300 - 349	07	R1000 +	15
R 350 - 399	08		

Education: (of respondent and spouse, where necessary)

Less than Std. 3.	1
Std. 3 to Std. 7	2
Std. 8 or 9.	3
Std. 10/matric	4
Post matric certificate or Diploma	5
University degree	6