

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ROLE OF CONFLICT  
IN THE STRATIFICATIONARY PROCESS OF THE  
AFRICAN IN THE COPPER MINING INDUSTRY  
OF NORTHERN RHODESIA BETWEEN THE YEARS

1943 - 1961

BY

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

In the Department of Sociology  
in the  
FACULTY OF ARTS

RHODES UNIVERSITY

Grahamstown

November, 1963

## S U M M A R Y

The aim of this study is to investigate the role of CONFLICT in the stratificationary process of the African in the Copper Mining Industry of Northern Rhodesia between the years 1943 - 1961.

The hypothesis and assumptions which it is desired to prove can be classified as falling into four categories:

1. that which accepts human beings as individuals acting in group structures, each group having its appropriate goals and ends forming discernable patterned action-systems;
2. that these groups can be reconstructed to show variable patterns of action which might be either accommodative or initially contradictory as conflicts emerge within the system;
3. that items 1 and 2 above can be objectivised by empirical materials and that they change in time, and, in so doing, are modified in structure-functional relations;
4. that conflict is the process which animates the patterns and prescribes new goals and ends within the patterned activity systems.

An indefinite number of causality factors are possible in explaining social change, but we confine ourselves to the concept CONFLICT, with special reference to the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia. The economic factors operating, together with the political and social factors, producing a typical stratification of the African in the industry, sofar as this reveals changing patterns of progressive and aggressive goal thrusts and redefinition of the social positions of the contesting participants, are dealt with in the appropriate sections of this investigation.

The model has been developed in relation to the study of the total social system with special emphasis on their overtly political and economical aspects.

Part 1, in its entirety, deals with the theory of conflict. It also contains our own development of the theme. The empirical data are contained in parts 2, 3, with a section on envisaged future social developments. The conclusion, to this investigation, forms the last part, with an exhaustive testing of the TEN-POINT HYPOTHESIS given at the end of Part 1.

.....Social life is a huge mass of interests;  
social groupings are but the groupings of  
individuals around interests; and social  
dynamics itself is but an incessant conflict,  
adaptation and interplay of interests of  
members of a society.....

- Pitirim Sorokin

To my wife

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

No man knows fully what has shaped his own thinking. It is difficult for me to trace in detail the provenience of the conceptions set forth in this dissertation, and to track down the reasons for their progressive modification as I have worked with them for nearly eight years. Many have contributed to the development of these conceptions. But among these, there are six to whom I owe an especial debt, though of varying degree and kind, and to them I want to pay tribute.

Those who read the following pages will soon recognise the great debt I owe to my promotor, Professor James Irving, of Rhodes University, who so early in his teaching career conveyed his enthusiasm for analytical theory to so many. The measure of his calibre as a teacher is found in his having stirred up intellectual enthusiasm, rather than creating docile disciples. Since it is evident from our countless discussions that he has no conception of the full extent of my intellectual debt to him, I am especially happy to have this occasion to record it. Above all, he has, through his own example, reinforced in myself the conviction that the great difference between social science and social dilettantism resides in the systematic and logic, that is to say, the intellectually responsible and austere, pursuit of what is perceived as an interesting idea.

In assisting me, along with the Management of Rhokana Corporation Ltd., I gratefully acknowledge the provision of factual detail by the officers of the European and African Mine Workers' Union and the Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines, who must remain anonymous. A number of my colleagues also provided help for which I am indeed grateful. Foremost stand Dr. W.J.de Villiers and Mr. M.W.Stephenson who were both, at the inception of this study, senior management officers of Rhokana, and with whom I have had consulting relationships. Each contributed toward the crystallisation of various theories expounded here.

In closing these remarks of gratitude, I have especially saved for the last my expression of my feelings toward my wife and her part in this study. I want to assure her, again, that her dedication and enthusiasm sustained me more so as this volume was completed under quite trying and unusual circumstances.

J.A.G.C.

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## INTRODUCTION

### The problem and Methods

1. The greatest problem confronting all sciences which deal with man and his behaviour is the lack of uniformity and clarity of terminology and conceptual constancy. Unlike the case of the natural scientist, who ordinarily has universally accepted frameworks, the social sciences still suffer from what we may term methodological imperfections. Fully aware of these imperfections, we nevertheless, approached our field leaning heavily on Paul Furfey's view that 'knowledge is superior when it is generalised', hoping to bring out the larger implications and pertinence of our knowledge of racial and cultural groups and their characteristic modes of adjustment to each other in terms of a general theory of social change.

The aim of this study is to investigate the role of conflict in the stratificationary process of the African in the Copper Mining Industry of Northern Rhodesia between the years 1943 - 1961.

The hypothesis and assumptions which it is desired to prove can be classified as falling into four categories:

1. that which accepts human beings as individuals acting in group structures, each group having its appropriate goals and ends forming discernable patterned action-systems;
2. that these groups can be reconstructed to show variable patterns of action which might be either accommodative or initially contradictory as conflicts emerge within the system;
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An indefinite number of causality factors are possible in explaining social change, but we confine ourselves mainly to the concept of CONFLICT, with special reference to the

Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia. The economic factors operating, together with the political and social factors, producing a typical stratification of the African in the Copper Mining Industry, so far as this reveals changing patterns of progressive and aggressive goal thrusts and redefinition of the social positions of the contesting participants, are dealt with in the appropriate sections of this investigation. The prolonged challenge which was constantly issued to vested interests required them to readapt themselves. Whether they have in fact succeeded in a successful readaptation shall be shown later.

A further object is to develop the hypothesis as clearly, completely and consistently as possible. Especially have we interested ourselves in the theoretical considerations involved in the development of reliable methods of studying these processes and systematically formulating and verifying hypotheses regarding them.

2. The endeavour throughout was to link factual certitude with causality and generality. These three qualities, it is felt, are sufficient conditions for logical and scientific knowledge, because when a fact is known with certitude and the cause of that fact also with certitude and, moreover, one has generalised this factual knowledge by subsuming under a general statement all similar facts dependent on the same cause in this restricted area, one's knowledge is qualitatively as accurate as the occasion allows within the conceptual framework provided.

The following methods of investigation were used:

1. The Statistical Method

Calculations and graphs have been compiled in order that the most salient characteristics emerge clearly from the empirical data.

2. The Historical Method

It was possible, by making use of Commissions of Inquiry Reports and Northern Rhodesia Government publications, to get a comprehensive picture of the development of the Copper Mining Industry and the roles played by the White and the Black man in its industrial growth. This constitutes the background from which the conflict situation will emerge.

3. The Personal Observation Method

The investigator was in the fortunate position to have been an Industrial Relations Officer for the entire period covered by this investigation and could therefore apply the participational-observational method. This assists in the verification of facts but no appeal is made to unsubstantiated personal authority.

4. The Inductive Method

In the strict sense, induction, is a form of inference which leads to a conclusion (after the examination of a limited number of phenomena) and the formulation of a general statement applying to the whole class to which these phenomena belong. Our terms of reference allowed the material to be treated in this manner. A substantial volume of empirical material is offered from which inductions are derived.

5. The Deductive Method

A reasonable amount of use was made of limited intuitions, as it is advantageous in that it made perception possible, thus greatly extending the range of observation. We were, however, aware of the fact that intuitions suffer from ambiguity and, therefore, we have guarded against their deceptive qualities.

6. The Case Study Method(a) Of Industrial Disputes

This was possible by making use of all the Reports by the various Commissions of Inquiry and personal observations.

(b) Of Community Analysis

This was possible by tracing the impact of conflict on institutions and their reconstruction in the form of new associations giving rise to community changes.

(c) Of Cultural Impact-Dynamics

This was possible by studying the role played by mores, tradition and 'casual habit' so far as they operate to retard and accelerate the

the social system and its sub-systems at different time intervals. The phases are indicated later.

3. In the light of the hypothesis and the methodology outlined above, the theoretical reasoning and contributions to the theory of plural societies, assists in suggesting a programme in terms of which plural societies, such as the Copperbelt, might be studied with a view to policy formation. The following conclusions emerge from this approach and channel the analysis:

- (a) Malinowski<sup>1</sup> and Furnivall<sup>2</sup> draw our attention to the importance of the culture patterns which exist prior to the contact situation. A study of these patterns is essential to the understanding of plural societies, since there are many important social and cultural features of such societies, which defy explanation solely in terms of the contact situation. This involves historical explanation.
- (b) What we have in the given situation is a conflict in which culture patterns and vested interests are involved. We regard the conflict situation on the Copperbelt as one between differing values as well as between differing interests. These values have to be isolated from their culture patterns and from vested interest, and their interlocking relationships may be antagonistic to the value system and the interest system of the dominant group.
- (c) Such an analysis involves the unmasking of concealed value judgments in the inductions drawn from the 'facts' of the society by participating groups. Usually such conclusions point to the objective necessity of the performance of certain duties for society as a whole in spite of the conflicting elements. On these ends sub-groups might differ seriously.

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1 - Malinowski, B.: The Dynamics of Culture Change (1945), chapters 3,4,5 and 6.

2 - Furnivall, J.S.: Netherlands India (1944), Chapter 4.

- (d) After we have demonstrated the nature of the conflicts in the contact situation, our next aim is to explore its dynamics. This a more complex problem than it would at first appear. Myrdal's<sup>1</sup> view is that the realisation of the aspirations of a group depends upon the size and social power of the groups deployed against it. We discuss this aspect later.
- (e) At the present stage of the development of Sociology we were compelled simply to proceed empirically to try and discover the sort of outcome which might be expected in following a particular type of conflict in a particular situation. Systematic comparative studies in a limited field have already been performed and allowed investigators to formulate limited generalisations of a dynamic kind. Epstein's<sup>2</sup> investigations into the political motives of an urban society and Clyde Mitchell's<sup>3</sup> studies in migratory labour are the outstanding examples.

Our approach is designed so that one is able to say that: given the existence of a particular conflict of culture patterns, interests and ideals, and given a certain balance of sanctions, it is to be expected that a particular type of adjustment will occur at probability. The typology is thus 'ideal' in Weber's sense.

It should perhaps be noted, however, that the mere existence of conflict of culture, interests and ideals by no means implies that the structure of society must change or that it must change in any set direction. This is conditional on the balance of power remaining constant which is unlikely.

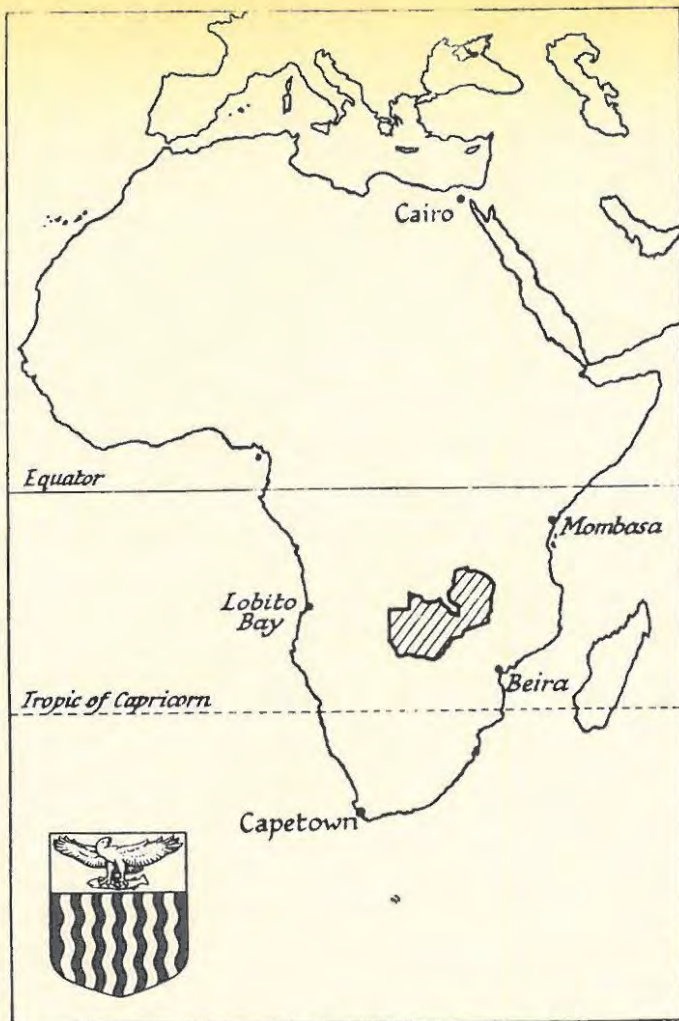
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1 - Myrdal, G.: An American Dilemma, (1944), chapter 6.  
 2 - Epstein, A.L.: Politics in an Urban Community, (1956)  
 3 - Mitchell, J. Clyde: Africans in Industrial Towns in Northern Rhodesia, as rendered at H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh's Study Conference, 1956. See also by the same author: A note on the Urbanization of Africans on the Copperbelt, in Human Problems in British Central Africa, (1951), and Urbanization, Detribalization and Stabilization: a Problem of Definition and Measurement, (1954).

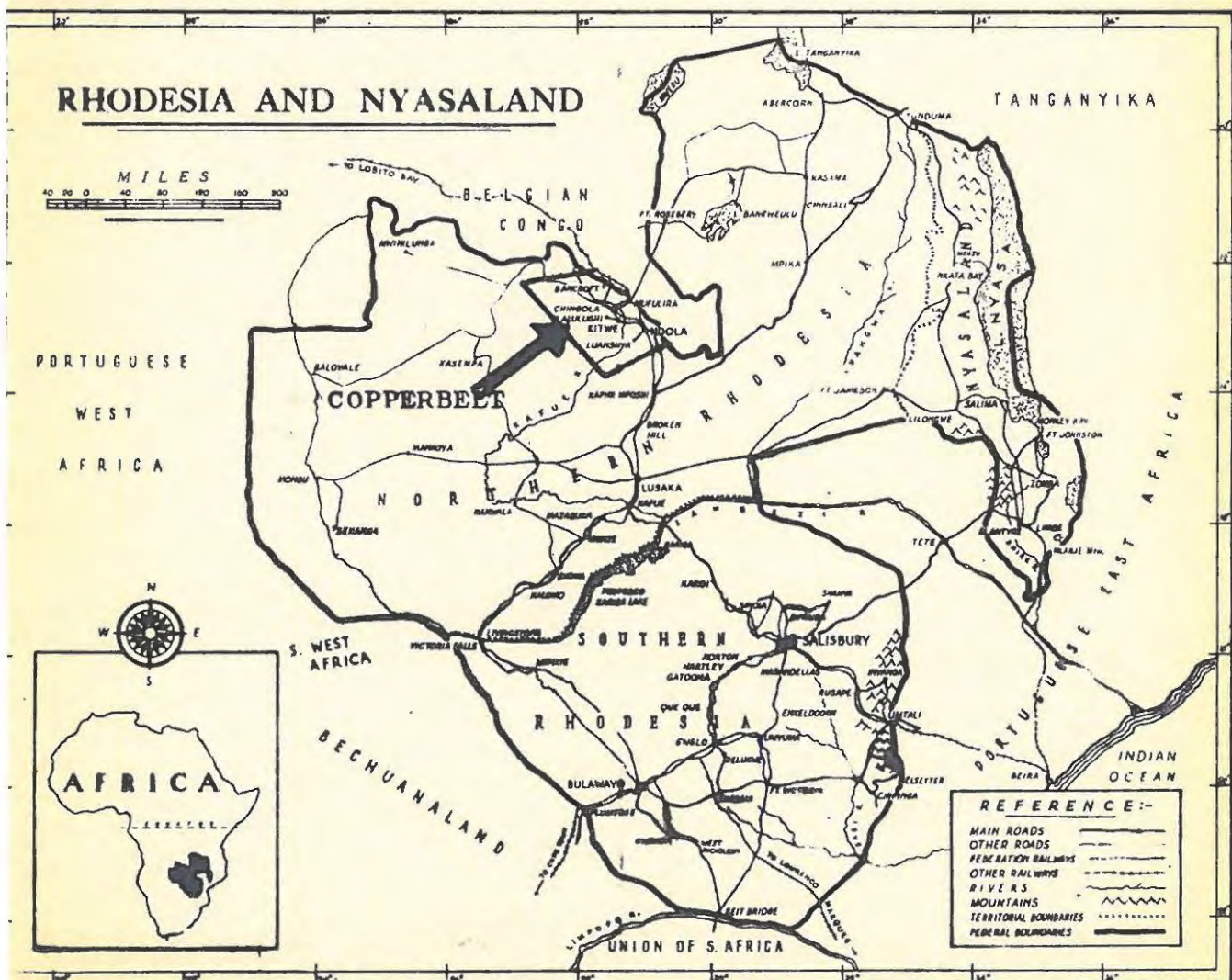
What may happen is that the nature of the sanctions employed by the dominant group might change, as was the case on the Copperbelt. What actually happened we indicate later.

We had to ascertain that our knowledge of the traditional cultures so far as they are affected by contact, which were to be studied, were of a scientifically accepted standard. The following are the steps to cover this aspect:

- (a) To study the economic interests as well as the expressed intentions of each group in the Copper Mining Industry.
- (b) To study the roles which members of one group assign to members of the other group as a result of having interests and intentions and to compare with the other group's self-assigned role. Thus, to take one of Malinowski's examples, we should note any variance between the sort of group-advancement which the European wishes the African to receive, and the sort of group-advancement desired by the Africans themselves. In our study we have compared the European's view of the rights of an African workman with the rights which the European seeks for himself, and also the definition of the situation as perceived by the acting African.
- (c) To study the power situation in relation to the opportunities afforded by the Industry on the Copperbelt — in Simmel's sense, the superordinatory control system.
- (d) To study the society over a period of time, i.e. from 1943 to 1961, in order to discover what changes it underwent both in group relations and role-expectation between groups, and in the kind of sanctions employed by both groups in the pursuit of its goals.
- (e) To compare different sequences of development of the conflict situation in order to discover whether limited generalisations about conflict and stratification can be formulated.



Northern Rhodesia's position in Africa; and the crest of Northern Rhodesia. Notice the position of Northern Rhodesia in the tropics and its distance from the sea.



4. The study of plural societies is important for sociology generally because the explicit recognition that they are plural draws attention to the fact that social systems exist in which conflict is more likely than consensus concerning the means and ends.

\* \* \*

The sample used in this investigation was the Rhokana Corporation Limited, a Northern Rhodesia registered copper mining company, employing 1948 European employees, which include 214 learners and apprentices; and also 8,749 Africans, which include 834 staff employees. This is the total group of the two races employed by the Corporation since 1931, making a grand total of some 10,697 employees. It is deemed to be a typical mining unit in respect to its organisation and its labour resources.

The facts regarding this Corporation were gleaned from:

- (a) the Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines Yearbooks;
- (b) the Reports of various Commissions of Inquiry appointed by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia;
- (c) the official publications of the Corporation;
- (d) the two employee trade unions; and
- (e) Official Northern Rhodesia Government publications.

The Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, covers an area of some 1,600 square miles bordering upon the former Belgian Congo and is adjacent to the Katanga copper fields in that territory<sup>1</sup>. It comprises the following mining towns: Nkana, Mufulira, Luanshya, Nchanga, Chibuluma, Bancroft and for the purposes of this investigation Ndola and Broken Hill.

The Copperbelt is situated on the extreme Northern border of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Federation is contained within the continent of Africa between 8° on the North and 22° on the south latitude; and between the longitude of 22° to 36°. It is bordered on the East by Mocambique, on the North-east by Tanganyika, on the North by the former Belgian Congo, on the North-west by Angola, on the South-west by Bechuanaland, and on the

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1 - Cf. The Report of the Forster Commission of Inquiry. (1954)

South by the Republic of South Africa. Its central position in an area of political diversity is obvious.

The following population figures covering mining townships only, were taken from the Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines (1960) Yearbook. The population ratios are calculated by the writer:

TABLE 1  
Population Statistics

Mining Town	Africans	Europeans	Population ratio Africs : Europeans
Bancroft	12,818	2,029	6 : 1
Chibuluma	6,521	1,148	6 : 1
Mufulira	39,495	3,875	10 : 1
Nkana	37,525	6,315	6 : 1
Nchanga	23,550	3,640	6 : 1
Roan Antelope	37,000	4,141	9 : 1
Copperbelt Total	156,909	21,148	7 : 1
Total All races	178,057		

The Table above includes gainfully employed persons and their kinship affiliates in the households of gainfully employed persons. Directly or indirectly this population exists by virtue of the existence of the various copper mines. Without this, the population would be no more than that of a primitive agricultural economy.

In addition to this population figure there are, according to the same source, 98,009 Africans and 13,869 Europeans who depend on the mines in the area and would lose their employment if the mines had not been there. These include traders, Government officials, municipal authorities, police, teachers, etc., as persons in auxiliary employment secondary to the mining industry.

The total population of the Copperbelt is thus:

289,935 persons of both races of which 254,918 are Africans and 35,037 are Europeans. The overall ratio of the two races, including mine dependents and gainfully employed plus those secondary affiliates, is thus 7.2 Africans to 1 European.

The ratio for each mining town is set out above — except for Mufulira and the Roan Antelope the ratio is constant at 6 to 1 and this is likely to be a function of the organisation and the technological processes of the copper mining companies.

In terms of earnings the same source shows the following:

TABLE 2

The Earnings of Gainfully Employed

Groups	Gainfully employed	Total Income	Annual Earning per capita of gainfully employed.
Africans	36,105	£9,327,015	£258
Europeans	7,474	£16,142,928	£2,160
Total	43,579	£25,469,943	£585

By combining Table 1 and Table 2 it will be seen that there are 156,909 Africans of which only 36,105 are gainfully employed: thus, every gainfully employed African on the mines is wholly or partly sustaining 4.4 persons, compared with the Europeans who have a population figure of 21,168 of which 7,474 are gainfully employed. Each European thus wholly or partly sustains 2.8 persons.

In terms of income the 36,105 Africans earn £9,327,105 yielding a per capita of £258 so far as the gainfully employed persons are concerned. If, however, we include his dependents as set out in Table 1 as 156,909 we have an annual per capita income of £59.4

In terms of income the 7,474 Europeans earn £16,142,928 yielding an annual income of £2,160. If his dependents, which are given at 21,168, are included we have an annual per capita for Europeans of £762.6

To restate the above in a different way: we have a wide difference between the African, who is gainfully employed, and his annual income of £258, and the European, who is gainfully employed, with an annual income of £2,160 — the ratio in this instance is 8 to 1

in favour of the European.

If, however, we relate this to the dependents also, we have for the Europeans, according to Table 2, an annual income of £16,142,928 with 21,168 dependents, yielding £762.6 per capita per annum. In the case of the African the annual income is £9,327,015 with 156,909 dependents, yielding £59.4 per capita per annum. The ratio, in this instance, is now 13 to 1 in favour of the European.

Therefore, if we find a low standard of living for the African we can attribute this to two factors:

- (a) the wide disparity in wage levels per annum per worker of each race, and
- (b) the larger number of dependents of Africans compared with Europeans which reduce the income at a faster rate due to the higher number of aggregates living upon the wage, compared with the European with a fewer number of dependents and a higher income.

5. The ratios disclose the operation of both these factors. Given these primary economic facts the possibility, nay probability, of competition and conflict for the division of the wage product is highly predictable. It is not inevitable but becomes more probable to the degree that African popular movements, political and trade unions, develop and are enabled by group pressure and increased cohesion to make increasing demands that are increasingly yielded and thus providing an escalator for the next stage of demands. As Professor Harold Laski argued no human group gives up its benefits willingly to another unless group conflict forces it to yield. The same idea has been systematically developed by Myrdal<sup>1</sup> in his theory of the 'Principle of Cumulation'. The model built up by Myrdal, adjusted for our purposes, is composed of the following:

- i. that a black majority vies with a white minority;
- ii. that discriminatory practices operate against the black majority;

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1 - Myrdal, G.: Op. cit. Appendix 3, pp.1066 -1067.

- iii. that the standard of living of the black is considerably lower than for the white;
- iv. that the blacks low standard of living is related causally to the higher level of the white;
- v. that there is marked educational, cultural and value differences between the groups;
- vi. that the equilibrium which maintains the system will evoke just enough discrimination to maintain the two divergent standards of living relatively constant on both sides;
- vii. that if the disparity ratio is maintained little overt increase takes place in discrimination but if the ratios are challenged then, in the first phases at least, the reply is an acceleration of white discrimination which, if successfully still further challenged by gains in the first instance may decrease the discrimination by removing variables, wholly or partly of differences of education, health, culture, habits, etc. Each change in one variable changes the volume and intensity of white-black prejudice and discrimination.
- viii. As Myrdal, "any change in any one of these factors, independent of the way it is brought about, will, by the aggregate weight of the cumulative effects....start the whole system moving in one direction or the other with a speed depending upon the original push and the functions of causal relationships within the system."

As we suggest later the adjusted Myrdal-model is applicable to the conditions in Northern Rhodesia and as such the model should be taken as a conceptual tool operative with the hypotheses advanced earlier. As Myrdal is sceptical of equilibrium models and prefers dynamic causation so are we, and we indicate our objections to the equilibrium theory later.

Wherever one factor changes its effects are cumu-

lative and work to modify the total action pattern with-  
in each group in the inter-racial situation and also  
in the interrelationships of the two groups which to-  
gether form the total action system. Hence the reason  
why Myrdal says that a 'rational strategy in the negro  
problem also assumes a theory of dynamic causation'.

This view we maintain in the successive pages  
as an index to meaningful rendering of what happened in  
Northern Rhodesia and also, apart from meaningful signi-  
ficance but closely connected to it, the lines of ad-  
ministrative, social and economic policy which should  
follow from the standpoint.

When social change occurs there is no return to  
a static equilibrium. To speak of a 'moving equilibrium'  
is to modify the concept of 'equilibrium' until it, more  
accurately, approaches the concept used here of 'dynamic  
causation'.

We seek to elucidate the dynamics of the specific  
situation in a specific area in a given time limit.

P A R T 1

THE THEORY OF CONFLICT

IN

SOCIAL CHANGE

\*

PROBLEMS

CHAPTER 1

THEORIES OF CONFLICT AND ACCOMMODATION

1. The word 'group' is here used in a very general sense and it refers to any collection of persons who are bound together by a distinctive set of social relations. This concept would, therefore, include everything from members of a family, adherents to trade unionism, participants in a common action of citizens of a national state. It is thus obvious that two persons form a group if they are partners who are held together and set apart from the others by their relationship. Groups can therefore be highly organised and stable or very fluid and temporary. They can be temporary or permanent, local or national, symmetrical or assymetrical, but essentially their members, cohesive or hostile, are bound together in a plurality of meaningful relationships — the action of one taking account of the presence of the other and being thus mutually oriented<sup>1</sup>

In the definition of 'community' we wish to rely on Broom & Selznick's<sup>2</sup> interpretation because it fits the pattern of arguments which we follow. They contend that a community is an inclusive group with two chief characteristics:

1. within it the individual can have most of experiences and conduct most of the activities that are important to him; and
2. it is bound together by a shared sense of belonging and by the feeling among its members that the group defines for them their distinctive identity.

In theory, thus, the member of a community lives his whole life within it; which leads to a keen sense of

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1 - Weber, Max: The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation, (1946) Chapter 2. See also McIver, R.M. A Textbook of Sociology (1942) for his exposition on this theme.

2 - Broom & Selznick: Sociology, (1958), p.31

awareness of 'kinship with others who also belong to it'<sup>1</sup> and he completely identifies himself with the aims and ideals of the group.

Organisations with special purpose aims, such as trade unions, corporations and political parties are called 'associations', and they are usually based on utilitarian and limited interests. It must, however, be borne in mind that there are variations in the range of interests served and in the resulting meaning of membership. In general the more specific and practical an association's objectives are, the more impersonal and narrow will be the individual's relation to the association. William H. Whyte, Jr., recently discussed this problem emphasising the personal dilemmas that arise when a large, basically impersonal business enterprise seeks a broader loyalty from the employee which had to be in keeping with an approved pattern of life<sup>2</sup>. A similar problem rises in bureaucracies, trade unions and major corporation business enterprises.

When an association serves public interests mostly, and does so in an accepted, orderly and enduring fashion, it may be called an 'institution'. It should, however, also be noted that the word 'institution' also refers to practices, to established ways of doing things. According to Broom & Selznick, an institution may be a type of group or it may be a formalised practice of procedure. In this sense, the trade union movement in Northern Rhodesia is an institution and it conducts itself in institutionalised ways.

This investigation is intended to underscore the fact that society is not merely an aggregate of interacting individuals — it has group structure, and each type of group makes a distinctive contribution to maintaining or reshaping society.

At any given time, there are dominant groups and subordinate ones. Some are dependent, others relatively independent. Some are strategically placed and

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1 - Broom & Selznick: Ibid. p.32

2 - Whyte, W.H. Jnr., The Organisation Man, (1956) pp.124-158.

can communicate with or influence many parts of the community; others are on the fringes with limited access to other groups. Group structure is not static — it is the product of continuous interaction in which the relationships among groups are tested and transformed. A few basic forms of group interaction, and the stable relations that they produce are considered in this investigation<sup>1</sup>.

In this discussion defining the various terms subsequently used, we wish to characterise competition, rivalry and conflict. 'Competition' is a mutually opposed effort to secure the same scarce objective. It need not necessarily involve direct interaction, and it may even be impersonal and unconscious. Wool farmers in South Africa compete with wool farmers in Australia but they may be unaware of each other.

However, when groups become aware that they are in competition they are called rivals, which makes 'rivalry' therefore a conscious competition between specific groups. For example: a keen sense of rivalry exists among all political parties or between management and trade unions. This kind of competition is more aim-thrusted, with mutual awareness and often self-conscious strategy and tactics.

On the other hand, when the clash of interests is so keen that groups do not merely compete for the same scarce goals but seek to injure or even destroy each other, there is 'conflict', and the group itself is endangered in a direct way. Intense feelings may be aroused and, as a result, the rules governing competitive and rivalrous activity may be abandoned.

Broom & Selznick very aptly see 'rivalry and conflict as dissociative forms of interaction<sup>2</sup>'. They pull groups apart but they also tend to increase the internal solidarity of the contending groups.

'Communications' between conflicting groups very often tend to be suspended. This act of self-preservation is the immediate reaction to an external or internal threat and an increased concern for solidarity.

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1 - For a detailed discussion on group dynamics see Small Groups, (1955) by Hare, Borgatta and Bales.

2 - Broom & Selznick: *idid.* p.33

Finally, 'accommodation' is the mutual adjustment of groups that retain their own identity and interests. For example: after a long and bitter strike, union and management may come to an agreement and the men go back to work, but feelings of hostility and antagonism continue to exist. Under such circumstances, the agreement represents an unstable accommodation where a temporary adjustment is made and the conflicting groups adapt themselves to immediate realities, despite the existence of unresolved issues. We have a condition of 'cold war' in which peace is a prelude to war.

Accommodation must first be achieved before any conflict issues can be settled. We, therefore, subscribe to Broom & Selznick's criticism of the statement that 'conflict is a result of poor communication' and 'arises because people do not understand each other' (Op.cit.p 33). By this reasoning, if communication means the ability to see another's point of view and to communicate in common symbols, then some conflicts rooted in false perceptions may be eased by increasing communications. However, many conflicts are grounded in the mutually contradictory needs and aspirations of opposing groups. Moreover, in taking the foregoing to its logical conclusion, increased contact and improved communication may intensify conflict by making groups aware of differences, increasing their fears and revealing opposing interests of which they are unaware. The problem, as it has evolved on the Copperbelt, is not so much one of communication (therefore of mutual understanding), as it is of discovering what is essential to each group if it is to cease hostilities and offer the minimum cooperation that is needed. This was the problem of the "First Phase of African Advancement" on the Copperbelt, as it was subsequently called. The excision of jobs agreed to in 1953 was an accommodative step. It adjusted interests of both types of employees — white and black, and their employer. By doing this, support was won for the implementation of the 'second phase of advancement'. The first accommodation defines the route to the second level.

A stable accommodation, on the other hand, resolves the major differences of interest, particularly those deemed vital to continued group existence. A new basis for deeper harmony involving more extensive mutual

understanding is then reached and groups can enlarge their contacts and even come to link themselves with a single identity.<sup>1</sup> This particular aspect of accommodation is dealt with in detail later on in this investigation.

2. One cannot examine a social role without assuming that the norms of ~~normative~~ behaviour persist over a period of time. The assertion, therefore, that a particular belief contributes to the persistence of some institutional system obviously implies that both belief and institutions have some measure of continuity. Yet it is also readily apparent that though many things seem to remain the same other aspects of society are continually changing.

Sociological analyses, therefore, must account not only for stability and continuity, but also for the transformation of society and culture and for the introduction of new ideas, new habits, new relationships, new forms of relationships<sup>2</sup> and the concomitant value systems.

The problems of social change is not new to sociology. Beginning with Comte and his predecessors, for example Henri de Saint Simon and Vico and continuing through the nineteenth century into the twentieth, most sociologists devoted their attention chiefly to the problems of social change. Hence the central questions for Comte, Herbert Spencer and Lester Ward concerned the processes and the sequence through which society had evolved. They began with origins: how did the family first come into being? Or the state? Or religion? Having established theories of origins, then they sought to trace successive stages through which institutions had developed and theories of biological evolution: natural selection, survival of the fittest, adaptation were advanced by all the classical sociologists and anthropologists.<sup>3</sup>

Of import to this investigation is the fact that the theory of unilineal social evolution, which held that each society passes through the same stages of development,

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1 - Vide Lee, A.M.: Principles of Sociology, (1946), p.199

2 - Vide Chinoy, Ely: Society, (1961), p.69. Of interest in this context is Robert M. McIver's observation: 'The seed of society is in the beginnings of life': Society, (1948), p.589

3 - Cf. Hofstadter, R.: Social Darwinism in American Thought, (1958 New Ed.)

has been entirely abandoned. Evolution, as a guiding principle, 'no longer has much currency among sociologists and anthropologists, except for a few scholars who continue to use the concept, albeit in a refined and sophisticated form<sup>1</sup>'. Julian Steward, one of the present-day scholars, sums up his version of evolutionary theory as follows:

"The methodology of evolution...postulates that genuine parallels of form and function develop in historically independent sequences or cultural traditions. Second, it explains these parallels by the independent operation of identical causality in each case<sup>2</sup>".

The general failure of evolutionary theory, which also leads to its rejection, in our view stems from two related weaknesses. The mechanical application of ideas derived from one field of inquiry to another distorting the facts by coercing them into preconceived schemes. More significant is the fact that evolutionary theorists minimised the continuity found in society and did not explore fully the interrelationships of social institutions and social structures<sup>3</sup>. Thus the functional theory was in part a reaction to these inadequacies, though the swing away from a concern with social change has now gone so far that it is necessary once again to emphasise the importance of an historical approach as a necessary counterpart to functional analysis. In this investigation we have teamed these two concepts throughout. All social change implies time sequences and also structure and functional adaptations. Even Durkheim and Weber offer a phaseology of type-changes occurring in a sequence.

At this juncture it is also necessary to mention the fact that the contrast between the functional and historical approaches, is sometimes mistakenly described as a distinction between static and dynamic sequences. Both approaches must deal with social processes taking

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1 - Chinoy, Ely: Op. cit. p.69

2 - Steward, Julian in Alfred Kroeber et al., Anthropology Today, p. 315.(1956)

3 - For a full discussion see McIver, R.M. Social Causation, (1942), chaps.3 and 4.

place over a period of time even though they order and interpret their observations differently. Chinoy<sup>1</sup> sees it this way:

"To see society as a functioning whole is not to see it as unmoving or standing still; if we may borrow an image from biology, the vital processes of social life, the complex reciprocal adjustments and responses of individuals, organisations, and institutions to one another, continue wherever men live together in society."

Within any social order there are processes of varying degrees of complexity, more or less regular sequences of events in which man conform to established norms and fit into some existing social structures. In our investigation on the Copperbelt, functional analysis deals with such processes within a relatively stable society in which the participants have changed and groups have moved from one role and status to another. Furthermore, this investigation with its dualistic approach, i.e. the functional and the historical, concerns itself in the historical sense with the processes by which the structure itself has changed. In this case we are allied to Durkheim as much as to Malinowski and Linton.

In defence of this approach we must state that the early twentieth century sociologists argued that one must understand the functional dynamics of society before valid conclusions could be made. There seems to be very little warrant for this asserted priority in our view, because insofar as inquiry begins with facts to be explained one can as readily begin with the facts of change as with the facts of stability. The problem is one of which level one should enter into the problem. Wherever one begins one must eventually deal with both sets of facts to maintain a balanced focus. Both views, the historical and the functional, presuppose that society is a total system made up of interrelated and interdependent parts. In constant change the sequences are causally related to each other.

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1 - Chinoy, Ely: Op. cit. p.70

This approach, outlined above, further not only assists in achieving a balanced focus, but it maintains it and thus obviates the possibility of unilateral reasoning: many theorists of social change have emphasised one factor, or one part of the total complex, while underestimating or even neglecting others — Karl Marx's 'economic determinism', Thorstein Veblen's 'technological determinism', theories that assign crucial importance of ideology or religion or of geography and climate. By its very nature, these monistic interpretations attribute an independent character, sometimes alive with dynamics, to a single factor. Examples of these unilateral reasonings will be discussed further in their appropriate sections later.

Chinoy asserts<sup>1</sup> that the various elements of society are so interconnected that no set of institutions or social structures, no matter how important they may be, can be said to be unaffected by others. We have already referred to Myrdal in this connection. The factors in Marx's 'economic base' and Veblen's 'technology' are so constructed that in effect they include several readily distinguishable multi-variables. The course of economic development, throughout this investigation, can be and is frequently marked by political motivation. Ideas and beliefs do not exist in isolation free from outside influences. What is important in one era or period may be less important in another<sup>2</sup>: strictly economic factors probably played a much greater role in this Copperbelt-conflict situation than they would have done fifty years ago. As C.Wright Mills observed: 'We do not know any universal principles of historical change...for historical change is change of social structures and of the relationships among their component parts<sup>3</sup>".

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1 - Chinoy, Ely: Op. cit. p.71

2 - One would speak of 'religious determinism' for the Middle Ages and of 'economic determinism' for the Twentieth Century. See Tawney's Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, and compare with Max Weber's The Protestant Ethic (Allan Unwin, London) who take diametrically opposite views of the determinative effects of economics and religion. Strictly speaking these views are complimentary to one another.

3 - C.Wright Mills: The Sociological Imagination (1954) p.150

Therefore, in the absence of any overall theory of social change which is open to us to accept, we have endeavoured to provide some general perspectives to guide and assist the subsequent discussion. With this aim in mind, it is therefore useful to conceive of society as a system whose equilibrium is being disturbed and in some degree dynamically re-established. By 'equilibrium' is meant a state of affairs in which institutions, values and social structures are functionally interrelated and form more or less an integrated whole. The concept of equilibrium is an ideal type — a probability expectation, an abstract of reality.

Chinoy describes this process as follows:

"Since no society is absolutely static, nor ever fully integrated, this equilibrium can be described as dynamic or moving, and as always only partial<sup>1</sup>".

Repercussions are felt as changes occur, and adjustments are made that tend to restore the equilibrium of the system. If on the other hand appropriate adjustments are not made, the system, of course falls apart. There is nothing immediate or automatic about these changes. They may be long delayed or even long avoided, leading in some instances to pressures which explode in violent revolution or drastic, though less violent, change, followed by a new integration differing in many significant respects from the old<sup>2</sup>: as happened when the Copperbelt workers organised strikes and forced substantial revisions of the structure of labour-management relations.

"A concept of equilibrium or integration does not necessarily mean that conflict does not exist, or that it merely reflects the lack of integration or consensus within society", is Chinoy's<sup>3</sup> view regarding the general conflict situation. He explains further that in the more extreme forms of conflict, race riots, for instance, the consensus upon

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1 - Chinoy, Ely: Op. cit. p. 71

2 - Chinoy, Ely: Ibid. p.71.

The equilibrium might never be attained: see Toynbee's concept of abortive societies in A Study of History (1946) where illustrations of fossilisation occur at a low level.

which society rests is either challenged or destroyed. In its less violent forms, as will be shown in greater detail later, conflict represents a mechanism for resolving differences under certain specific conditions, thus contributing to the stability of the social order. This aspect, has led us to accept conflict to be an institutionalised feature of social structure (strikes, political action, etc.) particularly when there are many groups each seeking to realise their own ends which are held to be exclusive.

In developing the theory of conflict further, we do not find any scientific ratification for Lewis Coser's theory that conflict has been ignored or underestimated in recent sociological writings, because there is as yet no adequate formulation of a model that can offer greater theoretical advantages than an appropriately qualified approach to society as a more or less integrated system. Therefore, in the discussion of equilibrium, as in all other sociological analyses, there is often a tendency to reify the concept of society, to relate to it as a 'boundary-maintaining' system<sup>1</sup> continually attempting to maintain its equilibrium, and of its responses to strains. Such usages are based on the assumption that groups of persons respond in patterned ways to difficulties they face in their social lives in order to protect their established way of life or to provide for the basic necessities of collective life. We therefore cannot accept this postulate. We, in fact, regard it as static and failing to account for change and reintegration.

In our reasoning, throughout this study, it will be seen that our postulates are built round the concept that the sources of change in society may come from contact with other cultures, from institutionally sanctioned types of innovations, or, since no society is completely integrated, within the system itself. By restating this process differently we may say: as groups impinge upon one another, establishing new social relationships, they may grow together, with changes taking place as two cultures become one — a process called 'amalgamation'. They may each make changes in their respective social and cultural

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1 - Parsons, Talcott: The Social System (1951) p.482. Parsons has been attacked on this point by many sociologists: it is possible that the difficulties lie in the fact that Parsons' logic is, correctly that of a closed logical system and as such any movement induced by change would disturb the logical system and is held to be extraneous.

forms in order to adjust to each other (accommodation), or one may gradually become part of the other (assimilation), though normally without any major changes in the group which is retaining its own identity. How this happened in Northern Rhodesia up to 1961, we shall see later.

3. In any comparatively well-integrated society, the influence of an 'external system', is apt to be the major, though not necessarily the exclusive, force of change<sup>1</sup>. It will be detailed further on, that within such a society, innovation is likely to be ignored, if this is possible within the limits of the challenge. However, when the response to the conflict situation can no longer be controlled, innovation is accepted and even encouraged. This happened on the Copperbelt. Because of the interdependence of the elements of society, change at any one point is likely to precipitate changes elsewhere. This position, it must be stressed once again, occupies the key place in our approach and actually forms the bridge, as far as this study is concerned, between functional and historical analyses. This approach is also in keeping with the theory of social changes within a self-generated society. One of Karl Marx's chief contributions to the development of social science lay in this very same postulate: accepted institutions can create the very conditions which would eventually lead to their transformation. With changes continuously taking place in various sectors of society, tensions, strains and pressures lead to further shifts. When groups of people are stimulated or provoked by some difficulty in the social order, such as their inability to achieve their goals, threats to their status or competing demands made upon them, they then deliberately seek to transform the existing state of affairs, and a social movement is created<sup>2</sup> and directed to change the order. Many of the changes that occur in society are at least in part, if not wholly, the outcome of more or less organised action on the part of such movements. For example: the Mau Mau in Kenya, Naziism in Germany, or the concerted efforts of politicians

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1 - Homans, G.C.: The Human Group, (1950), pp150-5 & 273-6

2 - Vide Lee, A.M.: Op. cit. chap. 22 et seq.

and trade unionists alike to establish a stratified labour force in the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia. It should therefore be noted, even if social movements do not accomplish their stated aims, they, nevertheless, play an important part in the shifting of the social order. Something must give way, positively or negatively. There is no such thing as static equilibrium.

Recognition of the complexity of social change and of the forces which initiate or provoke it should not lead to the conclusion that because a great many variables are involved 'it does not make much difference which variable one starts with<sup>1</sup>'. The dynamic-interdependence approach that we are following undoubtedly suggests, if systematically pursued, to the inclusion of the entire range of relevant variables. 'In the end,' as Kingsley Davis<sup>2</sup> aptly concludes, 'in order to explain the total change in a society, one would have to consider the main variables constituting the social equilibrium'. Even though a developed explanation of any change may eventually encompass a wide range of variables, it is necessary to assess the relative importance of each.

4. The clear connection between interaction of opposed social groups and social change definitely designates a place to each in society. This being the case where does the phenomenon called 'the circulation of the elite' belong? Pareto<sup>3</sup>, who has discussed this phenomenon at great length in an endeavour to isolate the concept of internal conflict, seems to believe that he is discussing social changes and their forces. Yet, by his own admission, the conditions from which the elite are recruited, remains unchanged. It is, therefore, clear that there is no social change but merely an internal social circulation which, in fact, does not generate conflict at all. Any claim, therefore, that a mode of change is traceable (or has always been present to trace) clearly

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1 - Davis, Kingsley: Human Society, (1959), p.634

2 - Davis, Kingsley: ibid. p.634

3 - Pareto, V.: The Mind and Society, Vol.1V

goes beyond empirical knowledge. The question of what the ultimate nature of social change as a result of conflict will be is, therefore, simply a philosophical problem that has no place in social science. Following Pareto's thesis and his logical system his logic leads to staticism for the same reason as it does in Parsons' reasonings.

Before arriving at the central question of this investigation, namely, that of causation and the role of conflict therein, we must record our partial disagreement with Talcott Parsons' views that 'a general theory of the processes of change of social systems is not possible in the present state of knowledge<sup>1</sup>'. The reason, given by him, is that such theory would imply complete knowledge of the laws of process of the system and this knowledge we do not possess. The theory of change (according to his line of argument) in the structure of social systems must, therefore, be a theory of particular sub-processes of change within such systems, and not of the overall processes of change of the systems as systems.

In his quest for simplicity Parsons states, by imputation, that the aggregate of so-called sub-processes within systems should give the total definition to social change. This simplicity is a false simplicity which does not explain the problem. Instead, we feel that the subject of social change and the role of conflict, require an entire system of generalisations such as the notion of dynamic equilibrium makes possible. The first step thus is to differentiate the socio-cultural level of phenomena from the biological level, stressing the interaction between social groups. The next step is then to delineate

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1 - Parsons, Talcott: Op. cit. p.486. On this point we agree with Parsons though not necessarily for the same reasons. The question rises whether if we know the parts we know the totality. Parsons is here faced with the philosophical problem of parts and wholes which is a metaphysical rather than a sociological problem. We agree, however, that we know some of the factors and it is within this limited range that we operate; we share the 'middle range' views of Merton rather than Parsons on this point. No science knows all the phenomena, but this should not stop us in pursuing new data in principle.

the composing elements at the socio-cultural level, of which the following are the principle:

1. the elements of social action, such as sentiments, values, ends, means, and conditions; and their respective changes;
2. the different kinds of action in which these elements are combined, such as technological, economical, political, moral, expressive, etc., and the sectoral changes observable;
3. the normative prescriptions regarding the application of these kinds of action in varying situations, such as folkways, mores, laws and institutions, and their interrelated changes;
4. the processes of interaction that manifest and maintain these principles, contact, conflict, accommodation, etc., between social groups.

With this conceptual apparatus it is possible to treat any given society as an approximation to dynamic equilibrium without entering into the specificity prescribed by Parsons for the analysis of the sub-processes of change within a society. In understanding the relations between the chief variables determining social equilibrium we naturally focus on the stresses and strains; on the conflict situations. But these conflict situations are what they are precisely because of the character of the entire social order. They are, in short, characteristic of the whole social order, not of its parts. It is only in terms of dynamic equilibrium that most sociological concepts make sense.

Thus, the functional-structural-historical approach to sociological analysis is basically an equilibrium theory and is usually phrased in static terms, but when the element of time is added it alludes to a moving equilibrium. And, insofar as it is concerned with the changing patterns in the total action system it is a moving and dynamic total-action system.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONCEPT OF CONFLICT AND ITS  
RELATION TO LEGITIMACY

Any social system implies an allocation of power, as well as wealth and status positions among individual members and component groups. Lee<sup>1</sup> puts it this way: 'Persons subordinated in a hierarchy have great difficulty in fully approximating the behavioural symbols of those above them...it requires a long period of specific training to change social habits'. As happened on the Copperbelt in the 'Advancement Programme of Africans', a new avenue was opened which led to an interclass group. This particular aspect will be discussed more fully later on.

At this point, we feel, it is necessary to discuss the development of the conflict situation specifically relating it to the theme of this investigation. As has been pointed out already there is never complete concordance between what individuals and the groups within a system consider their just due and the system of allocation of rewards and statuses. Conflict ensues in the effort of various frustrated groups and individuals to increase their share of gratification. Their demands will encounter the resistance of those who previously had established a 'vested interest' in a given form of distribution of honour, wealth and power. To vested interests, an attack against their position necessarily appears as an attack upon the social order<sup>2</sup>. Thus, when social systems have institutionalised goals and values to govern the conduct of component actors, but limit access to these goals for certain members of

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1 - Lee, Alfred M.: New Outline of the Principles of Sociology, (1952) p.325.

2 - Lerner, Max: Vested Interests in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Chap.XV, p.240, gives this definition: 'When an activity has been pursued so long that the individual concerned in it have a prescriptive claim to its exercise and its profit, they are considered to have a vested interest in it'.

society, 'departures from institutionalised requirements' are to be anticipated accompanied by varied psychological responses induced by the structural conflict. Merton<sup>1</sup> says that 'an effective equilibrium between these two phases of social structure is maintained so long as satisfactions accrue to individuals conforming to both cultural constraints, viz., satisfactions from the achievement of goals and satisfactions emerging directly from the institutionally canalised modes striving to attain them. It is reckoned in terms of the product and in terms of the process, in terms of the outcome and in terms of the activities. Thus continuing satisfactions must derive from sheer participation in a competitive order as well as from eclipsing one's competitors if the order itself is to be sustained'.

If certain groups within a social system compare their share in power, wealth and status honour with that of other groups and question the legitimacy of this distribution, discontent is likely to lead to overt conflict.

For the sake of continuity of argument and a better conception of our own theorising on this theme, we briefly consider Max Weber's<sup>2</sup> typology of the institutionalisation of authority and his analysis and classification, showing three basic types which, with their analytical development and empirical use, must count as Weber's most important contributions to social science. Every society must rest upon one or more of the following legitimisation systems. In conflict situations the legitimacy of the existing order is challenged.

A. The first type is what Weber calls the 'rational-legal authority'. This order chiefly consists of a body of generalised rules, in the type case logically consistent and claiming to cover all possible 'cases' of conduct within the jurisdiction of the 'Verband'(order) as well as to define the limits of that jurisdiction. These rules are universalistic in that they apply impartially

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1 - Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure, (1949)  
Chapter IV, p.125

2 - Weber, Max: Theory of Social and Economic Organisation,  
pp.297 - 302

to all persons meeting the logically formulated criteria of their definitions, and impersonal in that the status and qualities of the individuals are treated as a function of the application of the generalised rules to them and, so far as they do not fall within them, must be treated as irrelevant. The fundamental source of authority in this type is the authority of the impersonal order itself. It extends to individuals only insofar as they occupy a specifically legitimised status under the rules, an 'office', and even their powers are limited to a 'sphere of competence' as defined in the order. Outside this sphere they are treated as 'private individuals' with no more authority than anybody else. Where the rational-legal authority involves an organised administration, it takes the form of a 'bureaucratic' structure where each member of the staff occupies an office with a specific delimitation of powers and a sharp segregation of the sphere of office from his private affairs. Remuneration is in the form of a fixed salary. The civil service bureaucrat is the typical representative of the order.

B. The second main type is the 'traditional authority' which is treated as having always existed and been binding — even actual innovations are justified by the fiction that they were once in force but had fallen into disuse and only now are brought back to their rightful position of authority. One of the most important consequences of traditional authority is that there can never be new 'legislation'. This order has a different kind of content in that it contains two main elements of generalisations: it has a concrete body of rules and it defines a system of statuses of persons who can legitimately exercise authority, and this 'status' is different from an 'office'. The chief in tribal society is different from the leader-bureaucrat. It does not involve specifically defined powers with the presumption that everything not legitimised in terms of the order is outside its scope. It is rather defined in terms of three things. There are, first, the concrete traditional prescriptions of the traditional order, which are held to be binding on the person in authority as well as the others. Then there is, secondly, the authority of other persons above the particular status in a hierarchy, or different spheres;

and thirdly, so long as it does not conflict with either of these sets of limitations, there is a sphere of arbitrary free 'grace' open. In this sphere he is bound by no specific rules, but is free to make decisions according to considerations of utility or 'raison d'etat', of substantial ethical 'justice', or even of sheer personal whim. Loyalty is due, not to the order as such, but to him personally. He is not restricted to specified powers, but is in a position to claim the performance of unspecified obligations and services as his legitimate right. His status is 'total'.

C. The third type, the 'charismatic', is by definition<sup>1</sup>, a kind of claim to authority which is personally in conflict with the bases of legitimacy of an established, fully institutionalised order. The charismatic leader is always in some sense a revolutionary, setting himself in conscious opposition to some established aspects of society in which he works. As Weber treats charisma in the context of authority, its bearer is always an individual 'leader', whose charismatic quality has to be 'proved' and is not the case of leadership by 'consent' of those led. The authority of this type of leader does not express the 'will' of his followers, but rather their duty and obligation. Furthermore, in conflict there can in principle, be only one correct solution. Majorities, if employed at all, are given authority only because they are thought to have the correct solution, not because a greater number have as such a greater right to prevail. This type of leader does not compromise with his followers in a utilitarian sense. Recognition by them is interpreted as an expression of the moral legitimacy of his claim to authority. This claim is one to impose obligations in conflict with ordinary routine roles and status. This, in fact, forms the crux why a member of the administrative staff cannot occupy either an office in the rational-legal sense or a traditionalised status, as he is usually a personal disciple, actuated by enthusiasm for the 'cause'

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1 - The concept of 'charisma' — the gift of grace — is taken from the vocabulary of early christianity.

Cf. Max Weber: Op. cit. p.301

and by personal loyalty to the leader or both. It will be obvious that the charismatic is in competition to the rational-legal but can be an affiliate to the traditional.

In this treatment of Weber's two points stand out about charisma besides the fact that it is a source of legitimate authority, namely, that it is a revolutionary force, tending to upset the stability of institutionalised orders, and that in the nature of the case it cannot itself become the basis of a stabilised order without undergoing profound structural changes. As a result of these changes it tends to become transformed into either the rational-legal or the traditional type.

Of particular interest to this investigation is Weber's observation that 'it is an induction from experience that no system authority voluntarily limits itself to the appeal to material or affectual or ideal motives as a basis for guaranteeing its continuance<sup>1</sup>'. He says that in addition every such system attempts to establish and to cultivate the belief in its 'legitimacy'. But according to the kind of legitimacy which is claimed, the type of obedience, the kind of administrative staff developed to guarantee it, and the mode of exercising authority, will all differ fundamentally. Therefore, in endeavouring to clearly state our line of argument as it subsequently follows, it is useful to classify the types of authority according to the kind of claim to legitimacy typically made by each. In doing so, it is best to start from modern and, therefore, more familiar examples.

Weber<sup>2</sup> classifies them as follows:

1. The 'legitimacy' of a system of authority has far more than a mere 'ideal' significance, if only because it has very definite relations to the legitimacy of property.
2. Not every 'claim' which is protected by custom or by law should be spoken of as involving a relation of authority; otherwise the worker, in his claim for fulfilment of the wage contract

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1 - Weber, Max: Op. cit. p.298

2 - Weber, Max: Ibid. p.298

would be exercising 'authority' over his employer because his claim can, on occasion, be enforced by order of a court.

3. The legitimacy of a system of authority may be treated sociologically only as a probability that to a relevant degree the appropriate attitudes will exist and the corresponding practical conduct ensue besides an appropriate structure and function in society. What is important is the fact that in a given case the particular claim to legitimacy is to a significant degree and according to its type treated as 'valid'; that this fact confirms the position of the persons claiming authority and that it helps to determine the choice of means of its exercise.
4. 'Obedience' will be taken to mean that the action of the person obeying follows in essentials such a course that the contents of the command may be taken to have become the basis of action for its own sake. Furthermore, the fact that it is so taken is referable only to the formal obligation, without regard to the member's own attitude to the value or lack of value of the content of the command as such.
5. Subjectively, the causal sequence may vary, especially as between 'submission' and 'sympathetic agreement'. This distinction is not, however, significant for present classification of types of authority so far discussed.
6. The scope of determination of social relationships and cultural phenomena by authority and imperative co-ordination is considerably broader than appears at first sight. For instance, the authority exercised in the school has much to do with the determination of the forms of speech and of written language.
7. The fact that the chief and his administrative staff often appear formally as servants of those they rule, naturally does nothing whatever to disprove the authoritarian character of the relationship.

The fact that none of these three types of legitimate authority is to be found in historical cases in 'pure' form, is naturally not a valid objection to attempting their conceptual formulation in the sharpest possible form. Weber states that the transformation of pure charisma by the process of routinisation only forms a relevant concept to the understanding of empirical systems when they are discussed. Therefore, analysis in terms of sociological types has, after all, as compared with purely empirical historical investigation, certain definite advantages which should not be minimised.

The significance of the Weber typology lies in the fact that the basic African society was a traditional one and derived its legitimacies from the traditional order. This is seen later to be in transformation into a rational-legal pattern, but this end was not attained in 1961, when this investigation was concluded. However, since 1961 the African social system has progressed further towards the rational-legal but it still carries the traditional markings which must, logically, be reduced as irreconcilable in the then existing rational-legal order. Thus, social change has produced a reorientation and this, in turn, is the result of the intergroup conflicts in the community straining towards taking over the institutions, political, social and economic, retained in the system and previously, in the system of power, held by the European minority.

Weber, it will be noticed suggests, implicitly, though not necessarily intentionally, that the traditional and charismatic are separate logical legitimacy types, but it might be suggested that most African societal orders, in periods, change, and fuse the traditional with the charismatic. Leadership thus oriented to the rational-legal level is carried forward by leaders who carry the characteristics of the traditional-charismatic, yet these direct themselves consciously towards the rational-legal order and thus substitute for the former European rational-legal order.

Put in the form of five successive stages we have for Northern Rhodesia the following sequence:

1. The basic African traditional-charismatic society before the European impact.

2. The rational-legal order power-centred through a European minority superordinatory over an African majority in (1) above.
3. A traditional order African majority subordinate to (1) above and in close symbiosis with the rational-legal order of (2) above. Here the system is mixed European-African consisting of (1) and (2) above in loose linkages.

This might be held to be the basic prototype before social change operates. After change we have:

4. A traditional order in which develops leaders deeming themselves to be charismatic and so perceived by the majority of the traditionally-oriented Africans. The political leader thus takes over the charisma of the chief and the witch-doctor and fuses the traditional with the charismatic.

At this stage, in Western terminology, the social forces, as seen by the leader and his African followers, become Messianic and as such Utopianistic. This is the point up to 1961.

5. But with the developing social forces, favourable to Africans, the level (4) is perceived to be 'unreal' by the leaders and so, nearing the consumation<sup>m</sup> of power, will attempt to transform stage (3) above into the rational-legal order. This, however, is not stage (2) outlined above, because now the power will be centred in an African majority wholly replacing the European minority with its rational-legal order.

Another observation, at this level is necessary. In a discussion of the machinery of social change, the Marxist contention is rejected if one accepts Weber, and in its place is the assertion that many variables in addition to economic interest will affect political consciousness — a fact recognised, of course, by Marx himself. On this point Friedrich Engels says that according to the materialistic conception of history the

determining element in history is ultimately the production and reproduction in real life. 'More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted...if therefore somebody twists this into the statement that the economic element is the only determining one, he transforms it into a meaningless, abstract and absurd phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but various elements of the superstructure...forms the law. There is an interaction of all these elements...<sup>1</sup>' An analysis of conflict as such, concludes that there are almost always alternatives to and forces minimising conflict and that there are other and sometimes more important sources of conflict than in the purely economic. The processes of change, indicated thus far, contain virtually no economic concomitants.

In pursuing an all-embracing analytic theory one should guard against reducing conflict to a single dimension, as Barber<sup>2</sup> does. Although fitting logically into his own more general scheme, one may ask whether theoretical simplification makes it possible to deal adequately with the complex facts of society structure. Strangely enough, when one considers the influence of Max Weber's trichotomy of class, status and party, and the problems Barber poses concerning their interrelationships, one finds that he ignores the trichotomy empirically.

Returning to the Copperbelt conflict situation, it is necessary to distinguish between real and pseudo conflict situations. Social conflicts that arise from frustration of specific demands and from estimates of gains of the participants, and that are directed at the presumed frustrating object, may be called real conflict situations. Pseudo conflicts<sup>3</sup>, on the other hand, are

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1 - Ebenstein, W.: Man and the State, (1947) p.383

2 - Barber, B.: Social Stratification, (1957) Chap.5

3 - This must, however, not be confused with George Homans' 'reactions of the internal system on the external'. He says that 'we did not intend to imply that the two were separate'. For detailed discussion see Homans G.C. The Human Group, (1950), p.151

not occasioned by the rival ends of antagonisms, but by the need for tension release of one or both of them. Some groups may be formed with the mere purpose of releasing tension. Such groups are transitory and do not directly aid the group in its development phases of the Weberian model. They are, in fact, temporary and incidental. Such groups 'collectivise' their tensions, so to speak. They can, by definition, only be disruptive rather than creative since they are built on negative rather than positive cathexes. But groups of this kind will remain marginal; their actions cannot bring about social change unless they accompany and strengthen realistic conflict groups and movements towards the fourth stage of the Weber model as modified here. In such cases we deal with an admixture of real and pseudo elements mutually reinforcing each other within the same social movements. Members who join for the mere purpose of tension release are often used for the 'dirty work' by the realistic conflict groups. Noteworthy is Dewey's similarity of thought<sup>1</sup> on the development of conflict: 'Where there is change; there is of necessity numerical plurality, multiplicity, and from variety comes opposition, strife. Change is alteration...and this means diversity. Diversity means division, and division means two sides and their conflict'. It is thus apparent that the stages are from the traditional-charismatic to the rational-legal, but at a positive orientation.

Gluckman<sup>2</sup> in different phraseology arrives at the same conclusion. He says that the acceptance of the established order as right and good, and even sacred, seems to allow unbridled excess...for the order itself keeps rebellion within bounds. Hence to act, the conflict, whether directly or by inversion or in other symbolical form, emphasises the social cohesion within which the conflict exists. Every social system is a field of tension, full of ambivalence, of cooperation and contrasting struggle. In a repetitive system, he

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1 - Dewey, John: Reconstruction in Philosophy(1950)p.97

2 - Gluckman, Max: Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa, (1952)

finds, that particular conflicts are settled not by alterations in the order of offices, but by changes in the persons carrying the roles of those offices<sup>1</sup>. The social order always contains a division of rights and duties, the ceremonial enactment of this order states the nature of the order in all its rightness. Thus, purely underscores the Weber-model's traditionalism.

Other institutional trends similarly connected with changes as a result of conflict and the shifting systems of social interaction, are awakened nationalism in trade and politics, religious modifications, especially the trend away from the former exclusive concern with dogma and ritual, increasing educational opportunities, new forms and facilities for recreation (including the commercialisation of amusements), and an expansion of humanitarianism and social work. These trends in social reconstruction and its socialising influences can be stated in the following basic propositions:

1. Social structure tends to vary in long time cycles, and throughout the sequence of prosperity and depression it is an equilibrium of forces tending towards equalisation or stratification. Although there is no absolute trend towards either stratification or economic equality, an unbalanced economic structure is regularly accompanied by social disorganisation and often by revolutionary social changes.
2. As social structure varies in either of these directions, competition is, firstly, shifted from persons to groups and, secondly, after the attainment of goals, back to persons. But these are different persons from the competitive group bearing the same roles but pledged to induce change.
3. As social structure changes, its several specific institutions are of social importance in proportion as they are essential to the

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1 - Cf. Weber's Theory previously discussed. Weber is obviously more comprehensive in Chap.3, op.cit. on the forms of expressive conflicts.

survival and welfare of society as a whole, and are of social importance in proportion as they exercise functions of social control. Where traditional controls disintegrate the rational-legal is reconstituted at another level of integration.

4. Changes in social structure are also definitely connected with other institutional changes. With these changes there are drastic modifications in the organisation of government, the family and the secondary institutions. Similarly, the social processes are modified insofar as they are incorporated within, or arise from, the struggle for existence. There are, however, no conclusive evidences as to the causal sequence by which these effects materialise, or whether they are ultimately of economic or non-economic origins<sup>1</sup>. The schemata, according to Weber, is suggestive but not definitive. Its validity lies in its empirical applicability to the specific case which is empirically discussed later.

It will be shown in the following sections of this investigation how the socialising influences, outlined in the above basic propositions, as a result of the stimulus provided by conflict, came into play and the directions in which changes are induced. It is, however, necessary at this stage of the discussion to draw attention to the role of social control in an emergent conflict situation. Governmental regulations and legal controls become necessary when any compact society tends to have social relations of increasing interdependence in its internal contacts or in its relations with other societies. It is for this reason that the rational-legal order is imperative.

The rise of political institutions, and to a lesser degree social institutions, is, therefore, conditioned by the needs for internal social security and by the military organisation for national security. As a result of trends in these two types of social organisation, the state is typical in its internal structure of definite lags between the needs for elastic legal control and actual legal provisions for these needs at the 'rational-legal level' of Max Weber.

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1 - Cf. Sorokin, P.A.: Social Mobility, (1927) pp.63-101

Since the controls of law and government have influenced and revised the operation of other institutions, these trends in the social structure of the society become dynamic agencies in a societal pattern of social reconstruction. These trends, in addition to the historical functions of conflict and social organisation, have resulted in the following characterisations of its structural reorganisation:

1. The social institutions, regardless of the type of government, have always been controlled by small groups both in the rational-legal and in the traditional orders.
2. In the changing forms of political control, there are trends from governmental control by the minority to governmental control by the majority.
3. When the population of a community increases in size and heterogeneity the status assigned by the legitimate order in vertical terms raises the central level and the movement is from the traditional to the rational-legal.
4. Social organisation and stratification are more flexible, varying between greater extremes of rigidity and plasticity, and are more susceptible to convulsive revolutionary changes than are the corresponding economic forms which remain relatively constant while the political order changes in the first phases.
5. There develops a permanent conflict between the forces leading to stratification in equalisation terms and this contest is primarily responsible for the unstable equilibrium that is an outstanding trait of awakened nationalism. The trend here is difficult to attain in view of the limited resources and the contrary effects of a policy of equalisation of wealth and status short of expropriating economic resources<sup>1</sup>.

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1 - Vide the cases of Mexico and Cuba where political control was founded by nationalisation in an attempt to control the economic order and affect its unification with the political order.

6. Social structure and social changes are directly and indirectly affected by the size of the group, the number of interactions between its members, and the methods of communication. This is discussed later in reference to Durkheim's theory of development from mechanical to organic societies.
7. The cohesion of social structures arise from facilities for communication which becomes the principal agency in the maintenance and extension of social structure. This increases the range-velocity and direction of social change.
8. When social organisation is loose (mechanical in Durkheim's sense), its parts may be relatively independent, and conversely, when an organisation is complex, each sub-part is intricately dependent upon the others to such an extent that its efficient operation cannot proceed apart from this interdependence. There cannot be separate development of two sectors — political, economic, social, educational and legal. At the rational-legal level these must be unified.
9. The more complex a society, the more dependent is the member upon others for the realisation of his interests, hence the tendency to increased organisation (trade unions, etc.)
10. Social differentiation through organisational development grows proportionately with social structural complexity which increases the division of labour but, contrariwise increases occupational stratification which in turn runs contrary to equalisation.

CHAPTER 3

THE PATTERNING OF RESPONSE  
TO CONFLICT SITUATIONS

To the transitional group, social differentiation means increasing difficulty in adjustment and at the same time generates a conflict-urge in an attempt to obtain greater achievement. This might lead to a new level of frustration<sup>1</sup>. For institutions as a whole, it sets up new standards of flexibility leading to lagging, maladjustment, waste and gradual decay of those organisations which are too implastic to be modified. A differentiated social system that is able to steer an even course between rigidity and flexibility affects a higher plane of social cohesion, especially in comparison with the levelling-up of primary-group organisation and increased frustration leading to increases in the rate of social change.

In the interpretation of the conflict-social organisation contest it must allow for a necessary and constant interplay of cause and effect between structure and function. No significant changes of function occur without changes in structure, regardless of the efforts of dominant groups to make old institutions acquire new uses. It should be a fundamental corollary of social change or of a progressively more flexible social structure. The determination of change is governed more and more by special-interest groups, instead of the former primary-group control, and this transition from primary to secondary groups is another evidence of the basic sociological postulate that individuation and socialisation are aspects of the same moving societal pattern. This appears to be the lesson of the 19th Century in Western Europe.

This argument, taken to its logical conclusion,

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1 - Cf. Merton, R.F.: Op. cit. pp. 125 -132

now assigns to conflict the following elements in its composition: new forms of sociality within a changing milieu, changed personality, cultural accommodation or conflict of individuality, as well as psychological, biological or physical criteria for its satisfactions. For these reasons, a more universal characteristic of conflict is its susceptibility to change, rather than any specific change or any particular changing sub-parts. It is for these reasons that some interests in the motivation of conflict are regarded as basic constants for which no explanation is required. The conflict situation is itself dynamic.

This point of view calls attention to the reciprocal interaction between changing interests or values and changing societies. Collective action for group welfare is the general trait of accommodation between structure and function. The correlations of individual and social facts, that are manifested in these changing forms and processes, are the chief problems in the empirical study of conflict, because organisation evolves from habits developed to satisfy needs, and sets into operation a process which leads from expedient customs, a strain toward adaptation and improvement — this strain, challenges and becomes the conflict-spark, testing the validity of mores and standards. This happens in the transitional stage where traditional societies proceed to the rational-legal order.

For the purpose of this investigation conflict is divided into three types in order to distinguish its sources and trends. These are:

1. Individual or personal,
2. Group or institutional, and
3. Community-wide types.

Although they are never completely separable, these forms of conflict indicate their principal sources. On the whole the occurrences of conflict are evidences of:

1. a movement from accepted standards of social behaviour;
2. the break-down of social bonds or the inapplicability of social rules (redefinition of roles, status, etc.)

3. the reshaping and readjustment of associations and institutions, or the replacement of institutions.
4. the dissemination of technological skills coupled with
5. the development of new processes of socialisation.

These overlapping varieties of conflict indicate its extreme manifestations and also show the principal channels and trends through which a society can be modified. Accompanying events, changes and confusion are further divisible into social problems, general insecurities, social abnormalities and discordant social values — social problems are really no more than selected indices of social disorganisation. Thus, from this comprehensive point of view, conflict is a broad approach to the entire pattern of social reconstruction and to the interdependence of the person and the group with particular reference to the common goal and not only to the negative pole of social disorganisation.

Society constrains, selects, adjusts and controls social forms and individual types. In each of these societal conflict may occur actually and potentially. References to patterns of societal adjustment and to the problems that inevitably accompany this adjustment define the main attributes of a pattern of social reconstruction (i.e. accommodation), either through a statement of requirements for social adjustment or through an enumeration of continuous instabilities. Insofar as population growth, mobility, social reconstruction and social groups allow for adequate social adjustment and create persons and institutions in conformity with an interdependent array of societal statuses, conflict is reduced.

Professor Walter Muellder<sup>1</sup>, however, sounds this warning to this process:

"The violation of justice through power strategies has brought special attention to the antagonisms generated by classes, racial groups and nations. The deepest predicaments of modern man lie in his

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1 - Muellder, Prof. Walter G.: Cumulative Power Tendencies in Western Culture in Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture (1947).

"group relationships. Every group is a system of volition which becomes aggressive through fear, expansive interests, or frustration. Groups often exaggerate their claims and invest their partial values with universal pretensions. From the fact that many groups fail to accept their responsibilities in the republic of organised social justice, some critics have drawn the conclusion that group life always heightens the hypocrisy and will-to-power of its participating members."

He goes on, stating that the pragmatic absorption with immediate material ends defies the rational control of the whole system, hence the unleashing of the will in ideologies of dynamism such as Nazism, Fascism, Communism, racism, nationalism and imperialism. As a result of this absorption he finds that group life has 'grown dangerously impersonal' (p.54), saying that 'the city has made for anonymity, the factory system has produced the proletarian mass, and conscription has reduced man to unreasoning submission...specialism among the highly trained and highly skilled has effectively fragmented personality, as has the assembly line and one crop culture — uncounted millions of men lack any sense of the whole life or of integral dignity'.

From this approach, the inevitable conclusion must be drawn that conflict, in and through itself, consists of these social maladjustments to which any society is exposed so far as it is founded on dynamic standards. To phrase this in another way, we can say that conflict is inclusive of the maladjustments in each of the foregoing societal patterns in addition to changes and maladjustments in individual behaviour. As a societal pattern, consequently, conflict is a coordination of individual and group liabilities and becomes a significant process in the modification of socialisation. Unadjustment, maladjustment or even disorganisation in its personal and group manifestations is an aspect of culture conflicts in two important respects as far as this investigation is concerned. It may occur as normal friction in the evolution of a society of competing cultures. In this form it is a necessary cost of social change. But it may also take

the form of particular social problems which a society recognises as too gross deviations from accepted standards and hence worthy attempts toward solution by way of social adjustments.

In both these forms, conflict enters into, and becomes a phase of three central tasks -

1. It is connected with efforts to discover ways and means of developing a reasonably secure social organisation for individuals as well as groups.
2. It is a phase of problems of associated-living.
3. It is associated with social change from the standpoint of the recognition of its desirability, even if the risks involved are great.

Since each of the above mentioned three tasks complicates the range of conflict, they must be synthesised in a pattern of changing mores. Conflict is simplified, therefore, when it is associated in the broadest conceivable manner with cultural changes and with specific individual handicaps that arise therewith. In other words, it means that human beings have not as yet learned to live together and to create satisfactory social organisations. We base this on the hypothesis that mores and standards are undergoing a constant process of modification and selection. Conflict is most directly described in its several possible connections with the entire field of sociological analysis. Here no special place is reserved for conflict because it is a phase in each division.

Hence, from this generic point of view, conflict may occur in, be caused by, or identified with -

- a. the customs, folkways, mores of the individual;
- b. cultural, psychological, biological sources of unadjustment;
- c. social processes of dissociation; (competition, etc)
- d. Inefficiencies in the institutional and associational adaptation;
- e. Lack of social control.

These categories indicate the situations wherein conflict may arise and which may be used to explain its various manifestations. It should, however, be added that two other necessary considerations are that -

1. as society develops, conflict may be caused in any one of these factors or by unequal rates of change between them, and
2. as society develops, it also involves changing norms and standards.

Seen in this context, conflict becomes an inclusive concept by being both an action pattern and a process. Thus, a necessary condition of social advance.

A pattern of social conflict may thus be constructed from such an inventory of problems when attention is particularly given to the social relationships involved and to the sequences of social maladjustment. In distinguishing the evolution of this pattern, the following factors and transitions appear more or less in the order of their enumeration:

1. Conflict arises and becomes obvious in individual and personal variations of conduct, habit and beliefs.
2. Group-ways become rigid and inflexible in the form of habits, codes and customs, resulting in the rise of contradictory rules.
3. But since changes in mores, customs, institutions and relationships occur unevenly, some developing with rapidity in as short a period as one generation, the continuity of social and institutional change and adjustment is interrupted.
4. Also, during these changes, one sphere of changing culture may either make a relatively static culture unnecessary or absorb a portion of its functions; in either instance, the outcome is conflict of cultures.
5. Group-ways are always established by habit, representing the attempts of groups to become adjusted to life conditions through the development of mores.

6. These group-ways or standards of social action exhibit a strain of consistency in the different spheres of social life (religious, political, etc)

To restate the above in a different form: conflict can thus be defined sequentially as unadjustment arising from item 2 above — inflexible groupways; from item 3 — uneven rates of change and from item 4, the lags in institutional change, which in turn, are traceable factors arising from (a) individuation (item 1 above),

(b) the original and inefficiencies of the group-ways, (item 5 above) and

(c) the inconsistency of group-ways (item 6).

In attempting to redefine conflict in the light of the factor classification given above, it should be that it is the process whereby individual unadaptabilities, social instabilities and inadequacies in social control happen to occur in the same social relationships.

Having regard to all that has been said so far, conflict is explained by the disharmonies arising between unaccommodated compounds of social events. In the case of individual and group pathologies or unadjustments which seem to be constant factors in any inventory of social problems, the perennial conflict between nature and human nature is used to explain a large sphere of problems. Such problems as crime, sexual pathology, disease and mental abnormality are traced to the inability of the nature of man to become adapted to current standards of social interaction. Two alternative supplementary explanations of conflict are derived from the same source.<sup>1</sup> One locates the origin of instabilities in biological or social adjustment in too rapidly changing standards, the assumption being that in spite of the influences of civilisation upon human nature man is still largely primitive. The other point of view isolates the characteristic nature of social discord (conflict) in the fundamental social fact of control. It is through this man-made system of the sacred and lawful that human society and its problems are most distinguishable from societies of animals.

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1 - Park, R.E.: Human Nature and Collective Behavior,  
Am. Jour. Sociol. XXX11, pp.733-741

In returning to the phrase, 'conflict as a process', the following observations are necessary. The process of conflict, regardless of its consequences, may be described in terms of one or more of the following transitions<sup>1</sup>-

- a. The breakdown of locality groups and institutions.
- b. An increase in impersonal relations.
- c. An unbalanced population.
- d. Impersonal forces are unleashed.
- e. The origination of a stratified and mobile social-class system.
- f. Decreasing ritual and constraint.
- g. Increasing competition and differentiation.
- h. An inadequate institutional organisation.

As a process, therefore, conflict is defined by prevailing standards of selection and competition, and is inextricably associated with a division of labour. Since conflict is by definition an absence of enduring unity and of consistency in the operation of standards and norms in socialisation, it is a major form of social change and hence an aspect of every pattern of socialisation. The foregoing approaches to the facts of conflict and abnormality indicate the varieties of conflict-situations to which a society is exposed and hence the desirability of interpreting conflict as an action-pattern and a process. A pattern of societal conflict helps to integrate the main social factors that are responsible for the particular types of problems. The process endeavours to trace their sequence of change within the pattern.

Certain basic facts, preliminary to an interpretation of conflict, are summarised in the basic propositions set out below. These propositions may be regarded as tentative explanations of conflict. They are also introductory to, and possibly explanations of, the role of conflict as a pattern within the other patterns

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1 - For Northern Rhodesia see Clyde Mitchell's Africans in Industrial Towns in Northern Rhodesia, (1956), H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh's Study Conference.

of societal change -

- a. there can be no conflict in the form of social problems in an absolutely static society. Problems are always the result of change, and they increase with the rapidity of change;
- b. conflict is identified by competition, loss of consensus and limited participation;
- c. whenever a break-down of habits and customs occurs, or when community expansion occurs rapidly, a period of non-equilibrium follows which may be either disorganisation or re-organisation;
- d. change in one social structure or any of its component parts is connected with change resulting in conflict in other structural forms;
- e. rapid growth of population, mobility, cultural strain and increasing individuation are factors generating conflict;
- f. with the division of labour and its weakening of social bonds, the primary group declines in influence, and social solidarity is diluted by individuation and conflict sets in.

In conclusion, we should also mention that conflict is considered to be practically inevitable where the stresses and strains of industrial development are felt. This can be directly attributed to the drastic revision of social values and to other social institutions. Industrial expansion has, as one of its characteristics, the tendency to group its members within classes with privilege and opportunity restricted in terms of class-status and not in terms of individual ability. In this instance conflict is accounted for by the formalism and stratification of this class of organisation, by inequalities of opportunity, inadequate vertical and horizontal mobility, dysgenic selection, intolerance and competition.

These postulates and propositions will again be discussed under their appropriate sections when it will be necessary, for the sake of continuity of argument, to repeat some of them again.

CHAPTER 4

PATTERNS OF POSSIBLE RESPONSE

Instead of a detailed analysis<sup>1</sup> of any actual changes which have occurred on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, we are formulating processes of social change, i.e. certain invariable relations between events in the changing social systems. These we illustrate with our own data, expressed in forms, which will allow them to be applied generally. None of the processes we formulate is illustrated solely by anything that has happened on the Copperbelt, or in the history of any other community, nor does any process alone account for the examples we give.

Acts of human behaviour are produced by many types of events and by many types of laws within certain sets of orders<sup>2</sup>. It is, therefore, virtually impossible to isolate social events for experimentation, and we wish to stress this point to protect ourselves against criticisms that some social process, which we formulate, does not alone and altogether explain the actual changes in Northern Rhodesia. We do not pretend that it does.

Science attempts to formulate invariable relations between types of events, and within this general field sociology studies the invariable relations between social events. The sociologists make generalisations, stating that certain social events are typical for some community; these may not accurately describe any actual social event, but represent the type of behaviour that underlies these actual events in that community<sup>3</sup>.

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1 - Sofar we lack abstract generalisations which have been deduced from the very nature of our own type of material, or induced generalisations which allow deductions for field-study testing.

2 - Cf. Campbell, N.: What is Science?(1921) p.37

3 - This conception of our field has been brought into our own sociological thought most clearly by Professor James Irving of Rhodes University. It has long been adopted by scientists overseas but has yet to obtain wide acceptance here. I repeat this point for I need it as a basis for my arguments. Since Prof, Irving has not published on this theme, I record my great debt to his clarifying discussions here.

A further distinction is also necessary in connection with culture and culture-groups. People perceive their own culture partially and often inaccurately, according to sociological standards, and they react to it with feelings and valuations; and they perceive and react to the culture of groups and personalities with whom they associate, similarly. A culture perceived by its bearers is thus usually different from the same culture described by the sociologists. It is essential to emphasise this difference in any study of social change and we stress it by the following illustration.

An illiterate Bemba from the Western Bush of Northern Rhodesia becomes an industrial worker (on any of the Copperbelt mines). He does not know all the tenets of industry nor even all the pagan taboos he is expected to abandon in his new environment, and he attaches certain values to both sets of orders. His employment is a cultural change, an alteration in the accepted behaviour of a social unit, and as such is discussed by the sociologist. In addition, we have to discuss the habits and behaviour of the White group which the industrialist considers he is giving the Bemba, and what the Bemba considers he is getting from the industrialist. Culture is thus restricted to the standardised behaviour of social personalities or groups described by the sociologist<sup>1</sup>.

Before giving detailed attention to the various patterns of response (i.e. acceptance of accommodation) it is, first of all, necessary to briefly, underline the chief points in what we term 'social divergence'<sup>2</sup> which contains the elements of conflict and may lead on to social inertia<sup>3</sup>.

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1 - Cf. Gluckman, M.: Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand, (1958) p.57

2 - Some scientists, Max Gluckman being the first, refer to it as 'social cleavage'.

3 - Inertia is 'that property of matter by which it tends when at rest to remain so, and when in motion to continue in motion, and in the same straight lines or direction, unless acted on by some external force (Oxford Concise Dictionary). Social inertia, on the other hand, must be visualised as continual development in a certain direction, possibly accompanied by social change. In its social form it is tradition-oriented and thus conservative and resistant to change.

- a. All social systems have a dominant divergence into groups which permeate through all social relationships in the system. In Northern Rhodesia the dominant divergence is into White and African groups. It follows that the dominant divergence of a changing system must produce similar structural developments in all segments of the system, even if the cultural form be different.
- b. A social changing system tends to continue development, as a result of the principle of social divergence, along the lines of its dominant divergence agent until this is radically altered by conflict which is then wholly resolved in the pattern of a new system. This is, according to Bateson's Schismogenesis<sup>1</sup>, 'the principle of social inertia'.
- c. Another complication of the principle of social inertia is that where the dominant divergence in a changing system is into two culture-groups. The minor group will be strengthened in its following by its emphasis on its major group's culture, for this emphasises the dominant divergence against the major group. Pagan Africans join separatist sects because these practice ancient customs and are openly hostile to the white group according to Gluckman.
- d. In a changing social system all developments tend to accord with the developing dominant divergent agent. If clinic facilities are built for the Black mothers with their babies, it is regarded by them as a method of exterminating their offspring. One way in which this process works is by secondary elaboration of belief (after Freud), i.e. by applying beliefs centred in the dominant divergence to every new development.

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1 - Cf. Gluckman, M.: Op. cit. pp.58 - 64 for a comprehensive treatment of this theme.

- e. Every group, immaterial of the specific social system, sets a value on its own predominant-divergence contact. This enables us to infer that where in a changing society the dominant divergence is into two culture-groups, each of these groups will tend to idealise the values of its own culture, since it forms the essence of the 'divergence'.
- f. Further, under the principles of social inertia, a group, when confronted by a social problem caused by its relationships with another opposed culture-group, tends to do so with the intellectual material made available by its own culture concepts, by emphasising the revival of old solutions, rather than by accepting explanations offered by the other group's culture concepts, since its members do not understand the causes which may be rooted in changed social conditions. For example: in the White group members believe that their problems with African labourers stem from the fact that they are being educated by government. In the African group members say, when confronted by township housing officers in connection with the harbouring of unemployed Africans for indefinite periods: 'they are not loafers — they are my relatives, and the house is too small to accommodate us all comfortably'.

With these culture concepts forming the background, we now examine types of response by individuals within the culture-bearing society. Though our focus is still the cultural and social genesis of the rates and types of behaviour, our overall perspective shifts from the plane of patterns of cultural values to the plane of types of responsive adaptation to these values among those occupying different positions in the social structure. It should, however, be said at the outset that in any social system there tends to be cooperation across all lines of divergence. This explains why, in a changing social system, until the dominant divergence is radically resolved in a new pattern, there is always cooperation across that divergence and every new divergency tends to be compensated by

a new form of cooperation. In the light of this, we may formulate the following general trends -

- a. Under the principle of social cooperation responsive adaptation could take any form.
- b. Divergencies in the culture of the participating groups within the same social system, demands the development of communication-media between them.
- c. If new trends in cooperation are in conflict with old established cultural patterns, this will tend to be dropped in relevant relationships. Thus the value modern fertilisers in farming methods places on assured good crops is in marked conflict with the beliefs in sorcery, by which a man producing more than his fellows is liable to be suspected of dabbling in witchcraft.
- d. If old and continuing modes of cooperation in a group (A) involved in relationships with another group (B) can be expressed in new culture customs, this will tend to happen<sup>1</sup>. Thus economic cooperation between kinsmen is carried into migratory labour to industrial areas, where all earnings are often pooled monthly so as to enable the recipient to send a substantial amount home.

Dollard's<sup>2</sup> view on the responsive adaptation exhibited by the Negro, is of direct consequence to this investigation, and we are referring to it because the author endeavoured to trace a typological pattern of adaptation. He says:

"There seem to be five possibilities of action on the part of the subordinate groups in the face of these gains. They can -

1. Become overtly aggressive against the dominant group; they have have done, though infrequently and unsuccessfully in the past.
2. Suppress their aggression in the face of

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1 - Cf. Max Gluckman, op.cit., for his excellent exposition of 'Social Cleavage and Social Cooperation.'

2 - Dollard, John: Caste and Class in a Southern Town, (1957) p.253

the gains and supplant it with passive accommodation-attitudes. This was the slavery solution and it still exists under the caste system.

3. Turn aggression from the upper caste to individuals within their own group. This has been done to some extent and is a great feature of present-day life in a dichotomous society.
4. Give up the competition for the upper caste values and accept other forms of gratification than those secured by the upper caste. This is the lower class attitude.
5. Compete for the values of upper society, raise their class position within the lower caste and manage aggression partly by expressing dominance within their own group and partly by sheer suppression of the impulse as individuals."

These are also typical responses in Northern Rhodesia.

For our purposes, the above set of responses exhibit two salient features. Firstly, it shows that incentives for success are provided by the established values of the culture. Secondly, the avenues available for moving toward these goals are largely limited by various social structural barriers.

It is inherent our hypothesis, that it is the combination of cultural emphasis and the social structure which produce intense conflicts. With this as background, the sharpening of the conflict situation must inevitably follow: it is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, 'certain common success-goals for the population at large while the social structure rigorously restricts these goals for a considerable part of the same population' that culture-conflicts erupt. In this structure we have the cardinal virtue, 'ambition', promoting the cardinal vice, 'agitation'. A social 'vicious circle' is established.<sup>1</sup>

R.K. Merton's<sup>2</sup> 'Types of Individual Adaptation'

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1 - Mills, C.Wright: The Power Elite, (1959) pp.51-70. His is the common assumption (similar to the Hobbesian idea) of egotism as the motive force of conduct.

2 - Merton, R.K.: Social Theory & Social Structure (1959) p.133

serves the purpose of this investigation, and are listed hereunder.

TABLE 3

Typology of Modes of Individual Adaptation

Modes of Adaptation	Culture Goals	Institutionalised Means
1. Conformity	+	+
2. Innovation	+	-
3. Ritualism	-	+
4. Retreatism	-	-
5. Rebellion	±	±

+ signifies acceptance

- signifies rejection

± signifies rejection of prevailing values and substitution of new ones.

These designated modes of adaptation show a singular similarity with Dollard's classification. Merton, however, prefaces his classification by the observation 'that people may shift from one alternative to another as they engage in different spheres of activities', which means that these categories refer to role behaviour in specific types of situations and not to personality traits. Another observation as to this typology is necessary: these are types of more or less enduring response and not types of personality organisation.

We have selected Merton's typology as the best suited to our theme of investigation, because in the strictly Freudian sense, the perspective is that of types of individual responses, quite apart from the place of the individual within the social structure. In spite of her consistent concern with 'culture', for example, Horney<sup>1</sup> does not explore differences in the impact of this culture upon the farmer, worker and businessman, upon lower-, middle- and upper-class individuals, upon

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1 - Cf. footnote on page 45 for discussion of typologies.

members of various ethnic and culture groups. As a result, the role of 'inconsistencies in culture' is not located in its differential impact upon diversely situated groups. Gluckman too, in his otherwise excellent exposition of a social situation (in Modern Zululand), has also over-emphasised the 'typical social processes by which individual behaviour causes social changes', and neglected the primary assumption that these responses (adaptational modes) occur with different frequency within various sub-groups in our society precisely because members of these groups or strata are differentially subject to cultural stimulation and social restraints. This sociological orientation<sup>1</sup> will be found in the writings of Dollard and, less systematically, in the work of Fromm, Kardiner and Laswell.

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1 - There is no lack of typologies or alternative modes of response to frustrating conditions. Freud in Civilisation and its Discontents, p. 30 ff, supplies one; derivative typologies, often differing in basic details, will be found in Karen Horney's Neurotic Personality of our Time; S. Rozenzweig, The Experimental Measurement of Types in Reaction to Frustration; and in the works of Laswell, Kardiner and Erich Fromm.

The position taken here has been perceptively described by Edwin Sapir in Why Cultural Anthropology Needs the Psychiatrist: 'Every statement of behaviour which throws the emphasis, explicitly or implicitly, on the actual, integral experiences of defined personalities or types of personalities is a datum of psychology or psychiatry rather than of social science. Every statement about behaviour....or about the expected behaviour of a physically and psychologically defined type of individual, but which abstracts from such behaviour in order to bring out in clear relief certain expectancies with regard to those aspects of individual behaviour which various people share, as an interpersonal or social pattern, is a datum, however crudely expressed, of social science'. We have, naturally, selected the second alternative to our approach in this study; although we shall have occasion to speak of attitudes, values and function, it will be from the standpoint of how the social structure promotes or inhibits their appearance in specified types of situations. And this is, in fact, in line with Dollard and Merton's formal approach.

In the chapters that follow we will show in our analytical schema that this syndrome of lofty aspirations and limited realistic opportunities, is precisely the pattern which invites disorganisation, as a result of conflict, and obstructs occupational goal-formation in the social strata.

The central observation of George Sorel in his Reflections on Violence<sup>1</sup> serves as a convenient introduction here. He states that antagonistic classes influence each other in a partly indirect but decisive manner. This is important, because the idea is that conflict, which Sorel calls violence, prevents ossification of the social system by exerting pressure for innovation or creativity. He conceived it to be of general importance for the total social system. A social system, he feels, is in need of conflict if only to renew its energies and revitalise its creative forces<sup>2</sup>.

But there is, according to him, yet another gain to be made. He says that it is here that the role of violence (conflict in our sense) in history appears to him as singularly great, for it can, in an indirect manner, so operate on the middle-class as to awaken them to a sense of their own class sentiment<sup>3</sup>. It is this sense of common purpose arising in and through conflict that is peculiar to the behaviour of individuals who meet the challenge of new conditions by a group-forming and value-estimating response. Conflict through group action, is, therefore, likely to result in accommodation as a result of new patterns.

Conflict within and between groups in a society can prevent accommodation and habitual relations from progressively impoverishing creativity. The clash of interests and values, the tension between what is and what some feel ought to be, the conflict between vested interests

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1 - Sorel, G.: Reflections on Violence, (1925), chap.2

2 - Sorel, G.: Ibid. p.82

3 - Sorel, G.: Ibid. p.88

Though the call to action, as framed by Sorel, was addressed to the working class and its interests, he conceived it to be of general importance for the total social system.

and new strata and groups demanding their share of power, status and wealth, have been productive of vitality.

Conflict not only generates new norms, new institutions, according to Coser<sup>1</sup>, but it may also be said to stimulate the economic and technological realms. Economic historians have often pointed out that much technological improvements have resulted from the conflict activity of trade unions through the raising of wage levels and the cohesion of the working-class groups. As will be pointed out later, this effect can also be traced in the Copper-belt situation so far as it led to the same effects. A rise in wages usually has led to technological improvement as a substitute for increased demands from labour and hence to an increase in the volume of investment. Thus the extreme mechanisation of coal mining in the United States of America has similarly been partly explained by the existence of militant trade unionism in the American coal fields<sup>2</sup>. Sufrin's recent investigation points to the effects of trade union pressure, 'goading management into technical improvement and increased capital investment'<sup>3</sup>. Very much the same point was made recently by the conservative British 'Economist' which reproached British trade unions for their so-called 'moderation' which it declared in part responsible for the stagnation and low productivity of British capitalism. It compared their policy unfavourably with the more aggressive policies of American trade unions whose constant pressure for higher wages has kept the American economy dynamic<sup>4</sup>.

It has often been observed that the efforts of technological change have weighed most heavily upon the worker<sup>5</sup>. Both formal and informal organisation of workers

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1 - Coser, Lewis A.: The Functions of Social Conflict, p.34

2 - Cf. Coleman, McAlister: Men and Coal, (1943), p.132

3 - Union's Wages and Labour's Earnings, (1954)

4 - Cf. Herberg: When Social Scientists View Labour (1955) pp.590-596. Refer also to Melman, S.: Dynamic Factors in Industrial Productivity (1954) for the effects of rising wage levels on productivity.

5 - Cf. Merton, R.K.: The Machine, The Workers and the Engineer, pp.317 - 328

represent in 'part' an attempt to mitigate the insecurities attendant upon the impact of unpredictable introduction of change in the factory<sup>1</sup>. By the organising of trade unions, workers gain a feeling of security through the effective conduct of institutionalised conflict with management and thus exert pressure on management to increase their returns by the innovation of further cost-reducing devices. The search for mutual adjustment, understanding and 'unity' between groups who find themselves in different life situations and have different life chances, calls forth the danger that Sorel warns of, namely, that further developments of technology would be seriously impaired.

The technological change in the Copperbelt industrial structure and the emergence of invention, with its institutionalised science as the instrument for the remaking of the structure, was made possible with the gradual emergence of a pluralistic and hence conflict-charged pattern of human relations. In the unitary order of the Guild System, 'no one was permitted to harm others by methods which enabled them to produce more quickly and cheaply than they'<sup>2</sup>. Technical progress took on the appearance of disloyalty<sup>3</sup>. The ideal was stable conditions in a stable society. Nothing was allowed to break the closely-knit worker-cohesion in the newly established industrial field.

Just as in the medieval world, vested interests on the Copperbelt exert pressure for the maintenance of the established order, but unlike the medieval pattern the modern institutional structure allows for 'freedom of conflict' as will be illustrated later on. A further aid to social change in this context was the fact that the superstructure, by not being unitary any longer, imposed greater difficulties on vested interests to keep on resisting the continuous stream of worker-demands.<sup>4</sup>

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1 - Cf. Roethlisberger & Dickson, Management and Worker, pp.567-568; and Perlman, Theory of Labour Movement, for 'informal change' in industry.

2 - Pirenne, H.: Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p.186

3 - Williams, R.M.: The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions, pp.36-77, elaborates on this theme.

4 - Cf. Ogburn, W.F.: Social Change, for the theory of 'culture lag' due to vested interests; also Dodd, S.C.: Dimensions of Society, chapter 5.

While it may be true as Cooley suggests, that competition and conflict are designations of aspects of a process<sup>1</sup>, all of which are always present in any concrete situation, this does not, as we have seen with regard to other scientific concepts, prevent us from separating them for the purposes of analysis. A recent monograph<sup>2</sup> formulates the following characteristics of competition, which must, by its very nature activate conflict:

"On a social level, individuals compete with one another when -

- a. they are striving to achieve the same goal that is scarce;
- b. they are prevented by the rules of the situation from achieving this goal in equal amounts;
- c. they perform better when the goal can be achieved in unequal amounts;
- d. they have relatively few psychologically affiliative contacts with one another."

The testing of the usefulness of this postulate obviously depends upon the measurement in concrete situations of the factors enumerated. If the measurements when made, enable us to classify with objectivity and preciseness different behaviour-situations with respect to the degree of competition and conflict involved in each, the postulate may be regarded as warranted and useful, i.e. they are then said to define different degrees of sociation which we find relevant and useful to describe or even predicting societal events.

The next step is to determine whether some of the factors are so highly correlated among themselves that the measurement of any one of the factors here given, or some other factor common to those enumerated above, will enable us to distinguish with sufficient accuracy a competitive

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1 - Refer our own postulate in this connection Chap.3 p.34

2 - May & Doob: Competition and Cooperation(1954),pp 3-4

from a conflict situation. It is with this purpose in mind, before proceeding with this investigation, that we wish to restate that we consider a conflict situation to be a state of high or maximum tension, while competition characterises rivalry within the group.

In returning to Coser, we find that he makes a broad distinction between conflicts which 'do not contradict the basic assumptions upon which the relationship is founded' and conflicts 'in which the contending parties no longer share the basic values upon which the legitimacy of the social system rests'<sup>1</sup>. As this has a specific bearing on our own approach, it will be of interest to pursue Coser's analysis of the former type.

He states that 'one safeguard against conflict disrupting the consensual basis of the relationship is contained in the social structure itself: it is provided by the institutionalisation and tolerance of conflict'<sup>2</sup>. This, in point of fact, means that part of the expectation of the parties is that certain questions cannot be regarded as settled in advance, but that when they occur, the question of how they are to be settled and what kind of behaviour will be permitted will depend upon the sort of balance of power prevailing at the time. This balance of power and its turning point into a new balance of power we illustrate later for Northern Rhodesia.

This means that 'institutionalised' social relationships resting entirely upon norms, as they do in Parsons' work, part of the institutionalisation itself may lie in permitting certain issues to be settled on the basis of the outcome of a conflict between two parties. As Coser puts it, the emergence of norms may depend upon the balance of power achieved.

'Conflict'<sup>3</sup>, he continues, 'frequently helps to revitalise existent norms, or it contributes to the emergence of new norms. In this sense, social conflict is a mechanism for adjustment of norms adequate to new con-

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1 - Coser, Lewis: Op. cit. p. 151

2 - Coser, Lewis: Ibid. p.152

3 - Coser, Lewis: Ibid. p.154

ditions. A flexible society benefits from conflicts because such behaviour, by helping to create and modify norms, assures its continuance under changed conditions'. In putting it this way, Coser seems to suggest that the balance of power is the basic factor in social relationships and that the normative structure is a dependent variable. The question one might ask, therefore, is whether it would not be better to start initially with the analysis of power, rather beginning by assuming the existence of norms. Our approach, therefore, is in essence what we have already proposed, namely, to start where Coser ends. This approach will be developed later on in this chapter<sup>1</sup>.

Of direct importance to this investigation is the second point made by Coser about the disruptiveness of social conflict: It is, that conflicts are more likely to be disruptive in social groups where 'there exists a high frequency of interaction and high personality involvement of the members', than it is in groups 'comprising individuals who participate only segmentally'. The point he makes is that in actual social systems the existence of a conflict situation in relation to an isolated aim does not necessarily mean that the whole social system will be disrupted by the conflict. At first sight, this distinction which Coser makes, appears to be a valid one, for there are societies in which relationships are segmented or related to specific ends, which have entirely different problems from those in which relationships are un-specialised and diffused. We find grounds for agreement that this conflict may not necessarily spread and disrupt the whole social system as we have seen it happen in Northern Rhodesia where the conflict was mostly centred in the economic realm.

However, in defence of our own approach in this investigation, this distinction must be drawn here, and Rex puts it thus -

"For the different segmental relationships may not be merely arbitrarily or randomly related to one another. There may be some sort of means-ends relationships between them. If

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1- In this development we are heavily indebted to John Rex for his treatment of 'The Theory of Social Conflict and Change', in his Key Problems of Sociological Theory, pp. 116-131, (1961) which, on the whole, validifies our own approach and interpretation of conflict.

"if this is so there may be a conflict in the dominant or ultimate segment which will spread all the way back along the means-ends chain<sup>1</sup>".

This point is especially relevant in relation to the theories of Dahrendorf<sup>2</sup> who holds that class conflicts occur between those possessing authority and those who do not possess it. Hence there may be class conflicts in any of a number of different institutions (e.g. in industry, in religion, in politics, etc.). Dahrendorf argues that whether or not class-conflict becomes really disruptive and revolutionary depends upon whether the class conflicts in the separate institutional contexts become superimposed upon one another. The fallacy in this analysis is, of course, Dahrendorf's complete ignoring of the tremendous amount of sociological and historical research which has shown that conflicts do spread from one institutional context to another, because the separate institutions are related to one another as means to ends. Max Weber, Dahrendorf's fellow countryman, shows that conflicts about religious ideas had implications for economic organisation and his remark that he was considering only one end of a causal chain suggests that he also imagined a reverse relationship as being equally valid.

Indeed part of the burden of our argument so far has been that there may be conflicts between parts of the social structure as well as within its segments. But the concept of randomly varying segments is as artificial as the concept of complete functional integration. We should assume that conflicts will spread in segmented societies as much as they do in close-knit unsegmented societies.

Coser's third point, namely, that conflict brings together those who unite against the common enemy and that where there are a whole lot of cross-cutting conflicts in a social system one enemy in relation to one conflict situation may be one's ally in relation to another and hence social solidarity will be assured,

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1 - Rex, John: Op. cit. p.117

2 - Dahrendorf, A: Class and Class Conflict in an Industrial Society, (1959) quoted by Rex, op. cit. p.117

depends, of course, upon how far it is really true that social life proceeds entirely by way of ad hoc coalitions. An interesting observation on this point is made by Gluckman in relation to primitive societies. While accepting the high probability there, it is done with the reservation that, at a primitive level, it may be more possible to understand social relations and activities as being directed toward the attainment of a number of discrete ends. This is by means the assumption of functionalist anthropology, but there clearly is a limit in every society to the possible combinations of individuals who can be brought into ad hoc coalitions and as a means of ensuring solidarity the principle of coalitions is limited by this fact.

Coser's last category of conflicts - the safety-valve type - is of no value to this investigation.

In his paper on the objectivity of data in social science, Weber states that 'there is no absolutely objective scientific analysis of culture' and 'the reasons for this lie in the character of the cognitive goal of all research in social science which seeks to transcend the purely formal treatment of the legal or conventional norms regulating life<sup>1</sup>'.

Weber is referring, in this context, to the fact that any social activity, institution or relation may be looked at from an economic, a religious, or some other point of view. There are, however, also two other implications. One is that the conceptual scheme of the sociologist might be affected by the particular value-standpoint which he himself adopts -- putting it in another way, allowing him the freedom to study what activities are conducive to the attainment of states of affairs which he himself desires, and, the other is that these activities might be judged according to the contribution which they make to the attainment of the ends of various actors.

Mannheim<sup>2</sup> saw the implications of this latter point, for if sociology is concerned with showing the

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1 - Weber, Max: The Methodology of the Social Sciences, p72

2 - Mannheim, K: Ideology and Utopia, (1940), p.40

relationship between activities and the purposes of the actors in a social system, there was no such thing as objectivity in the sense of letting the facts speak for themselves.

The same point was made by Myrdal<sup>1</sup> who insisted that there were no simple objective facts about race relations, but only facts in relation to value premises. Our concern, however, is not primarily with the problem of objectivity, but with that of conflict in social systems and here Myrdal's views are important when he talks about selections of value-starting points -

"In a scientific treatment of the practical aspects of social problems the alternative sets of hypothetical value premises should not be chosen arbitrarily, the principle of selection should be their relevance. Relevance is determined by the interests and ideas of actual persons and groups of persons. Within the circle of relevance so determined a still more narrow circle of significance may be taken to denote valuations which are held by substantial groups of people or by small groups with substantial social power."

He further states that realistic research on practical problems will have to concentrate its attention upon the value premises corresponding to valuations which have high social significance or are likely to gain in social significance. On the other hand, it is certainly not necessary to adopt only those value premises which are held by a majority of the population or by a politically dominant group.

His three assumptions, regarding value premises, are of import here -

1. that there are conflicts of 'value premises' or put differently, conflicts of 'interests' in every strata of society;
2. that these conflicts are sufficiently radical in scope to affect the structure of the society at almost any point at which we care to study it.

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1 - Myrdal, G.: Value in Social Theory, pp.157-158

3. That the actual course of events is likely to be determined by the power at the disposal of groups and that the balance of power might change so that particular value premises might gain in social significance.

In other words, Myrdal accepts a conflict model of systems similar to that which we have outlined in the foregoing chapters.

The presentation of the empirical data, as it obtains in the Northern Rhodesian situation, commences in the next section of this study.

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It is necessary, in the light of the foregoing discussion, to reformulate the preliminary hypothesis<sup>1</sup> so that it now encompasses the following aspects of the conflict situation on the Copperbelt -

1. Instead of being organised on the concept of consensus of values, social systems may be conceived as involving conflict situations at keypoints which may be located anywhere between the extremes of peaceful bargaining to open violence.
2. The existence of such situations tend to produce plural societies, in which there are two or more classes, each of which provides a relatively self-contained system for its members. The activities of the members take on sociological importance and must be explained by reference to the group's interests in the conflict situation.
3. Invariably the conflict situation will be marked by an unequal balance of power so that one of the classes emerges as the ruling class.
4. The position outlined in para 3 above, will constantly urge the ruling class to seek to legitimise its position among members of the subject class. The leaders of the subject class, on the other hand, will concertedly

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1 - Cf. Our 'Introduction' p.i

seek to deny this claim and to organise activities which demonstrate that it denies legitimacy.

5. The power-relation between the ruling and subject classes may change as a result of changes in a number of variable factors which increase the possibility of successful resistance or actual revolution by the subject classes or other modes of accommodation.
6. Amongst these variable factors outlined in para 5 above, may be increased leadership-activities, growing cohesion among members, unifying aspirations, increased organisational activities, increased trade union activities and political changes.
7. Dramatic change in the balance of power of the subject class may be brought about by gaining political majority in representative bodies, in which case they may find themselves suddenly in a position where new divisions within their ranks may open up, but these may be of an entirely different kind to those which existed in the pre-accommodation phase.
8. The social institutions and culture concepts may change when the subject-class comes to power and these changes will be affected or even justified by the morality of conflict in the pre-revolutionary charters, manifestoes or declarations of policy.
9. A change in the balance of power might not lead to complete revolution, but to compromise and reorganisation of existing social structures. In this case new institutions might arise which are not related simply to the prosecution of conflict, but are recognised as legitimate by both sides.
10. If the change-over, i.e. from ruling class to subject class, came about in a peaceful manner and under all-round favourable circumstances, a truce-situation will develop in which a new unitary social order will be formulated as a long-term policy for social stability.

These points appear to provide a useful framework in terms of which the contemporary social situation of Northern Rhodesia might be analysed. The classification of basic conflict situations, the study of the emergence and structure of conflict groups, the problem of legitimation of power, the study of the agencies of indoctrination and socialisation, the problem of the ideological conflicts in post-revolutionary situations and in situations of compromise and truce, the study of the relations between norms and systems of power — all these have their place within it.

The model has been developed in the chapters that follow in relation to the study of the total social system with special emphasis upon their overtly political aspects. It is by no means without relevance to the design of the research as there are (and Dahrendorf agrees as well) always conflicts between those exercising authority and those over whom it is exercised whatever the institutional context, and wherever such conflicts occur the model suggested, is relevant for at least a partial analysis of the social problems of the institutions concerned.

A final observation may perhaps be worth making in connection with this model, namely, that it in no way replaces the detailed analysis of social conflict which we have made in the previous chapters. In point of fact, there we suggested that any type of structural-functional analysis of a social system should be ultimately related not simply to something as vague and unexplained as the needs of the system, but to a clearly defined end or aim for the system as a whole. This fits entirely with the present analysis because it starts by assuming sub-systems organised around such aims and goes on to analyse the relations holding them firm.

The type of analysis which we have discussed in this chapter will be employed as a means of analysing the internal structure of the conflict groups.

We now turn to the empirical data for the Copperbelt's conflict situation.

P A R T 2

EMPIRICAL DATA RELATING TO

SOCIAL CHANGE IN

NORTHERN RHODESIA

CHAPTER 5

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE COPPER INDUSTRY

AND THE FORMATION OF THE WHITE TRADE UNION

To enable a proper appreciation of the various aspects into which this investigation is inquiring, some brief references to the history of copper mining in Northern Rhodesia and its subsequent development are necessary. The African Mineworkers' Trade Union, indeed, always takes pride at Commissions of Inquiry<sup>1</sup> in some references to the early extractions of copper by people of their own race. It will suffice, in that regard, to say that such a reference appears in a despatch still preserved in the Portuguese Archives and sent from Sofala to the Portuguese King by Gaspar Velloso, in or about the year 1514. For the purpose of this survey we quote from the Report of the Commission of Inquiry<sup>2</sup>(1938) -

"Ancient workings of copper were found at Kansanshi in 1939 and a few years later at Ewana Mkubwa and Luanshya. Various attempts were made to work the mines, but until railway connections reached the Belgian Congo border in 1910 serious development was impossible. The Kansanshi and Ewana Mkubwa mines were worked on a small scale, but the Northern Rhodesia industry was thrown into the shade by the development in Katanga where surface oxidised ores are much richer than in Northern Rhodesia."

The discovery which changed the whole prospect of the mines was made in 1925, when sulphide ores with

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1 - For example The Dalglish Commission's Report (1944) and others, such as the Forster (1954) and the Honeyman Reports (1957).

2 - This historical data is taken from the "Report of the Commission appointed to Inquire into the Financial and Economic Position of Northern Rhodesia"(1938), pp.18-19.

3 to 5 per cent of copper were found at a depth of 100 feet. Such ores when worked by the flotation process are very valuable, while oxides of similar grades are of relatively little value. The richest discoveries were made at Luanshya, Nkana, Mufulira, Nchanga and Chambishi. By 1930 the Copperbelt, as it then became known, was in the middle of a construction boom. About 30,000 Africans were employed in addition to large numbers of Europeans. Ndola, the centre of development at the time, was growing daily and trade flourished with an almost unlimited number of credit accounts.

This stage of prosperity had a short life, because during 1930 the price of standard copper fell from £72 in February to £44 in November and the fall continued in 1931 when the price fell as low as £27 a ton. First Bwana Mkubwa Mine closed down, then Mufulira just as it reached the point of production. Development was suspended at Nchanga, Chambishi and Kansanshi. Only Roan Antelope and Nkana kept on producing but on a very reduced scale. Exaggerated hopes gave way to despair. Europeans had to be dismissed and the African labour fell to about 12,000 at the end of 1931, and a little under 7,000 in 1932.

In 1933 the position began to improve, Mufulira was reopened and Nkana and Roan Antelope increased their production. The export of blister copper rose from 4,825 tons in 1931 to 103,066 tons in 1933, 119,394 tons in 1935 and 113,903 tons valued at £3,938,603 in 1936. In addition, Nkana exported 18,847 tons of electrolytic copper in 1935 and 27,297 tons valued at £1,055,878 in 1936.

The African labour employed at Roan Antelope, Nkana and Mufulira increased from 7,459 in 1933 to 13,799 in 1934 and 14,023 in 1936. At the end of 1939 there were 26,000 employed. In Part 1 of this investigation we have given more recent population figures for gainfully employed Europeans and Africans.

The Economic and Statistical Bulletin of Rhodesia<sup>1</sup> gave the value of copper mining output for 1953 as £90,966,947 while figures given in the Forster Commission of Inquiry<sup>2</sup> show that in 1929 the European population of Northern Rhodesia was approximately 8,000; that by 1946 it had increased to 21,000 and that in 1953 it stood at 50,000 rising well over 72,000 in 1961. We have no figures

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1 - Published March 1954.

2 - 1954

for the African population for 1929, but the Federal Monthly Digest of Statistics<sup>1</sup> shows that while the African population in 1946 was 1,630,000 it had increased to 1,960,000 in 1953.

In 1941 the average number of Europeans in the service of the copper mining companies was 3,098 while Africans numbered 27,270. By 1953 the totals had risen respectively to 5,879 and 36,147 giving an aggregate of 42,026. In 1961 these figures rose respectively to 6,142 and 37,100. It should be noted that the copper mining industry provided employment for more persons in the Territory than any other single industry with the exception of agriculture. Economically this sector is dominant over all in terms of money values produced.

Figures taken from the annual reports of the Income Tax Department show that of the total tax of £2,085,134 collected in 1945, 61.2 per cent (£1,276,616) was paid by the mining companies and that by 1953 the total tax collected had risen to £18,510,213 of which the mining companies contributed 80.2 per cent (£14,846,358). The economy is thus supported on a basis of copper production and copper values. The 1961 figures show an all round increase of some 21.4 per cent over the 1953 figures. As development takes place the rate is likely to rise and stability is not in sight in the near future.

The indirect value of the copper industry to the economy of Northern Rhodesia and inferentially of the Federation is illustrated by the following extracts from the Report of the Chamber of Mines<sup>2</sup> -

"It is manifestly impossible to calculate the amount of indirect revenue resulting from the mining industry but in order to give some indication of the benefit which the Territory derives from its mines the managers of the seven big mines were invited to submit figures. It should also be realised that an appreciable proportion of the mineral royalties returns to the Territory and also that Government now receives 20 per cent of the British South Africa

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1 - August 1954.

2 - 1953 Report, p.14

"Company's net royalties amounting to £2,072,355.

For the year under review the seven big mining companies also paid £78,371 in forest royalties".

TABLE 4

LOCAL EXPENDITURE BY THE MINING INDUSTRY

European Salaries & Wages	£7,250,841
European Bonuses	2,714,939
African Wages & Bonuses	3,648,747
African Rations	1,193,886
Payments to Contractors	3,975,233
Income Tax	16,770,911
Rhodesia Railways (excluding South Afr)	2,434,061
Customs Duties (to N.R. Customs)	152,516
	<u>£38,141,134</u>

This section reveals the formally organised development of capital resources and their effects in attracting a large volume of labour of erstwhile peasant agriculturists into its orbit. This labour, passive at first, were organised into a cohesive unit and started to play a part in the conflict situation.

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In 1935 a strike occurred among the African employees at Mkana, Roan Antelope and Mufulira in the course of which six Africans were killed and several injured<sup>1</sup>. The immediate cause of the strike was a tax grievance, but after investigation of the matter by the Russell Commission of Inquiry<sup>2</sup> the complaint was rectified when African industrial labour was given some assistance in the Territory as a whole by the creation of an Advisory Board of Twelve who were to advise the Governor in matters affecting such labour and were thus able from time to time to obtain improved conditions for it. As a result of this Advisory

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1 - Cf. The Forster Commission's Report, (1954)p.14

2 - 1936

Board's endeavours it soon became apparent that the Government had to establish its Labour Department.

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In 1936, when there were about 1,600 Europeans in the service of the mining companies, Charles Harris, an official of the South African Mineworkers' Union, visited the Copperbelt to assist in the organisation of a European Trade Union. This led to the formation of the European Mineworkers' Union which received recognition by the mining companies in September, 1937, in an agreement that, among other things, bound the parties not to call a strike or a lock-out until conciliation had been tried and failed.

Once the unitary and old forms of tradition broke down, the clash of values and conflicting interests, now no longer constrained by the rigidity of the customary structure, pressed for new forms of accommodation. Thus rationalised regulation and deliberate control of 'spontaneous' processes were required in social and economic institutions. It soon became apparent that a system which is not challenged is a system that is incapable of a creative response. It may subsist, wedded to the eternal yesterday of tradition, but it will not be capable of renewal in the light of new social demands. It was apparent that Northern Rhodesia was on the threshold of a new social era.

Early in 1940 the European Mineworkers' Union submitted claims to the mining companies for improvements in pay and other conditions of service. When this demand was not met, the European Union withdrew its labour without resorting to conciliation. This strike action was immediately followed by a series of African strikes in the course of which several lives were lost and property was damaged. A Commission of Inquiry was then appointed and was presided over by Sir John Forster.

By this time, and while the members of the Forster Commission were still making their inquiries, the belief had arisen that maximum production of copper, which was of vital importance to the war effort, could be achieved only by training Africans in, and using them to do, various classes of work done by Europeans. The Government of the United Kingdom, however, informed the mining companies that an agreement with the European Union was imperative. This 'belief', mentioned earlier, had serious implications, because in the evidence received by the Forster Commission, the Africans not only claimed to be

able to do the work normally done by the European, but they issued a challenge for a production test as well which had to be conducted over two trial shifts. Thus the position of the African in relation to work done by the European, had now, for the first time, become a problem in the copper industry of Northern Rhodesia, and it is precisely at this point where the conflict situation was receiving its initial organisation. The issue at stake, which struck at the very foundations of the then existing social structure, received the consideration of the Forster Commission in the following recommendation<sup>1</sup>-

"The mine managements should consider with representatives of the Government and the Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Union to what positions, not now open to him, the African worker should be encouraged to advance".

The peasant was now not only within the system but he had started asserting pressure to change the occupational structure of industry.

Processes such as this mentioned above, which seem to cause dissociation are as important in the life of groups as are the associating processes. As we have previously pointed out, there are no complete harmonious groups, and, if they could be found, they would not show any social response because there exists a definite correlation between the structure of any social group and the amount of conflict permissible among its members<sup>2</sup>.

Sofar we have only discussed change within systems, but changes of systems are of perhaps even more importance to this investigation. Marx in his polemic with Proudhon<sup>3</sup> implies that conflict not only leads to ever-changing relationships within the existing social structure, but that the entire system is transformed. This 'means-ends' chain relationship has been discussed, but when the empirical data, which follows, is added, we readily note its social significance.

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1 - p.7

2 - Barnes, H.E.: An Introduction to the History of Sociology, (1947), p. 257

3 - Marx, Karl: The Poverty of Philosophy, (1910)p.132, and on the same point see Mannheim, K., Ideology and Utopia, (1940), p. 50 -72

The European Union now progressively recognised the necessity of allowing more jobs, which were previously held by Europeans, to be made available to Africans. On the question of dilution of labour, the European Union regarded the work done by their members as their perquisite, but did, in fact, propose to limit such dilution to the period of war (1939 - 1945). Simultaneous with this concession, the European Union insisted on a 'closed-shop'<sup>1</sup> clause in the Agreement with the mining companies.

The latent conflict situation, which had been sparked off by the African workers, but which had been dormant up to now, received its first impetus in July 1940, when the European Union and the companies agreed in principle to a proposed dilution of labour. There was, however, this proviso that the then existing practice regarding employment of the European Union's members would be restored on the cessation of war hostilities. The companies felt that with regard to the 'closed-shop' request that this could not be met on the ground, among others, that it would 'fortify the miners' attitude regarding the colour bar'. In 1941 the European Union again lodged their claim, and for the second time the Government of the United Kingdom urged the mining companies not to allow any stoppages in the production of copper. This time the Companies conceded. It was coincidental that the external system, in this instance, operated in the same direction as the internal in spite of the fact that the aims were at variance.

According to Marx, the negative element (or the opposition), conditions the change when conflict between the sub-groups of a system becomes so sharpened that at a certain point the system breaks down. This is borne out by the development of the conflict situation on the Copper-belt. The African worker, who through collective bargaining became aware of his social strength in the industrial structure, asked for and obtained a system of labour representation which was instituted by election in each mine township. This representative body, the Tribal Representatives, as they were subsequently called, had monthly meetings with the compound managers to discuss grievances. This form of representation, after the opening of the channels of communication, was augmented by the Boss Boys' Committees.

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1 - A term used to describe the exclusive employment of Union members.

In 1945, upon the cessation of hostilities, a revision of the European Union's Agreement with the companies was undertaken. In conciliation proceedings presided over by the Industrial Relations Advisor to the Northern Rhodesia Government, the parties, early in 1946, agreed to delete the clause permitting dilution of labour and to replace it with the following clause -

"The Company agrees that work of the class or grade that is being performed, or job that is being filled by an employee at the time of the beginning of this agreement shall not be given to persons to whom the terms and conditions of this agreement do not apply<sup>1</sup>".

This is the wording that still applies at the date of writing to this clause — Clause 42. As can be seen, the conflict situation had by now become so sharpened that social relations, in their structural patterns, were threatening the social system. The elements of strain now clearly took on its conflict qualities, hence the insertion of the above mentioned 'protection' clause. In appreciating the gravity of future social developments and present status qualifications, the European Union was compelled to take stock of permissible changes to their accepted organisational structure. It is clear, as we have previously pointed out, that no dominant group willingly relinquishes any of its status symbols, and the European Union, being no exception to the theoretical rule, elected to correlate the amount of conflict with, what they deemed sufficient, accommodation when, following on a resolution, proposed to delete the word 'European' where it occurs in Clause 1 of their Agreement with the companies. This deletion would then impute that the entire labour force on the copper mines would become a single unified structure. This proposal was rejected outright by the mining companies as they were unwilling to 'let their African labour force come under the European Union's control<sup>2</sup>'.

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1 - The Forster Commission of Inquiry Report, cap 18, p.7

2 - Ibid. , cap 21, p.7

This proposed modification of the social structure, which represents accommodation, highlights another facet of conflict, namely, the role that is played by numerical plurality in the subject class in achieving its goals. This force only comes into play after the inert mass, through efficient communication media, organisationally-activated, is channelled into its group structure with its aims clearly demarcated. This is the social evolution within any social structure where there exists an excess of claimants over opportunities for adequate rewards.<sup>1</sup>

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1 - Marcuse, Herbert, Reason and Revolution, (1941), chap 3, may be consulted for a detailed treatment of this argument and its relation to Hegelian philosophy. It is interesting to note the similarity of Dewey's thought: 'Where there is a change there is of necessity numerical plurality....and from variety comes opposition, strife. Diversity means division, and division means two sides and their conflict', Reconstruction in Philosophy, p.97

CHAPTER 6

THE CONFLICT SITUATION DELINEATED

AND

THE RISE OF AFRICAN TRADE UNIONISM

As a background to the development of the conflict concept as it evolved over the period under investigation, we find that attention is due to the following aspects of the social development in its industrial setting. We must, therefore, look upon the African's entry into the industrial sphere if it is to be used as an analytical device, as having the following limitations -

- a. it does not take into account a number of variations which may occur as a consequence of regional differences;
- b. it fails to make allowances for rural-urban variations;
- c. not all Africans displaying these characteristics are involved in industrial activities, or necessarily place great emphasis on such pursuits as a social value or as a goal for their offspring;
- d. not all Africans come from such backgrounds, although we can recognise that a great majority of them do. During the past four decades there has been a great amount of social mobility in the African community. While the urbanised Africans have better opportunities for acquiring an education and for functioning in intellectual capacities, the spread of literacy, the extension of both primary and secondary education among the mass of Africans, and the growth of opportunities for higher education have made it possible for a number of Africans of the outlying rural areas to acquire a working knowledge for industrial activity;
- e. this model does not completely encompass the dynamics operative in African family life in general

and in the educated African in particular. The changes which have taken place in the African family structure in recent decades are striking, and the prospects are that they will continue, perhaps at an increasing rate, for some time to come. General urbanisation, the spread of literacy, the spread of birth control information and services, the widening of economic opportunities, and the increase in race pride — all have a significant bearing on the family, in the first instance, and on the role the African will play in carving his own societal structure, in the second instance.

While we note the limitations of this analytical device, we are, however, conscious of certain of its possibilities in the exploration of this investigation. The responsibility imposed is one of seeing that it is used within the limits of warrantability, and that it does not become a substitute for data or a prop for any unstated pre-suppositions. Employed in this way and supplemented where needed by additional data and interpretations, it can be of value as an instrument for undertaking this socio-economic investigation.

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In relation to what is stated above it is clear that more specialised attention was not only needed by the African but, especially in the industrial structure, it was a necessity. Forster records in his Report<sup>1</sup> that in November 1946, the Northern Rhodesia Government announced in the Legislative Council, their intention to employ a trade union advisor and, in March 1947, appointed William M. Comrie as a Labour Officer, 'with duties which included lecturing Africans on the principles of collective bargaining'.

The Boss Boys' Committees, to whom we have referred earlier, had by now progressed through organisation and articulation, to 'Works Committees' to further cohesion.<sup>2</sup>

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1 - Inquiry Report, cap.22,p.7

2 - The Tribal Representatives, of whom there were 75 at one time, continued to use their influence in affairs of a domestic nature. However, by 1953 the relations between this body and the African Union had become very strained because of the Union's suspicion of a rival organisation. The Union insisted that they only represent the Africans, and after a referendum at the request of the Union, the Tribal Representatives were abolished.

The distinction of changes of systems and changes within system is, in this context, a relative one. There is always some sort of continuity between the past and the present, or the present and a future system. Societies do not die the way biological organisms do, for it is difficult to determine the exact points of birth or death of societies. It is, therefore, logical to claim that all one can observe is a change of the organisation of social relations. Added hereto, we must also again stress what was previously said, namely, in a social revolution of this nature, a change, seen from one perspective, might be considered 're-establishment of equilibrium' while from another it may be seen as the formation of a completely new system. Such is the evolution we now describe.

The efforts towards the 're-establishment of the equilibrium', as far as the old social structure was concerned, came in September 1947, when the European Union resolved to organise an African Branch of the Union. Meetings were held to promote this proposal, but the 'cleavage' had already matured, and it failed. The change in any established pattern, if it is to be of permanent value, must come by mutual readjustment because institutions change gradually. The efforts to establish labour solidarity was now cast aside, and in its place arose a new form of solidarity founded on racialistic principles. The European Union's endeavours to retain jobs within the orbit of their activities will be illustrated later. With the failure to promote an African Branch of the European Union, the need for an African Union was manifest.

This failure to unify the two racial labour groups had, in effect, another important social result, namely, that it brought the African to the realisation, for the first time, that they, as a cohesive group, if they wished to attain a stratified position in the industrial structure, had to act for themselves and therefore, shortly hereafter, the first African Lineworkers' Trade Union was formed at Ekana with a membership of about 2,600.

While the formation of the 'new' trade union was taking place, an attempt was made in APRIL 1947, through discussions under the chairmanship of Andrew Dalglish, which lasted for three weeks, to reach an agreement between all interested parties in accordance with the recommendations contained in the Forster Commission's Report.

The position has evolved thus far now: whether given forms of conflict will lead to changes in the social system or to the formation of new systems will depend entirely on the rigidity and the resistance to change, or inversely, on the elasticity of the control mechanisms of the system. Hence our postulate: the change in a system or the change to a different system can only be understood and analysed through an investigation of the stresses and strains within the present system. In this specific instance, the control mechanism not only allowed the required elasticity but, in point of fact, allowed for its accommodation as is evidenced in the following sequel of events -

On 4th October, 1947, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia commissioned Andrew Dalgleish, Henry Main and James Young with the following terms of reference:

".....to inquire into the following points in regard to Africans employed in industry in Northern Rhodesia -

- a. What posts, not now occupied by them, Africans are capable of filling immediately;
- b. what training facilities should be made available to Africans to enable them to advance to more responsible and skilled posts in industry and how these training facilities should be provided;
- c. the wage structure for Africans in industry;
- d. to make recommendations for adjustments as may be necessary".<sup>1</sup>

For the purpose of this investigation the following observations must be made:

1. The Dalgleish Commission, which was boycotted by the European Union on the ground that the terms of reference did not embrace the question of 'equal pay for equal work and responsibility', completed its Report early in 1948.
2. This Commission found that Africans were capable of filling 23 different kinds of jobs immediately, 11 such jobs after a short training and 19 such jobs after longer and more intensive training, and they recommended 'that work

<sup>1</sup> - Vide Forster Commission's Report, cap26, p.8

or operations referred to should be transferred to Africans as early and as unprovocatively as possible'.

3. This Commission do not appear to have considered the effects of Clause 42 of the Agreement between the mining companies and the European Union, and in that regard, namely, to 'equal pay for equal work and responsibility' they state -

"It would appear...that the African will not for some considerable time to come be able to take over all the duties of the European who had previously been performing the task. It is further clear that for some considerable time to come the African will require much more supervision than is at present required by the European. We also have in mind the policy of 'equal pay for equal work and responsibility', a policy which is frequently misconstrued. In view of all these considerations and on the assumption that the wage at present being paid to the European is equitable and that it requires three Africans to undertake completely the work of the European without any additional supervision, then the wage and the emoluments of the European should be divided between the three Africans, provided that this is not less than they were receiving prior to their advancement and is not less than the minimum laid down."

4. The consequences were that when the implementation of the Commission's recommendations was discussed between the companies and the European Union there was a stalemate because the latter declined to waive the operation of Clause 42 except on the basis of 'equal pay for equal work', in regard to which the parties were unable to agree upon the measure or method of application.

It is quite apparent now that the rigidity of the system (adhered to by the European Union) and the intensity of conflict (displayed by the African Union) within it, are not independent of each other. The societal structure's validity is in the process of being challenged.

CHAPTER 7

THE AFRICAN UNION'S NEW GOALS SHARPEN

THE CONFLICT

The European Union's determination to retain its position in the societal structure is natural because as an institution it has its functions and its legitimacy was never disputed. However, the expression of conflict within the established pattern, both indicated and generated a new alignment to counter-balance the shift of power. In appreciating the difficulty in establishing a new order, the European Union's stand to retain its present position rather than dabbling with an unknown quantity, is, therefore, in keeping with social theory; and their refusal to accept the following clause drafted by the African Union, in spite of the fact that it gave a new definitive quality to the conflict situation, is a logical response -

"African advancement in industry is a matter that is agreed must take place. Where such advancement is to positions covered by agreement between the Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Union (i.e. the European Union) and the Mining Companies then the principle of 'equal pay and all conditions for equal work' shall prevail<sup>1</sup>".

In September 1952, as an expression of conflict and reaction to rigid controls, the African workers claimed an increase of 2s 8d per shift, and, when conciliation failed, called a strike. They returned to work on 10th November after arrangements for further discussions had been made. This resulted in the Guillebaud Tribunal. The arbitrator awarded certain increases in pay and in the course of his Report said he 'felt bound to place on record' his 'profound conviction that satisfactory and harmonious relations on the Copperbelt will not be attained unless or until effective steps have been taken to enable the African workers to advance to positions

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1 - Quoted by Forster, op.cit.p.9

of greater responsibility and importance than those which are now open to him'<sup>1</sup>. Thus, according to the arbitrator the underlying reason for the strike had to be sought in the African's awareness of differential treatment of employees. As we have pointed out, this was the consequential reaction - the intensification of emergent aspirations to readjust the equilibrium or, if need be, to establish a new order.

To get a broader perspective of the development of the conflict situation on the Copperbelt, it is necessary to examine the disturbances within a system which either lead to the re-establishment of equilibrium or to the establishment of a new system and new types of equilibria<sup>2</sup>. This examination will be most profitably begun by quoting Veblen on 'vested interests'<sup>3</sup> - 'any

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1 - Quoted by Forster, op. cit. p.9

2 - The concept of equilibria is of great value in social science provided it is used as by Schumpeter - as a point of reference permitting measurement of departure from it. 'The concept of a state of equilibrium, although no such state may ever be realised, is useful and indeed indispensable for the purposes of analysis and diagnosis, as a point of reference': Schumpeter, J., Business Cycle, p.69. But certain types of sociological functionalism tend to move from this methodological use of the concept to one which has some ideological characteristics. This ideal type of equilibrium, in this illegitimate use, becomes a normative instead of a methodological concept. Attention is also focussed on the maintenance of a system which is somehow identified with the ethically desirable - refer to Merton's Social Theory and Social Structure, p.116-117

3 - See footnote chapter 2, p. 15. Veblen has described this very aptly: 'The codes of proprieties...and usages invogue at any given time and among any given people has more or less of the character of an organic whole; so that any appreciable change in one point...involves ...a change or readjustment of other points also, if not a reorganisation along the line. When attempted reform involves the suppression or remodelling of an institution...it is immediately felt that a serious derangement of the entire system would result. The aversion to change is in large part an aversion to bother of making the readjustment which any given change will necessitate. (The Theory of Leisure Class, pp.201-203)

social system implies an allocation of power, as well as wealth and status positions among individual actors and component sub-groups'. As has been pointed out, there is never complete concordance in what individuals within a system consider their just due. Conflict ensues in the various frustrated groups to increase their share of gratification. Their demands will encounter the resistance of those who previously had established a 'vested interest' in a given form of distribution of honour, wealth and power. On the other hand, the vested interests view an attack against their position as an attack upon the social order. Those who derive privileges from a given system, wealth and power will perceive an attack upon these prerogatives as an attack against the system itself.

In its Copperbelt context, vested interests, indeed perceived the attack on the social order as an attack on the established social system in which they held positions of wealth and power. Their resistance to change is, therefore, the response to be expected in all similar cases.

In May 1953, the companies again suggested discussions with the European Union in order to see whether an agreed modification of their Agreement could be arranged in such a manner as to meet the reasonable aspirations of the Africans and at the same time take due account of the position of the European. Subsequently, at the request of the European Union, the Northern Rhodesia Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association, which had been formed in 1941, and the African Union were invited to send representatives. These talks, the so-called 'Four Party Talks', began on 4th February, 1954.

The significant feature, arising from these talks, which has a direct bearing on the arguments thus far, is the fact that the conflict was now accepted by the vested interests and a new approach in a new process has been launched. This new approach, therefore, marks the advent of the acceptance of the African's stratificationary endeavours which had been sparked off some eighteen years previously and nurtured through conflict.

In the Sub-Committee of the Four Party Talks, agreement was reached and it was decided that 'the words, the advancement of the African in the mining industry' had to be deemed to mean that 'Africans in the mining

industry are recognised and allowed to occupy positions presently occupied either members of the Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Union (the European Union) or by members of the Northern Rhodesia Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association and impinging on the European field<sup>1</sup>.

As we have pointed out, mere frustration will not lead to a questioning of the legitimacy of the position of vested interests, and hence to conflict, because levels of aspiration as well as feelings of deprivation are relative to institutionalised expectations and are established through comparison<sup>2</sup>. In its Copperbelt setting we find that when social systems have institutionalised goals and values to govern the conduct of component actors, but limit access to these goals for certain members of the society, 'departures from institutionalised requirements' are to be expected<sup>3</sup>. Similarly, therefore, if certain groups within the social system compare their share in power, wealth and status honour with that of other groups and question the legitimacy of this distribution, discontent is likely to ensue. If there exist no institutionalised provisions for the expression of such discontents, departures from what is required by the norms of the social system may occur.

The factors which lead groups and individuals to question at a certain point the legitimacy of the system's distribution of rewards, lies largely outside the scope of this investigation. The intervening factors can always be found in the ideological, technological, economic or any other realm. On the Copperbelt it was found that the introduction of a new cultural trait, through diffusion and the redefining of job categories, had a differential impact within this social system. Some strata felt their positions strengthened through its introduction, while others, naturally, interpreted it as an attack on their vested interests. Change, no matter what its source, breeds strain and conflict.

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1 - Forster, op. cit. cap.39, p.10

2 - Cf. Merton, R.M. & Kitt, A.: Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior, for the development of the concept, 'relative deprivation' and its incorporation into the framework of a theory of reference groups.

3 - Cf. Merton, R.M.: Social Structure and Anomie, where this process is exhaustively discussed.

It is necessary at this point in our discussion to interpolate here that on 24th and 25th March, 1954, a meeting was held at Kitwe between the European Union and the African Union, at which Sir William Lawther, of the Miners' International Federation, presided after which the following statement was issued<sup>1</sup>-

1. That the validity of the African Mineworkers' Union's aspirations to advancement in the industry is recognised, and that both unions pledge to strive unceasingly with all effort in order to realise this just demand.
2. That it is in the interests of the maintenance and the improvement of living standards of all mine workers that the principle of equal pay for equal work and responsibility must apply within the mining industry of Northern Rhodesia.

This statement, in point of fact delineates the conflict, i.e. it recognises the 'validity of the African's aspirations to advancement'. The European Union, on the other hand, in spite of the fact that they appreciated the inevitable demand, had to protect their vested interests. It is well, therefore, in this context, to repeat that mere frustration and the ensuing strains and tensions do not necessarily always lead to group conflict as this adjustment may be one-sided or mutual. The former usually signifies a condition of dependence on the part of the group who does the adjusting and, the latter, is the result of reciprocal influence yielding towards accommodation. The need for social accommodation was now the outstanding feature in the Northern Rhodesian conflict development.

Adjustment 'does not wipe out feelings of difference...although they are somewhat less intense...when once the stage of accordance is reached, however, mutual participation in emotions, memories and habitual attitudes ensues<sup>2</sup>'.

This stage of development is, without doubt, the most crucial, and it is therefore to be anticipated that

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1 - Forster, op. cit. cap 42, p.10

2 - Cf. Barnes, E.E.: An Introduction to the History of Sociology, p.277

resistance, however slight, must persist.

At the final Sub-Committee meeting of the Four Party Talks held on 23 July, 1954, the representatives of the European Union stated that they objected not to the jobs that were made available to the Africans, 'but to the differential rates of pay in respect of such jobs'. One representative actually expressed the view that the position had been altered simply because the Companies were prepared to eliminate the European completely<sup>1</sup>. In their determined effort to retain their vested interest and their resisting the change to a new order in the social system, the European Union's attitude forced the Talks to end in deadlock, which could be summarised as follows - the European Union maintained that a job cannot be fragmented, and that no variation of responsibility within the job can be recognised. Added hereto, they stated that 'equal pay for equal work and responsibility meant the rate and conditions of service laid down for the job'.

We are now confronted with a typical social problem. On the one hand, it is accepted that the African's advancement is valid 'and both Unions pledge to strive unceasingly with all effort in order to realise this just demand', while on the other hand 'emotions, memories and habitual attitudes' resist any form of restructuring a new social pattern.

The African, in his attack on the social order, had by now knitted a cohesive group which is forming itself into a formidable force, preparing itself for the eradication of a social order that does not heed the trends of conflict.<sup>2</sup>

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1 - Forster, op. cit. cap.49,p.11

2 - Cf. Chapter 4, p.38 of this investigation, for the typology of modes of adaptation, 'acts of human behaviour are produced by many types of events...etc'

CHAPTER 8

THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE AFRICANS'

ASPIRATIONS

Up to now, in our tracing the vicissitudes of the conflict situation, we have explained that the institutions of a people and the character of its members act and react on each other. A change in the character of the members will tend to be reflected in a change in the institutions, while conversely changes in institutions will sooner or later affect the character of the members. Did our discussions not show up this particular aspect in regard to the European Union's resistance to change and the African Union's aspirations?

These are all familiar points, but they are mentioned because they are of special relevance in considering the causal role of aspirations, volitions and unconscious drives in the analysis of social change. Ginsberg<sup>1</sup> states that 'mental processes do not occur in a vacuum'. They imply a change in the situation, internal or external, which acts as a stimulus. These changes in the situation must be considered as cause factors, since upon them depend which of the many possible reactions shall occur and in what form.

While still having regard for the theme under investigation in its Copperbelt environment, we should comment on the part played by structural changes and structural strains in the general stratification pattern. By structural changes we mean changes in parts of a structure due to changes in other parts or to a change in the balance of the forces. By strains we mean tensions set up in a society by a lack of equilibrium between its parts. These two are closely related. In this specific instance in Northern Rhodesia, the stratification was the direct result of changes in the social structure which was brought about externally, due to contact with other societies. The changes brought about by the colonising of Northern Rhodesia were tre-

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1 - Ginsberg, Morris: Social Change, The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 1X, No. 3, 1958, pp. 205-219

mendous. The entry of the white man into the country was accompanied by a complete upheaval of tribal institutions and the whole organisation of the tribe. On the cultural side its importance is immense — not only did it link Northern Rhodesia with other European cultures, but it was responsible for the introduction of writing and the enforcing of a foreign tongue as the only official language. On the social side it created the conditions which were to shape the course of stratification for scores of years, and largely determined the particular form which the struggle for 'freedom' was to take in Northern Rhodesia. Diffusion and borrowing are processes occurring again and again in the history of culture. Imitation, conscious or unconscious, has been used to explain changes in constitutions and legal systems, but, we find, that if it teams up with a common purpose, this pair forms the only formidable force that actually furthers and promotes stratification. The term, 'common purpose', is unfortunately highly ambiguous. It may stand for a common process of willing, the reaching of a decision by the members of a group after joint deliberation and discussion in the course of which the desires of each are modified and adjusted to meet the desires of others. Nevertheless, it is true, we find that in communities of long standing, at any rate in the democratic world, general will does develop from a common purpose. On the other hand, we have as yet no detailed psychological analysis of the processes involved in changes of group mentality. Lassalle used to speak of the 'accursed want-lessness of the poor'. Furthermore, we do not know at what point submerged needs become articulate, or under what conditions the sense of injustice and the dawning of an ideal of what justice might be, rouses men to action. Common and concerted purposes no doubt operate, but in inference to the study of stratification as it obtains in a bi-racial society, we ought perhaps to speak of drift or tendency rather than of settled or articulate will. Thus, there are different levels of purposiveness in collective action and here on the Copperbelt, with its democratic background, it is to express the general will. It will be perhaps more to the point to say that the common purpose, in this particular instance, is doing what it can to bring a 'general will' into perspective.

As the common purpose, referred to above, gained in momentum, the behaviour of the participating individuals became more and more similar, gradually leading to the most complete of the processes of association, namely, that of 'amalgamation' which, however, in the human sphere never represents complete coalescence. This process is seldom descriptive of association in mobile and anonymous groupings, such as the modern city, which preclude intense attachment to any one plurality pattern, but is more often found in 'isolated social structures<sup>1</sup>', such as prevails on the Copperbelt. The Africans in their aspirations, were now transformed from a multi-tribal conglomerate, into a cohesive unit striving for a common goal.

The European Union, as the custodian of institutionalised behaviour patterns of the social order, in as far as the industrial sphere is concerned, equally determined to resist any changes which could have detrimental effects upon their members' statuses, maintained, that in their sphere of influence, they could never agree to the dilution of labour, such as the fragmentation of jobs, in an effort to accommodate the African in his aspirations. Hence the deadlock which resulted at the Four Party Talks.

If a clear understanding of the European Union's motive is to be had, it is necessary, as a background to their resistance, to define their position in terms of what constitutes a permanent institution. Wiese-Becker states that all circumscribed processes fall in one of two categories, differentiation or integration...disparities and uniformities develop; the growth of plurality patterns brings with it stratification...concomitantly, the associative network within the plurality patterns becomes increasingly ingrained in the neuropsychic structures of its members, so that the associative bonds which unite them become to be regarded as more or less necessary, desirable and justifiable. Accompanying all these processes is the social ascent and descent of various members of the plurality patterns involved and 'the ensuing domination and submission are inseparable from group life'. Thus the European Union is by definition 'the associative bond ingrained...in the structures of its members', and as such has a valid claim to its legitimacy in the social order.

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1 - Wiese-Becker: Systematic Sociology(1932), pp.284-285

In clarification of the African Union's motive, it can be said that strain leads to the emergence of specific new patterns of behaviour of whole groups who pursue 'the optimisation of gratification<sup>1</sup>', by selecting what they consider appropriate means for the increasing of rewards. The social system which produces the sources of frustration had to be changed, and as we have pointed out, this may happen in two ways: if the social system is flexible enough to adjust to conflict situations, as was the case in Northern Rhodesia, we will deal with change within the system. Conversely, if the social system is not able to adjust itself to the new demands and allows the accumulation of conflict, the aggressive groups may become powerful enough to overcome the resistance of vested interests and bring about the breakdown of the system, and the emergence of a new distribution of social values<sup>2</sup>.

As for the equilibrium of the Northern Rhodesian societal order it can be said that a stage of 'unhappy truce' had been reached when the Government announced the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to inquire into the 'advancement of Africans in the copper mining industry in Northern Rhodesia'<sup>3</sup>, after the failure of the Four Party Talks.

In the analysis of the period which we termed 'the unhappy truce' we find that a discussion of the economic-mechanics, which underlies this conflict situation, is necessary. As previously stated, Marx contends that the conditions under which economic classes constitute themselves form an integral part of technical progress and productivity and 'usually has a relation to institutional rigidities'. He further states that 'economic conditions have first transformed the mass of the population into workers'. Needless to say, the evolution of the industrial pattern in Northern Rhodesia, could not develop along any other lines, and in their state of unpreparedness, the indigenous people — who found themselves in the midst of technological processes manned by men with varying degrees of skill — found themselves engaged on the unskilled manual tasks.

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1 - Parsons, Talcott: The Social System, p.498

2 - Cf. Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure, p42

3 - The Forster Commission of Inquiry of 1954.

That was some twenty-five years ago. But as will be pointed out later, as a result of urbanisation and its related processes, the African had not only gained a firm status in the industrial pattern but had, in fact, become an integral part of its structure. That being the case, it inevitably led to an attack on the position of vested interests and challenged the legitimacy of the societal organisation.

The domination of capital created for this mass a common situation and common interest, in Marx's sense. In other words, this mass was thus already a class against vested interests, but not for itself. Not yet. In the struggle, the developing of the conflict situation, this mass gathered together and constituted itself as a class for itself. The interests it pursued now became class interests<sup>1</sup>.

With this remarkable distinction between class in itself and class for itself, Marx underlines a most important aspect of group formation. Group-belongingness is established by a common conflict situation. On the Copperbelt the case was a conflict of interests and statuses. Only by experiencing this antagonism, that is, by becoming aware of it and by acting it out, did the African group in the mining industry establish its identity.

Having thus established that social conflict inevitably leads to social change (in the sense of class interests arising in and through conflict), a new identity is encountered, namely, the behaviour in individuals, who wanting to meet the challenge of the new conditions, form themselves into groups and, through cohesion, exert pressure.

An observation is necessary here: it is evident that conflict through group-action is the likely prelude to new relations and societal patterns, with a possible reduction in the sources of frustration. This formation of new groups is likely to lead to the emergence of genuine transvaluations. The mature development of the Copperbelt's conflict bears this point out. In spite of the fact that there was a request for an increase in values, it had as a concomitant a more rigid demand for the establishment of status symbols — stratification.

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1 - Marx, Karl: The Poverty of Philosophy, (1910) pp.188-9

P A R T 3

ACCEPTANCE OF CONFLICT AND STEPS

TAKEN FOR ITS MITIGATION

BY SOCIAL READJUSTMENT

CHAPTER 9

THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM DEFINED

In the light of the submissions and analyses put forward in the previous chapter, we want to summarise the industrial problem as it obtains on the Copperbelt, in the following manner: the imposition and the recognition given to 'the validity of the African industrial worker's aspiration to advancement', without the European's full agreement as to the methods of implementation for his admission to such types of employment, backed by the 'apparent ignoring of recognised standards of work and qualifications', formed the cogent points of discontent.

In 'The Memorandum on the Four Party Talks on African Advancement submitted by the Companies on 24th May, 1954'<sup>1</sup>, wherein the copper mining companies endeavoured to set a course for completing the stratification of the African in industry, should be seen the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the Africans' claim.

The Companies' suggestions could be summarised as follows: firstly, it was suggested that all parties should exchange views on the issue of 'the rate for the job' or 'equal pay for equal work and responsibility'. The Companies stated that they did not dispute the weight of this principle in the outside world, but they believed that there was a need for a thorough investigation of its meaning and implications in relation to the copper mining industry of Northern Rhodesia. It was further requested that particular attention be paid not only to the exact meaning of the words 'equal work and responsibility' and (in the words of the International Labour Organisation Convention) 'work of equal value', but also whether the expression 'equal pay' should not, in local circumstances, exclude elements equivalent to cost of expatriation and to the European cost-of-living allowance, not to mention the other concomitants of European life in the tropics.

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1 - The Forster Commission of Inquiry Report, (1954)p.33

Secondly, it was suggested by the Companies that it should be discussed whether and if so, to what extent, valid objections exist to the sub-division and reclassification of certain European jobs in order to provide higher grade work for the Africans and to enable them to train for greater responsibility. This meant, of course, that it would inevitably have to be equated with the idea of 'equal work and responsibility'.

It is obvious that the two obstacles outlined above, are marring the way to the final acceptance of the African's stratification. If agreement could be reached on these main issues, the question of qualifications and the attendant matters, which could rightly be termed the mechanics of the scheme, would be relatively easy for the parties to settle.

The mining companies cited the following approach, as a possible method of solving the conflict situation's deadlock<sup>1</sup>:

"Agreement might be sought on the maximum number of jobs or part-jobs or new (training) jobs which should be opened to Africans on each mine, at pay-rates, etc., fixed on the previously agreed principles."

The number of jobs would remain fixed for a period of years (which had to be discussed) and would then only be altered after further consultations. Alternatively, the annual number of such appointments could be restricted to a maximum percentage of total European strength for the next 5 years. The Companies stated further that the annual selection of jobs for Africanisation over the period would be left to the management, who could proceed gradually in the light of experience. They felt that this method would at once remove all artificial restrictions on African Advancement, and at the same time preserve the interests of the European employees.

Here is a typical example of where the internal system, as a result of challenges from segments of society, sought to readjust itself. On the Copperbelt, therefore, the stratificationary aspirations, on the part of the Africans, have been brought to a successful conclusion save for the fact that the implementation still displays, what

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1 - Forster, op. cit. p. 33

we choose to term, residual conflict characteristics. The fact of the position is now, as we have previously stated, that there is a determined resistance to allow a social system, which is acknowledged and accepted by a segment of that society, to become part of a total readjustment to restore the equilibrium. This is, of course, the logical reaction to be expected. Giddings<sup>1</sup>, commenting on these reactions, states that the most elementary similarities of behaviour are 'habits of toleration'. This, by implication, can mean; that the African, taken from his natural environment, enters a new social group where conflict can and must be expected and 'since, by reason of original differences of nature and habit, the imitation involved in consciousness of kind is never perfect...antagonism, however, is self-limiting; it necessarily terminates in the equilibrium of tolerance'. In the subject under discussion, the role of conflict, it means that under the pressure of a common opportunity, these similarities of behaviour develop unconsciously into spontaneous collective action, and the assembled effort of the group becomes co-operational, that is, conscious practical agreement for the realisation of the common aims.

The above reaction can very easily be traced in its Copperbelt context: The European Union has constantly reiterated that it has no objection to the promotion of Africans to European-held jobs provided that they receive equal pay and all the conditions of service given to Europeans. Towards the latter part of the discussions on African Advancement this attitude was modified in as much as that the European Union then insisted that there should be no fragmentation of European-held jobs.

The African Union, on hearing of the change in the defence, immediately took note of the implications and made it clear that, in the circumstances prevailing at the time, they regarded this reactionary attitude of the European Union as one which effectively maintains a bar to their future progress.

It must be understood that the granting of European rates of pay (in relation to production and labour) would have dislocated the entire economical structure, hence

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1 - Cf. Barnes, H.E.: Introduction to the History of Sociology, p.747.

the companies' contention that some simplification and sub-division of certain European-held was essential if the advancement of Africans was to be effective, both in order to provide opportunities of training and also, where necessary, to bring work and responsibility within the capacity of African workers. In regard to the condition of 'equal pay and all conditions' the sub-division would, therefore, imply a need for special rates of pay. Apart from the industrial aspect of the problem, the companies believed that the diminution of the gap between African and European pay-rates must be related to an improvement, first in the productivity and thereafter (and as a consequence) in the standard of living of the African community as a whole.

It was also felt that any attempt to apply at once the full European-rates and conditions of service to a section of the African labour force would have disastrous effects on the individual, on the African community and on the economy of the country. It was clear that the companies appreciated the implications and was not prepared for any experimentation of that kind.

The companies, in their attempts to readjust the social equilibrium, refuted the allegation that they were mainly concerned with 'obtaining cheap labour' and reaffirmed their sole desire to find a solution, acceptable to all parties and consistent with the best interests of the country, for a pressing social problem. They also stated that their attitude in relation to 'the rate for the job' principle may appear incompatible with Trade Union principles, but they considered that such principles were not capable of practical application to the situation with which industry on the Copperbelt was faced and were, nevertheless, fully appreciative of the anxieties which prompted the European Union to attempt to impose these conditions on African Advancement. They felt the only way in which such anxieties could be allayed was by framing suitable safeguards to secure the position of the European employee, and to ensure the continuance of European leadership which the companies held to the future prosperity of the industry.

The European Union, in spite of all these undertakings, refused to compromise and the deadlock remained.

CHAPTER 10

TOWARDS A SOLUTION OF THIS

INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM

On 27th August, 1954, under the provisions of Industrial Conciliation Ordinance<sup>1</sup> a Board of Inquiry<sup>2</sup> with the following terms of reference was appointed -

1. "To ascertain whether there is anything to prevent African employees from advancing in the copper mining industry in Northern Rhodesia to the full extent of their capabilities;
2. if there is, to investigate the reasons;
3. as far as may be necessary for these purposes, to examine the basis on which persons are employed in the industry;

and, having regard to the interests of all persons employed in the industry, and to the well-being of Northern Rhodesia and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to make recommendations."

In order to view the industrial conflict situation in its full and proper perspective, it is necessary that mention be made of previous attempts to mitigate it. In Northern Rhodesia during the last eighteen years, the African wage structure has received the consideration of three Governor's Commissions and two Arbitration Tribunals, viz. the Forster Commission (1940), the Dalgleish Commission (1947), the Follows Commission (1952), the Guillebaud Tribunal (1953) and the Cowling Tribunal (1953). Of these, the Forster and Dalgleish Commissions and the Guillebaud Tribunal dealt either directly or indirectly with the African's conflict-aspirations.

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1 - No. 24 of 1949, Cap.26 of the Laws of Northern Rhodesia.

2 - The appointment of the Board and the terms of reference are published as General Notice No.1341 of 1954 in the Northern Rhodesia Gazette on 27th August, 1954.

The relevant arguments, as far as this study is concerned, is briefly set out hereunder -

The Forster Commission (1940), para 197, states:

"There is, for many years to come, likely to be a wide gulf between the standard and outlook upon life of the European and African worker...to consider paying him (the African) the same wage and placing him on the same standard of living as the European for the reason that he was doing work usually undertaken by the European would be unfair to him, reducing, as it probably would, his chances for employment."

The Dalglish Commission (1947), para 258, states -

"...it seems to us essential that the Government, after consultation with industry, representatives of the Europeans and representatives of the Africans, should lay down a minimum standard of wage for the lowest type of labour, which should stipulate the amount of rations and the minimum standard of house which should be given to any African... this should be the basic rate. Then as the African advances extra remuneration should be given dependent on service, the nature of the job, responsibility and the efficiency with which the work is performed."

The Follows Commission (1952) reviewed the salary scales and other terms of service of African Civil Servants which substantially followed the general pattern of the African wage structure in industry. The Commission, while recommending certain salary increases and increments as well as suggesting measures to improve efficiency, did not in any way disturb the general pattern of the wage structure.

The Guillebaud Tribunal (1953), para 26, states -

"I come now to consider the claim of the Union for a flat rate increase, applicable to all grades, of 2s 8d per shift (80s per ticket). This would involve an increase for the worker who is on the minimum of Group 1 of 178 per cent in his basic wage of 45s. I believe that a sudden rise of this magnitude in the wages of the lowest grade unskilled labour would have very undesirable results for all parties concerned including other industries as well as the workers themselves. But quite apart from this it would disrupt the existing wage structure of the industry, which has been built up over a number of years and which is now firmly established."

The Cowling Tribunal (1953), para 11, states -

"Rates of pay must be considered from several points of view — they must ensure a reasonable standard of living for the worker and at the same time be such as not to cripple industry or to raise unduly the cost of living to the community."

In para 13 it continues -

"In the new offers made by the Associated Chambers the tendency is to increase the ratio of the top wages to those, and this was not challenged by the Trade Union. This type of structure is accepted as sound and has been maintained in the Award."

This Tribunal, in its Award, granted increases related to the existing wage structure.

The relevant conclusions which may be drawn from the above findings are -

1. the African wage structure has hitherto developed in the usual manner, that is, from the bottom upwards, rising from the basic minimum wage standards by increments, margins and grades adequately representing improved productivity, greater responsibility and rising costs and standards of living.
2. The industrial expansion has hitherto been, and is still being, planned and developed upon the basis, among other things, of separate African wage structure, and of its existing method of development.
3. Any serious disruption of the structure, or departure from its existing method of development, must prima facie be regarded as a threat to industrial expansion and the national economy and therefore to the entire community, European and African alike.
4. It is accepted that conflict not only leads to ever-changing relationships within the existing social structure, but the entire system could be transformed through conflict.

Due to the mechanics of the rational-legal order in operation, the African, though still wedded to the traditional, discarded the latter, and although wanting to change the former, embraced its more virile social organisational tools to enhance the change in the industrial structure.

The Forster Commission (1954), as far as this investigation is concerned, embraces some cardinal points and will therefore be dealt with in greater detail.

In the evidence presented to this Commission, it was seen that the conflict situation, which became accentuated progressively as time went on due to the diversified treatment to mine employees of different races, the Africans, in the role of the subject-class, questioned the legitimacy of the position of the vested interests.

The Commission found that the industrial standards of the African fell far below those of the European and they could not accept the statement of the African Union that, with the exception 'of a few technical jobs there were no jobs in the copper mining industry which an African is incapable of doing'. It becomes apparent once again, that levels of aspiration as well as feelings of deprivation are relative to and established through comparison.

It was stated on behalf of the Companies, and this was accepted by the Commission, that for the African, who has but recently emerged from his primitive state and whose civilisation is not that of the European, industrial advancement will be slow. It is to be noted that this view receives confirmation in para 197 of the Forster Commission (1940) and in para 259 of the Lalgleish Report.

With regard to the introduction of the European wage rate, the Commission found that it could not be instituted as it would disrupt the African wage structure throughout the Federation and seriously threaten the economy of the country.

The following finding of the Commission is of utmost importance to this investigation because it is precisely at this juncture where the conflict of the Copperbelt situation rendered the stratification of the African in the copper mining industry a fait accompli: "we accept the view, that the African in the copper mining industry is capable of industrial advancement and that he has not yet been permitted to advance to the full extent of his capabilities<sup>1</sup>".

As far as the African was concerned, this meant he had succeeded in establishing the legitimacy of his claim in the existing social order.

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1 - The Forster (1954) Report, cap. 148, p. 27

To return briefly to our fundamental postulate: when social systems have institutionalised goals and values to govern the conduct of the conflicting parties, but limit access to these goals for certain members of the society to protect vested interests, conflict is inevitable. And as a concomitant, if institutionalised provisions exist for the expression of such discontents, readjustments of the established social system may occur. Arising thus from the fundamental postulate that conflict must lead to stratification and accommodation when the legitimacy of vested interests' claims is disproved, is also proven.

Since the African's advancement into work now done by Europeans inevitably reduces, to the extent of the advance, the work available to Europeans, and since the European Union has accepted the necessity for some advancement, it must be concluded that European fears related not to the advance as such, but to the degree of the advancement. The position is now such that vested interests, who originally interpreted the attack against their interests as an attack against their positions, now accept the attacks to be against the social order.

At the European rates of remuneration there could be little or no advancement at all, but in view of the differential social statuses of the contesting participants it is found that, advancement based on differential rates of pay, is fair, moreso, if regard is had for the companies' preparedness to guarantee the unreduced employment of Europeans.

In the concluding paragraphs of the Forster Report attention is focussed on the European Union's stand on the retention of Clause 42, which was discussed previously. The Commission felt that the Union was unnecessarily apprehensive, because the past history of the African's development, shows its slow gradient, and it was convinced that the African's climb in the future could not, in the foreseeable future, endanger the European employment in the Territory.

The social system has been readjusted and the African in industry has been allocated a new stratified status. How the accommodation was accomplished will be dealt with in the following sections.

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P A R T 4

ACCOMMODATION RESULTING IN NEW

SOCIETAL STRUCTURES

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CHAPTER 11

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF

SOCIAL REORGANISATION

The social and cultural context in which the mining industry on the Copperbelt has been developed has made it inevitable that the leadership group hitherto has been entirely European, and that there has been a rigid horizontal barrier between the work done by Europeans and the work done by Africans. It is the conviction of all the Commissions of Inquiry that the continuance of European leadership for many years is an absolute necessity, but the barrier between European and African work is becoming less rigid as a result of prolonged and determined thrusts by the latter.

The finding of the Forster Commission, detailed in the previous chapter, on African Advancement (a term commonly used to describe the fruition of the conflict situation) highlights the manifestation of Africanism (a term chosen in preference to 'nationalism', because, as has so often been emphasised in literature on the subject, the population of most of the countries in Africa, consists of peoples who have been brought together under one form of government by the accidents of history<sup>1</sup> and they have for the most part no tradition of a common origin). The basic desire of the African is to prove himself as good as anyone else which is, of course, no evil desire as it stems from a sense of personal dignity.<sup>2</sup>

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1 - Cf. Hailey, Lord: An African Survey, (1956), p. 250 - the contrast between 'nationalism' and 'Africanism' needs emphasis because some African propagandists often talk as though the movements for independence in Africa were those of 'nations' demanding no more than a return to a status of which they have been deprived.

2 - This general conclusion is tentative only. In spite of the author's desire to base his conclusions only on factual materials, the data were often lacking.

That they should see themselves in this light is neither unnatural nor unreasonable, but in the circumstances where, as is the case in most parts of Africa, there exists a wide gap between the advanced political elements and the mass of the population, genuine industrial advance in relation to approved skills, is indeed a complex social problem. The most significant features of the Copperbelt situation are to be found in the changes which have influenced the growth of conflict among the workers at large of an interest in views voiced by the relatively small groups of advanced Africans. Discrimination is always felt by those who had reached the very top of the European's own educational ladder and find themselves denied the same status and pay for which that arduous achievement seems to entitle them. It was not until a small minority, through their attainment of higher levels of western education, and above all through travel, came to understand something of the world at large and of their own place in it that the existing social orders were challenged. The young African, on returning after some years, to his own country would see its poverty and subjection with new eyes, and he was now ready to believe that the salvation lay in unprecedented challenges.

The fundamentals that lead to economic growth have been part of the European way of life for centuries. This, in point of fact, is a way of life based on the intrinsic worth of the individual human being, and on his right to develop his capacity to the utmost. This in turn, has led to the growth of legal, social, economic and political systems which safeguard the rights of individuals and which recognise their collective power to regulate their own affairs. Added hereto, Christianity teaches the existence of a personal God with whom individuals, under the guidance of their religions, enjoy personal relationships. The world, therefore, is humanistic and not animistic. The controlling factor is man's own actions, not the actions of capricious magic and spirits, who have to be worshipped, propitiated by the people en masse. This is, of course, the major point of difference between the European and the African cultural concepts.

Into the European context has come the impact of science — the rational approach to the solution of problems and the application of these solutions to man's environment. It is, therefore, important to note that science and its application are not possible, nor permitted, in an animistic society, where magic, not natural laws, are the causes

of events. Thus, it cannot be expected that the African would really fit into the European's social milieu. It is not for him to try to manipulate the environment, since the gods might thereby be angered. His traditional social organisation is designed to protect him from just such disaster. Hence it is dominated by custom and tradition, and ritual which, if rigidly and faithfully carried out, will deliver him from fear of these unseen forces which regulates his life. This must, logically, lead to the conclusion, that such a societal pattern denies its product all individualism and innovation, or for the exercise of the questing intelligence of man. Whatever it is it is not rational-legal.

The African, a product of traditional society, has nothing in his mores to help him understand the European and only by deliberately foresaking his traditional order of life can he come anywhere near accepting him. This process, difficult though it must be for the African, is nevertheless proceeding at a remarkable pace, but it must take many more generations completely away from the traditional way of life for it to become genuinely accepted by the African. In total though not necessarily by African leaders.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the African, with an incomplete and immature understanding of the society in which he finds himself, should fail to understand why his own standard of living, his own earning power and his own status should be below that of all, or nearly all, his European workmates. In these circumstances, it is not difficult to persuade him that the standards which the Europeans enjoy are being deliberately withheld from him. Thus, under the influence of modern mass communication media the partly de-tribalised African, and many other hitherto primitive peoples in other parts of Africa, are 'demanding' higher standards of life. Every time a concession is made, further pressure is generated, so that it must appear that all that is necessary to achieve higher standards is to make enough fuss about being deprived of them.<sup>1</sup>

With the foregoing as background, it is apparent, therefore, that the major problem which now confronted the Copperbelt's mining industry was to show that higher standards of life had to earned, with the congruent, that more effort resulted in more skill, and that higher earnings which lead to higher standards, is the proper sequence of cause and effect. Opportunities now had to be created

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1 - Cf. The Morison Commission's Report (1962) attached as Appendix to this investigation on this theme.

where the African would see his standards rise as his effort and skill increase — in short, therefore, the conflict situation had to be mitigated, if the African was to see, as an individual, the operation of cause and effect as it affects him personally. Stratification, therefore, is not something that could be achieved and maintained by agitation. It had to and, could be, earned by self-betterment.

Industrial concerns and the copper mining companies, accommodating the African's stratification, were now compelled to pay particular attention to the economic impact on the industry itself, and had to review policies and re-evaluate their labour forces. This showed up many problems, for example, if wages are set too high in an under-developed economy, many industries will fail and new investment from abroad will be discouraged. If, on the other hand, set too low, there is the danger of political trouble because in an under-developed economy (a) wages tend to be so low in a free market that health is adversely affected, and productivity of labour, therefore, is below the levels it can attain, and (b) labour, being low-wage, is used indiscriminately, hardly trained, and hence its latent skills are not activated.

The following analysis<sup>1</sup> of various cost factors will illustrate the magnitude of these repercussions on the general economics of mining on the Copperbelt -

1. Since 1944 - 45 the total tons of ore milled has increased from 3,095,000 tons to 4,161,500 in 1955-56.

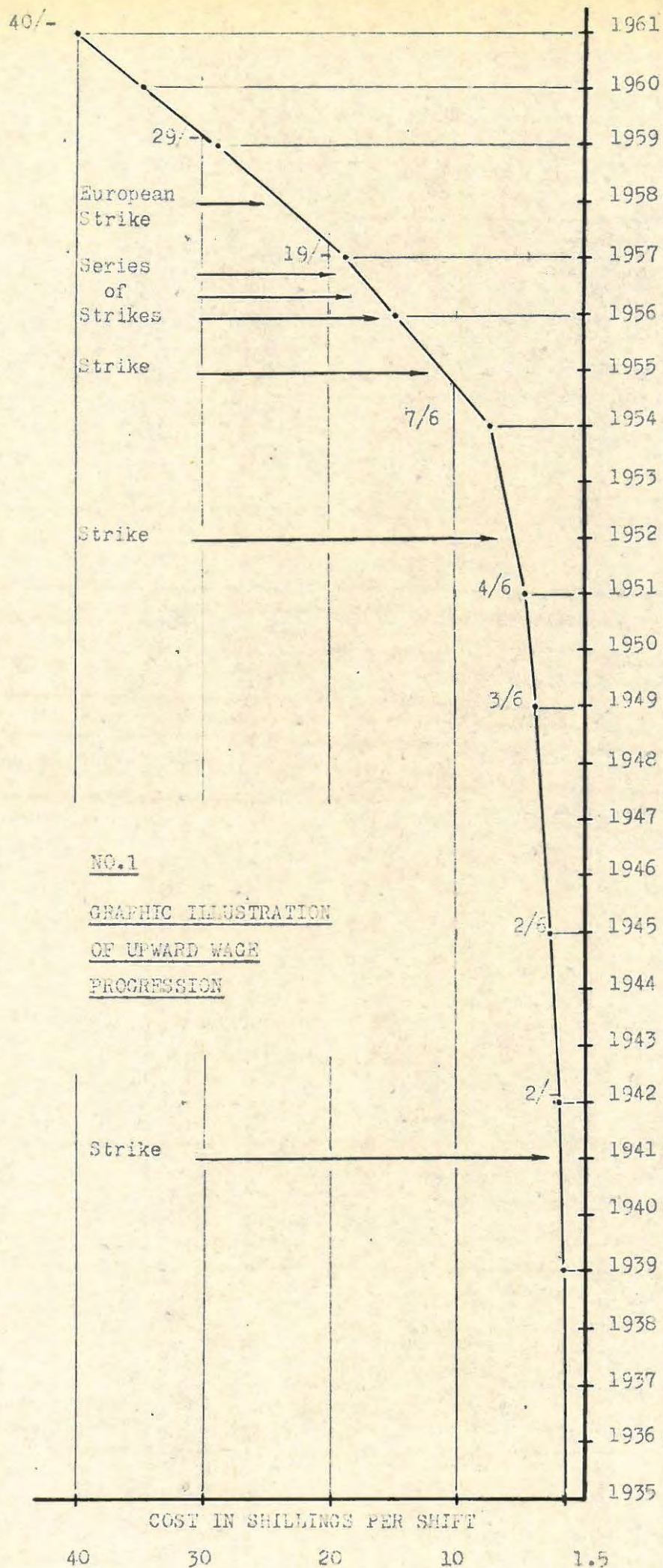
Copper production has increased from 82,877 tons in 1944-45 to 92,033 tons in 1955-56

(Despite the fact that an increased production-level is indicated, the African's productivity has not materially increased because the production increase came as a result of better work methods and mechanisation.)

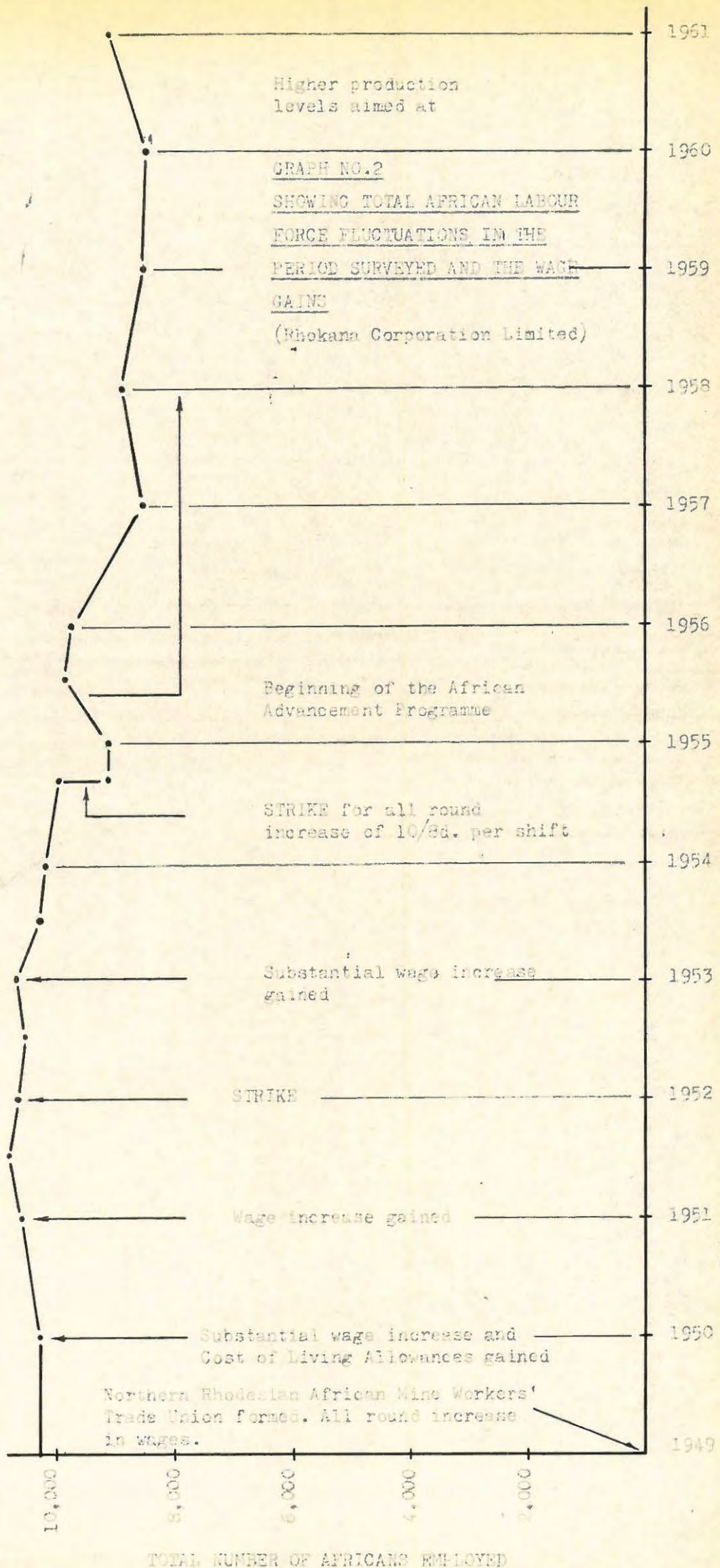
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1 - de Villiers, Dr.W.J.: The Utilisation of African Labour, Cost Trends, Policy and Programme to meet the Situation, Dec. 1956, p.12. Rhokana Corporation Publication.

These statistics solely relate to Rhokana Corp.,Nkana.



NO.1  
GRAPHIC ILLUSTRATION  
OF UPWARD WAGE  
PROGRESSION



2. The cost per African-shift worked has increased from approximately 1.5s in 1935 to 2.50s in 1945; 3.87s in 1950 to 14.17s in 1956 through to 15.60s in September 1956. If the present trend continues this figure will be as follows -

TABLE 5  
LABOUR COST PER SHIFT

Year end June	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Cost in Shill.	19	24.5	29	34	40

In other words: the cost of African labour has increased from £25-30 per annum per African in 1935 to £240 per annum in 1956. If the present trends persist, it will reach £630 per African per annum in 1961.

3. The capital invested per married African employee for housing, etc., has increased from £270 to £450

TABLE 6  
INVESTED CAPITAL PER AFRICAN

Up to 1954		After 1954	
House	£185		£312
Sewage	50		74
Water	20		32. 10
Electricity	-		14.
Roads	4		5. 10
Hospitals	10		10
	£269		£448
	Say <u>£270</u>		Say <u>£450</u>

4. It is contended that unless a positive and vigorous attempt is made to curb the present inflationary trends, a production cost and profit margin per saleable copper approaching the following figures will eventuate -

TABLE 7  
COPPER COSTS & PROFITS  
(at £200 per long ton)

	1956-7	1957-8	1958-9	1959-60	1960-1
Total Costs	£155.3	£167.8	£181.4	£197.18	£213.0
Profit per ton	£44	£32	£18.6	£2.2	£13 LOSS

It is apparent that the conflict-stresses can, if allowed to continue uncurbed, become a major threat to the security of the industry itself. In point of fact, its very continuance is menaced and in the light of all these facts the copper mining companies were forced, since 1953 with the advent of the stratification-process, to evolve a system for the proper utilisation of African labour, which has as one of its purposes to make more explicit and comprehensible the concept that a higher standard of living had to be earned. de Villiers states that the only effective way of dealing with the inflationary trends, which result, is to 'increase the productivity of the African' and this 'in the ultimate means reducing the number of Africans required for the same production<sup>1</sup>'.

The steady advances in wage levels as a result of trade union organisational pressures can be seen, in detail, in Graph 1 and in Table 8. Below the salient features are set out to indicate the increasing costs in shillings per worked shift for the period 1935-1961

TABLE 8  
RISE IN COSTS OF SHIFTS WORKED

Year	Cost in shillings	Increase over 1935	Causes
1935	1.5	-	} Gradual Pressure
1942	2.0	+ 0.5	
1945	2.5	+ 1.0	
1949	3.5	+ 2.0	
1951	4.5	+ 3.0	
1954	7.5	+ 6.0	Strike 1952
1956	15.0	+13.5	Strike 1955
1957	19.0	+17.5	} Strikes (17 in 6 months)
1959	29.0	+27.5	
1961	40.0	+38.5	

1 - de Villiers, Dr.W.J.: Op. cit. p.6

An inspection of the Table and the Graph shows a slow cost rate in 1935 when the African mine workers were virtually traditional peasants with a minimum of organised and structured social cohesion in the newly evolving western rational economy. Phase 1 appears as a slow pressure between 1935 - 1951 when wages had risen to three times the level of 1935 as evinced by shift costs. In the 16 years between 1935 and 1951 the average per annum increase was thus 0.1 shilling per worked shift.

A second phase is observable in 1952 when, after a strike, testifying to increased organisational cohesion, the rate of costs per shift rose by 3.0 shillings in two years (1952-1954) to a gross increase over the basal year 1935 of +6.0 shillings per worked shift.

A third phase begins in 1956 when a series of 'wild-cat' strikes, numbering 17 in approximately  $4\frac{1}{2}$  months took place, which had the effect of moving the cost level per shift upwards to 13.5 shillings over the basal year. This third phase was still in progress in 1961 by which time the rate per shift had advanced to 38.5 shillings per worked shift over the 1935 level.

The advance was rapid and testified to the increasing power of the African Trade Union as a result of progressive cohesion. In Weber's sense, the African, hitherto unaccustomed to pressure through voluntary societies (which had no counterpart in the Traditional society), changed from a traditional-kin-defined social structure to a rational-new-organisational device hitherto elaborated by the European only and, in the course of the change-over, reached another level of abstract generality in which men who were not kinsmen, but identified functionally as workers, acted together for defined ends and elaborated means to obtain the ends. This rapid advance has no exact parallel elsewhere in Africa. What the European-organised Trade Unionist had done, the African did by directing his new powers of cohesion, on a new basis, against the European Trade Unionist on the one hand and against one of the world's greatest mining and business Corporations on the other. Indeed, the advance was even more radical than a wresting of more wages out of a reluctant mining corporation — up to the end of phase 1 and halfway to phase 2 the strategy changed -

1. the first phase was marked by demands for wage rises within grades of work, i.e. asking for more wages while still remaining

unskilled.

In the later phases the demand changed to

2. Upgrading of statuses to equal parity with the European worker and an invasion of his status with 'the rate for the job' at the upgraded status.

The second phase was wholly based on the recognition of claimed equal status on merit terms — the loser here was not so much the Corporation as the relative position of the European Trade Unionist, hitherto gaining by exclusive control of skilled monopoly. Any wage and status advance of this kind was favourable to the Corporation so far as it could use skills not yet tapped except that it had to pay dearly in wages for the African victory. The Corporation's response was to accept this as socio-technological advance, but with the expectations of increased production, the number of African workers was severely reduced. The reduction of the volume of African labour is shown in Graph 2 from which the inverse ratio can be deduced: as African wages were forced up the numbers employed decreased and technological efficiency therefore increased so far as the tonnages produced rose consistently.

The foregoing thus delineates the fundamental pressures which social stratification exerts upon economy. All this meant reorganisation, as far as the copper mining companies were concerned; and while it is true that the growth of all institutional patterns is slow and thereby the institutional characteristic of 'inflexibility' accounted for, some parts of institutions are quickly changed and easily reformed. This was the pattern of events once stratification was established on the Copperbelt.

This, as MacIver states, depends upon an inventory of interests and a functional interpretation of the associations and institutions that give concrete evidence of these facts. This is tentatively borne out in the Copperbelt pattern of events: it is obvious that both institutions and associations have matured through the different channels of conflict, and this is exhibited by a history of steady development. The situation, therefore, can be likened to a standard example of evolution by human trial and error, of arbitrary enactment, opposition, conflict, and the gradual replacement by other social forms. A loose description of social stratification can thus be that it represents 'human experimentation'.

There is, however, another side to the picture: the theory of economic determination holds that the material foundations of a society are also the foundations of all other associations and institutions. When economic institutions ensure material well-being, other institutions and mores prosper. They change and sometimes collapse when economic conditions are unstable. This aspect, it is felt, was sufficiently well discussed in the previous pages of this chapter, but it should be pointed out, that economic correlations do not substantiate this hypothesis absolutely in spite of the fact that it remains one of the most concrete of socio-economic theories and, as such, has a vital bearing on this study<sup>1</sup> which leads to the following observation: practically without exception, the changes and the eventual stabilisation of the African's stratification, can be traced causally to economic bases.

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1 - In relation to the Copperbelt situation, the following can be added from data compiled by the author: of the Africans employed at Nkana only 2.4% were born at Nkana; a further 3.4% were born in the urban areas of the line of rail and have grown up in an urban environment where the problems of earning a steady wage have developed. The remaining 94.2% of the (other) employees are still more or less closely tied to the rural environment. (Compare these percentages with those given by the Morison Commission in their Report, p. 45). In their villages Africans have lived a way of life which has been largely undisturbed for centuries and which was completely opposite to the Western 'industrial' way of life. This, in point of fact, means that 19/20ths of African employees have come from an environment which has no time-table for work, where day-to-day life is prescribed by a long tradition of kinship dues and exigency needs, which can only be overruled, in their belief, by the supernatural. They come from a traditionally-ordered society in which there is, as we have said, no room for individualism or innovation or for the exercise of intelligence and the cultivation of responsibility. In the new industrial environment he must learn to work to a time-schedule, to work on his own, and if he is to rise to any position demanding skill or responsibility, he had to be prepared to devise new approaches and to take personal responsibility for his actions and those of other people, in fact, traditional culture patterns had to be readjusted to cope with the calculated economical demands.

CHAPTER 12

THE REORGANISATION OF THE  
SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Social change inevitably leads to stress and then to conflict, and the reactions resulting, usually conform to the same patterns. These reaction patterns in social organisation have socialising influences and, on the Copperbelt, they assumed the basic social propositions which are enumerated hereunder -

1. as economic structure changes, conflict shifts from groups back to persons;
2. as economic structure changes, its several specific organisations are of importance in proportion as they are essential to the survival of society as a whole, and are of social importance in proportion as they exercise functions of social control; and
3. as the economic structure changes, the tendency to equalise or stratify is more pronounced.

Without going into detail, as we have already described the vicissitudes of the conflict, it is felt, that an elaboration of the three propositions, given above, is necessary at this stage of the discussion. For the first time, it now became evident, that there was a permanent conflict-situation between the leading forces for stratification and those with vested interests when, from 1949 onwards, after the formation of the African Union, the conflict shifted from persons to highly organised groups. From that point onwards, the conflict develops into a clash of group-interests. With the gradual change in the African's wage structure, the tendency to strive for stratification became more pronounced, and this driving force behind the scenes, giving the group-strife its collective power, was the African Trade Union, filling the role of social organisation which fathered the change of strategic policy outlined in the previous chapter.

To illustrate, the following deduction is cited: the industrial colour bar was not enforced by legislation, but in the industry itself the European Union, by adhering to its principle of 'the rate for the job', indirectly imposed it. As was detailed in the previous chapters, it appeared for a considerable period that 'the rate for the job' principle could keep the African static, but then, however, it also became apparent that another aspect could become directly involved: if 'the rate for the job' could be retained, then the European would be forced to accept all future job ratings and, due to pressure exerted all-round, these ratings would surely have to be scaled in such a manner that Africans could have access to them as well.

Of direct interest to this study, solely confined in this section to the impact of the African's stratification, is this fact: institutional structures and changes are directly affected by the size of the conflict-group, the number and the mode of interactions between its members and the methods of communication. In this particular instance on the Copperbelt it has become abundantly clear that not only did each additional increment of the population modify its structure and processes of social interaction quantitatively, but the nature of the relationships also changed qualitatively, in spite of the fact that the trend was from personal and locality basis to one of impersonal and secondary basis. The African, who previously at best could rise to the status of boss-boy under a European's supervision, could now be promoted to a supervisor in his own right.

At about this time (September 1960) territorial legislation was passed prohibiting the discrimination between Africans and Europeans in all public places. These transitions in the structure and the effects of the new group-organisation indicated in general that unorganised facets were forced into reorganisation as their individual interests varied. Another important feature was also revealed: since every organised group became stratified, and this was equally true in the European sphere, further results of group organisation were the sacrifice of individuality (in the sense that the solidarity of a group is in inverse proportion to the individual) and a growing specialisation of labour. In practice this meant that specialised training, commonly referred to as 'Advancee Training', had to be inaugurated.

The following must be stressed: the transition from any specialised institutional organisation to differentiated organisations involve voluntary participation and this specific aspect, which we have already detailed in the European Union's reluctance to relinquish any portion of its vested interests, and then allowing the stratification, involves momentous social action. This testing and sifting process in the transitional phase of institutional structures introduce the principal characteristics of social reorganisation in its structural and functional forms. In Chapin's<sup>1</sup> analysis of this institutional pattern, he points out that institutions arise (as we have described them on the Copperbelt) from the continuous association of individuals in response to definite needs, such as a sense of common purpose. From this interaction, four typical traits of institutions arise -

1. Common reciprocating attitudes and behaviour patterns.

(The African had to develop, since his induction into his stratified position, a new approach to not only his fellow workers and the men working for him, but also to his employers. He was now responsible for planning, organising and coordinating work in his work section.)

2. The development of cultural objects symbolic of these needs, attitudes and behaviour patterns.

(Of the seventeen Advancees, originally promoted, eight immediately acquired motor vehicles, five invested in expensive radio receiving sets, and the other two bought household furniture.)

3. The development of material cultural objects to satisfy these needs.

(Of the seventy-five Advancees employed in 1961 thirty-two sent their children to institutions for higher education; ten attended adult classes themselves, and seven of the others took an interest in their townships' cultural activities.)

4. The development of codes to describe and to regulate the operation and interrelationships of these institutions.

(This aspect is closely linked with para 3 above. It has been observed that the Advancees are of late developing into a separate group.)

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1- Chapin, F.S.: Contemporary American Institutions (1935) p.14

According to Brown<sup>1</sup> the basic postulates concerning the structural organisation of a society indicates that structures are functionally correlated with five factors, namely, contact, place or physical basis, homogeneity, dynamics or change, and size of the units. Analytical life-histories of different groups have revealed that structure is a result of each of these factors. Structure is a product of contrasts and is necessary to maintain contacts. It is increasingly necessary as the place basis, size of the conflict-group and dynamics become major variables. On reverting back to the Copperbelt society, we find that since these variables in the modification of social structure were also measures of stability, structural maladjustments became apparent. These phenomena, which, in point of fact, were the incidence of social problems, were measurable by rigidity as it prevailed in the community.

Of interest to this investigation is the fact that another sociological postulate was also borne out, namely, when a society is unbalanced in its structural organisation, the main characteristics of its deficiencies are an unbalanced population, a stratified and immobile class, increasing social restraint, the continuation of meaningless forms which monopolise the life of the individual, increasing competition and mutual suspicious groups, hostile conflict situations - all of which are typical of a disorganised structure. By implication this means to the African, as an individual, that social differentiation provides increasing difficulty in adjusting and at the same time making advancement a personal responsibility; this generates a new problem-field as new standards of flexibility lead to lagging, maladjustments, wastes and gradual decay of those who are too implastic to adapt themselves to the modification<sup>2</sup>. In consequence, it favours and tends to achieve an intelligent solidarity which led Cooley<sup>3</sup> to the conclusion that the development of a differentiated social system and intelligence are inseparable. In primitive society (from which the stratified African in Northern Rhodesian industry stems and was part of 50 years ago) individuality is completely

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1 - Brown, B.W.: Social Groups, (1926) p.78

2 - Of the original seventeen Africans who were given stratified occupations in 1956, only 7 remain. The others voluntarily terminated their employment.

3 - Cooley, F.H.: Civilisation and Society, (1909) p.342

subordinated to the interests of the group, and personality was allowed little or no freedom to become different. Once again, the African was confronted by a barrier — this time not an economical barrier, which could somehow be overcome by diligent work, but by a cultural one.

In dealing with the conflict situation further, it is necessary to detail yet another aspect: institutional growth is haphazard and often revolutionary. As it was pointed out in this study up to now, it is a fundamental corollary of social change that the determination of change is governed more and more by special-interest groups, instead of the former primary group. This is exactly what happened in the Copperbelt conflict — when the representative bodies of employees were accepted by the mining companies, they became group-representatives with a common interest and thereby gaining special-group-characteristics. This transition from primary to secondary groups, is yet another evidence of the basic sociological postulate that group-forming, as a result of common interests, result in stratification in the same societal pattern.

The next phase, which could rightly be termed the African's reaction against cultural (tribal) bonds imposed by the traditional order and heritage, collective bargaining on a group-basis for the welfare of the group, directly paved the way for African Advancement in the copper mining industry. As security was established and stabilised by economic security and with the growth of peaceful relations, a form of society has started to evolve which is becoming proportionately more individualistic and competitive. Both, the mining companies and the conflicting groups (African as well as European) having subscribed to the approach that if the opposites of these conditions kept prevailing, the society would be endangered by internal group conflicts which could result in a societal structure resembling some form of socialism which tends to displace a more individualistic form of social control. With this new approach, under ordinary social conditions, a flexible social control is the more adaptable as it can control rivalry, competition and conflict, and because it permits a wider development of changing activities, attitudes and interests. Epstein's<sup>1</sup> recent study of politics in an urban African community absolutely corroborates this new development because he clearly finds an increasing significance of prestige or 'class'

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1 - Epstein, Dr. A. I.: Politics in an Urban Community (1956) p240

as 'a further category of social interaction in African urban life...here the civilised way of life provides a scale along which the prestige of Africans in the towns may be measured. One's prestige-position or class affiliations, increasingly determines one's behaviour and attitudes in a wide variety of situations.'

Thus has the African, as an emancipated industrial worker, broken all the bonds with his tribal traditional order under the stimulus of virile interaction. A word of warning must, however, be sounded on this type of development — a continuation and prolongation of interaction does not necessarily guarantee either progress of thought and culture or even the maintenance of its previously achieved standard. In Rome after the second century A.D.; in ancient India after the fourteenth century A.D. (the end of the Cholas Empire, the climax of Hindu culture); in China after the Ming dynasty; in ancient Egypt, after the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries; and in Greece after the third century B.C., social interaction certainly continued to exist and sometimes became more complex; yet historians assure us that since these times the thought and the civilisation of these countries have gone down and never has been able to reach the level which was before achieved.

Consequently, permanency and continuation of social interaction is not sufficient guarantee even for maintaining an achieved level of thought. Furthermore, there seem to be various intensities and complexities of interaction. If some of their forms are favourable for mental progress, some others seem to be disastrous<sup>1</sup>. An increasing number of mental diseases within our complex and strenuous civilisation shows this<sup>2</sup>. While not denying the importance of social interaction as a cardinal factor in any social structure, it is felt that the following unexplored fields of sociological hinterland, cannot be ignored in structuring reorganisations: firstly, interaction is insufficient to explain the origin and development of thought; secondly, it is not sufficient for an understanding of mental progress or regress; and thirdly, even though education clarifies, it cannot achieve nor corroborate the efficient functioning of a cultured civilisation and its achievements. When interaction becomes the generator of thought it also becomes the tool of all socialising forces.

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1 - Sorokin, P.: Contemporary Sociological Theories (1928) p455  
2 - Sorokin, P.: Social Mobility, Chap. XXI

CHAPTER 13

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT IN

SOCIAL STRUCTURING

As was frequently stressed, the social organisation of any society is a functional product of its interests<sup>1</sup>. When interest-groups are few, as in the Copperbelt setting, organisation is simple generally in structure. However, with the enormous expansion as a result of industrialisation, the interest-groups became more numerous and its institutions tended to become organised drastically in terms of the attitudes of the dominant group<sup>2</sup>. Social organisation, therefore, in accommodating the African's stratification, showed a pattern of compromises which reflects the interplay of integrating elements and, in its attempts to promote an efficient array of social institutions, revealed the forces of conflict<sup>3</sup>. Within this broad pattern, mores, relationships and social processes manifested a 'strain toward consistency with each other'. This, of course, is not unnatural<sup>4</sup>.

In any efficiently integrated society social stratification consists of those associations that are necessary to the fulfilment of its interests. Returning once again to a statement of fact, as previously detailed, on the Copperbelt the process of social stratification was initiated at first by the recognition of common interests in a specific group. With the formation and recognition of special-interest-groups, whereby organised efforts were introduced to preserve these interests, social institutions developed as group relations. The pattern of social reorganisation, therefore, was composed of interest groups, institutions (or social thought) and changes. By the exclusiveness of this definition, having regard for the African's status, we state that, as it has developed, that

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1 - Cf. related studies of Carr-Saunders in The Professions.

2 - Ponsioen, J.A.: The Analysis of Social Change Reconsidered, (1962), chaps. V and VI.

3 - Eisenstadt, S.N.: Essays on Sociological Aspects of Political and Economic Development, (1962), p.24-30

4 - van Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O.: Cross-Cultural Studies, (1963) p.134 - 142

social stratification becomes the basic framework of any community through which social accommodation is affected. In fact, social stratification as it has evolved on the Copperbelt, is an effective device for social control. It is, therefore, noteworthy that both the efficiency and the cultural advancement of any society are judged by the variety and types of its groups, its flexibility and readiness to cooperate<sup>1</sup>.

Of particular interest to this study is the change of policy and the modification of approach offered by the European Union when, in 1955, it was decided to offer membership to 'every employee being not less than 16 years of age and engaged in the mining industry of Northern Rhodesia<sup>2</sup>.' This change in the Union's Constitution meant that all employees, black or white, were now afforded the opportunity to be represented by the same union.

Closely following on the foregoing was the European Union's decision to ameliorate the process of accommodation when it was decided to 'withdraw their insistence on the retention of Clause 42 which would allow them to veto the transfer of any particular job to an African<sup>3</sup>'. Thus the last obstacle, in giving full recognition to the the African's stratification in industry, which was previously anticipated to be insurmountable, was now finally overcome. The position is now such that an institution, previously characterised by its inflexibility, not only changed but, changed so, that it could render accommodation to previously conflict-charged-elements, i.e. members of the African Union.

This change in attitude can be accounted for: as was previously pointed out —with flexibility of social structures, differentiation in functions can be facilitated. Not only was there a process of changing social

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- 1 - It is customary to separate institutions (the services to be rendered, i.e. industry, government, the family, religion, education, etc) from associations (of the people) to make these services possible in order to measure the efficiency of an organisation's structural mechanisms.
  - 2 - The Northern Rhodesia Mine Workers' Union Constitution, Clause 5(a), p.2 and The Recognition Agreement, clause 3(b), p. 6
  - 3 - Hailey, Lord.: Op. cit. p. 1396.

forms in which institutions could develop with a vastly differentiated cultural structure, but functions were also multiplied and specialised. A few results of this differentiated social system, which will be described later, were the division of labour between institutions, new methods of cooperation and greater individual versatility and adaptability.

The European Union's new approach to a pattern of social reorganisation granted, as elements in its composition, a place to physical and psychological foundations, as well as to the cultural accommodation of individuality and personality within a changing societal pattern. In accomplishing this fully stratified structure, recognition was kept of the fact that growing up within a specific cultural system was an important, if not the most important, fact in moulding a new personality.

As a direct result, this view calls attention to the reciprocal interaction between changing interests or values and the changing milieu, because collective action, as we have surveyed it, is the general trait of the accommodation between structure and the function. In this particular instance, as it obtains on the Copperbelt, it is clear that organisation evolved from habits developed to satisfy needs, and set into operation a process which lead from expedient customs, a strain toward adaptational improvement, and a strain of consistency between institutions, to rise on a par with the changing mores and standards<sup>1</sup>.

Despite the fact that laws of social stratification are neither precise nor determinative, it is, however, relevant to this study to note that the principles of

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1 - The original basis of pay of the Europeans was determined by the exceptional considerations given by the Board of Inquiry to consider the proposed 40-hour week in the copper mining industry of Northern Rhodesia, Lusaka(1950),p.14. And, further, if the Keir Report's Recommendations are accepted, the door will be opened for technical education to Africans. The Report recommends that 'the educational facilities offered by the Technical Foundation should be available to all students complying with the necessary course admission requirements'. Reported in 'MOSSA', June, 1961, Vol.6., No.6.

this stratificationary endeavour of the African in the copper mining industry are largely identical with the broad explanations of socialisation and community expansion. Since social organisation is itself a moving equilibrium, fluctuating toward increasing restraint on the one hand and on the other toward increasing personal freedom, each of these separate principles and their combinations are necessary to a complete description of stratification. Maclver's laws of community development, particularly the third, namely, 'that growth of personality (which could mean group personality as well)... involves... changes in... relations... customs... institutions and associations of community', has once again established the formal logic of sociological deduction in relation to the Copperbelt.

In distinguishing the evolution so far, the following factors were found, more or less in the order enumerated, which sharpened the conflict situation and eventually led to the final accommodation -

1. Strain arises and becomes obvious in individual and personal variations, habit, beliefs and conduct.
2. Since group-ways are established by trial and error representing the attempts of groups to become adjusted to changing requirements, they can lead maladjusted group-life which, in turn, can give rise to conflict.
3. These group-ways referred to in Para 2 above, which become the standards of social interaction, exhibit a marked difference in social life.

(After the implementation of African Advancement, even to the time of writing, it is frequently heard that Europeans say, 'the African might be doing the European's job, but he will never be his equal, nor will he be accepted socially by the European!')

4. As these group-ways are formed into habits, and thus become behaviour-codes, they become inflexible, resulting in the rise of contradictory cultural conflicts.

(This aspect, was fully discussed in the preceding chapters.)

5. Since changes in mores, traditions, institutions and relationships occur unevenly, some develop with great rapidity in as short a period as ten years, while others, at best, only disrupt the adjustment.

(The outstanding example here can be the accommodation afforded to the African in the industrial structure, while his wife and children can cause embarrassment if they were to accompany him to any public place.)

6. Moreover, it has become apparent that during these changes, one segment of the changing culture may either make a static culture completely unnecessary or absorb a major portion of its functions.

(In either case, it was observed, the outcome is culture conflict. The African's culture and his culture concepts could be regarded as static in the present industrial era. The tribal dance, with its tom-tom accompaniment, had to make way for the entertainment of the cinema or even jiving sessions)

The Copperbelt's stratification of the African may thus be seen as specifically devised to include both the individual and the social aspects as the occurrence of the problem. Therefore, as was pointed out, culture-conflict may arise when there is no apparent connection with the individual and the conflict. It became most apparent as the change was rapid and the competing values of cultural organisation separated groups into individuals.

Although it is impossible to generalise as to the specific contribution of this stratification to social insecurity, the connection has occurred with sufficient regularity to give it the qualifications of a social postulate. Sorokin has shown that studies of relatively static societies, contrasted with mobile societies, confirm this conclusion and indicate that the same conditions for stability in one society and mobility in another are also the causes of conflict and demoralisation.<sup>1</sup>

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1 - Sorokin, P.: Social Mobility, pp.61-66 for the excellent development of this theme.

Resulting from the observations regarding the economic and cultural conflict, it is found that, regardless of its consequences, patterns may be described in terms of one or more of the following transitional phases -

1. The breakdown of group institutions.  
(The African Advancee, who has progressed to the position of supervisor, can no longer be described as a member of the conflict-group; hence the weakening of the group-complex.)
2. An increase in impersonal relationships.  
(The essentials of the job, which has been allocated to the African Advancee, still remains identical as far as the management of the mine is concerned. It is a job to be done, immaterial of the fact that it may now be an African doing it. The quantity of work performed remains unchanged.)
3. An unbalanced population may result.  
(The present wage structure accentuates this anomaly. The African Advancee could earn up to £100 per month, including incentive bonuses and overtime; whilst his crew members, classed as group 1 labourers, could earn a maximum of £18 to £25. This economical factor has an unbalancing effect on the social structure.)
4. A stratified and immobile class is created.  
(A new type of African mine employee has emerged. As a result of the economical diversity outlined in para 3 above, he is no longer at home with his fellow Africans, except perhaps in his own job-group. He does not fit into the European category of labourer either due to cultural and social incompatibilities.)
5. Increased restraint exercised by dominant group.  
(This aspect hardly needs clarification, save to mention that it is apparent in the European's behaviour, that he still does not accord to the African supervisor a place equivalent to his own.)
6. Increased competition leading to further differentiation.  
(The prevalence of the competitive aspect is natural, but the feeling still persists that the African is 'an intruder on the European's domain' and 'he should get what the agreements give'.)

7. Related to, and indirectly caused by, para 3 above, an unbalanced organisation may result.

(The inadequacy of the organisation, is to be found in the fact that this newly stratified group is virtually suspended in mid-air caused by their removal from the influence of the original common-interest-group, which generated the conflict for the stratification, and in not having found new attachments.)

To deduce, therefore — the security, offered by the group, is vanishing, and in its place is now a feeling of unattached insecurity as a concomitant of stratification. It is this visible opportunity for a new way of life, which has constantly been frustrated by tribalism and traditionalism, that underlies the African's venture into his social adolescence.<sup>1</sup>

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1 - Lord Milverton, a former Governor of Nigeria, in more less the same sense, referred to this period in the African's life and his struggle for acceptance, as his 'ethnic adolescence'.

CHAPTER 14

THE FINAL BREAKTHROUGH AND

ACCOMMODATIONAL PATTERNS

From whichever angle the factors, which at present hamper the African's social progress, are viewed, the two basic roots appear to be -

1. the lack of adequate education and training, and
2. the abject poverty of the rural areas.

Since the copper mining companies have accepted the newly defined status of the African in the industry, the Federal Government has also announced its acceptance, on an equal basis, of the African civil servant. In the structuring of new societal patterns, the roots, as outlined above, each had its share of attention, and it was decided that the major of the two, namely, the economic, had to have priority.

Due to the delicate nature of this particular aspect, it soon became clear that existing jobs could not indefinitely be bolstered with added monetary incentives in the forms of bonuses. The only solution, in the face of the established political policy, that of 'partnership', was that the Mining Joint Industrial Council<sup>1</sup> had to evolve a formula in 1960 which would bring the newly established industrial order's statuses in line with reality. After discussions lasting nearly twelve months, the Mining Joint Industrial Council formulated proposals 'which it hopes will, once and for all, solve the vexing problem of how

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1 - The Mining Joint Industrial Council was created in May, 1959, at the suggestion of Sir Frederick Leggett, former Chief Industrial Commissioner in the United Kingdom. He evolved what is now known as 'The Leggett Plan' for the settling of disputes. Part of his 'Plan' included the establishment of a Council consisting of representatives of the Copperbelt's six major producing mines, six representatives of the European Union, and two joint secretaries. The Council meets at least once a month, alternating its venue between the six mines.

best to provide for the advancement of Africans employed in the copper mining industry, and at the same time, to protect the interests of members'.

The Mining Joint Industrial Council took as its terms of reference -

"It must be obvious to all that, in the context of this country, the question of African Advancement MUST be faced. It should be equally obvious that failure by the Mining Joint Industrial Council to evolve a plan may well result in irresistible political and economic pressures being exerted, from within and without, forcing an outsider's solution upon us...

No less obvious is that the only permanent solution is a system in which merit is the only criterion in the choice of a candidate to fill a vacancy.

This can only be accomplished by setting up a unified wage scale in which ability alone is the yardstick.

In turn, this means bridging the gap between the present European and African scales. In order to do this it is necessary to find or create sufficient jobs to fill the gap<sup>1</sup>".

The final breakthrough had to follow now, because the European Union's new approach coupled with their co-partnership with the mining companies on the Industrial Council, created eagerness to accommodate the African in industry provided it could be done without flouting Clause 42 of the 'Recognition Agreement' with the companies and without fragmenting existing jobs.

In endeavouring to find a solution the Mining Joint Industrial Council worked along the three channels afforded to them:

1. By using the jobs excised as a result of the September 1955 Agreement<sup>2</sup>
2. By the creation of new jobs.
3. By excising further jobs of low content from Schedule A. ( Under control of the European Union).

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1 - Mining Joint Industrial Council's Manifesto, p.2

2 - Recognition Agreement (1955) Schedule E.p.48 - the September 1955 Agreement provided for 24 European-held jobs to be excised.

In setting out their proposals, The Industrial Council, states that 'the new proposals will take time to implement, and with the envisaged expansion of the industry, there should even be greater opportunity and scope for men qualified to fill jobs in Schedule A. Proof of this is that since the 1955 Agreement on African Advancement, employees in this category have increased by over 700...in addition, since the Agreement nearly 1,000 Africans have been advanced into jobs of greater responsibility<sup>1</sup>'.

During November, 1960, a series of meetings were held in the various mining towns by the European Union to get the Mining Joint Industrial Council's proposals, as they were presented in the so-called 'White Paper', verified. By the end of that month, the various branches of the Union, had given their approval to the proposals.

The Mining Joint Industrial Council's proposals were an endeavour to formulate a policy to provide all employed in the industry 'with a square deal, equal opportunity, and at the same time, to protect the skilled worker<sup>2</sup>'.

These proposals meant that an industrial worker was provided a ladder of jobs which was open to all employees of all races. The only criteria on which selection would be based, would be ability and character<sup>3</sup>. The final proposals were -

1. A further excision of 34 jobs of low content from Schedule A and transferred to a revised Schedule B, and
2. The creation of 20 new or intermediary jobs, so that the previous gap between the mass of African employees and European employees, could effectively be filled.

Concurrently with the acceptance of a unified labour structure, came also the acceptance of a 'Training Scheme for Learner Operators' which would provide courses 'to men of all races and will be designed to lead to jobs

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1 - Mining Joint Industrial Council's Manifesto, p.3

2 - Ibid. p.3

3 - Ibid. p.3

in Schedule A 'provided that the applicants have a minimum age of 17 for surface and 18 for underground, and a minimum standard of education of Form 11 (standard 7) or the equivalent, with passes in English and arithmetic<sup>1</sup>'. As already mentioned, Schedule A jobs are done by Europeans and represented by the European Union, but since the acceptance of the African's stratification and the European Union's agreement 'to accept as a member of the Union any person of whatever race or colour who has obtained employment with one of the Companies in any of the jobs detailed and described and included in Schedule A to this Agreement' any African, who got promoted to or was engaged in any Schedule A job, could now be represented by the European Union.

The structuring of the new social pattern was thus complete. Conflict came to fruition. And accommodation was affected<sup>2</sup>.

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- 1 - Mining Joint Industrial Council's Manifesto, p. 15  
2 - Cf. 'Rhokana Review', May, 1961 — 'European and African employees are now enjoying the same Group Pension... under the Group Pension and Life Assurance Schemes, the Companies pay monthly pension contributions rising from 5 per cent of the employees' basic pay in the first year of service to 20 per cent of basic after 30 years. Previously the Companies provided two forms of retirement benefit for Africans: there was a pension for employees who had over 20 years service and who had passed the age of 50; and also a long service and retirement bonus whereby employees after having completed 120 tickets (10 or 12 years service) received a lump sum gratuity based on their length of service and their earnings.'

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P A R T 5

ENVISAGED FUTURE SOCIAL PATTERNS

and

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 15

THE FUNCTIONAL ROLE OF CONFLICT

IN SOCIETAL STRUCTURING

The conceptualisation of conflict, as it manifested itself throughout this investigation, exhibited itself as one of the most important of the social processes as it is constantly a contest in which social contact and awareness are indispensable conditions. Park<sup>1</sup> finds that conflict is vitally important, for it determines a person's place in society, his status and the expressions of social control. In our study of conflict, as it has evolved itself on the Copperbelt, it was found to have been a conscious struggle between persons, who, by common purpose, had formed themselves into groups. Thus, out of this group-forming has developed social contacts and conscious competition which, in turn, sharpened and moulded characteristics of personality. In this particular instance the following can be enumerated: class and class distinction, job pride, feelings of ethnocentricity, self-consciousness. It also gave rise to other personality traits such as disdain, pity, aggressiveness, pride and modesty.

In probing the psychological impact further, it is found that competition has given way to rivalry. At present it is subtle in its operation, and there is every indication that it could remain such indefinitely for it tends to hide behind polite social relations. However, the converse is equally applicable — in group rivalry, the individual member's desires or his welfare for that matter, are subordinated to the group's control, and this inevitably, gives rise to the fact that personal conflict within the group, stimulates behaviour-consciousness and this, quite naturally, indicates the need for constant organisation. This aspect, as it was observed,

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1 - Cf. Bogardus, E.S.: Development of Social Thought, p563

is suitably illustrated in the Mineworkers' unions' approaches. It is this particular aspect, if not accorded with sufficient attention, that could present major obstacles for the future stabilisation of the society.

As was shown, conflict, even in its mildest form, defies precedents, and just as important, it creates no principles by which it abides. It was proved in this investigation, that as stratification came to involve more and more powerful forces and as the importance of the stakes increased, less care was taken of established culture patterns. The congruent is, therefore, equally true — if situations, such as the Copperbelt issue, arise, society has to be reorganised, and if this happens, particular attention has to be paid to one aspect of sociological importance, namely, after any stratificationary endeavour, none of the parties to the conflict remain the same; even their aims change. This, it is contended, is suitably illustrated in the African Union's 'new strategical policy', which was fully discussed earlier. In the conflict campaign on the Copperbelt, the action slogans had to be modified to suit the new pattern of organisation. This constant process of re-adapting, of re-establishing and of re-evaluation often led to maladjustment in different sectors of the organisational chain. In the situation which formed the theme of this investigation, it led to the conclusion that if cultural adjustment, in its various aspects, lags behind economic adjustment, it invariably leads to fixed patterns of frustration. With the stage of development achieved by the Africans, as it is described in this investigation, they have only achieved the economical stratification in the social structure — the cultural and social stratification, both equally essential in any society, cannot be conferred by anybody. These must be earned and developed by the slow process of evolution. This aspect, in point of fact, the most important in social structuring, must never be overlooked when assessing the status attained by any society — because, fundamentally, they form the bases and prerequisites for a civilisation.

In distinguishing between accommodation and adaptation, to clarify a point in the arguments used in this investigation, we return to Parks' definitions. The latter term refers to 'organic modifications which are transmitted biologically', but in his definition of

accommodation, which directly concerns this investigation, he states that it 'involves changes in habits or attitudes and their correlative culture patterns which are transmitted socially', that is, through changes in the social environment. The question now arising, and which must be answered, by the society which was investigated, for the future evolution of the newly-designed pattern, is, would this social equilibrium, which is in itself expressive of temporary accommodation, allow sufficient time for culture to adjust itself? It must be remembered in this context that conflict, even if it ends in accommodation, is never an end in itself. This particular aspect will be further discussed when the economic stratification for the future is dealt with.

Potential conflict, despite accommodation, remains beneath the surface of all social relationships. When the balance, which by its very nature is always delicate, is upset for any reason, a new set of accommodational patterns could be required in order to prevent overt conflict in the forms of riots, strikes, and the like. And, these in turn, may involve new sets of accommodations again.

Accommodation logically and sociologically leads to assimilation. Sociologists are more or less in concert with the following definition of assimilation: it is conceived as a process of interpenetration and fusion, in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and other attitudes of other people or groups, and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural pattern.

In this sense, assimilation is viewed as the central cultural process for its sharing of traditions and customs, and an intimate participation in common experiences. The social implication is quite obvious: if conscious conflict begins in unconscious competition, then it must be equally true that conscious accommodation ends in unconscious assimilation. This development, vexing in its complexity, must be faced by society. The basis for settling this question has not been worked out by any society or sociologist yet.

With a view to scientific exposition, a brief mention is necessary on assimilation, the fusing of cultures, acculturation, and the transmission of cultural elements from one social group to another.

Assimilation is a social-psychological process and means the growing alike in character, thoughts and institutions. Therefore, it need not necessarily be limited to the incorporation of one social group with all its ideas and culture into another social group. The process is, therefore, essentially one of developing a new type of group that represents an integration of both participating groups.

Acculturation, on the other hand, may be described in its simplest form as the transmission of culture patterns from one group to another. The actual connection between assimilation and acculturation, it is suggested, is that the former calls for changes in culture patterns, while the latter calls for changes in attitudes.

As for the future patterns of social structuring in Northern Rhodesia, it is found to be presenting a near insoluble problem on account of the assignment of culture values. These assignments of values arise out of the all-important course of experiences of each group and residual ethnocentricity; and these elements of society and its structure, have the characteristics of collating development with experience. With this background, there may be a decrease of effective fertility of enterprise and innovation, this in turn may lead to a decrease in investment and in society's 'hope in possibilities'<sup>1</sup>. All these factors react unfavourably upon the economic stability, which may lead to a transformation of its dominant psychology. As direct results from the foregoing, the solidarity of society's members could seriously be affected; individualism and economic egotism increase; the ideal of the glory and the magnificent grandeur of a nation is superseded by that of personal gains; while the ideal of heroism is replaced by that of pacifist comfort. Since traits like these mentioned above are not universal, and thus avoidable, they could be ameliorated, if not completely solved, by social planning and organisation.

On the question of amalgamation, which is a biological process, and is closely related to assimilation, it is foreseen, for the present time, that it would remain at a distinct disadvantage. Amalgamation accompanies and follows miscegenation, which includes both intermarriages and race mixtures outside marriage. Due to the stigma attached to intermarriages, though not prohibited by law,

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1 - Cf. Sorokin, P.: Contemporary Sociological Theories(1927) pp. 426 -428

it is felt that evidence is conclusive, as it prevails at the time of writing, that when the reverse of the present social organisation appears, it will be in the form of gross social crises, such as an economic depression resulting in the breakdown of the family, or in the form of personal pathologies where the individual failed to adjust himself to social institutions and by the failure of institutions to perform the services for which they were devised. There are, however, very little, if any, debarring factors preventing demoralisation setting in. It appears that the ethical code will constantly prevail if the same rigidity of innate social control functions.

The interpretation of the facts regarding conflict and its creation of new accommodational structures, indicate the varieties of social organisation to which a society is exposed and hence the desirability of viewing these new patterns as a process of development. The following basic facts, as they were discerned throughout this investigation, can serve as preliminary interpretations of the social evolution in Northern Rhodesia. These propositions are introductory to, and possibly explanations of, the role of conflict as a pattern within the other patterns of societal change -

1. The division of labour further than the customary accepted standards, resulting in specialisation, weaken social ties and cause the primary group to decline in influence.

(The African who ~~gained~~ stratification on the advancement schedule was an esteemed member of his group. His removal from their ranks inevitably meant a decline of the common-purpose-motive behind the conflict-ideal.)

2. Rapid industrialisation in general increases social mobility and cultural strain.

(The figures given in the 'Introduction' to this investigation illustrate this aspect; as regard the cultural strain, it is accepted, that the transition from one class to another is gradual and only relatively perceptible and if, as is the case in Northern Rhodesia, there is a wide diversity of culture-concepts, this strain could well be accentuated.)

3. Change in one social structure or any of its components causes change in other structural forms.

(As a result of the African's stratification in the economical structure, he had to readapt himself socially — this general social superiority afforded by his new status called for adjustments in his locality-group, his work-group, his family life, etc.)

4. Whenever there is a breakdown of established mores and traditions, or when a community expands very rapidly as happens with industrialisation, a period of instability follows which may be either disorganisational or reorganisational.

(Annually, after the copper-bonus pay out, which has increased considerably since the advancement programme has been introduced, the period from August to September, is usually noted for its boisterous exhibitionism of spending. Both Africans and Europeans alike experienced a complete breakdown of tradition in this respect.)

5. Conflict is identified by competition, loss of consensus, group-forming and limited participation.

(This aspect was exhaustively detailed in Part 2 of this investigation. Regarding the 'limited participation' it could be mentioned that, according to the Chamber of Mines' statistics, the initial advancement programme benefitted .02% of the gainfully employed Africans)

In its Copperbelt context, all data point to the conflict-situation gaining its impetus from the influences of industrialisation because of its drastic revision of values. The industrial contribution to this social reorganisation could be gauged by its modification of some institutions to comply with its material needs; by the innovation of a new economic structure for some of its employees; by its influence upon the re-evaluation, redistribution and reorganisation of its jobs and employees.

It is apparent that the approach to the problem was largely, if not wholly, influenced by the fact that industrial employees were grouped within different classes with

privilege and opportunity restricted in terms of class status, and this arrangement contained the very elements of conflict which is accounted for by inadequate vertical mobility.

Seen from a sociological viewpoint, if this social restructuring has eradicated any malcontents in society, it is lauded. On the other hand, however, if this change is founded solely on satisfying economic greed and self-seeking aims, without the stabilising influences of culture and education, then the reactions which will set in, will not only damage the structure, but will destroy it completely.

In any discussions envisaging future social patterns, economics play a vital role. As already pointed out, a widely held theory holds that the materialistic or economic interpretation of social evolution is sufficient to explain either the organisation or disorganisation of a society. It was also pointed out that a definite link can be established between the conflict-aims and the spiralling economic pressures. If this is then a standard pattern of evolution, then it must be equally true to state that any society's stability is dependent upon its economic stability. Economic stability is even determinative of all-round institutional stability. This investigation has shown that internal social deficiencies give rise to economic maladjustments, and it is shown, also, that if a society wishes to retain a healthy economic basis for its social enactments, the following generalisations should form the bases -

1. Rapid technical changes and labour-saving devices, which slow up mobility of labour, must be controlled so that a balance with reality is maintained.
2. Realistic ratios between employees and production targets must be established and maintained so that effective productive methods are not crippled.
3. Establish economic parity by keeping incentive bonuses within the scientifically defined realms of reasonable standards.
4. Avoid, by means of organised planning and forecasting, occupational congestion arising as a result of uneven progressions through outmoded training schedules.

5. Economic instability can be conditioned by non-economic factors such as training opportunities and facilities, educational schemes, job attitudes, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing highlight the index of many varieties of envisaged future social patterns. Like all forms of new institutions, there emerges a comparison of standards and conduct. Its manifestations, consequently, are products of individual differences and of social standards of morally-sanctioned behaviour. It must, therefore, be expected, if accepted social bonds are to be moulded, that the reconstruction of society will have to be founded on a dynamic approach to its educational system.

We are confronted, in point of fact, with a concept resembling Lester Ward's 'social teleosis'<sup>1</sup> which urged for an education that goes beyond simply conserving the social order — it aims at 'the initiation and control of social progress'. The aim in this social reconstruction would have to be in the providing of an education that would produce efficient members of society, good citizens, who would not only take their places in groups but would add 'something to the life of the group' (Ward). The evolution on the Copperbelt has shown that it is not enough for education to emancipate the individual and develop his capacities — education should, in our opinion, be based on the science of sociology, acknowledging the social, political, moral and academic facets of the human being. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that education of a social nature functions very slowly, for its task is that of making over mores or folkways which are judged essential to the welfare of the group. The education system, in its regard for the development of future citizens, should ventilate the principles which underlie all human progress, all justices, allow freedom for individual thinking and encourage investigation and discussion of the necessities for human advance. It is this approach to the cultural development which not only transmits culture but more important, creates and enriches culture.

For the last ten years the mining companies on the Copperbelt have been evolving a system for the utilisation of African labour, which has as one of its purposes to make more explicit and comprehensible the concept that 'a higher standard of living must be earned'. This system has involved

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1 - Ward, Lester: Dynamic Sociology(1883), p 11-90 ff.

1. aptitude testing of African recruits;
2. induction training after recruitment;
3. selective placement in suitable jobs;
4. training on the job for the job;
5. proficiency testing of trainees;
6. definite promotional routing;
7. specialised training for advancement.

The 'Second Phase' of the African Advancement programme, which was detailed in the previous section of this investigation, is based on the concept that there should be a 'unified wage structure' and a continuous ladder of jobs, so that movement upwards could be gauged entirely by merit. To achieve this, it is therefore, imperative that a unified structure in the utilisation of all labour should be arrived at, and this, in turn, requires the work, which was hitherto done in the European and African spheres more or less in isolation, to be integrated into one coherent whole.

Within this conceptualisation of the labour programme, was the awareness of the fact that, if this scheme was to be of permanent value to both racial groups, it had to combat the following three distinct sequences in the evolutionary pattern -

1. the growing heterogeneity of cultures which are to be fused;
2. the continuity of traditional thinking and habitual activity;
3. the resistance of transition and readjustment of society to the new social order.

In appreciating the difficulties that may be encountered, the following functions were put into operation to facilitate the harmonious adjustment of the individual to his group(s).

1. The establishment of manning requirements.
2. The availability of job-descriptions of all jobs.
3. Evaluation and rating(grading) of all jobs.
4. Inauguration of job-training syllabii.
5. Proficiency tests as promotional barriers.

6. Specialised selection and placement procedure.
7. Establishment of fixed promotional routes.
8. Establishment of advanced operative training syllabi.
9. Skilled-worker training.
10. Technological training (including training of specialist personnel.)
11. Job rotation and lateral movement.
12. Adult educational schemes.

It follows, in the light of these adjustments outlined above, that conflict may also be explained, and perhaps more satisfactorily from the present social knowledge, that it is the result of overgrowth and complexity in any social form, too rapid industrialisation, over-division of labour, and the cultural reluctance to change enforced by economic exigencies. Similarly, the principle of conflict-continuity, as we have shown, definitely puts conflict within the continuous process of adjustment and readjustment.

In the political structuring, societal evolution is, to a large extent still experimental, and history's annals bear this out. The increase of patriotism, and the ethnocentricity of its members, generate a readiness to underestimate the opponent's virtues and exaggerate his defects — all these, and many other sudden changes of attitudes and disposition are usual in time of any political upheaval. It is, however, essential to keep in mind, that in the political structuring of society, the following two criteria play an important role: Firstly, society must, in the interest of realism, recognise the stubborn fact that group-differences in a plural society do exist, and the consequences that flow from these differences, must be recognised; and, secondly, society must aim at cooperation between the components on a basis that prevents domination of one over the other.

It is a universal characteristic of minorities in plural societies, whether the various communities of which they are composed are divided by differences of race, religion, nationality or any other differentiating factor, that they fear domination by the numerically stronger if unqualified adult suffrage is extended to all individuals without adequate safeguards for the minority rights. The government

of plural societies is, under any circumstances, notoriously difficult. Reflection on the group conflicts between, for instance, Protestant Orangemen and Catholic Nationalists in Ireland, Jews and Arabs in Palestine, Hindus and Moslems in India, a welter of different people — Magyars, Germans, Czechs, Slovenes, Poles, Serbs, Croats — in South-eastern Europe, Greeks and Turks in Cyprus, to mention only a few examples, provides ample testimony to the accuracy of this general proposition.

It is an established fact that the degree of intractability of social situations of this kind varies in direct proportion to the nature and extent of the cultural gaps dividing the various communities concerned. As we have pointed out in this study, at a given historical moment any human group that has shared a common historical experience possesses certain traits, common to its members, that have resulted from such experience. If such a group falls under the dominance of another group with a different historical and cultural background, the social consequences for each group will vary according to the nature and the degree of the difference between them. With this background, based on sociological data, it is known that the nature of the (newly-born) society that ultimately emerges will be profoundly and diversely affected according to whether the transition is accompanied by violence, unending conflict and hatred, or by inter-racial accord, cooperation and goodwill. Conflict, arising directly or indirectly from racial difference, can never be accounted for by any single social factor but is always the result of a total group-historical experience. And that is the same process that evolves culture and generates the genius of civilisation!

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY OF THE  
NATURE OF CONFLICT IN THE MODEL  
AND RELATIONS TO THE HYPOTHESIS

The logical inferences drawn from the various theoretical discussions in Part 1 and the empirical data of Parts 2, 3 and 4 lead us to test the validity of the reformulated hypothesis advanced in Chapter 4 (p.55). The inductions are as follows -

Hypothesis 1: It was postulated in Proposition 1 of the general hypothesis that social systems and their internal value systems can be conceived as involving conflict situations whose intensity can vary in polar form from bargaining to open violence in a continuum.

The changing situation in the Copperbelt complex was discussed and it was shown that the social system passed through phases as follows:

Phase I: Absolute conformity based upon traditional submission of the individual to the kingroup displaced upon a hierarchical structure - not based upon kin but on rational-legal levels in Weber's sense (the rural peasant to industrial worker.)

Phase II: Imitative development by the African of successful organisation of the white worker through an institutionalised Trade Union. The basis is a shift from traditional kinship relations to voluntary organisations unknown in tribal society but a component of the European industrial system. In this phase it has been shown that the new basis of cohesion produced elementary phases of conflict of a violent type leading to slow advance movements of wage levels.

Phase III: Increasing rates of organisation, that is increasing cohesion of the African, leading to multiple 'wild-cat strikes' - that is increased violence - which corresponds to the demands by the African for recognition of the African Trade Union's demands for still higher wages. This is a phase of increasing tempo of demands which was successful so far as it led to increased levels of wages.

Phase IV: The changing levels (in Phase III above) of wages was limited by job status which kept the European miner's rate above that of the African, and if left in this condition the African could never have attained parity with the European.

A new definition of African aims was thus explicit. This took the form of demanding not solely wage increases within the prescribed grades but re-definition of the grades — that is a demand for access to skills monopolised by Europeans.

We believe this phase to be crucial in forcing a new adaptation of the African, but also that it involved a radical change in the internal value system of the European group redefining intergroup relations at a new level distinct from that of the previous phases.

Phase V: The principles involved of 'African Advancement' (of phase IV above) was met by white-African adjustment in the form of acceptance of the African demands. Thus, a new phase of accommodation equilibrium was involved producing a patterned relationship of a new type distinct from the previous phases. Starting with violence the phase development ends in Phase V with successful bargaining displacing violence.

In the process the complex changed as a totality involving new definitions in the relationships of:

- a. European miner to European miner, so far as some Europeans on a merit system would be reduced in job status by African invasion.
- b. African miner to African miner, so far as the merit system produces a new stratification among Africans who formerly were relatively undifferentiated in occupational grading.
- c. European miner to African miner on the same stratification level of occupation. This is a theoretical possibility which becomes functionally operative but it raises difficulties of status equivalencies outside the equivalent job status. Theoretically, any further advance towards white-black equivalence could not take place in the industrial sector and would have to be transferred to the political sector.

- d. The relationship of the Government of the United Kingdom, so far, as shown, that it intervened twice in the relations of the operating company in regard to wage demands of workers. The external system thus partially imposed itself on the internal system of conflicts.
- e. The Government of Northern Rhodesia, through the Governor, interposed by advisory services to the various parties, employer, white and black workers and through the media of Commissions of Inquiry and recommendations of these Commissions.
- f. The employing body, Rhokana Corporation. The definitions required here were of a more complex order than for any of the contestants and final decision making against economic reality must lie in its hands. Under the compound pressure of the total system, the White and African Trade Unions, the Government of Great Britain, the Government of Northern Rhodesia, so far as it accepted the recommendations of the various Commissions of Inquiry. The Corporation, specifically designed to maximalise profits, was faced with a condition in which the copper, whose price was internationally determined, had to face increased operating costs. The first impact, consequent on acceptance of African Advancement was, therefore, a marked drop in profits per ton produced. Such a condition demanded serious adjustment, and it is shown in the text that the Corporation responded by -
- i. raising wages and status of African labour;
  - ii. raising technological efficiency leading to compensatory cuts in the volume of labour by the introduction planned maintenance to equipment, mechanisation and rationalisation of labour.

The net effect was the reintegration of the total system.

### Hypothesis 2

The phase development of Hypothesis 1 above, covers Hypothesis 2 so far as the process, starting from phase I to phase V, produced plural societies, but as the phases proceeded, closer identity was attained in the economic sector by means of common stratification of the European and African groups. This degree of plurality diminishes in the sense that Phase V produced a unified labour force on a class and merit basis in place of a colour caste labour force. It is, also, unified in the Corporation at a new technological and labour level.

In Hypothesis 2 we suggested that each of the plurality units was a separate self-contained system. By Phase V of Hypothesis 1 above, the break in the economic sector produced an invasion of Africans into the European social system. The consequence of Phase V was inevitable that it should develop into political and social equality embodied in legislation as passed by the Northern Rhodesian Government designed to equalise in sectors other than the economic. There is no doubt that the economic factor was primary in this particular Northern Rhodesian situation and forced all other consequent adaptations.

### Hypothesis 3

It was here postulated that there would be unequal balance of power and that, so far as this pertained, one class, or race, or economic category would emerge as the ruling group.

As shown in hypothesis 1 and 2 the balance of power began with Phase I (in hypothesis 1) in which African labour, drawn by the migratory process from a peasant population with a subsistence economy, allowed the Corporation to operate on a low wages system — indeed non-rational in Weber's sense, so far as wages were only part subsistence with the remainder being derived from agriculture. As the phases proceeded the wholly rational wage emerges so far as the migratory system virtually stops and the African labourer becomes wholly dependent on wages alone. The consolidation of a living wage could be attained only by increased organisation and a new basis of cohesion, the model of which was taken from the European Trade Union. At the stage of Phase IV (of Hypothesis 1) the question ceased to be a question of subsistence wages, but was transformed into a demand for the regrading upwards of labour status. This posits a direct

challenge to the European Union, on the one hand, and a challenge to the Corporation as shown above. It is clear that the balance of power had now shifted. All parties, the Corporation, the European Trade Union and the Government of Northern Rhodesia were virtually forced to accommodate the new balance of power. By 1961 when this analysis stops the economic balance of power, as far as labour was concerned was in African hands. Outside the field of labour, while concessions had been made, his status was still undefined in terms of power.

#### HYPOTHESIS 4

In the first phases the position of the Corporation and the European Trade Union was fully legitimised, the African alone being held to be subordinate. Both law and custom, in industry and in social life, this subordination was legitimised. After Phase V (of Hypothesis 1), the advent of African Advancement, as shown by Hypothesis 3 in relation to the balance of power, dilutes this centralisation of power and, while being operative in the economic field only, yields a parallel legitimacy to African Advancement demands. At no time were these demands ruled illegitimate. After victory the position was legitimised, not only economically, but socially as well, being consolidated in legislation covering a wide variety of social areas.

This was accomplished, as was shown in the text, by the leaders of the subordinate colour group, advocating advance and repudiating the legitimacy of the order, and demanding it be modified to produce a new definition of legitimacy — parity.

#### HYPOTHESES 5 and 6

Both these hypotheses are covered in Hypothesis 4 above, showing the changing plural relation and the mode of adaptation to the conflict by the participants. Phase IV (of Hypothesis 1) taken together with Hypothesis 4 above presume increased leadership activity among Africans leading to fully functioning Trade Unionism. Manifestly these could not arise in the traditional order, or at the beginning of the development phases but emerged in the interactions of the conflict situation. The change here was, in the same manner as the traditional society had changed to a rational industrial order, so did the leadership change from charismatic traditional to a leadership in which charisma was still inherent in the leader, as viewed by the African masses, but the actions of the leader in his conflict roles assumed

the properties of the rational-legal order. This is obviously a temporary situation, the leaders only being fully legal-rational 'de facto' while the masses are still in the charismatic stage of development. Prediction should be based on the probability that, beyond 1961, the masses would equalise with their leaders at the rational-legal level.

It has been shown that the demand of the leaders were, for a time, Messianic and Utopian, wholly removed the immediacies of economic reality. Prediction suggests that this phase would, under the impact of the reality principle, be modified after the first stages. This would suggest a following period of equilibration at a more rational level where demands, however justified, would require to be scaled down. Apart from this thesis, the situation at present (1961) suggests that this moderation in the rate of change is taking place.

#### HYPOTHESIS 7

It has been suggested in Hypothesis 3 that while the balance of power was partially transferred to Africans in the economic field, in its industrial and labour contexts, that this is not a full assumption of power over all social areas. Parallel with wage demands had grown a political movement from 1948 in the African National Congress aiming at political rights equivalent to those of the European. After 1955, and the changes in occupational stratification, the political sector took rapid development. This was inevitable as political alignments were now designed to consolidate politically what has been gained economically.

#### HYPOTHESIS 8

This is a prediction as far as this thesis is concerned. The prediction is based by induction of the previous hypotheses and thus cannot be proven except at the logical level.

#### HYPOTHESIS 9

From the previous hypotheses and the empirical data it is clear that the balance of power, at no time, was threatened by revolution. By revolution we imply a subversion of the order. The processes disclosed led to compromise and reform; in the sociological sense, to conflict leading to adaptive accommodation and new institutions rose which attained such accommodation in the labour relations field. While having attained equilibrium in this field, it allowed for the transference of the conflict situation to

other sectors — the political being the first. This, however, was accepted as legitimate and the likely transfer of power takes place in January 1964 in a context of rational-legal agreement. Both the industrial and the political sectors are thus unified by a common principle of racial parity.

HYPOTHESIS 10

This is the object of the unification referred to above in Hypothesis 9. Whether the pattern will reach a relatively permanent equilibrium we cannot tell.

In summary, we began with an exhaustive treatment of the theory of conflict in sociological literature contained in Part 1. From this we formulated the Ten-Point Hypothesis in two stages. We then proceeded to offer empirical data cognate to the Hypothesis. Thirdly, we proceeded to analyse the empirical material, and, fourthly, we have attempted to unify the empirical material with the hypotheses, testing their validity in the latter sections. We have also attempted with reservations, to project the material towards the future but on the basis of probability.

Whether the situation in the future will coincide with the predictions, we leave to the future history!

APPENDIX

This is part of 'Appendix 10' of the 'Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Mining Industry in Northern Rhodesia,' in terms of Government Notice No.97 of 1962 under the chairmanship of Sir Ronald Morison, Kt., Q.C.

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"Perhaps the most important (and the most neglected) influences affecting the work effectiveness of the African in the organised work systems of the European-type undertaking, concern the cultural and mental factors conditioning his attitude to work in general and that type of work in particular.

"Nothing in African tribal life provides any conditioning which would prepare a man leaving that life for acceptance of the demands on him inherent in these work systems. This is not to say that in his day-to-day tribal life the African did not work hard when necessity required. He did (and still does), but his mode of life rarely demanded prolonged effort. The elemental incentives to work were the need for food and shelter. Since little provision was made beyond the satisfaction of immediate needs, effort to build up a surplus of wealth was not required. Housing was, and is, primitive. Moreover, work in general was dictated by the rhythm of the seasons and duties were allocated according to sex and age, with women often doing most of the routine work assisted by girls, while the men and boys herded the cattle, broke up new land, did the ploughing (in agricultural communities), cut timber and erected huts. All these activities developed into a tradition sanctified by usage and surrounded by ritual. They were rarely carried out alone, and nothing in the cadence of the tribesman's life prepared him for the metronomic rhythm of organised industrial work. Add to that the fact that for many tribes any form of organised manual work for others has associations with slavery and is therefore despised, and the difficulties of adaptation of the African to the demands of industrial employment can be readily understood. Difficulties arise too from the fact that work in the tribal setting requires neither foresight nor planning; it includes no notion of time (there is no time limit for a particular task), there is no specialisation and no order other than that ordained by the seasons. The job is done at the speed and in the way the worker himself decides. Work in tribal conditions is not felt as an imposition but as an integral part of the

condition of adult manhood.....

"Why do they thus leave their traditional environments for the stresses and strains of a new and unknown mode of life? To that there is no one answer<sup>1</sup>. The impelling factors are complex and differ according to local circumstances, to the degree of evolution of the communities concerned, to tribal customs and of course to the opportunities available. It is probably true to say that even in the most primitive communities occasional work for wages provides an acceptable alternative to barter as a means of acquiring the few simple articles required for conventional living. However, as communities begin to evolve, even though they are far from areas of developed monetary exchange activity, more complex situations develop. Dowries which formerly were paid in cattle, begin to be paid wholly or partly in cash. Cloth, implements, household utensils are needed, taxes are due. If the sale of produce does not provide the necessary money, only wage-paid labour remains. There may be a seasonal shortage of food, or overpopulation in a particular area. Other factors also play their part. Once villagers begin to develop the habit of going off to work — incidentally acquiring some knowledge of the outside world — and of coming back with a few acquisitions such as a suit of clothes or a pair of shoes, the spirit of emulation and adventure is quickly aroused, especially among the young men. It becomes a matter of social prestige to have been away to work. The desire to escape from the fettering influence of the old men of the tribe and avoid tribal obligations also plays a part. Young women are not slow to show their preference for men who have seen something of the world and can provide some coveted object from the town.

"At this stage the desire for a higher standard of living in any permanent sense is probably not the dominant one. Work outside the tribal economy has been sought only for a limited time and for a very limited purpose. However, with the rapid development of the market economy in Africa these incentives to such work away from the village have been strengthened and new ones have appeared, particularly in communities situated in the neighbourhood of centres of organised economic activity, urban centres or main lines of communication. In the

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1 - Cf. Schapera, I.: Migrant Labour and Tribal Life, (1947), pp. 116 - 121, for a complete development of the causes of migration.

first place, contact with Europeans has created new desires and needs. In many cases the desire for a standard of living higher than the African has known in his previous experience, or at least for a way of life different from that of his tribal background, becomes articulate. In either case the price to be paid is work on the European pattern. Secondly, he may desire to see his children enjoy fruits of a better education than he himself has had. This is said to be an increasingly powerful incentive attracting Africans into a wage-earning economy, and, thirdly, pressure from his womenfolk cannot be ignored as a strong factor pushing him out of his tribal environment. This pressure leads him to direct his efforts towards some more impressive target through wage-paid labour before he returns home, but often it leads him to settle more or less permanently in a centre of employment. There his wife (if she can join him) can be freed from the grinding toil which is every woman's lot in African tribal conditions; and with emancipation comes new desires and wants and conventional necessities not only for herself but for the whole family. The part which women can play in the evolution of the wage-earning African male cannot be too highly stressed.

"Whatever the circumstances, there can be no doubt that the African is ill-adapted by any conditioning he has received through his economic and cultural background for assimilation as an effective element in a wage economy on the European pattern. It is equally certain, of course, that his aim in seeking wage-paid employment heavily influences his attitude to work and his response to incentives and makes it inevitable that his reactions will differ widely from those of the European worker, whose background and aims are so different.

"For the African who emerges from the tribal economy to seek work for a strictly limited purpose, to get money to pay a bride price or taxes, to buy a bicycle or a sewing machine, it is clear that the responsibilities and satisfactions associated in the European mind with work as such have no meaning. It is natural that, his purpose having been achieved, he returns to his tribal milieu either temporarily or permanently....The length of time he stays outside a Native tribal area depends on the type of work, the size of the wage packet, the individual nature of the worker, domestic circumstances, and his experience of industrial life..It is against this general background that the efficiency of the African worker must be considered.<sup>1</sup>"

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1 - This Appendix was considerably condensed and only relevant portions quoted to illustrate the general line of argument used in Chapter 12 of this investigation.

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