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"THE VOLUNTARY WELFARE ORGANISATIONS

of the

BAROTSE AND TRANSKEI."

(3248)

A Contribution to the Sociology of Social Work.

By

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of Philosophy.

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of the Organisations Investigated.

List of Abbreviations of Names of Organisations.

A.C.V.V.	---	Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging.
A.T.K.V.	---	Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging.
B.E.S.L.	---	British Empire Service League.
C.P.W.A.A.	---	Cape Province Womens Agricultural Association.
M.O.T.H.	---	Memorable Order of the Tin Hats.
N.E.M.H.F.	---	National War Memorial Health Foundation.
S.A.A.F.A.	---	S.A. Air Force Association.
S.A.N.T.A.	---	S.A. National Tuberculosis Association.
Toc. H.	---	Talbot House.
W.C.T.U.	---	Womens Christian Temperance Union.

"THE WELFARE ORGANISATIONS OF THE BORDER AND TRANSKEI."

PREFACE.

From 1951 to 1956 the author served as Vice-Chairman of the Border Local Welfare Board. This Board was created by The Hon. the Minister of Social Welfare in terms of the Welfare Organisations Act, No. 40 of 1947. This Act was a deliberate attempt to provide a type of co-ordinatory machinery for voluntary welfare organisations. The function of the Local Boards was to bring local knowledge to bear on the problems under discussion by the National Welfare Organisations Board. As such the Local Boards were largely advisory in character.

After the first few meetings of the Border Local Welfare Board it soon became apparent that, despite a fairly wide distribution of its members over the Border and Transkei, no member had extensive knowledge of welfare organisations outside the town in which he presently resided. No member or official had an over-all knowledge of the welfare organisations in the Board's area of jurisdiction. The first and essential prerequisite to the proper functioning of the Board seemed to be a study of the voluntary organisations in the area of the Board's jurisdiction.

These considerations gave birth to the present study.

The research was undertaken with the financial assistance of The South African National Council for Social and Economic Research. This Council generously supplied £340 to cover partially the costs of the undertaking. By so doing it virtually made the project possible.

For encouragement and "the guiding hand of the master" the author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Prof. (Dr) James Irving, Dean of the Faculty of Social Science,

and Head of the Department of Sociology and Social Work at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. His constant stimulation in the form of ideas, comment and criticism has been a fruitful source of inspiration.

The author is also indebted to the Chairman of the Local Board, Mrs Inez Barratt. As an example of public spirited citizenship in a wide variety of welfare fields one must go far to better the example she has set. The Secretaries of the Local Board have at all times offered their assistance in this research. Further, the Secretaries, Treasurers and Office Bearers of the organisations that form the subject of this study have, without exception, co-operated whole-heartedly. Many have had to write long and detailed letters, or packed and posted heavy parcels of minutes, records and files. Their energy has contributed greatly to the successful conclusion of this study and above all, has enabled it to be completed within a reasonable time.

Lastly, but by no means least, mention must be made of the help of my wife. Not only has she endured long spells of absence from home on my part, but has assisted also in the clerical and proof-reading part of the work.

PART 1.INTRODUCTION.CHAPTER 1.The Aim and Methodology.

Voluntary welfare organisations were the principal source of assistance to the needy prior to the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare in 1937. Since the Department came into being it has maintained a deliberate policy of co-operation with voluntary organisations. (1) In response to a need to regularise war time charitable collections from the public the government introduced War Measure No 48 of 1944. A Bill to ensure the registration of all welfare organisations was introduced a little later, but was sent to a select committee after the First Reading in the House. (2) After lengthy enquiry and debate the Welfare Organisations Act No. 40 of 1947 passed into law.

This Act enabled the Minister of Social Welfare to appoint a National Welfare Board and seven Local Welfare Boards. The country was thus divided into geographical regions and a Local Board established in the principal city of each. One of these Local Boards was The Border Local Welfare Board whose secretarial facilities were centred in East London, and whose area of jurisdiction included the 61 Magisterial Districts mentioned on page 17. This area included the whole of the Transkeian Territories and the Border area Westwards as far as the Southern boundary of the Magisterial Districts of Alexandria, Albany, Pearston and Somerset East. A detailed Map of the area can be found in Map 1 of the Appendix.

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- 1) See the Annual Report of the Dept. of Social Welfare, 1937-39; U.G. 15/1940.
 2) See Minutes of Evidence in the Report of the Select Committee on the Subject of the Welfare Organisations Bill. S.C.11 of 1945.

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Membership of the Local Boards was of two kinds:

a) Members elected by the National Welfare Board from a list of nominations supplied by the welfare organisations operating in the Local Board's area of jurisdiction.

b) Members nominated by the Minister of Social Welfare. In electing their members the National Board kept in mind the geographical distribution of persons nominated by the welfare organisations so as to achieve as wide a geographical representation over the whole area as could be conveniently arranged. The assumption underlying this policy was that any person so elected could speak for welfare organisations operating in a wide area around the town of his immediate domicile. The meetings of the Local Board would thus tend to be representative of the area as a whole.

Shortly after the establishment of the Border Local Welfare Board in 1951 it became apparent that geographical representation was no guarantee of the representativeness of the welfare organisations in the Board's area. For example, the two largest organisations in the area, judged from the point of view of the number of active branches were the S.A. Legion of the British Empire Service League (B.E.S.L.) and the S.A. Red Cross Society. Yet no member of the Board was intimately associated with either of these organisations. Secondly, the assumption that a member knew or was acquainted with the welfare organisations or the welfare needs of a wide geographical area beyond his immediate domicile proved to be false. Though in many instances the bona fides of persons serving on the managing committees of welfare organisations were known to members of the Board, the members had little, if any, knowledge of what organisations existed in towns even twenty miles from their homes.

It very quickly became apparent that the Government had no intention of providing the National or Local Welfare Boards with sufficient funds to create a paid travelling secretary or

organiser. In the absence of an official of this character there were no means available of making good the ignorance of the Board's members about the area they were elected to serve. The officials of the Department of Social Welfare, though very able in the particular spheres of their work, were in no position to compensate for the ignorance of the Board's members. In this connection the contribution of the Union Department of Health, through the services of its local Chief Medical Officer and the Inspectress of Nursing Services, was far greater than that of the officers of the Department of Social Welfare. The Inspectress of Nursing Services makes annual inspections of the clinics and other welfare organisations conducting medical welfare work subsidised by the Department of Health. These visits had placed the Department in an excellent position to advise the Local Board---a service the Board enjoyed throughout its term of office.

In response to this situation the author undertook unofficially to examine the structure, function and location of welfare organisations in the area of jurisdiction of the Border Local Welfare Board.

The first requirement, from the Board's point of view, was a statement of what welfare organisations existed in the area of its jurisdiction. The sole information available to the Board was a periodical circular supplied by the Registrar of Welfare Organisations setting out the names of the registered welfare organisations and the address of their secretary. This was classified according to the nearest town in which the organisation was situated. As will be noticed below, this register proved to be inadequate in many respects.

Secondly, it was necessary to find out where these organisations were situated in a more precise manner, and some indication of the type of work they undertook. This ecological approach could not be pursued to its logical end,

namely, relating the services available to the needs of the area, because little is known of the actual welfare needs of the Border and Transkei. The studies that have been attempted are the following:

- a) "Statistics of Afflicted Persons, May 1936". U.G. 16/1937. This, however, excluded Natives from its study.
- b) "South African National Council for the Blind Survey of Blindness in the Ciskei and Transkei." 1947-54.
- c) The East London and Border Society for the Care of Cripples in the Transkei and Border area has made an estimate of the number of cripples. The estimate in February, 1956, was 3,369 cripples in the whole Border area.

With the exception of the work undertaken by the National Council for the Blind these studies are inadequate for the purposes of this research. In consequence it became necessary to ignore the important question of needs and to concentrate entirely on the organisations themselves. From the point of view of the Local Welfare Board this may prove an advantage in that the Board's terms of reference refer merely to the welfare organisations, their managing personnel and their financial collections from the public. The Act makes no mention of Local Boards undertaking the creation of new societies to fulfill special or known needs, though the members may individually take steps in this direction if a need is brought to their notice.

Thirdly, it was necessary to examine the internal organisational structure of the welfare societies in the area. So little work has been done in South Africa into the subject of voluntary welfare organisations that not even the organisational structure of the larger societies operating on a national basis had received

(1) any attention. In all but one or two isolated instances

(1) A study by O.J.M. Wagner "Social Work in Cape Town", Maskew Miller Ltd. Cape Town, 1939, is an example of one attempt, but refers only to Cape Town.

the history of the major societies has never been published,
 if it has been written at all. ⁽¹⁾ Apart from periodical discussion
 at annual conferences and the personal interest of paid secretaries
 and organisers no research into the national organisations---with
 the exception of the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging---
 has been attempted.

From the outset it appeared that the Border Local Welfare
 Board was not designed to co-ordinate successfully the activities
 of the organisations in its area. In fact many members
 at the close of its first five year term of office openly
 expressed a feeling of frustration in the inability of the Board
 to make an effective contribution to social welfare within the
 limited scope of the Act.

This research is intended therefore to examine the internal
 organisational structure of the existing organisations to
 ascertain what relationship may prove effective between themselves
 and the Board.

This aim introduced the need to ascertain whether

a) the organisations in any town were connected with
 organisations in other towns or to a central administrative
 office either in the area of investigation or outside it; or

b) the organisations of any town were simply ad hoc units
 unrelated to any other organisation or similar organisation
 elsewhere.

If the latter were the case then the difficulty of
 co-ordination and representation on the Board could probably be
 no better arranged than an ad hoc system as at present. If,
 however, the former was the predominant pattern, then it would
 suggest other and more efficient means to the end in view.

1) An exception is the National Council for Child Welfare, which
 has given a limited circulation to a short history written by
 the National Secretary, Miss L.M. Mackenzie.

Fourthly, it was hoped to gain some knowledge of the fund raising methods of welfare organisations; the nature of the people controlling them; the attitudes of managing committees to social work, and what they thought a case work agency should do; and, lastly, some indication of the history of social work as practised by the voluntary agencies in the area of investigation.

These latter topics were not intended to form the principal subject matter of the work. They have not been treated fully in the text, but the information gathered has been included in appropriate places throughout.

The methods employed were to some extent dictated by the work already commenced by Dr C.J. Jooste and others of the Department of Sociology, University of Natal, Durban. One of the conditions under which the S.A. National Council for Social and Economic Research would make money available was that the work in the Border and Transkei should be broadly comparable with that in progress in Natal. In consequence a similar questionnaire to that used in Natal was employed in the present work.

After a number of trial interviews, with the Natal questionnaire as a guide, the original was amended to conform to local conditions. Thereafter the amended questionnaire was tried on a number of organisations well known to the author in Grahamstown. This served to elucidate what important aspects of welfare activity were being overlooked, or only partially revealed, by the amended questionnaire. Repeated amendments were made in an attempt to rectify its deficiencies. In the end the questionnaire contained in appendix A was used throughout.

In some respects the use of a questionnaire had disadvantages. The size of the area and the number of organisations virtually compelled its use as a technique, but it has an inhuman

detachment which, though scientific in character, nonetheless makes the inquiry lose much of its human and social qualities. This latter aspect was to some extent compensated for by the personal interviews the author conducted with well over 500 persons. At first it was hoped a postal questionnaire would provide the material required, but this method had to be abandoned in the face of the prevailing ignorance of what organisations did in fact exist. The only possible method was to make personal visits to all the major towns in the area of investigation; seek out the welfare organisations; and proceed to interview the office bearers of each.

No effort was spared to track down the organisations operating in any town. Visits were made to a wide range of persons in any community from the local Magistrate, through the public bars, to the Non-European teachers and Ministers of Religion. Though both the Magistrates and the Ministers of Religion were very informative, it was a surprise to the author how much information could be got from the hotel bars. In many cases the collection boxes displayed on the counter gave a lead as to where to start. Despite the effort put into this aspect of the work the author has doubts about its thoroughness. These doubts arise from occurrences such as being told of the existence of an unidentified organisation in a town a hundred miles away by a person who was resident there some two or three years previously. Despite the thorough personal enquiries the organisation had not been revealed on the first visit. It is a mortifying experience to be told of the existence of such an organisation when already a considerable distance away. This occurred on more than one occasion, and has led the author to doubt whether anything but a protracted stay of up to a fortnight in each town would reveal the full extent of the welfare services existing in any town.

To avoid the effects of a hurried visit lasting only a day in the smaller towns and up to three or four days in the cities

of 10,000 European inhabitants, the author attempted to make use of students working in their home towns over University vacations. Their local knowledge, it was thought, would be an advantage. With one or two notable exceptions this did not prove to be the case. Few students were willing to undertake the task, those who did so completed the questionnaires admirably.

Voluntary organisations, though philanthropic in character, have a peculiar quality of resistance to investigation. Responsible committee members are fully aware of the secretive nature of the facts they know about the clients they serve. They are also aware that they administer public funds which lends suspicion to any non-official enquiry. The members of many welfare organisations take a personal pride in their societies. The society becomes a subject of self-identification. This pride is not infrequently tinged with jealousy or prejudice towards other organisations. An enquiry with the use of a written questionnaire precludes the creation of suitable rapport with the majority of interviewees. In consequence, after some time in the field, the author memorised the questionnaire and committed the interview to paper only after having left the interviewee. This proved far more efficacious, and only led to difficulties of memory when one interviewee was in a position to reply on behalf of more than one society. Not infrequently the secretary and/or chairman of a society would be out of town at the time of the visit. In such cases relatively junior committee members were approached. Though willing to assist, they frequently remarked 'I don't know if I should tell you this' or 'You should see the chairman about that'. Wherever possible important facts were cross-checked by interviews with a number of committee members. As far as possible minutes, files and annual reports were read or taken home

for more leisureed perusal, and returned at a later date.

The absence of past records is a notable phenomenon of organisations in the area of investigation. Though minutes are kept meticulously and read for approval at the next meeting, very few secretaries were able to produce the minutes and records of the previously incumbent's term of office. Many records were destroyed when the previous secretary resigned. In this connection many societies were very trusting in what they allowed to be taken away, others demanded that the records be read on the spot.

A few examples of the more detailed problems of interviewing under conditions in the Border and Transkei are worth recording.

The limited time available necessitated keeping to an inflexible itinerary. This itinerary is presented graphically on Map 1. Only the university vacations could be used for the field work. Any interview technique which delayed a speedy conclusion of the business tended to delay the whole enquiry. One delaying influence which was noticeable in the Border area, but less significant in the Transkeian Territories, was the idea that charitable matters should rightly be discussed only over a cup of tea. When telephoning for an appointment was attempted, it usually ended in being fixed for tea time. Pressure to fix another time was quite strenuously resisted by the interviewee. Eventually to speed the investigation telephoning for appointments during normal working hours was dispensed with. In its place visits to the homes or places of work of interviewees with no preliminary warning or appointment was resorted to. This proved remarkably satisfactory. Busy housewives and traders' assistants were very willing to give their time when it must have been somewhat inconvenient for them. The discussion of voluntary welfare activity was everywhere taken seriously, and given preference over other calls.

During the last major field investigation in the area between

Queenstown and the Orange River, the limit of time available necessitated a system of evening interviews. The technique which proved most satisfactory for this was to telephone from the town about to be left to a contact in the next town to be visited. This contact may have been made by letter, or obtained some time previously during an interview elsewhere. If none was immediately known, then a call to the Magistrate always illuminated who the best contact would be.

The fact that the investigator intended travelling the distance between the two towns in order to make the enquiry was sufficient inducement for the interviewee to arrange an evening interview. Certain enthusiastic interviewees arranged to have representatives of two or even three organisations present. This proved a handicap as no personal interview with any one at a time was possible under the social conditions of what amounted to a small tea party in a drawing room. In such cases interviewees tended to take up one particular subject for discussion among themselves; and the interviewer had great difficulty in remembering which fact referred to which organisation.

At the conclusion of an interview the facts were written up as soon as possible. A file was opened for each welfare organisation. A file was also opened for each organisation operating on a regional or national basis and which had interests in the area of investigation. The filing system was clumsy but necessary as information was being obtained about other organisations at the most unexpected places. A card index system was attempted while in the field, but was abandoned in preference to a file where more space was available for hasty writing up.

Reminiscences, personal points of view, opinions and criticisms of persons and organisations, functions undertaken, and the pros and cons of organisational structures formed a very large proportion of the non-statistical data collected. Enthusiasts tend to identify themselves with the welfare work

they do and the organisation they do it through. It is therefore not surprising that many of their statements were of a personal kind and often oriented towards the ideas and achievements of others. Very rarely was a person found who persistently regarded a welfare organisation as an objective entity to be examined and observed as a functioning, working organisation. Attitudes were most frequently too associated, too identified with the organisation and its work to have this objective approach. It was therefore of the utmost importance to avoid any comparisons on the interviewers part between peoples or organisations. A strictly objective and non-partisan approach was necessary at all times. On occasions questions were not asked during the interview because of the possibility of compromising this impartiality. The question was asked subsequently by correspondence.

This impartiality was often difficult to maintain. There is a marked ignorance of welfare provisions---both governmental and voluntary, in most of the small towns. No social workers or government welfare officers have ever been stationed permanently in most of them. This ignorance frequently led to a barrage of questions to the interviewer centred around a local subject of disagreement. The replies, though factually correct and objectively oriented, had the effect of placing the interviewer on one particular side of a dispute over and against another. This was not conducive to ^{im}partiality.

As East London serves as the regional centre of some organisations serving the region as a whole, a visit was first made to these offices to obtain the names and addresses of interested persons in the hinterland. Letters were also sent to the head offices of nationally organised societies with interests in the area of investigation. This made useful contacts. The most important information obtained in this way was the method of control and communication between regional or

national offices and the local branches. This saved a good deal of time while interviewing branches as the relationship between the branch and head office was already known. In addition it enabled a system of control and communication to be viewed from both the head office and branch points of view.

Some weeks prior to the date of interview letters were addressed to various persons in the area to be visited. In the case of East London, Kingwilliamstown, Alice and Fort Beaufort the letters were addressed to the Secretaries of all organisations appearing on the register supplied by the Registrar of Welfare Organisations. This letter supplied the approximate date of the intended visit, the object of the research, and ended by requesting the organisation to indicate its willingness or otherwise to participate. The letter had the effect of introducing the subject and the author.

A similar letter was used during the field work in the Transkeian Territories, but instead of the letter being addressed to the Secretaries of the various societies, it was addressed to the local resident Magistrate. This was necessary because few Transkeian towns have welfare organisations, except health clinic societies, registered under the Act; local Magistrates are by far the most important and influential persons in these towns; and lastly, it was necessary to obtain the Magistrate's permission---and also that of the Chief Magistrate, Transkeian Territories, Umtata---beforehand. The latter requirement applies strictly to cases where a European intends leaving the public highways, but the social atmosphere of the Territories is such that any strange European asking questions of any racial group is expected to pay his respects and identify himself to the local Magistrate before doing so. So intimate is the social atmosphere of these small towns that to interview even Europeans without first visiting the Magistrate could well lead to suspicion and possibly resistance on the part of both the

residents and the Magistrate.

In every case Magistrates who had received a letter were most co-operative. They devoted much time to the interview, and frequently referred the author to their wife for further details. Much of the leadership in welfare activity in the Territories is undertaken by the wives of senior civil servants. This is explained not only by personality, but by the important role played by senior civil servants in the lives of everyone. Frequently the only significant welfare services in the District are the government services or those of a voluntary kind directed by the Magistrate and his staff

The area between Queenstown and the Orange River was attempted without any previous warning of the visit. The work was not seriously handicapped as a consequence.

The writing up of the field work was sketched out in the intervals between the excursions into the field. This enabled a check to be made on the comprehensiveness of the results.

The methods employed were dictated by two major considerations, namely, the work already in progress in Natal, and the size of the area to be studied. Both these considerations made necessary the use of a questionnaire to standardise interviews. The results that follow from this method are of necessity abstract and statistical. They contain few references to the more subtle frictions and co-operative achievements between people and organisations. There is ample scope for a second and more intensive study to be made^{of} a small number of towns. Such a study would reveal more adequately the ways in which welfare organisations are conducted; the forces leading to their rise or decline; the subtle play of personalities within them, and a whole host of sociological facts concerning the relationship between voluntary organisations and the social milieu in which they function. To a large extent the present study does not reveal these phenomena. It tends rather to be an abstract, statistical statement produced

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for utilitarian ends and lacking those characteristics which reflect the warm and essentially human qualities attributed to welfare organisations.

Chapter 2.The Nature of the People and the Area They Inhabit.

The area of jurisdiction of the Border Local Welfare Board is defined as the 61 Magisterial Districts listed below. This area has since been amended by The Hon. the Minister of Social Welfare, but since the amendment is effective only from 1957, it has been disregarded for the present purposes. The seat of the Magistracy, where its name differs from that of the District, is enclosed in brackets. The area of each district, in square miles; the racial composition as at 8th May, 1951; and the ratio of Europeans to Africans in each District, are also included.

Table 1.

<u>District</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Population</u>				<u>Total.</u>	<u>Ratio</u> E: A. <u>1</u>
		<u>Bur.</u>	<u>As.</u>	<u>Col.</u>	<u>Nat.</u>		
Adelaide	596	1774	13	1170	7590	10547	4.3
Albany (Grahamstown)	1701	11222	181	4484	30677	46564	2.8
Albert (Burgersdorp)	1595	3687	22	1304	10254	15267	2.8
Alexandria	942	2777	9	1867	18223	22876	6.5
Aliwal North	773	4400	24	1966	12310	18700	2.8
Barkley East	1407	2031	1	696	7344	10072	3.6
Bathurst (Port Alfred)	568	2875	18	763	19747	23503	6.6
Bedford	1007	1787	8	2377	7926	12098	4.4
Bizans	735	313	-	250	61616	62179	19.9
Butterworth	264	1213	-	158	27578	28949	23.0
Cathcart	1007	1632	-	387	13626	15645	8.4
East London	693	48908	1361	6512	76016	132997	1.5
Elliot	750	2100	-	299	9988	12387	4.8
Elliotdale	296	280	-	40	36836	37156	131.6
Engcobo	981	753	-	352	78134	79239	104.2
Flagstaff	444	240	-	412	45401	46053	189.0
Fort Beaufort	495	1979	29	2005	14848	18861	7.4
Glen Grey (Lady Frere)	939	504	1	203	64962	65670	130.0
Herschel (Sterkspruit)	641	214	-	1282	48707	50203	243.8
Idutywa	464	466	1	211	27617	38295	80.0
	16298	89275		26738	629400	747261	

Cont.:

1) All population figures and square mileages are from the Bureau of Census and Statistics Special Report No 200.

<u>District</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Eur.</u>	<u>As.</u>	<u>Col.</u>	<u>Nat.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>EA</u>
Indwe	347	1683	-	247	6297	8227	3.8
Keiskammahoek	218	507	-	496	18015	19018	35.3
Kentani	431	421	-	55	48379	48855	115.2
Kingwilliamstown	854	9380	106	2271	59202	70959	6.3
Komgha	570	1729	-	217	18915	20861	10.9
Lady Grey	549	1226	-	399	4071	5696	3.3
Libode	537	225	-	149	43013	43387	191.9
Lusikisiki	964	349	1	951	80285	81586	229.4
Maclear	968	2502	-	508	10553	13563	4.2
Matatiele	1305	2169	1	789	57804	60763	26.6
Middledrift	275	219	-	112	24797	25128	112.7
Moltene	726	1758	7	501	6663	8929	3.8
Mt Ayliff	382	217	-	240	29449	29906	133.9
Mt Currie (Kokstad)	1081	3290	9	2922	19774	25995	6.0
Mt Fletcher	934	244	-	217	43726	44187	179.3
Mt Frere	666	557	-	717	48351	49625	86.8
Mqanduli	461	322	-	59	50762	51143	157.6
Ngqeleni	526	308	-	481	53217	54006	172.8
Nqamakwe	472	252	-	24	42669	42945	169.3
Pearston	995	824	-	2139	1853	4816	2.3
Peddie	669	992	-	98	25754	26844	26.0
Port St. Johns	250	655	-	487	24504	25646	37.4
Queenstown	1347	10304	122	2841	38997	52264	3.8
Qumbu	595	312	-	669	47278	48259	151.5
St Marks (Cofimvaba)	614	355	-	316	55759	56430	157.1
Somerset East	2172	5654	41	5235	13157	24087	2.3
Sterkstroom	651	1652	3	357	6365	8377	3.9
Steynsburg	1051	1549	2	611	4601	6763	3.0
Stockenstroum (Seymour)	314	1351	32	1859	8108	11350	6.0
Stutterheim	631	3345	-	485	21458	25288	6.4
Tabankulu	563	185	1	192	50999	51377	275.7
Taka (Tarkastad)	1234	1339	6	720	6916	8981	5.1
Tsole	649	379	-	330	43454	44163	114.7
Tsomo	410	211	-	63	32599	32875	154.5
Umtata	685	3353	-	1024	57779	62156	17.2
Umzimkulu	1058	448	26	1100	56386	57960	125.9
Venterstad	832	756	-	1184	2188	4128	2.9
Victoria East (Alice)	369	1370	22	715	17048	19155	12.5
Willowvale	551	309	-	54	63167	63530	204.4
Wodehouse (Dordrecht)	1139	2789	20	580	10634	13945	3.8
Xalanga (Cala)	357	655	-	861	22054	23570	33.7
	45698	155340	2267	60013	1906390	2124010	12.27

These 61 Magisterial Districts have a total area of 45,698 square miles. This compares with the 33,578 square miles of Natal and Zululand, and is only 5,000 square miles less than the area of England and Wales.

The population of the Districts divided into races as classified in the 1951 census is:

		<u>Expressed as % of total</u>
Europeans	155,340	7.31
Asiatics	2,267	0.11
Coloureds	60,013	2.83
Natives	<u>1,906,390</u>	<u>89.75</u>
	2,124,010	100.00

Natives are therefore 8.76 times more plentiful than the other three racial groups combined. The Non-European races as a whole are 12.68 times more plentiful than the Europeans.

As is illustrated on Map 1, the area stretches from a line west of the towns of Alexandria, Grahamstown, Somerset East and Pearston to the Orange River and Basutoland in the North, and to the Natal boundary in the North-East.

The area includes the 27 Magisterial Districts together known as the Transkeian Territories. These Territories in turn are composed of the 8 Districts of East Griqualand, the 6 Districts of Tembuland, the 6 Districts of the Transkei, and the 7 Districts of Pondoland.

The Transkeian territories comprise 16,673 square miles or 36.48% of the total area. Their total population is 1,290,233 which is 60.74% of the population in the total area of investigation. The racial composition of the Territories is:

European	18,481	or 1.43% of the total,
Asiatics	39	or 0.00% of the total,
Coloureds	13,123	or 1.02% of the total,
Natives	1,258,590	or 97.55% of the total.

Non-Europeans in the Transkeian Territories are therefore 68.93 times as frequent as Europeans.

The only Magisterial Districts in the Transkeian Territories possessing European and/or Coloured populations in excess of

1,000 are:	Umtata	3,353	Europeans and	1,024	Coloureds,
	Mt Currie	3,290	"	2,922	"
	Matatiele	2,169	"	789	"
	Butterworth	1,213	"	158	"
	Umzimkulu	448	"	1,100	"

A) Population Concentration in the Transkeian Territories:

European and Coloured settlement in the Transkeian Territories is characterised by a) its concentration in the towns and

b) its numerical size.

Those Europeans living outside the towns are usually engaged in Kaffir trading, Missionary activity, farming in East Griqualand, or coastal hotel keeping.

Table 2, below, shows the numbers of Europeans and Coloureds living in statutorily recognised urban areas and rural townships. In the last three columns these numbers are expressed as a percentage of the European and Coloured population of the Magisterial District. The Natives have been ignored as the percentage of the them living in the urban areas and rural townships---as related to the population in the Magisterial District---is insignificant. Their total representation in the urban areas as a whole is mentioned below.

Table 2.

Magisterial Districts.	Urban Area Or Rural Township.	Urban Populations			Mag. District Per centages		
		Sur.	Col.	Total.	Sur.	Col.	Total.
<u>East Griqualand:</u>							
Matatiele	Matatiele	1130	315	1445			
	Cedarville	354	152	506			
		<u>1484</u>	<u>467</u>	<u>1951</u>	68.4	59.2	65.9
Mt Ayliff	Mt Ayliff	160	180	340	73.7	71.6	74.4
Mt Currie	Kokstad	2013	1749	3762			
	Franklin	205	176	381			
		<u>2218</u>	<u>1925</u>	<u>4143</u>	67.4	65.8	66.7
Mt Fletcher	Mt Fletcher	175	21	196	71.7	9.7	42.5
Mt Frere	Mt Frere	464	139	603	83.3	19.4	47.3
Qumbu	Qumbu	164	95	259	52.5	14.2	26.4
Tsolo	Tsolo	214	267	481	56.5	80.9	67.8
Umzinkulu	Umzinkulu	131	274	405	29.2	24.9	25.8
<u>Tembuland:</u>							
Elliotdale	Elliotdale	106	32	138	37.8	80.0	43.1
Engcobo	Engcobo	437	27	464	58.0	7.7	42.0
Mqanduli	Mqanduli	123	21	144	38.2	35.6	37.8
St Marks	St Marks	24	0	24			
	Cofimvaba	162	108	270			
		<u>186</u>	<u>108</u>	<u>294</u>	52.4	34.2	43.8
Umtata	Umtata	3031	830	3861	90.4	81.1	88.2
Xalanga	Gala	599	473	1072	91.4	54.9	70.7
<u>Transkei:</u>							
Butterworth	Butterworth	1082	147	1229	88.9	93.1	89.4
Idutywa	Idutywa	354	209	563	60.3	99.8	83.2
Kentani	Kentani	101	28	129	24.0	50.9	27.1
Nqamakwe	Nqamakwe	135	21	156	53.6	87.5	56.5
Tsomo	Tsomo	129	54	183	61.1	85.7	66.8
Willowvale	Willowvale	159	24	183	51.4	44.4	50.4
<u>Pondoland:</u>							
Bizana	Bizana	202	81	283	64.5	32.4	50.3
Flagstaff	Flagstaff	150	180	330	62.5	43.7	50.6
Libode	Libode	119	67	186	52.9	45.0	49.7
Lusikisiki	Lusikisiki	186	179	365	53.3	18.8	28.1
Ngqeleni	Ngqeleni	145	56	201	47.1	11.6	25.5
Port St Johns	Port St Johns	297	155	452	45.3	31.8	39.6
Tabankulu	Tabankulu	134	156	290	71.8	61.2	76.9
Totals:							
		12,685	6,216	18,901			
Arithmetic mean:		422.8	207.2	630.0	59.6	50.6	53.2

In terms of rank order of European population the Transkeian Territories's Towns are as follows:

Table 3

Umtata	3031
Kokstad	2013
Matatiele	1130
Butterworth	1082
Cala	599
Mt Ffrench	464
Engcobo	437
Cedarville	354
Idutywa	354
Port St Johns	297
Tsolo	214
Franklin	205
Bizana	202
Lusikisiki	186
Mt Fletcher	175
Gumbu	164
Cofimvaba	162
Mt Ayliff	160
Willowvale	159
Flagstaff	150
Ngqeleni	145
Nqamakwe	135
Tabankulu	134
Umzimkulu	131
Tsomo	129
Mqanduli	123
Libode	119
Elliotdale	106
Kentani	101
St Marks	24

In brief, 83.3% (25 out of 30) towns have less than 500 people.

Seventeen or 56.7% have less than 200 European people.

Table 2 reveals that in the Transkeian Territories 59.6% of Europeans are concentrated in the statutorily recognised urban areas or rural townships. The range of concentration is from 24.0% in Kentani to 91.4% in Xalanga (Cala) District. The mean deviation from the arithmetic mean is 13.4%, indicating a fairly uniform dispersion as between one District and another.

A significant characteristic of this dispersion is that the Districts along the coasts—Kentani, Willowvale, Elliotdale, Mqanduli, Ngqeleni and Port St Johns—all have below average European concentrations of population in the main town. While

the inland Districts such as Isalanga (cala), Mt Frere, Tsomo etc. all have high concentrations in the towns. This phenomenon may be due to the presence of European hotels on the Wild Coast, and possibly a greater number of rural missionary institutions in the coastal area.

The Table also shows that 50.6% of the Coloureds are concentrated in the towns, but their range is far greater than the Europeans. The range varies from 7.7% in Engcobo to 99.9% in Idutywa. The mean deviation from the arithmetic mean is 27.7% which indicates a wide dispersion as between one District and another. It is more than double that of the Europeans.

The size of the European population of the towns in the Territories is relatively uniform. The mean for the 30 towns is 422.8 persons, but this figure is influenced by the size of Umtata and Kokstad. The figure, when these towns are ignored, drops to 272.9 persons per town. Disregarding St Marks, the smallest population concentration is 101 persons in Kentani.

As a general picture, therefore, the Transkeian Territories must be viewed as possessing two large concentrations of Europeans in Umtata and Kokstad. The remaining 28 concentrations contain an average population of 272.9 Europeans and 129.9 Coloureds. The total is 402.8 European and Coloured persons. The weighted mean for both races is 365.0 persons.

There is a total of 20,974 Natives living in the urban areas and rural townships of the Territories. This represents 1.67% of the total Native population of the Territories. It represents an average per town of 723, but if Kokstad and Umtata are ignored the mean falls to 441. This is larger than the European and Coloured peoples together.

B) Population Concentrations in the Border Area:

The Transkeian Territories consists of 27 Magisterial Districts. Those 34 Magisterial Districts outside the Territories, but within the area of jurisdiction of the Border Local Welfare Board, will be referred to in this research as 'the Border Area'. This area has a different racial composition from the Territories, and the concentration of the population is also different.

The Border Area comprises 29,025 square miles, or 63.5% of the total area. The racial composition is:

European	136,859	or 16.4% of the total,
Asiatic	2,228	or 0.3% of the total,
Coloured	46,890	or 5.6% of the total,
Native	647,800	or 77.7% of the total.
	<u>833,777</u>	100.0%

Natives are therefore, 4.7 times as numerous as Europeans in the Border Area.

The Border Area possesses one metropolitan area, East London; two further towns with a population of over 20,000, namely, Queenstown and Grahamstown; and one town with a population between 10,000 and 20,000 namely Kingwilliamstown. The population of East London is 91,190.

The concentration of the population is shown in Table 4 below. Unlike the corresponding Table (Table 2) for the Territories, the Native population has here been included. The Asiatics, however, have been ignored as for the present purposes their per centages are insignificant.

The first column of the Table, headed 'Urban Areas' contains underlining to indicate the name of the Magisterial District where this is different from the principal town. The per centages in the last five columns refers to the relationship of the urban concentrations to the populations of the Magisterial Districts.

Table 4.

Urban Areas	Urban Populations				Per centages				Total all race
	Sur.	Col.	Nat.	Total.	Sur.	Col.	Nat.	Etc.	
<u>Adelaide</u>	1335	717	2405	4457	75.2	61.3	31.7	69.7	42.3
<u>Albany</u>									
Granamstown	8680	3117	11792	23589					
Salem	122	28	695	845					
Alicedale	457	383	952	1792					
Riebeeck East	335	95	419	849					
	<u>9594</u>	<u>3623</u>	<u>13858</u>	<u>27075</u>	<u>85.5</u>	<u>80.8</u>	<u>45.2</u>	<u>84.1</u>	<u>58.4</u>
<u>Albert</u>									
Burgersdorp	2317	662	3183	6162	62.8	50.8	31.1	59.7	40.4
<u>Alexandria</u>	705	306	780	1791					
Sandflats	118	20	39	177					
BushmanRiv'Mth.	84	1	20	105					
Bellevue	-	15	139	154					
	<u>907</u>	<u>342</u>	<u>978</u>	<u>2227</u>	<u>32.7</u>	<u>18.3</u>	<u>5.4</u>	<u>26.9</u>	<u>9.8</u>
<u>Alival North</u>	2767	1544	5384	9695					
Jamestown	673	52	872	1597					
	<u>3440</u>	<u>1596</u>	<u>6256</u>	<u>11292</u>	<u>78.2</u>	<u>81.2</u>	<u>50.6</u>	<u>79.1</u>	<u>60.4</u>
<u>Berkley East</u>	911	216	1496	2623					
Rhodes	147	29	252	428					
	<u>1058</u>	<u>245</u>	<u>1748</u>	<u>3051</u>	<u>52.1</u>	<u>35.2</u>	<u>23.8</u>	<u>47.8</u>	<u>30.3</u>
<u>Bathurst</u>	232	22	694	948					
Kenton-on-Sea	59	10	94	163					
Port Alfred	1371	604	3746	5721					
	<u>1662</u>	<u>636</u>	<u>4534</u>	<u>6832</u>	<u>55.9</u>	<u>83.4</u>	<u>23.0</u>	<u>58.9</u>	<u>29.1</u>
<u>Bedford</u>	877	818	1810	3505	49.1	34.4	22.8	40.7	29.0
<u>Cathcart</u>	776	277	2134	3187	47.5	71.6	15.7	52.2	20.4
<u>East London</u>	43946	5920	39776	89642					
Gonubie Mouth	131	25	121	277					
Kidds Beach	183	27	88	298					
Maclean town	144	-	457	601					
Potsdam	180	2	378	560					
	<u>44584</u>	<u>5974</u>	<u>40820</u>	<u>91378</u>	<u>91.1</u>	<u>91.7</u>	<u>53.7</u>	<u>91.2</u>	<u>71.2</u>
<u>Elliot</u>	1027	199	1585	2811	48.9	66.6	15.9	51.1	22.7
<u>Fort Beaufort</u>	1475	1547	5220	8242					
Blinkwater	60	225	540	825					
	<u>1535</u>	<u>1772</u>	<u>5760</u>	<u>9067</u>	<u>77.6</u>	<u>88.4</u>	<u>38.8</u>	<u>83.0</u>	<u>48.1</u>
<u>Glen Grey</u>									
Lady Frere	276	101	532	909	54.8	50.0	0.8	53.3	1.4
Herschel	21	4	36	61					
Sterkspruit	79	32	123	234					
	<u>100</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>159</u>	<u>295</u>	<u>46.7</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>9.1</u>	<u>0.6</u>
<u>Indwe</u>	914	157	1229	2300	54.3	63.6	19.5	55.5	28.0
Keiskammahoek	311	357	1325	1993	61.3	72.0	7.4	66.6	10.5
<u>Kingwilliamstown</u>									
Berlin	6397	1638	4315	12350					
Breunschweig	530	10	1101	1641					
Breidbach	483	17	572	1072					
Frankfort	144	464	760	1368					
Hanover	354	-	1069	1423					
Kei Road	113	-	267	380					
Kei Road	147	7	326	480					
Mngqesha	44	-	910	954					
Zwelitsha	28	-	2327	2355					

Table 4 Cont.

Urban Areas	Urban Populations				Per Centages				Total All race
	Eur.	Col.	Nat.	Total.	Eur.	Col.	Nat.	E&C.	
Kingwilliamstown Cont.	8240	2136	11647	22023	87.8	94.1	19.7	89.1	39.1
Komgha	504	145	1002	1651	29.2	66.8	5.3	33.3	7.9
Lady Grey	706	226	1010	1944	57.7	56.6	24.8	57.4	34.1
Maclear	771	247	1332	2350					
Ugie	770	171	904	1845					
	1541	418	2236	4195	61.6	82.3	21.2	65.1	30.9
Middledrift	68	38	92	198	31.1	33.9	0.4	32.0	0.8
Moltene	997	292	2097	3386	56.7	58.3	31.5	57.1	37.9
Pearston	481	741	805	2027	58.4	34.6	43.4	41.2	42.1
Peddie	377	77	521	975					
Bell & Bodium	31	2	757	790					
	408	79	1278	1765	41.1	80.6	5.0	44.7	6.6
Queenstown	8759	2204	14761	25724					
Tilden	36	-	106	142					
Whittlesea	124	47	464	635					
	8919	2251	16331	26501	86.6	79.2	39.3	84.9	50.8
Somerset East	2333	2491	3196	8020					
Komnadagga	989	73	814	1876					
Cookhouse	607	259	1210	2076					
	3929	2823	5220	11972	69.5	53.0	39.7	62.0	49.8
Sterkstroom	1106	219	2201	3526	66.9	61.3	34.5	66.0	42.1
Steynsburg	944	402	1274	2620	60.9	65.8	27.7	62.3	38.8
Stockenstroom									
Seymour	129	272	500	901					
Hertzog	56	54	104	214					
Balfour	140	181	238	559					
	325	507	842	1674	24.1	27.3	10.4	25.9	14.8
Stutterheim	1701	314	4592	6607					
Upper Kubusie	401	87	3010	3498					
	2102	401	7602	10105	62.8	82.5	35.4	65.3	40.0
Tarka									
Tarkastad	710	368	1688	2766	53.0	51.1	24.4	52.4	30.8
Venterstad	280	493	114	887	37.0	41.6	5.2	39.8	21.5
Victoria East									
Alice	840	450	2365	3655					
Fort Nare	76	73	567	716					
	916	523	2932	4371	66.9	73.1	17.2	69.0	22.8
Wodehouse									
Dordrecht	1185	264	1658	3107					
Rossouw	95	19	233	347					
	1280	283	1891	3454	47.2	48.8	17.8	47.5	24.8
Totals:	106,169		147578						
		29857		283604	57.7	60.0	23.1	59.1	30.2

Thus in the Border Area 57.7% of the Europeans, 60.0% of the Coloureds, and 23.1% of the Natives are resident in the statutory urban areas or rural townships. (The villages of Salem, Bellevue, Herschel and Sterkspruit are strictly 'rural' in their Census classification, but have been included here.)

Table 5 below shows the rank order of towns according to the number of Europeans they contain:

East London and Collondale	43946
Queenstown	8758
Grahamstown	8680
Kingwilliamstown	6397
Alwal North	2767
Somerset East	2333
Burgersdorp	2317
Stutterheim	1701
Fort Beaufort	1475
Port Alfred	1371
Adelaide	1335
Dordrecht	1185
Sterkstroom	1106
Elliot	1027
Moltene	997
Kommadagga	989
Steynsburg	944
Indwe	914
Barkley East	911
Bedford	877
Alice	840
Cathcart	776
Maclear	771
Ugie	770
Tarkastad	710
Lady Grey	708
Alexandria	705
Jamestown	673
Cookhouse	607
Berlin	530
Komgha	504
Braunschweig	483
Pearston	481
Alicedale	457
Upper Kubusie	401
Peddie	377
Frankfort	354
Riebeek East	335
Keiskammshoek	311
Venterstad	280
Lady Frere	276
Bathurst	232
Kidds Besch	183
Pottsdam	180

The general over-all picture is therefore one of a metropolitan area (East London) with three major towns (Queenstown, Grahamstown and Kingwilliamstown) in the Border Area and none in the Transkeian Territories. There is a large number of towns and villages scattered fairly uniformly throughout the entire area. The only region of relatively close density of towns and villages is that between East London and Fort Beaufort. Kingwilliamstown and East London Magisterial Districts contain some villages surrounding them, which contrasts with Queenstown and to a less extent Grahamstown, which have fewer. The absence of any comparable town in the Territories is significant. Umtata and Kokstad serve as nuclei for welfare activities, but their European populations are considerably smaller than Queenstown, Grahamstown or Kingwilliamstown.

C) The Linguistic Affiliations of the European Population:

Besides population size and density, welfare organisations are also affected by the presence or absence of English and Afrikaans speaking people. Though the differences between these two groups are profound matters of culture, and not merely language, language affiliation is used here as a rough measure of differentiation. Although all but the extreme organisations of each language group e.g. Die Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging and the Sons of England Patriotic and Benevolent Society, do admit members of both language groups, they tend however to possess majorities of one language group or another.

The principal Afrikaans organisations in the area of investigation are Die Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging (A.C.V.V.), Die Hervormde Kerk Susters Organisasie, Die Nededuitse Gereformeerde Kerk Armesorgkomisie, and the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging. (A.T.K.V.). There are others, but they tend to be largely local organisations. It is significant that the A.C.V.V. is intimately associated

with the Nededuitse Gereformeerde Kerk (N.G. Kerk), and the Hervormde Susters Organisasie with the Hervormde Gereformeerde Kerk (H.G. Kerk). The A.T.K.V. is a non-church organisation, but restricts its membership to employees and dependent of the Railway Administration. The type of welfare services offered by these organisations is essentially family welfare in character. In general terms the Afrikaans speaking community has not created the specialised services characteristic of the English speaking community.

These facts will prove to be of importance in later chapters. For convenience, the distribution of English and Afrikaans speaking people is shown in the present chapter. Table 6, below, shows the number and ratio (English to Afrikaans) of persons of each language group in the Magisterial Districts of the area of investigation. This information is cartographically demonstrated on Map 2 in the Appendix, by colouring Magisterial Districts with an English-Afrikaans ratio of greater than parity, i.e. more Afrikaans than English speaking, green; and those with less than parity, red. This information was obtained from Volume 4 of the 1946 Census, U.G. 18 of 1954. Persons classified as 'Bi-lingual' in the Census, which are nowhere very many, have been disregarded. The data for the 1951 Census has not yet been made public.

Table 6

Persons of 21 and over years of age speaking English or Afrikaans, classified according to Magisterial District.

<u>Magisterial Districts</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Afrikaans</u>	<u>Ratio E : A.</u>
<u>The Border Area:</u>			
Adelaide	364	611	1 : 1.67
Albany (Grahamstown)	4822	1834	1 : 0.38
Albert (Burgerdorp)	253	1959	1 : 7.73
Alexandria	556	1201	1 : 2.16
Alival North	620	1881	1 : 3.03
Barkley East	281	1077	1 : 3.83
Bathurst	1694	156	1 : 0.92
Bedford	370	696	1 : 1.88
Cathcart	798	767	1 : 0.96
East London	22035	4769	1 : 0.22
Elliot	321	1226	1 : 3.82
Fort Beaufort	662	465	1 : 0.70
Glen Grey (Lady Frere)	210	142	1 : 0.68
Herschel (Sterkspruit)	92	34	1 : 0.37
Indwe	158	713	1 : 4.51
Keiskammahoek	264	54	1 : 0.21
Kingwilliamstown	3586	880	1 : 0.25
Komgha	803	228	1 : 0.28
Lady Grey	133	604	1 : 4.54
Maclear	310	995	1 : 3.21
Middledrift	102	28	1 : 0.27
Molteno	215	869	1 : 4.04
Pearston	61	600	1 : 9.84
Peddie	486	78	1 : 0.16
Queenstown	3500	2099	1 : 0.60
Somerset East	625	2098	1 : 3.36
Sterkstroom	200	749	1 : 3.74
Steynsburg	118	913	1 : 7.73
Stockenström (Seymour)	373	559	1 : 1.50
Stutterheim	1237	631	1 : 0.51
Tarke (Tarkastad)	357	612	1 : 1.71
Venterstad	34	513	1 : 15.09
Victoria East (Alice)	629	239	1 : 0.38
Wodehouse (Dordrecht)	224	1705	1 : 7.61
<u>Transkeian Territories:</u>			
Bizana	96	52	1 : 0.56
Butterworth	399	79	1 : 0.20
Elliotdale	163	9	1 : 0.06
Engcobo	342	72	1 : 0.21
Flagstaff	125	33	1 : 0.26
Idutywa	209	41	1 : 0.20
Kentani	233	19	1 : 0.08
Libode	124	40	1 : 0.32
Lusikisiki	181	56	1 : 0.31
Matatiele	570	597	1 : 1.05
Mt Ayliff	91	74	1 : 0.81
Mt Currie (Kokstad)	1230	622	1 : 0.51
Mt Fletcher	85	78	1 : 0.92
Mqanduli	161	19	1 : 0.12
Ngqeleni	126	24	1 : 0.19
Nqamakwe	127	8	1 : 0.06
Port St Johns	354	49	1 : 0.14
Qumbu	129	35	1 : 0.27

Cont. over.

St Marks (Cofimvaba)	205	43	1 : 0.21
Tabankulu	91	41	1 : 0.45
Tsolo	178	69	1 : 0.39
Tsomo	101	19	1 : 0.19
Umtata	1227	510	1 : 0.48
Umsinkulu	277	97	1 : 0.22
Willowvale	167	8	1 : 0.05
Kalanga (Cala)	175	153	1 : 0.87
	<u>54,058</u>	<u>34,878</u>	

It will be observed that with the exception of Matatiele and Mt Fletcher Districts, where the numbers in each group are approximately parity, that the whole of the Transkeian Territories is predominantly English speaking. This English speaking area continues along the coast to the boundary of Bathurst and Albany with Alexandria and Somerset East. In the North the predominantly English speaking area ends at the junction of the Queenstown and Glen Grey Districts with the Districts of Sterkstroom, Wodehouse and Indwe. The only predominantly English speaking District in the otherwise predominantly Afrikaans speaking northern area is Herschel, but here the numbers are so small as to be insignificant.

x x x x x x

This well watered South-Eastern seaboard of South Africa lies between the Drakensburg Mountains in the North and the Indian Ocean in the South and East. As a region it is one of the most picturesque areas of the country, surpassed only by parts of the Western Cape, and parts of Natal and the Eastern Transvaal. Climatically it varies from a sub-tropical belt around Port St Johns and Pondoland to the cold, bleak mountains around Cathcart, Barkley East and Herschel. Economically it is predominantly agricultural, possessing a wealthy pineapple industry on its Southern seaboard, sheep and wool in the interior and dairy and cattle ranching around East London and East

Oriqualand.

Most notable of all is its population composition. Africans compose 89.75% of the entire population. Whereas the Europeans compose a mere 155,000 or 7.31%. Even in the Border Area, the Europeans compose only 16.4% of the total---the Africans 77.7%. In the Native Reserve, known as the Transkeian Territories the European composes 1.43% of the total---the African 97.55%. Yet despite these proportions by far the majority of welfare organisations are administered by, and serve the European group. Of necessity this study is primarily of European organisations.

The European group itself is not homogeneous in character. Though language spoken is only a rough guide to cultural affiliation it is a convenient method of classifying the principal European groups. In all, there are 54,058 adults of 21 years and over who speak English and 34,876 who speak Afrikaans. Those who were classified in the Census as 'bi-lingual' are excluded. This is a per centage ratio of 60.7 : 39.3 or 1 : 0.65. The area is therefore more English speaking than Afrikaans speaking. The ecological distribution of these language groups shows a relatively distinct grouping of each, though there are both languages spoken in every Magisterial District in the area.

In the area as a whole 56% of the Europeans were found to be resident in urban areas of some kind. The per centage does not vary more than 1% between the Border Area and the Transkeian Territories. The size of the urban areas is, however, generally small. In the Transkeian Territories 83.3%, and in the Border Area 56% of the urban areas have fewer than 500 European inhabitants. There is only one large city with a European population of 43,946 people, though distributed over the area are four towns with between 3,000 and 10,000 European population. In many respects the area of investigation could be described as 'under-developed', though its inhabitants would have many misgivings about it being referred to in these terms.

There are two major road and rail networks in the area.

The major road facilities link

a) Natal---through Umzinkulu---to East London, and thence on to Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, and

b) East London---through Queenstown---to the Orange Free State, crossing the Orange River at Aliwal North. The major rail facilities connect East London with

a) Queenstown and the Orange Free State via Aliwal North, and

b) Umtata in the North and Port Elizabeth/Grahamstown in the South, by a series of junctions. Only East London is connected to the other major air ports in the country.

Chapter 3.Delimiting the Welfare Organisations to be Studied.

The Welfare Organisations Act No 40 of 1947 defines, in Section 1, a 'Welfare Organisation' as "any association of persons, corporate or unincorporated, or any institution, the objects of which include one or more of the following:

(a) The provision from its own resources or on behalf of the State or a Local Authority, or partly from its own resources and partly on behalf of the State or a Local Authority, of all or any of the material requirements of indigent persons;

(b) The promotion of---

1) Family Welfare; or

ii) The welfare of persons who are indigent or handicapped or maladjusted in the community;

(c) The prevention of indigency and social maladjustment;

(d) The rendering of legal assistance and advice to persons essentially as a matter of philanthropy;

(e) The collection of contributions towards a war fund;

(f) The prevention of cruelty to, and the promotion of
(1)
the welfare of animals;

(g) The collection of contributions for any of the objects mentioned in paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d), (f);

but does not include any institution maintained and controlled by the State or by a Local Authority or an institution as defined in Section 1 of the Childrens Act 1937, as amended, or a hospital board or a trade union registered or deemed to be registered in terms of The Industrial Conciliation Act, 1937, or a religious body in respect of activities confined to religious work."

1) These are excluded from the present work.

Under Sections 6 and 9 of the Welfare Organisations Act all welfare organisations must register with the National Welfare Organisations Board. It was thus possible, with the kind assistance of the Board and the Registrar of Welfare Organisations, to obtain a record of all 'welfare organisations' that had registered at the time of doing the field work. This register contained the name of the organisation and the address of the Secretary.

However, this register did not provide all the information required by the investigation concerning the welfare organisations in any town. The principal reasons for this were:-

1) Section 1 of the Act exempts from registration any Institution registered under Section 1 of the Childrens Act, 1937.

2) Section 8 of the Act empowers a Magistrate under certain conditions to grant permission to

a) any person or group of persons, or

b) any welfare organisation which has not been registered, to collect contributions within the Magisterial District for a period not exceeding 90 days,

3) Section 17 of the Act empowers a registered welfare organisation which conducts its operations wholly or partly through branches established and functioning under the control and direction of the Managing Committee to constitute for every such branch a Committee consisting of not less than five persons. The Managing Committee must give to every branch Committee a Letter of Delegation on the prescribed form. These Letters of Delegation did not appear on the Registrar of Welfare Organisations' Register, and hence the Register gave no indication of the presence of such branch Committees in any town.

4) There were a number of organisations not yet registered under the Act; or who considered their constitution did not fall under the definition of a 'Welfare Organisation' in terms of the Act; or for some other reason had not come to the notice of the Board and had not been registered.

5) The small towns in the area of investigation have a system of providing welfare services different from the organisation common in larger towns. In these small towns much welfare work is carried out, but often not in the form of an organisation. For example, a lady may receive a letter of appeal from, say, a childrens institution in Cape Town. This letter may come as a consequence of a child having been sent there in recent years. The lady may take it upon herself to go to friends or to members of her own religious faith to collect funds to be sent to the institution in Cape Town. Clothing as well as funds are often given. On the child's return from the institution, the members of the church, or other non-religious organisations such as Farmers Unions etc. may take it upon themselves to see to the needs of that child. As soon as these have been served the interested people cease their work. When another local need arises, such as a case of tuberculosis in a European family, a quite different group of interested people may support the cause until it has served its function.

These temporary services do not constitute organisations in the strict sense of the word. They exist for perhaps a week, or may even be for the duration of a meeting when the hat is passed round. There could be no question of their registration in terms of the Act as the administrative procedure alone would preclude it on practical grounds. The special provisions under Section 8 of the Act where Magistrates are empowered to give permission for the collection of contributions is, as far as could be ascertained, totally disregarded. In fact, neither Magistrates nor the public seemed even aware that such provision was available, and it would appear repugnant to many to think that their charitable acts towards persons well known to them had to receive the official stamp of authority. Throughout the entire area nobody thought that their actions were in any way of doubtful legal validity.

Particularly in the Transkeian Territories, where the population of villages is small, local people undertake little practical welfare work. Their activities are rather to raise funds for transmission to nationally or regionally organised welfare services, or for institutions. Committees are established for this purpose, and serve as contacts with outside bodies who may assist a local case should it arise. As far as could be ascertained none of these local organisations had received Letters of Delegation from any superior authority, or if they had the office bearers interviewed knew little or nothing about them. Many were set up by the Mayoress or other influential persons in response to an appeal received by the Local Authority. They perform a distinct welfare service, usually fund raising, but members were often surprised and indignant at the idea of registration under the Act, or of constituting themselves officially by means of a Letter of Delegation. Their nature is too transitory for such formal recognition.

The problem of deciding just what constituted a welfare organisation for the purposes of this research was not solved entirely by the use of a legal definition. To have confined the work merely to those organisations which had received registration under the Act would have meant ignoring a number of auxiliary services and organisations, many of which not only raise funds for the registered organisations, but also provide many of the ideas and stimulation which make for a successful organisation.

For example, the activities of the Cape Province Womens Agricultural Association (C.P.W.A.A.) and the Federation of Womens Institutes in the more northerly Districts of the Territories, do not strictly fall under any of the types of welfare work mentioned under Section 1 of the Act, and which make it necessary for them to register. In fact these organisations are not registered. This applies to other organisations such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Voortrekkers and Pathfinders, the

Professional and Business Womens Club, the Rotary Clubs and Round Table. (Certain Tables of the last mentioned organisation are in fact registered, but the peculiar difficulties of this organisation will be discussed later.)

What constituted a welfare organisation had to be enlarged to include at least the major non-registered organisations. On the other hand the definition could not be enlarged to the point where it included sports clubs, bridge clubs and other facilities of an obviously peripheral type. During the earliest expeditions into the field no concise definition of a welfare organisation had been arrived at. It was not known what types of welfare facilities might be met with. Only as the field work progressed did a clearer picture of the services in the area enable some delimitation of subject matter to be made.

It was decided to include all organisations registered under the Act; except those concerned with animal welfare; all organisations eligible for registration but not actually registered; organisations operating under a letter of delegation whether obtained or not; organisations registered under the Childrens Act, 1937; and certain other organisations ineligible for registration, but contributing to social welfare to a significant degree. The latter included the branches of the C.P.W.A.A., the Womens Institutes of East Griqualand and Pondoland, the Round Table, St. Johns Ambulance Brigade, the Womens Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.) and one or two others. The organisations not included in this enquiry are Rotary Clubs, Business and Professional Womens Clubs, Free Masonry, the Sons of England Patriotic and Benevolent Society, the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Voortrekkers, and Pathfinders; the National Council of Women and the National Council of African Women, the Zenzele Movement (African Home Improvement Organisation), and one or two others.

Though it was regretted subsequently that the boys and girls movements and the Sons of England had not been included from the beginning, it was decided, in view of the amount of material already collected, not to cover the old ground again merely to add a few more unregistered organisations.

Though this was the general principle followed, there remained a number of difficulties.

In the area of investigation there are organisations which raise funds from their members though not from the general public. Eligibility for benefits is restricted to members only. These could perform welfare work and hence should be included in the inquiry. They are ineligible for registration on account of the definition given to the word 'collect' by Section 1 of the Act. This word refers to contributions from the public and hence excludes the contributory type under discussion. Where the risks covered were primarily of a social welfare character these organisations have been included.

This type of organisation was far more prevalent at the turn of the century than at present. Organisations such as The Oddfellows, and the Forresters appear to have died out. (The International Order of Good Templars, although not quite of the same kind, appears also to be defunct in the area of investigation though its property in certain towns was in process of liquidation through failure to pay rates).

Other associations of a non-orthodox religious character that appear to be run on contributory principles are Free Masonry and the Sons of England Patriotic and Benevolent Society. Unfortunately no information at all was made available from the Free Masons. The letter in reply to one asking for information regretted such could not be given to organisations not connected with Free Masonry. Judging from what little information was obtained, this association is probably the biggest single non-orthodox religious organisation in the area of investigation.

It is particularly prevalent and influential in the smaller towns of the interior in the Border Area. Masonic Lodges in the area of investigation are administered from an office in Port Elizabeth.

Almost all religious denominations do some welfare work among their congregations. The methods whereby this is done vary according to the denomination. The Roman Catholic Church makes use of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which is a registered welfare organisation with head office in Cape Town. The Anglicans, Methodists, Wesleyans and Presbyterians make use of their respective Womens Guilds. The functions of these Guilds is largely fund raising to maintain the rectories and local parish buildings and staff. They are not of a welfare character, although many parishes contribute funds towards denominational institutions. However, their Christian sentiment to those in difficulties ensures that members of the congregation who are in need, are not turned away. To varying degrees these Guilds give what assistance they can. They are not registered. In the main they collect funds from their own congregation and not from the public; as far as welfare work is concerned they do not possess an organisational structure comparable to that of a more clearly defined welfare organisation. The Womens Guilds associated with the English and German Protestant Churches have not been included in this research as they tend to make use of the non-denominational services of welfare organisations for the care of needy parishioners.

There is a sharp difference in method between the two principal Afrikaans Churches. The Nedereduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika on the whole makes use of the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging (A.C.V.V.) which is an independent welfare organisation with a Provincial headquarters in Cape Town. Though there appears to be no legal association between the N.G. Kerk and the A.C.V.V., in practice the connection is a real one. Where no branches of the A.C.V.V.

(Kerkraad) undertakes or delegates the task in the name of the Armesorgkomitee. The exact relation between the Church and the A.C.V.V. is an interesting one and receives more adequate treatment elsewhere in this study.

Die Gereformeerde of Hervormde Kerk van Suid-Afrika organises its welfare work in the Cape Province largely through the Church Councils. Elders and responsible church officials undertake regular visits to needy members of the congregation and provide what is needed through the assistance of the Church Council and local parish funds. In certain towns there is a more highly developed system where certain ladies of the parish, under the chairmanship of the Parson's wife, form themselves into a sub-committee of the Church Council and undertake the welfare work of the parish as an almost independent organisation, though kept well within the purview of the Church. Thus the H.G. Kerk's welfare activities are conducted almost wholly within the Church's own administrative machinery. It relies neither on a registered, independent welfare organisation such as the A.C.V.V. nor on ancilliary Guilds.

As so much welfare work among Afrikaans speaking communities is undertaken by the Churches, especially where no non-denominational organisations exist, it was decided to include the Afrikaans Church organisations in this study up to the point where their presence in any town is enumerated, but no detailed study of their administrative structure was made. Where churches had established institutions of a welfare nature within the area of investigation, these institutions were included.

The Jewish community has organised its welfare work in similar manner to the Roman Catholic and the N.G. Church. On the whole, welfare work is kept outside the Church proper. It is undertaken by such registered welfare organisations as the Union of Jewish Women of South Africa, and the Jewish Ex-Servicemens' League. With respect to the area of

investigation, the Jewish Ex-Servicemens' League has only one branch situated in East London. Jewish Welfare activity in the area of investigation is centred almost exclusively in the Union of Jewish Women.

Difficulties also arose out of the wording of the Welfare Organisations Act. The Act specifically excludes 'a religious body in respect of activities confined to religious work'. In practice it has proved difficult in certain instances to delimit what is 'religious' and what is welfare activity. This matter has arisen also in non-religious bodies. The effect of making a parent body register that part of its activities which is of a welfare character, has been to force it to create two bodies within itself. Each body must keep its own accounts and books. That portion relating to welfare is subject to inspection etc. in terms of the Act and regulations framed thereunder. The parent body's books, however, are not affected. Thus in practice, the Act recognises only welfare carried out by an organisation established for that purpose. In fact, the Act registers an organisation; not welfare activity. Thus to make the coverage of welfare activity as complete as conditions allowed, it was necessary when in the field to make exhaustive enquiries into organisations with titles far removed from anything suggesting social welfare.

The Act has had the effect of making organisations decide as to their aims and objects. In the cities at least there is a constant awareness that certain deeds may not be performed by non-registered organisations unless they obtain registration or legal exemption. In brief, the Act has had the effect of marking off non-registered organisations from registered ones, and thereby tended to formalise and restrict the actual services offered by the different organisations.

In contrast, the registration of welfare organisations has not had the effect of making organisations limit the range of

their activities to specified fields. Thus the fact of registration under the Act gives little indication of the nature of the welfare work or service undertaken by any organisation. The aims and objects of any welfare organisation are determined by its constitution. The only influence registration can exercise over these relates to the question of over-lapping or duplication of services within the same geographical area. Power is given to the National Welfare Organisations Board under Section 5 (1) (a) of the Act to regulate the registration of welfare organisations, but sub-section (d) of the same section limits the powers of this Board to the mere encouragement and promotion of co-ordination by voluntary means.

It could be construed that the power of regulating registration could enable this Board to refuse registration on the grounds of duplication of service, but when registration has been granted then the enforcement of co-ordination becomes a matter of voluntary activity. The general and often loose terminology in which the aims and objects of applicant welfare organisations are framed, makes it very difficult for any Board or persons not personally cognisant with the intentions of the organisation to assess whether the danger of duplication of services actually exists. Not infrequently welfare organisations undertake services only remotely connected with the aims and objects laid down in their constitutions. Probably the document least referred to in the administration of a welfare organisation is its constitution. Though the Act makes it obligatory for an organisation to obtain the permission of the Board to amend its aims and objects, there is no guarantee that the services offered by an organisation over a period of time have not changed. In fact they may be quite outside those mentioned in its aims and objects. The inspecting machinery provided for in the Act has not been put into effect, so that the actual services offered may in time become quite different from those enumerated at the time of

registration.

Beyond the statutory definition of a welfare organisation at the beginning of this chapter, no attempt is to be made at this stage to define the term at greater length. The reason for this is that it is a far too complex concept to be neatly expressed in a few words. On the other hand, the term has a sufficiently concise meaning in common parlance not to be confused with other social phenomena. The discussion in the next two Parts of this study will elucidate the characteristics and qualities of a welfare organisation in a much more precise and exhaustive manner than could be achieved at this stage in the discussion.

PART 11THE ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ORGANISATIONS AND SERVICES.

It might appear that an area as large as the Border and Transkei, containing numerous small and isolated villages and only one major city, must inevitably have large areas with no welfare organisations at all. Historically welfare organisations have been typical of urban areas, and only in more recent times have rural and farm community services been available in the modern nations of Europe and America. With a largely illiterate and relatively primitive African community occupying the rural areas of the Territories, there seems little prospect of creating welfare organisations in those areas—at least of the type common among Europeans. Yet with the aid of missionaries and traders a considerable number of health clinic committees are operating in the rural and most backward areas of the Territories. There is no Magisterial District in the area of investigation with no voluntary welfare organisations at all. Welfare organisations are spread far and wide over the entire area. It is now intended to seek generalisations governing their absence or presence and to indicate the types of organisation found in a variety of ecological areas.

Chapter 4."The Ecological Distribution of Organisations."

The area of investigation is in certain cases the geographical region allocated to a branch of a nationally co-ordinated organisation. Thus the South African Red Cross Society and the National Council for the Care of Cripples, for example, have one main branch centred in East London and responsible for the administration of services in the whole area East of the Great Fish River. The small area to the West of this River is covered, in the examples quoted, by the East Cape Branches with their head office in Port Elizabeth; other organisations, notably the South African Legion of the British Empire Service League (B.E.S.L.) have numerous branches spread throughout the area, but only co-ordinated by the head office in Johannesburg or elsewhere. A third type of co-ordinatory structure is that typified by the Toc H. or the Memorable Order of the Tin Hats (M.O.T.H.'s). These are represented in the towns by a local branch, but have grouped the branches into larger administrative units, yet not large enough to embrace the whole or most of the area. Each branch remains essentially autonomous despite its larger grouping, however.

For the present purposes it is intended to ignore the administrative structures these larger organisations have built up. With a few notable exceptions to be discussed in later chapters, every organisation is represented at the local town level somewhere in the area of investigation. To commence with it is intended to ascertain the number of organisations in each Magisterial District and urban area, and thereafter to attempt an analysis of the number of organisations that can be supported

by urban areas of different population sizes. No attempt is made to indicate the strength or size of any welfare organisation, or to compare one with another. This discussion serves only to indicate the distribution of organisations as an ecological phenomenon.

In the following Table the Magisterial District has been adopted as the classificatory unit. Not only is this the natural politico-administrative unit, but it is also a demographic and census unit. It also provides a suitable scale for cartographic presentation.

Table 7

The number of welfare organisations, and representatives of organisations in each Magisterial District and urban area.

<u>Name of District</u>	<u>Towns</u>	<u>No. of Organisations.</u>	<u>No. of Represents.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
Adelaide		7	3	10
Albany	Grahamstown	36	0	
	Alicedale	1	0	
	Riebeek East	2	0	
	Salem	1	0	40
Albert	Burgersdorp	6	0	6
Alexandria	Alexandria	5	0	
	Bushman Riv. Mth.	1	0	
	Sandflats		Unknown	6
Aliwal North	Aliwal North	13	0	
	Jamestown	3	1	17
Barkley East		2	2	4
Bathurst	Bathurst	3	1	
	Port Alfred	6	1	11
Bedford		9	2	11
Bizana		3	0	3
Butterworth	Butterworth	8	1	
	Ndabakazi	1	0	10
Cathcart		5	1	6
East London	East London	49	0	
	Macleantown	0	1	50
Elliot		5	0	5
Elliotdale		0	3	3

Engcobo		2	1	3
Flagstaff		5	1	6
Fort Beaufort		10	0	10
Glen Grey	Lady Frere	5	1	
	Imvana	1	0	7
Herschel	Herschel	1	0	
	Sterkspruit	4	1	6
Idutywa		3	1	4
Indwe		2	1	3
Keiskammahoek		1	1	2
Kentani		2	1	3
Kingwilliamstown	KingW ^{msT} 'n	25	0	
	Berlin	2	0	
	Kei Road	2	0	
	Zwelitsha	1	0	
	Breidbach		Unknown	
	Hanover		"	
	Braunschweig		"	30
Komgha		6	0	6
Lady Grey		3	1	4
Libode		2	1	3
Lusikisiki		7	0	7
Maclear	Maclear	3	0	
	Ugie	2	1	6
Matatiele	Matatiele	7	1	
	Cedarville	2	0	10
Middledrift		1	1	2
Molteno		8	1	9
Mt Ayliff		3	1	4
Mr Currie	Kokstad	11	0	
	Franklin	1	0	12
Mt Fletcher		1	1	2
Mt Frere		4	2	6
Mqanduli		4	2	6
Ngqeleni		4	2	6
Nqamakwe		5	2	7
Pearston		2	0	2
Peddie		4	0	4

Port St Johns		6	1	7
Queenstown	Queenstown	22	2	
	Whittlesea	1	1	26
Qumbu		5	1	6
St Marks	Cofimvaba	3	1	4
Somerset East	Somerset East	7	0	
	Cookhouse	1	0	8
Sterkstroom		3	0	3
Steynsburg		7	0	7
Stockenstroom	Balfour	1	1	
	Seymour	1	1	4
Stutterhiem	Stutterheim	6	0	
	Upper Kubusie	2	0	8
Tabankulu		1	1	2
Tarka	Tarkastad	4	1	5
Tsolo		4	3	7
Tsomo		1	1	2
Umtata		11	0	11
Umzinkulu		3	0	3
Venterstad		2	0	2
Vistoria East	Alice/Lovedale	13	0	13
Willowvale		2	1	3
Wodehouse	Dordrecht	4	0	4
Xalanga	Cala	2	1	3
		<u>424</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>480</u>

Thus in the area of investigation there are not less than 480 organisations and representatives of organisations. In certain instances it was not possible to obtain the complete list of organisations. This was due to inaccessibility through distance, flooded rivers, and other causes at the time of the intended visit. Wherever possible data was obtained by correspondence. The above figures tend, it is thought, to underestimate the exact number by from 2 to 5%.

In the area of investigation welfare organisations are

generally centred in the villages and towns. Those existing in the rural areas are predominantly medical clinics run either independently or in association with a missionary institution.

It is common knowledge that size of population to some extent determines the number and type of welfare organisations. It is now intended to examine the area of investigation from this point of view. The material will be handled by discussing first the number of organisations existing

- a) in rural districts, and then
- b) in urban centres of varying population sizes.

a) Organisations in Rural Districts:

Appendix B contains a full list of organisations listed according to town and magisterial district. Under the column headed 'Remarks' appears the phrase 'in rural district' against all those organisations whose centre of operation is outside or remote from the urban area under which they are classified. In certain instances members of the managing committee may live in the urban area, but the clinic building or other structure through which the service is performed, is in a rural district, and the clientele is essentially living in the rural area.

There are 42 organisations in rural districts. Of these 31 are clinics or mission hospitals situated in the Transkeian Territories. A further 7 are clinics or mission hospitals elsewhere than in the Transkeian Territories. Of these, 6 are in Magisterial Districts in close proximity to the Territories. In fact, there are only two clinics of the kind under discussion in predominantly European farming areas i.e. at Kei Road and Berlin in the Kingwilliamstown District. The remaining four organisations are composed of two childrens institutions—one of which is a holiday camp—the third a womans institute in a heavily populated farming community, and the fourth an African womens' organisation.

The inclusion of medical clinics of the type under discussion in this research arises from the decision to include all welfare organisations registered under the Welfare Organisation Act, 1947. There is some evidence that particularly church sponsored organisations are running more than one clinic from a central office. That is to say that the one organisation employs more than one nurse with her own clinic building in different geographical localities. This phenomenon is occurring noticeably in Kokstad, where the Diocesan Clinic Managing Committee has established clinics in the Mt. Currie and Matatiele Districts. This is sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church. In the Herschel District the Dutch Reformed Church has sponsored a number of clinics with headquarters in Lady Grey. On the other hand, at Ngamakwe the Native Charitable Organisation co-ordinates the activities of three clinics in the local district. This organisation is independent of the churches and is assisted by the Local Magistrate/Native Commissioner, who is its permanent chairman. There are other examples of the same tendency elsewhere.

The typical organisation of this type is, however, a local committee of seven, frequently of Africans, with one or two Europeans such as Native Commissioners, traders or missionaries. These run a clinic building and employ an African trained nurse. Seven-eighths of the nurse's salary is refunded by the Union Health Department under Section 15 (a) of the Public Health Amendment Act No 57 of 1935. The local committee is responsible for raising the remaining one-eighth. The methods of doing this vary from fund raising functions to charging the nurse a rental sufficient to raise the sum required on the dwelling she occupies. Medicines are often dispensed at a sum slightly in excess of cost to cover the deficit on administration, salary etc.

The range of effectiveness of a clinic of this type is

estimated to be a radius of five miles from the clinic. Nurses undertake midwifery at the domicile of patients as well as general clinic nursing and dispensing.

In addition to this type of medical clinic, there exists similar services subsidised under Section 15 (b) of the Public Health Amendment Act, 1935. This section refers to the subsidisation of nurses and midwives registered under the Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Act No. 13 of 1928, to enable them to practise in Native Reserves and Locations. Clinics run under this provision fall directly under the control of the local Magistrate/Native Commissioner, and are not controlled by a managing committee. They are therefore not registerable under the Welfare Organisations Act, 1947. In the past, there has been a deliberate policy on the part of the Union Department of Health to change the status of these Section 15 (b) clinics to Section 15 (a) clinics, and hence require their registration under the Act of 1947. In effect, however, the same type of service is offered under both Sections, but only those under Section 15 (a) are the concern of this research.

In the past some difficulty has been experienced in obtaining nurses, but with the raising of the salary to the equivalent of that obtainable in city hospitals this is said to have improved. The author's impressions when in the field were that the success of these clinics hinged almost entirely on the personality of the nurse. With the exception of those intimately tied to missionary or educational institutions, the rural clinic's nurse, rather than the managing committee, decided the venture's success or failure. Members of certain managing committees interviewed mentioned that they preferred married to unmarried nurses, but others found such status tended to make the nurse stay too much at home and ignore the needs of patients in the outlying areas. On the other hand, other members argued that unmarried nurses tended to create amorous

relations with local chiefs, African school teachers and other local persons of status and in that way cause splits or undesirable social repercussions among the local inhabitants.

Enough was learnt of these organisations to suggest that they are worthy of close and special study. Anthropologically they are of great interest as they not only reveal traditional attitudes towards European medical techniques applied by African professional nurses, but also of the relationship of an African female of high social status and training performing work among a culture where women do not customarily receive status on these criteria. Sociologically these organisations are likely to be extremely fruitful for research purposes. They represent one of the few opportunities for Africans to learn the administrative techniques of bureaucratic control and democratic committee procedures. It is regretted that the author was unable to undertake research into this aspect; but the subject is strongly recommended as a fruitful one for subsequent enquiries.

It is significant that welfare organisations in rural districts are almost exclusively situated in the Transkeian Territories; further, that these are almost entirely of a medical nature. Throughout the entire area of investigation there are almost no welfare organisations of a non-medical kind devoted to the service of the rural community. The only exceptions to this are the Cape Province Womens Agricultural Association (C.P.W.A.A.) and the Womens Institutes of Natal, Zululand, East Griqualand and Pondoland, and the African Womens Association at Imvane. The first two of these organisations, which are not registered under the Act and which are eloquent in their objection to being considered as welfare organisations, undertake their work of adult education and community service principally in the towns. Many of their members live on outlying farms and come to town to participate in the activities. They therefore can scarcely be considered as rural organisations.

In South Africa, and especially in the area of investigation, where farms tend to be many hundreds or thousands of acres in extent, the possibility of creating rural welfare services presents special difficulties. On the other hand, the wealth of the majority of European farmers enables them, almost without exception, to own a car or means of motor transport of some kind. This enables them to get to towns with relative ease. It is therefore understandable that welfare services should be associated with urban conditions. Rural Africans, on the other hand, are predominantly too poor to possess means of fast transport to urban areas. Generally in the territories they live in concentrations or villages, and elsewhere on European farms. There appears to be no geographical reason why rural welfare services could not be provided among this group. The problems inimical to this development lie principally in cultural factors in the Reserves, and in the attitude of European farmers in areas outside the Reserves towards Africans in their employ.

During the time in the field it was frequently mentioned that African youths in European farming areas were responsible for a good deal of hooliganism and destruction of property. The suggestion that playing fields or other provisions for rural youth might assist in the solution of this problem was rarely accepted as feasible by European farmers interviewed. This matter is clearly a serious problem, and no practical solution is at present available.

(1)

b) Organisations in Urban Areas:

In the area of investigation Europeans have been largely

- 1) The term 'urban areas' indicates a technical census definition of the term and not a functional, sociological definition of population size and density. It is probable that, if the latter criteria were adopted, many of the rural African villages would have more claim to be considered 'urban' than many European villages now technically described as 'urban areas' i.e. possessing some form of local authority. But a discussion of urban areas from the sociological point of view would involve an enormous amount of research into sizes and (Cont. over

responsible for creating urban areas. As will be observed from Table 1 the racial population of these urban areas frequently favours a numerical preponderance of Africans. In very few instances is the number of resident Europeans greater than the number of resident Africans.

Although efforts were made while in the field to ascertain what welfare services urban Africans had created on their own initiative, very few such organisations were found. Where they existed they were usually associated with African clergymen and teachers.

Social welfare services for urban Africans and Coloureds are more often provided, where they exist at all, by the local European organisations. Generally speaking urban welfare organisations are European phenomena. They dispense assistance to the Non-European community to a more or less degree depending on local attitudes or the aims and objects of any particular organisation.

For present purposes, all the organisations in the urban areas, whether controlled by Europeans, Africans or Coloureds, are considered subjects of study irrespective of their racial characteristics. However, as organisations are predominantly European phenomena, it is proposed to consider the size of the European population only as determining the size of the urban area. In the case of Zwelitsha only is this an invalid proposition. (Zwelitsha is an African urban settlement just outside Kingwilliamstown established by the Native Affairs Department as part of a policy to bring industry to the source of labour, rather than labour moving to the industrial areas.)

It is common knowledge that the size of an urban population densities of African rural villages. At the same time it is known that these villages contain almost no welfare organisations of the type under discussion. Such an inquiry and classification would therefore serve no purpose.

is influential in determining the number of organisations it can support. The size of population tends to be a limiting factor to what may be organised and for what purpose. But size of population is only one of many variables determining the actual number of organisations any community may possess.

This fact is well illustrated in the following Table which shows the number of organisations being supported by European populations of different sizes. In the calculation of this Table the following corrections have been made:

- 1) Those organisations whose clientele and field of operations are in the rural districts have been discounted;
- 2) The representatives of organisations whose office and organisational structure is elsewhere than in the town under discussion have been discounted; a representative is an individual and not an organisation, thus they should not be included in expressing the relationship between number of organisations and urban European population.
- 3) Institutions such as childrens homes etc. which receive clients and financial assistance from elsewhere have been discounted. Such institutions cannot be considered as supported by the local population.
- 4) Organisations such as the M.O.T.B. and the Society of St Vincent de Paul which have more than one branch in the local town have been credited with having only one organisation in that urban area.
- 5) Christmas Cheer and other temporary Funds have been discounted.

Table 8Number of Welfare Organisations Supported by Urban European Populations of Different Sizes.

<u>(a)</u> Number of Organ- -isations per town.	<u>(b)</u> Frequency of towns.	<u>(c)</u> Average Eur. Pop. of towns.	<u>(d)</u> Range of Eur. Pop- -ulations	<u>(e)</u> Standard Deviation of Populat.
0	2	145	110 - 180	35
1	16	145	70 - 310	57.8
2	12	457	120 - 910	271.4
3	11	427	140 - 1110	311.5
4	7	800	210 - 1370	391.0
5-7	9	1142	280 - 2330	782.7
8-10	6	1260	880 - 2000	126.4
11-19	4	3850	840 - 8760	1990.0
22	1	6400		
35	1	8680		
49	1	43410		

It will be observed that the range of populations (column d) that can support different numbers of organisations is very large. For example, three organisations were found in towns of population size varying from 140 to 1110 Europeans, though the average of the 11 towns with three organisations was 427 persons.

This Table shows that the number of organisations increases as the average population increases. The Karl Pearson correlation of coefficient between these variables is plus .87 plus/minus .05, which is a highly significant positive correlation and proves the general contention that the number of organisations varies positively with the average size of the population. It will also be observed from column (e), which indicates the standard deviation of the population for the frequencies indicated in column (b), that the deviation increases as the population increases. Thus the larger the population the less is the possibility of predicting the number of organisations it may support. Conversely, the larger the population the greater is the potential to support organisations; but this potential is often not made use of.

The relationship between the size of European population and the number of organisations maintained can better be presented

by an analysis of the number of organisations found in urban communities of given population size. This relationship can be expressed in the form of a table by relating the population figures for Europeans in Tables 2 and 4 (Pages 21 and 25) with the list of organisations appearing in Appendix B. The same corrections must be applied as were made for Table 8 above. Due to practical considerations it was impossible during the time in the field to personally visit every small village in the area of investigation. Therefore details of the organisations in some of the smaller villages are unknown. Reference to this fact is made in Appendix B. The averages calculated in column (e) refer only to those towns where organisations are known or thought to be correct.

Table 9.

(a) Size of European Population	(b) <u>Frequency</u>	(c) Range of Organis- -ations	(d) Total of Organis- -ations x	(e) Average of Organisations per town. x
Under 100	15	0 - 1	(4) 1	(.44).11
100 - 150	18	0 - 3	23	1.3
151 - 200	7	0 - 3	10	1.4
201 - 300	7	1 - 4	16	2.3
301 - 400	5	1 - 4	11	2.2
401 - 500	6	1 - 4	12	2.4
501 - 750	8	1 - 5	25	3.1
751 - 1000	10	1 - 11	47	4.7
1001 - 1500	8	3 - 9	47	5.9
1501 - 3050	6	6 - 11	51	8.5
6000 - 10000	3	19 - 35	76	25.3
44000	<u>1</u>	-	<u>49</u>	49.0
	94		368	

x

The figures in brackets represent the actual number, but of these four, three are African and only one is European. The average is therefore .11. Only 9 of the 15 towns of this size were visited and accurate information obtained. However, the only town with a European organisation, i.e. Bushmans River Mouth, which has an A.C.V.V. branch, is accessible to the town of Kenton-On-Sea by crossing the Bushmans River by rowing boat or by road over about 26 miles. As the population of

Kenton-on -Sea is 59 Europeans, this organisation in practice serves a population of 143. It thus appears probable that in fact no organisations exist among European populations of under 100 persons.

Table 9 suggests that a population of 100 to 150 Europeans is required for the support of one organisation. It is possible to support three organisations with this population, but the phenomenon occurs in only 3 out of 18 instances i.e. in 18% of cases. Of the three towns possessing three organisations each, in one town one is a hospital board of aid and is thus associated with an institution heavily subsidised from sources outside the local community; in another town one is a war memorial fund for the improvement of a library building and hence only of a temporary nature; and in the third town one is a local clinic heavily subsidised from sources outside the local community. It therefore appears evident that for a town of this size to support more than two organisations, one organisation at least must obtain most of its funds from outside the local community or be merely temporary in nature.

Towns with from 151-200 Europeans support an average of 1.4 organisations. The range is from 0 - 3, but the one town with none is Kidds Beach which is essentially a summer holiday resort, and is therefore peculiar in character. It appears that in general all towns of this size support at least one organisation, and can support as many as three, though the one town doing so, Lusikisiki, has one of its organisations associated with the local Coloured community. Strictly, therefore, the European population is only supporting two.

Towns with from 201 - 500 Europeans tend to possess similar features. As the population increases there appears to be no corresponding increase in the number of organisations. Expressed in other words, an average of two to three organisations is found almost as frequently in towns of from 201 - 300 persons

as in those of 401 - 500 persons. It appears that towns struggle to create one or two organisations when the population is between 100 and 200 Europeans, but once the organisations have been created there tends to be very few additional ones started until the population has exceeded 500.

The eight towns with from 501 - 750 European persons show a clear tendency to support an average of just over three organisations. This figure is affected by the inclusion of Cookhouse and Berlin which have special characteristics.

The population of Cookhouse is almost entirely dependent on the Railway Administration. The town is essentially a railway junction. As the personnel of this industry are characterised by a high mobility, there is little incentive for the residents to create organisations of a permanent character. Their needs are largely met by services existing within the railway administration, such as the A.T.K.V.. The only other organisation is a medical clinic which happens to be ineligible for registration under the Welfare Organisations Act.

Berlin has somewhat different characteristics. The town is situated a few miles out of Kingwilliamstown on the main road and rail communication with East London. Although Berlin is surrounded by a wealthy European farming community, the centre of trade and welfare services is essentially Kingwilliamstown. Many organisations in Kingwilliamstown are known to include Berlin in their area of operations. In this connection it is significant that Berlin's two organisations serve predominantly the African population of the town. One is an all African society aiming at financially assisting the education of African children, and the other a medical clinic.

If one excludes Cookhouse and Berlin from the eight towns of the size under discussion, the average rises to 3.7 organisations per town.

The ten towns of from 751 - 1000 population, show a wide range in the number of organisations they contain. The towns classified in ascending order of the number of organisations, are as follows:

Kommadagga	1
Ugie	2
Indwe	2
Barkley East	2
Maclear	3
Cathcart	5
Moltene	5
Steynsburg	7
Bedford	8
Alice	<u>12</u>
	47

Mean 4.7

The town of Ugie may be excluded from this list on the grounds that the town's population is affected by the large number of children resident in the local Orphanages. In fact the town of Ugie, excluding the children in the Orphanages has a population considerably smaller than 751 ---the minimum range of population under discussion. The cost of maintaining the Orphanages does not fall very heavily on Ugie, as the children are generally State supported. Thus the Orphanages cannot be properly considered as local organisations.

The town of Alice is affected by the presence of the staffs of Fort Hare University College and the Lovedale Missionary Institution, who, as an unusually erudite community for towns of this size, undertake the formation of organisations not commonly found elsewhere. Thus the organisation known as the Lovedale Health and Social Service Committee, and the branch of the Institute of Race Relations are accounted for in this way. So also is the Ntselemanzi Creche for African children. In addition, the local large hospital is responsible for the presence of The S.A. Nurses' Trust Fund Committee. Thus if these organisations are excluded, Alice may be considered to support eight organisations, which makes it comparable with Steynsburg and Bedford.

The eight towns with from 1001 - 1500 European persons

are:

Sterkstroom	3
Dordrecht	4
Elliot	5
Port Alfred	5
Matatiele	6
Adelaide	7
Butterworth	8
Port Beaufort	9
	<u>47</u>

Mean 5.9

None of these towns have peculiarities known to the author which might account individually for the organisations they possess.

The characteristics which may account for the range in the frequency will be discussed below.

The six towns with from 1501 - 3050 European persons are:

Burgersdorp	6
Stutterheim	6
Somerset East	7
Kokstad	10
Alival North	11
Umtata	<u>11</u>
	51

Mean 8.5

None of these towns are industrial in character. All, except Umtata, serve wealthy European farming interests. Umtata tends to serve as a regional centre which to some extent accounts for its number of organisations.

The three towns with from 6000 - 10000 Europeans are

Queenstown	19
Kingwilliamstown	22
Grahamstown	<u>35</u>
	76

Mean 25.3

All these towns serve wealthy European farming areas, but have also some light industry. In the case of Grahamstown, the number of organisations is to some extent influenced by the presence of Rhodes University and the large number of schools. These account for at least two organisations. But despite this Grahamstown has an unusually large number of organisations vis à vis its European population. Queenstown, for example,

has a few hundred more population but only just over half the number of organisations. Grahamstown's profusion of organisation may lie in its historical importance, but this is not effectively supported by the facts as only two organisations i.e. the Ladies Benevolent Society and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul have roots going back to the years when Grahamstown was 'the metropolis of the Eastern Cape'. The predominantly English nature of Grahamstown may be of importance---there is only one predominantly Afrikaans organisation in the town i.e. the A.C.V.V. ---but this subject will be dealt with more adequately below.

Kingwilliamstown, in relation to its European population of 6,397 persons also has a relatively large number of organisations.

East London, the only city with a population of over 10,000 European persons in the area of investigation, has 49 organisations. The nature of these organisations is dealt with in the next chapter. For present purposes it is sufficient to note that East London has nearly four times the population supporting any organisation than any other town.

The following Table shows the ratio between the number of organisations and the average European population for towns containing a given number of organisations. The Table is arrived at by dividing column (c) by column (a) in Table 8 (P.58).

Table 10

<u>Number of Organisations per town.</u>	<u>Ratio. (Organisations per average European population.)</u>
0	1 : 145
1	1 : 145
2	1 : 228
3	1 : 142
4	1 : 200
5 - 7	1 : 190
8 - 10	1 : 140
11 - 19	1 : 257
22 -	1 : 291
35	1 : 248
49	1 : 886

The average for all groups other than East London is 198.6 persons per organisation. The figure for East London is 886. For

reasons such as the size and importance of organisations in East London vis á vis those elsewhere in the area of investigation, this comparison cannot be extended too far. It appears likely, however, that the participation of East Londoners in the welfare organisations that exist there is less than in smaller towns. On the other hand, there is a limit to the number of services that can be offered whatever the size of a city's population. There is a point where any additional services---supported by organisations of a voluntary nature---would merely be duplicating those already in existence. This statement applies at least to that kind of service which devotes almost its entire energies to the assistance of needy people. That type which is predominantly social or 'get together' is not so affected by this condition, though there is clearly a limit in this type also as the preference for social clubs of the sporting, business or entertainment variety must soon operate over that which is ostensibly welfare in character.

The membership of welfare organisations tends to be largely an upper class phenomenon. The class structure of a city the size of East London is much wider in range than that of towns with less than 10,000 European inhabitants. It therefore follows that the class interested in membership of welfare organisations is correspondingly less in terms of the total European population than in towns of smaller size. This would be particularly the case in towns such as Grahamstown, Kingwilliamstown and Queenstown where the proportion of persons in the upper classes---employers, professional, farming and senior governmental administrative groups---is correspondingly high. The greater industrialisation of East London vis á vis other towns in the area of investigation would further add to the number of persons belonging to classes who do not normally participate in the membership of welfare organisations. Lastly, East London is proportionately the most English speaking city in

the area of investigation. It contains over four times as many English speaking people than Afrikaans speaking people. Though the Afrikaans speaking community numbers over 4,700 , and is hence large enough to support a large number of essentially Afrikaans organisations, not all these appear to be in existence.

The discussion has demonstrated the fact that the number of welfare organisations is correlated with the size of the population, but that the correlation is not quite perfect. There appeared to be a point, at between 100 and 150 European persons, where one organisation could be conveniently supported. The point where two organisations could be supported fell roughly in the 201 - 300 population group. Thereafter the number of organisations tended to remain constant as the size of population increased. This phenomenon held true until the population was about 500, when a further increase in the number of organisations occurred. Thereafter, in general terms, the increase in the number of organisations tended to keep par with the increase in population size up to the 10,000 population mark. As no town in the area of investigation has a population of between 10,000 and 40,000 this relationship cannot be pursued; but it appears that somewhere between this range a point is reached where the population size begins rapidly to outdistance the number of organisations. The position of East London shows clearly that the number of persons to the number of organisations is very much greater---over four times---than that of any other town of smaller size.

X X X X X X

Though population size has been shown to be a determinant of the number of organisations, it does not explain the range of organisations found in towns of common population size.

The possible factors which may be influential are:

- 1) The welfare needs of the community are greater in towns

with more organisations than in those with few.

2) The economic pursuits of the town and its hinterland may enable it to support more or less organisations.

3) The geographical isolation of the community from major urban concentrations.

4) The predominance of English or Afrikaans speaking people in the local community may be a determining factor.

5) Lastly, during the earlier discussion the role of universities or institutions of a cultural nature has been discounted. Their influence appears to be positive, but not to a marked degree. This question will not be pursued further.

(1) The first possibility---that the welfare needs of the community are greater in towns with more organisations than in those with few---may be true in the larger towns, but it is not in the smaller towns and villages. It is common knowledge that the Transkeian Territories harbour a considerable number of African deviates unable to work in the larger European cities. The number of Blind Persons registered in terms of the Blind Persons Act, 1936, was:

The Border Area East of the Fish River	2525
East Griqualand	1519
Teabuland	747
Transkei	805
Pondoland	<u>1030</u>
	<u>6626</u>

Thus in the Transkeian Territories there were officially 4101 blind persons or 0.32% of the population.

The East London and Border Society for the Care of Cripples estimated there to be 3,369 cripples in the area of its jurisdiction.

The almost total lack of specialised services for deviates of all kinds throughout the Territories indicates that, as far as that area is concerned, the number of voluntary organisations is not related to the welfare needs of the towns and their hinterlands.

The author was impressed when in the field by the almost unanimous attitude of residents in the towns of the Territories, that the function of the voluntary welfare organisations was not to assist local African needs. Assistance of this kind is confined largely to medical clinics. The European communities raise, in proportion to their population, large sums of money, but in very few instances was this retained locally. In the majority of cases it was distributed to organisations and institutions resident or working outside the Territories. The local opinion is unanimous in the view that the governmental provisions for deviates, which are administered by the Native Commissioners, is and should be the only source of assistance for the local African communities.

This attitude was not only engendered by an awareness that the European and his organisations were viewed officially as visitors, or at best, temporary residents in the Transkeian Territories. There was also evident a feeling of impotence to make any effect on the multitude of Africans surrounding the small and isolated European communities. It was as though the handful of Europeans could never do any good for so gigantic a need. In consequence the only answer appeared to be governmental provisions and the officials responsible for their administration.

In the Territories very few of the persons interviewed held the view that the African social system provided the financial security required by different types of deviate or impoverished persons. On enquiry many residents revealed their awareness of the needs of local deviates and of the fact that very little was being done for them by voluntary agencies. This point has been brought home to many of the European traders in the remoter areas who have been asked persistently to transport African women in labour, the sick and others to the nearest doctor or hospital.

The Territories do not contain many European deviates. In a Government publication entitled "Statistics of Afflicted Persons" (U.G. 16 /1937), relating to the position in May, 1936, there were in all the Transkeian Districts

6	European	and	8	Coloured	epileptics,
4	"	"	4	"	deafmutes,
8	"	"	3	"	deaf,
10	"	"	5	"	blind,
<u>2</u>	"	"	<u>1</u>	"	deaf and blind.
30			21		

There is little likelihood that this position has radically changed in the last 20 years. There are no available statistics for Africans. The cases enumerated above are dispersed widely over the whole area, giving little incentive to provide local specialist services of a permanent kind.

In the Border Area there is nothing to suggest that in the smaller towns at least the number of organisations is related to the welfare needs of the area, though there is a growing tendency to plan voluntary anti-tuberculosis organisations. The organisations generally found in the smaller towns tend, as the next chapter will show, to be social 'get-together' associations which do almost no case work at all. When in the field, the author came across very few instances of attempts to ascertain what were the local needs of the Non-European population in the urban area, yet alone those of the hinterland. In the smaller towns where the intimacy of contact between European residents is great, there is no need to take special measures to determine the needs of local European deviates. All cases are known to local residents or school teachers, and as they tend to be few in number they can be dealt with in an ad hoc fashion or sent to the larger urban areas for specialist treatment.

In the towns of from 1001 - 3050 population, the position is somewhat different. Many of these contain case work agencies. In many of these towns three organisations stand out as

conspicuously represented. They are the Red Cross Local Centre, the Child Welfare Society and the Anti-Tuberculosis Society. These three organisations are occasionally found in an organised form i.e. with committees as distinct from representatives, in towns of less than 1000 population. Conspicuous examples are Salew and Bathurst in the Albany District, both of which, despite populations of 120 and 230 respectively, possess full fledged anti-tuberculosis associations and are presently planning the creating of tuberculosis settlements. But they are the exception rather than the rule.

The existence of the specialist type of organisation tends to place the town possessing them above the average of towns in any given population size. Their absence, on the other hand, tends to place towns without them below the average for their population size. In so far as the present discussion is concerned, the point of interest is rather to enquire why some towns have more or less societies than others of similar size. The more general question as to the type of organisations found in various population sizes is relegated to the following chapter.

Generally there are no planned efforts made to ascertain local needs, nor a deliberate effort made to supply them. The absence or existence of organisations depends on other criteria than mere needs. With the exception of the essentially case work agency, the most important function of welfare organisations as a whole is not the offering of a service to needy clients. Rather is it, in the small town at least, to get like minded people together for more or less social purposes and consequently to render a service to those in need.

This phenomenon is related to a remark made elsewhere in this research, that a welfare organisation can function well with a maximum of members and a minimum of clients, but there may be a large clientele to be served by no organisation or

members at all. This remark points to the fact that welfare organisations as a whole do not exist simply to supply the needs of deviate persons or groups. Organisations are essentially the products of the social structure and environment in which they function. Hence an examination of the function they perform towards the deviates of any community only, tends to disregard one of their major qualities.

(2) The second possibility—that the economic pursuits of the town and its hinterland may enable it to support more or less organisations—must now be considered. The difficulty in this respect is the classification of the economic pursuits and the wealth they create in such a manner as to make comparisons possible. It is generally known that the Europeans in the Territories—with the exception of a farming area in Griqualand East, around Kokstad—are predominantly traders, missionaries and government servants. Those in the Border Area, elsewhere than in East London and to a lesser degree Queenstown, Grahamstown and Kingwilliamstown, are wealthy farmers and urban traders. Only in the larger cities is the influence of industry felt at all. But this basis of classification is clearly inadequate for the present intentions.

In the Annual Report of The Commissioner for Inland Revenue there is published a table giving details of tax returns submitted to the Receiver of Revenue classified according to Magisterial Districts. The most recent report available is contained in U.G. 67 of 1952, and relates to the tax year July, 1951 to 30th June, 1952. It is proposed to utilise this information as the basis of classification. However, certain difficulties must be pointed out. They are:

1) The interpretation of the headings under which the statistics are grouped is not a simple matter. The author has taken pains by enquiring from academic and governmental sources to ensure that the

interpretation made is justified; but the matter is so involved that some doubt inevitably remains.

2) Income Tax returns in general are untrustworthy statistics. This is particularly so when they refer to general dealers and farmers—the two occupations notoriously able to conceal income. However, one fact is certain, that the statistics given understate the amount rather than exaggerate it.

3) To prevent concealing the identity and incomes of individuals, the statistics for Districts with less than 10 Income tax payers are not divulged.

4) The ways in which welfare organisations are financed are generally unknown in South Africa. Further, those in predominantly rural areas may be financed differently from those in the city. That is to say, welfare organisations in either of the two areas may depend more on a few donations of large size than on many of smaller size. In the first case the number of persons in any district with large incomes i.e. paying Super Tax would be a safer criterion of classification than the average income of the tax paying members of any District, and vice versa in the case of organisations customarily receiving many small amounts. The field research showed that in general welfare organisations in both the smaller towns and the cities are financed predominantly by many small donations. The larger donations tend to be given for capital projects, rather than towards the day to day administration. Therefore the principal of average tax paid in any district is a more reliable guide. This method takes no account of the influence of wills and legacies, which must be disregarded.

5) The years 1951--52 were characterised by the boom in wool prices in South Africa. These statistics would therefore tend to over-emphasise the wealth of sheep farming and agricultural areas over other areas. As sheep are reared over almost the entire area of investigation, this matter should not concern us about the validity of the statistics.

(6) The statistics are divided into two categories:

- a) income tax (Central Government),
- b) personal tax (Provincial Administrations).

Only persons in receipt of a given minimum income pay tax.

The minimum level for income tax is higher than that for personal tax. Persons paying income tax are also obliged to pay personal tax assessed on the size of their income. To

determine the general wealth of a District it is not adequate merely to take into consideration those who pay income tax.

There may in fact be a large number of persons whose incomes are not quite sufficient to make them eligible for income tax, or whose size of family is so large that despite an otherwise large enough income they still do not pay income tax. It may,

however, be sufficient for them to become members of and to contribute towards voluntary welfare organisations. In

addition to those who pay income tax the number paying personal tax should also be known. These two figures would give an

indication of the size of the upper income group and size of the middle or personal tax paying group. Thirdly, both

these groups can be combined to indicate the size of the total tax paying group. To standardise these figures for

comparative purposes it is proposed to express them as a percentage of the total European population of 21 years of age and

over in any given Magisterial District. This can be obtained from the 1946 Census returns. The actual source used is

U.G. 16 of 1954 'Languages and Literacy' Pp.58 - 68.

This means of standardisation makes no mention of Non-European tax payers, but is justified on the grounds that the number of Non-Europeans paying either type of tax is insignificantly small in the area of investigation. Also, the removal of the under 21 age group tends to overcome the effect of schools and universities on the composition of the total population of certain towns.

The method proposed, above, makes no mention of the amount of tax paid. It refers merely to the number of persons who pay one or other, or both of the taxes. This is justified, and possibly desirable, on the grounds that the wool boom of 1951/52 markedly affected the size of certain incomes, and secondly, because of the ability of certain occupational categories to conceal the size of their actual income and submit returns which place them in the personal tax bracket only. On the other hand, the size of the tax paid or the average size of the income received are important phenomena and may be a guide to the general wealth of the District. Therefore

a) the average amount of tax paid by persons paying income tax in any District is shown, and

b) the average amount of income among persons who paid personal tax only, is shown.

It will be noticed that these two averages are not the same. The one refers to the average of tax paid—in the case of those paying income tax—and the other to the average of the income—in the case of those paying personal tax only. This difference is unavoidable as the headings under which the statistics are presented are not in themselves comparable. This has caused difficulty in the use of these statistics for the present research, but is possibly a deliberate policy on the part of the Commissioner to ensure non-disclosure of incomes in areas with small tax-paying populations.

The last column of the Table is a final index of wealth, arrived at by the formula below. This index is suitable for comparisons between Districts, but it takes no account of population sizes. Its use, therefore, is restricted.

Table 11.The Wealth of Districts as revealed by Tax Returns.

The headings of columns are as follows:

- a) The name of the Magisterial District.
- b) The number of persons who receive income tax assessments.
- c) The per centage that those in (b) represent of the total European population of 21 years of age and over. (1946).
- d) The average amount of tax paid by those in column (b).
- e) The number of declaration forms for personal tax and exempt income tax cases.
- f) The per centage of those in (e) represent of the total European population of 21 years of age and over. (1946 Census).
- g) The average income of those eligible for personal tax payment.
- h) The total of persons paying a tax i.e. columns (b) and (e), expressed as a per centage of the relevant European population.
- i) The index of wealth arrived at by multiplying columns (c) times (d) and columns (f) times (g), and dividing the sum by 100.

The formula is therefore

$$\frac{(c \times d) \text{ plus } (f \times g)}{100}$$

Table 10 Cont.

A) The Border Area:

<u>(a)</u>	<u>(b)</u>	<u>(c)</u>	<u>(d)</u>	<u>(e)</u>	<u>(f)</u>	<u>(g)</u>	<u>(h)</u>	<u>(i)</u>
			<u>£</u>			<u>£</u>		
Adelaide	107	10.7	597	223	22.4	441	33.1	261
Albany	622	9.2	65	835	12.4	403	21.6	56
Albert	298	13.4	247	519	23.3	428	36.7	133
Alexandria	55	3.1	90	310	17.5	330	20.6	61
Aliwal North	273	10.8	131	341	13.4	403	24.2	68
Barkley East	330	24.0	784	142	10.3	457	34.3	235
Bathurst	111	6.0	182	251	13.5	402	19.5	65
Bedford	81	7.5	355	152	14.1	357	21.6	77
Cathcart	97	6.2	870	72	4.6	481	10.8	76
East London	5763	21.3	101	7569	27.9	431	49.2	142
Elliot	136	8.8	518	192	12.1	402	20.9	94
Fort Beaufort	158	13.8	107	297	25.9	415	39.7	122
Glen Grey	34	9.6	37	58	16.4	457	26.0	78
Herschel	23	18.3	164	23	16.3	398	36.6	103
Indwe	67	9.6	240	199	22.8	403	32.4	115
Keiskammahoek	39	12.2	65	42	13.1	291	25.3	127
Kingwillstown.	752	16.6	69	453	10.0	456	26.6	57
Komgha	74	7.1	104	193	18.6	407	25.7	63
Lady Grey	21	28.2	207	144	19.3	397	47.5	135
Maclear	127	9.7	237	248	18.9	533	28.6	123
Middeldrift	22	16.9	63	29	22.3	454	39.2	122
Molteno	107	9.7	682	201	18.3	409	28.0	141
Pearston	55	8.3	748	69	10.4	464	18.7	122
Peddie	-	-	-	99	17.5	318	-	-
Queenstown	842	14.9	981	908	16.0	444	30.9	86
Somerset East	360	12.0	470	662	23.9	441	36.9	166
Sterkstroom	154	16.2	395	184	19.4	392	35.6	140
Steynsburg	43	4.1	52	152	14.6	354	18.7	54
Stockenstroom	48	5.1	180	229	24.5	320	29.6	87

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
			£			£		
Stutterheim	262	13.9	192	391	20.8	476	34.7	125
Tarka	220	22.6	365	187	19.2	321	41.8	144
Venterstad	43	7.7	446	58	10.4	530	18.1	150
Victoria East	154	17.6	312	38	4.3	479	21.9	26
Wodehouse	202	10.4	509	352	18.2	496	28.6	143
Mean Border Area		12.3%	293		16.7	418	29.2	112

B) Transkeian Territories:

Bizana	38	25.0	61	48	31.6	402	56.6	142
Butterworth	61	12.8	78	177	37.0	417	49.8	162
Elliotdale	18	10.5	60	24	14.0	400	24.5	62
Engcobo	78	18.4	83	99	23.4	488	41.8	129
Flagstaff	23	14.4	104	44	27.5	366	41.9	116
Idutywa	46	18.0	67	70	27.5	454	45.5	137
Kentani	41	16.1	113	28	11.0	346	27.1	56
Libode	20	12.0	35	31	18.9	440	20.9	87
Lusikisiki	23	9.5	71	63	26.0	382	35.5	106
Matatiele	124	10.6	184	213	18.2	456	28.8	102
Mt Ayliff	28	16.9	71	39	23.5	434	40.4	114
Mt Currie	199	10.7	256	426	22.9	407	33.6	120
Mt Frere	46	18.8	67	103	42.0	428	60.8	193
Mqanduli	-	-	-	42	23.3	368	-	-
Ngqeleni	15	10.0	129	4	2.7	303	12.7	9
Namakwe	15	11.0	59	44	32.1	352	43.1	120
Port St Johns	29	7.2	22	90	22.3	354	29.5	81
Qumbu	37	22.6	112	54	32.9	317	55.5	130
St Marks	31	12.5	72	37	14.9	336	27.4	51
Tabankulu	20	15.0	84	38	28.4	425	43.4	133
Tsolo	41	16.4	67	10	4.0	516	20.4	22
Tsomo	19	15.8	71	60	50.0	348	65.8	185
Umtata	440	24.9	66	578	32.7	441	57.6	161
Umzimkulu	69	18.4	325	118	31.4	422	49.6	192
Willowvale	43	24.2	121	41	23.0	406	47.2	123
Xalanga	-	-	-	64	19.5	324	-	-
Mean Transkei		15.2%	96		24.0	434	38.9	111.1
Total Mean		13.6%	209		20.0	411	33.4	111.8

Column (1) of this Table is an index of wealth. The arithmetic mean for the 58 Magisterial Districts for which the index can be computed is 111.8. It is significant that the mean for the Border Area is 112.0, and for the Transkeian Territories 111.1. It would appear therefore that the wealth of Europeans in these two areas is approximately equal. However, the mean number of tax-payers in the two areas varies. In the Border Area it is 29.2% of the adult European population, while in the Territories it is 38.9%. It appears, therefore, that almost 10% more of the adult European population in the Territories pay tax than in the Border Area. The average populations of the two areas are, however, vastly different. The Territories are predominantly villages of under 500 Europeans, whereas the Border Area is predominantly towns of 750 - 1500 Europeans. The chances are, therefore, that there is a greater number of Europeans in poor circumstances in the Border Area than there is in the Territories. There appear to be very few Europeans in the Territories who are not gainfully employed. The need for welfare services catering for impoverished groups does not appear to be pronounced as far as the Territories are concerned.

The per centage of middle income group persons i.e. persons paying personal tax only, is greater in the Territories than in the Border Area. The respective per centages are 24.0 and 16.7. The incomes of those in this category are also greater, £434 as opposed to £418. Further, the Territories have a greater mean per centage in the income tax paying group. The respective mean per centages are 15.2 and 12.3, but the respective mean amounts of tax paid are £96 and £293. Thus, although the Border Area has a slightly lower per centage who pay income tax, their wealth is almost three times as great. Thus, ignoring the size of population, the Border Area is characterised by a greater spread of wealth. The Territories have a relatively heavy concentration in the middle income i.e. personal tax paying group.

The purpose of this calculation was to ascertain if the relative wealth of different communities was in any way correlated with the number of organisations in that community. It would appear that a correlation coefficient between the index of wealth and the number of organisations in any Magisterial District would provide an answer. But this is not so. It has already been demonstrated that the size of population is strongly, positively correlated with the number of organisations. The index of wealth takes no account of population size. Secondly, it has been demonstrated that cultural factors such as the Universities are slightly influential. Thirdly, the existence of rural clinics and mission hospitals must be discounted, as they are not related to population concentrations and wealth but to other phenomena.

It is therefore proposed to ascertain if a correlation exists between the index of wealth and the number of organisations existing in similar population sizes and after the other variables have been discounted.

There is no advantage to be gained from a study of towns with less than 501 European persons. Earlier it was found that villages of this size have an average of just over two organisations. They can maintain up to four. But the increase of from 2 to 4 is numerically so small that it is virtually impossible to ascertain what general, as distinct from individual, factors lead to the increase. It is most probable that in villages of this size the personality of individuals and the isolation of the village from the main urban centres are more influential than more abstract considerations such as mean wealth.

Coefficients of correlation were calculated for towns of other sizes with the results that follow.

<u>Size of Towns</u>	<u>Coefficient of Correlation.</u>
501 - 750	-.11
751 - 1000	-.56 plus/minus .16
1001 - 1500	plus.30
1501 - 3050	-.10

None of these correlations are significant. It therefore appears that, as revealed by the methods employed here, there is no relationship between the mean wealth of the tax-paying portion of the community and the number of organisations supported.

3) The third possibility is geographical isolation. The concept of isolation from a sociological point of view is extremely complex. Mere spatial separation may be overcome by sociological and psychological bonds that transcend the geographical facts. In so far as welfare organisations are concerned, the attitude of the isolated group towards their isolation may equally lead to an increase in the number of organisations as to a diminution. Easily accessible lines of communication are necessary in the case of certain organisations e.g. the Memorable Order of the Tin Hats (M.O.T.H.) and Round Table which rely on a superimposed regional organisational structure to encourage the 'get-together' of members, whereas others exist more readily in a purely local environment, e.g. Ladies Benevolent Societies etc.

Further, both the absolute size of a group and its numerical ratio to the immediate environment are important in determining the specific effects of isolation.

These theoretical difficulties give rise to practical difficulties this research and the methods used have no means of answering. The best that can be achieved is to describe some of the more obvious difficulties confronting

- a) organisations of particular kinds, and
- b) isolated communities.

A later portion of this work will reveal that welfare organisations vary markedly as to their aims vis à vis their

membership. Presupposing future discussion, certain organisations concentrate on their membership as subjects for the fulfillment of their aims. For example, Alcoholics Anonymous provides assistance to its members only. In short, its members are the clients it serves. Though the example given is extreme in character, this type of organisation relies extensively upon camaraderie and fellowship among members to achieve its welfare purpose.

This camaraderie can be of a purely local kind, but it appears that it is increased in quantity and improved in quality by associating with like minded persons in distant and foreign communities. For example, organisations such as the M.O.T.H., the Round Table, the Suid-Afrikaanse Noodhulpliga, the Toc. H. and others have an organisational structure above that of the purely local branch. This structure is organised on a geographical, regional basis. It enables gatherings, conferences, and other means of social intercourse to take place at a level above the local branch.

Communities isolated by many miles of untarred and indifferent roads find difficulty in maintaining their contact with far distant communities. Organisations in such communities are hindered by the difficulty of travelling to other places. Unlike sporting organisations they are not motivated by a competitive element. Thus, for example, there is no Round Table, M.O.T.H. or Toc.H. branches in the area between Aliwal North, Queenstown and Umata. Each of these towns contains branches of these organisations, but the isolated hinterland to the North and East of them does not.

On the other hand, organisations of a less intimate type, which have not created a superimposed, regional organisational structure, can and do ^p operate successfully in the isolated community. For example, the B.E.S.L. and the Red Cross Society

are to be found everywhere in the area of investigation. They exist as readily in isolated as in metropolitan areas. The B.E.S.L. is organised on an essentially branch basis with little or no superimposed organisational structure. In the isolated, country villages the full membership of this organisation tends to meet quarterly for a social event, and annually for a general meeting. An executive committee is appointed to handle the day-to-day administration of the branch.

The superimposed organisational structure of the Red Cross Society has a purely administrative function. Though it is designed on a geographically regional basis, as is that of the M.C.T.H. or Toc. H., it uses geographical areas as a means of administration, not as a means of bringing people together for friendly and social purposes. The Local Centre Committee is a purely utilitarian unit designed to serve certain needs in the local community. Members of the unit serve not themselves, but others in the community at large.

The isolated community suffers from a lack of direction and stimulus obtained from the visits of experts. Communities established on rail, air and road links can and do benefit from the visits of national organisers, national secretaries and others of similar type. (1) A good example of this was the 1950-52 Appeal for funds of the S.A. National Tuberculosis Association, or the appeal of the National Cancer Fund. During these appeals prominent persons made a lecturing tour of the area of investigation. The results of these tours are still evident in the communities by the committees they left behind them. But their tour was confined to readily accessible areas. In the isolated areas

1) One of the notable phenomena of the work in the field was the frequency in which the author was asked by isolated communities to address specially and hurriedly called meetings of local persons interested in welfare work.

their tour, and the support they received from the press, was sufficient to encourage the isolated area to raise and contribute funds, but there are few if any constituted committees to assist local deviate persons in their day/day needs. A further example of a different kind is the Cala Child Welfare Society.

Cala is the seat of the Magistracy of the Xalanga District, Transkei. It has a European population of about 600 persons and a considerable Coloured community. It has no rail or air service and is situated by road 67 miles from Queenstown and over 80 miles from Umtata. The Society was started on 13th November, 1934, and had an income in 1953 of £28. 7. 8d. Of this amount nearly £20 came from some Governmental source. The Hon. Secretary expressed the opinion that that was a good year financially. The Society handles only European cases, though there is no voluntary organisation assisting the Coloured community. It is administered largely through the interest of a local clergyman and his wife. It assists the local Magistrate in investigating childrens cases. Recently it has had to handle an average of one neglect case a year. It is affiliated to the National Council for Child Welfare, though it is extremely difficult for any of the Council's visiting officials to come to Cala to assist the Society to play a more influential role in the needs of an impoverished community. (1)

On the other hand, regional centres such as Umtata, Kingwilliamstown and Grahamstown appear to have many organisations. It is known that the number of organisations in the villages surrounding Kingwilliamstown, and to a lesser extent Grahamstown also, is small and that many of the organisations in the cities extend their services to the outlying villages. The position in Queenstown, certainly in so far as Child Welfare work is concerned, appears to follow the same pattern as the Child Welfare

(1) There were less than 10 income tax payers and only 64 personal tax payers in the whole District in 1951 - 52.

Society is interesting itself in Cathcart and Whittlesea. Butternorth is tending to be a centre for the activities of the Civilian Blind Society. These attempts at regionalisation are possible not only because of the size of the towns, but also because they stand on important lines of communication.

This discussion suggests that the factor of isolation does play a part in determining the number of organisations in any town; and that it appears definitely to influence the type of welfare organisation, and the work they undertake.

4) The fourth possibility---that the predominance of English or Afrikaans speaking people may be a determining factor---must now be considered.

It was mentioned in Chapter 2 that in general the Afrikaans speaking people have tended to create organisations of an essentially family welfare type. Afrikaans is the official language of the four major Afrikaans organisations operating in the area of investigation. They also tend to recruit members and serve clients who are almost exclusively Afrikaans speaking; and tend to make the grounds of eligibility for membership a faith in the ideals and national sentiments of the Afrikaner 'volk'. The first and last qualification i.e. language and national sentiment, are written into the constitutions of two of the organisations and may possibly be with the others which are integral parts of the Afrikaans churches.

In contrast, with the exception of the Sons of England Patriotic and Benevolent Society, none of the predominantly English speaking societies possess in their constitutions reference to languages preferred or sentiments towards any patriotic or national ideal. Many contain references to sentiments and ideals of conduct, but these are made available to all Europeans, irrespective of language, who wish to embrace them. In a few instances these sentiments and ideals are made available

to all men irrespective of race. The majority of Afrikaans organisations are 'de facto' associated with a church, whereas only a few English speaking organisations are so attached. The English speaking organisations tend to be secular and directed to no spiritual ends. The former tend to draw their strength from the concept of a religious 'calling', whereas the latter tend to draw their strength from the philanthropic sentiments of humanitarians.

The selective character of Afrikaans and English organisations has given rise to the existence of predominantly English speaking organisations in all but a few urban areas. On the other hand, the predominantly Afrikaans organisations are found only in those urban areas which possess sufficient Afrikaans speaking persons to support them. The conditions for eligibility for membership are such as to exclude all but a very few English speaking people. On the other hand, the more 'open' conditions of eligibility for membership of the predominantly English speaking organisations has made it possible for many Afrikaans speaking people to join and assist in their administration. Thus predominantly English speaking organisations have been able to exist in towns where the English speaking population alone would normally be unable to support them.

This phenomenon is also affected by the distribution of organisations over the sexes. The B.E.S.L. tends to be a predominantly male organisation, with the B.E.S.L. Womens Auxiliary catering for the interests of women anxious to help ex-servicemen and their dependents. The B.E.S.L. and the Womens Auxiliary are, however, technically one organisation—a point which will be made clearer in subsequent chapters. This organisation is predominantly an English speaking one, though it contains many Afrikaans speaking ex-servicemen and women. The journal 'Springbok' is almost exclusively in English. The B.E.S.L. and the M.C.T.H. are the most numerous mens' organisations.

in the area of investigation. There are branches of the B.E.S.L. in even the smallest town. But there is no corresponding predominantly Afrikaans speaking men's organisation. Whether or not the Afrikaans speaking churches or farmers' associations tend to provide a role for Afrikaans speaking men cannot be answered by this research. The fact remains that Afrikaans speaking men outside the Railways and Harbours Administration and the Churches are without an Afrikaans welfare organisation.

On the other hand, the womens associations in the Border Area are predominantly mixed as far as languages are concerned. The Cape Province Womens Agricultural Association (C.P.W.A.A.) makes a special point of including both language groups. Further, Afrikaans speaking women have available the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging (A.C.V.V.) in towns where a branch of this organisation exists.

In the Territories and other predominantly English speaking areas the womens associations are predominantly English speaking. There have occurred instances where a local Womens' Association has broken away from the C.P.W.A.A. on the grounds of its allegedly Afrikaans sentiment and ideology. In such places there are no womens' associations for Afrikaans speaking persons unwilling to join the predominantly English speaking associations. Their number frequently make it impossible to create an Afrikaans counterpart.

A further phenomenon of interest is the apparent tendency for English speaking districts to create a relatively large number of organisations. The organisations are also relatively heterogenous in character. On the other hand, the predominantly Afrikaans speaking districts tend to support a more homogeneous type of organisation. The principal split in the Afrikaans organisations has centred around the Churches.

The Nededitse Gereformeerde Kerk (N.G. Kerk) attempted
 (1) some years ago to incorporate the hitherto non-denominational
 A.C.V.V. into itself by making the Church Councils responsible for
 the welfare services carried out by the A.C.V.V.. The women of
 this organisation strongly opposed this move. The author,
 during the time in the field, was frequently entertained to
 animated and lengthy descriptions of how and why the women
 voiced their opposition. Their attitude frequently centred
 around the opinion that the women of the A.C.V.V. started welfare
 work in the human suffering and wreckage that followed the
 (2) Angl-Boer War. They built up without Church assistance
 an organisation second to none in size and efficiency in the
 whole Cape Province. Only recently, they claim, after all
 these assets had been won, had the N.G. Kerk shown any interest in
 them and in welfare generally. This latter statement is,
 (3) in the light of history, untrue, but it had sufficient truth to
 lead them to protest sufficiently strongly to retain their
 independence of the Church.

A far more valid ground of objection which was occasionally
 mentioned by interviewees was that if the A.C.V.V. was made an
 integral part of the N.G. Kerk all Afrikaans speaking people
 who showed little interest in the Church would be either reluctant
 to seek assistance for fear of the Church's attitude or else the
 Church itself might refuse to help them in the light of their
 attitude.

The outcome of this problem has been compromise. When
 A.C.V.V. branches are in existence the N.G. Kerk has undertaken
 to leave the welfare work already in the hands of the A.C.V.V. to
 that organisation. Where no A.C.V.V. branch is in existence

- 1) See the Synodical Reports and Minutes for this Church for the years 1948 - 1950.
- 2) See Emily Hobhouse 'Report to the Committee of the Distress Fund for South African Women and Children' Friar's Printing Association Ltd. London.
- 3) See U.G. 15 of 1940 Chapter 1. Report of the Dept. of Social Welfare. 1937 - 39.

(1)
 the local Church Council operating through an 'ArmesorgKomitee' undertakes the work. It was found in one or two towns that the A.C.V.V. and the N.G. Kerk Council were both doing welfare work. The local agreement appeared to be that the client had a choice as to which agency would assist him. It was also observed that in the case of Queenstown, Indwe and Lady Frere the A.C.V.V. branches had died out and the work had been taken over by the Church Council. Certain interviewees argued that this had been a consequence of a deliberate policy, but the issue was clearly a contentious one, and the information unreliable. It appears that the respective roles of the A.C.V.V. branch and the local Church Council is to a large extent a matter of opinion and policy of the local Church Minister. This appears not infrequently to lead to friction and a state of uncertainty in the local community.

In contrast, the Hervormde of Gereformeerde Kerk (H.G. Kerk) acknowledges no independent welfare organisation. All welfare work among the congregation is carried out by the Susters Organisasie. The work is done at the request of the Church Council or by the Elders of the Church. Thus the duty of caring for the poor of the congregation devolves upon the Church members directly.

Thus in towns possessing both of these Churches there are in fact two Afrikaans organisations.

A statistical treatment of this phenomenon is possible if the ratio of English to Afrikaans persons in the community contained in Table 6 (P.31), is used to indicate the language composition of any Magisterial District. This ratio can be compared with the number and language affiliation of organisations in towns of given population size. Towns of less than 500 European persons must be ignored on the grounds that the number of organisations in towns of this size is so small as to make invalid
 1) Armesorgkomitee is a committee for the care of the poor.

a statistical treatment of the type employed. Certain towns with population sizes in excess of 500 must also be disregarded on the grounds that they have peculiar population structures. e.g. Ugie which is heavily affected by the presence of the Orphanages; and that they are affected by the presence of large towns near at hand e.g. Berlin.

The relevant towns with from 501 - 1000 European persons are listed below. They are arranged in descending order of Afrikaans speaking/ English Speaking proportion of the population, i.e. the most heavily weighted Afrikaans speaking Districts first and the English speaking Districts last. Against this is put the number of organisations in the urban areas situated in these Districts. Where there is more than one major urban area in any one District, for which the facts are available, the towns and not the Districts have been used.

Table 12.

<u>District</u>	<u>Ratio English/Afrikaans</u>	<u>No. of Organisations</u>	
Steynsburg	1 : 7.73	7	} mean 4.2
Lady Grey	1 : 4.54	3	
Indwe	1 : 4.51	2	
Molteno	1 : 4.04	7	
Barkley East	1 : 3.83	2	
Maclear	1 : 3.21	3	} mean 4.4
Jamestown	1 : 3.03	3	
Alexandria	1 : 2.16	4	
Bedford	1 : 1.88	8	
Tarkastad	1 : 1.71	4	
Cathcart	1 : 0.96	5	} mean 6.0
Cala	1 : 0.87	3	
Alice	1 : 0.38	11	
Komgha	1 : 0.28	5	

It will be observed from this Table that with the exception of Steynsburg with 7 organisations, Molteno with 7 organisations and Cala with three organisations there appears to be a clear tendency for the number of organisation to increase with the greater proportion of English speaking persons in the European population.

Steynsburg is affected by having an Afrikaans organisation to serve each of the Afrikaans churches in addition to an A.C.V.V. branch. There is also an orphanage for girls under the

auspices of the N.G. Church. The only predominantly English speaking organisation is the B.E.S.L. and the Womens Auxiliary.

Maiteno is affected by the presence of an Afrikaans organisation attached to each of the Afrikaans Churches and an A.C.V.V. Branch. In addition there is a branch of the B.E.S.L., M.O.T.H. and Union of Jewish Women which are predominantly English speaking.

Cala, on the other hand, is affected by isolation and the number of organisation developed by ~~either~~ both language groups is small.

Towns with a population of 1001 - 3050 are treated similarly to those above.

Table 12a.

<u>Town/District.</u>	<u>Ratio English / Afrikaans</u>	<u>No. of Organisation</u>
Burgersdorp (Albert)	1 : 7.73	6
Dordrecht (Wodehouse)	1 : 7.61	4
Elliot	1 : 3.82	5
Sterkstroom	1 : 3.74	3
Somerset East	1 : 3.36	7
Aliwal North	1 : 3.03	11
Adelaide	1 : 1.67	7
Matatiele	1 : 1.05	6
Port Alfred (Bathurst)	1 : 0.92	8
Fort Beaufort	1 : 0.70	9
Stutterheim & Upper Kubusie	1 : 0.51	8
Kokstad (Mt Currie)	1 : 0.51	10
Umtata	1 : 0.48	11
Butterworth	1 : 0.20	8

It appears that in towns of this size, also, the number of organisations increases with the English speaking proportion of the population. Aliwal North is affected by the presence of an Afrikaans organisation attached to each Church and an A.C.V.V. branch. In addition there are a number of English speaking organisations. The latter have been influenced by two prominent personalities in the town. They are Mr B.R. Buys, who is a member of the Border Local Welfare Board, and the Rev. E.S. Bacon, Anglican Minister. These gentlemen have for many years been interested in the local Child Welfare Society and its derivative clinics and sub-committees. Mr Buys and his family also do welfare work in the A.C.V.V. and the Church organisations. The

Rev. Bacon is interested in the Coloured welfare services.

The cities with populations in excess of 3050 are

Queenstown	1 : 0.60	with 22 organisations,
Grahamstown	1 : 0.38	with 33 organisations,
Kingwilliamstown	1 : 0.25	with 23 organisations,
East London	1 : 0.22	with 29 organisations.

No valid conclusions can be drawn from these cities as they are all predominantly English speaking.

It is possible that towns with a language ratio approaching parity may possess more organisations than those of predominantly one language group. This could arise from each group supporting its own organisations and hence there being considerably more than if only one language group predominated. Generally this does not appear to be the case, though in certain instances it appears to have occurred. Aliwal North and Moltens are examples. What is noticeable is the tendency for very homogeneous towns of both language groups to create more than usual organisations. In the case of the heavily predominant Afrikaans areas the increase has come about as a consequence of church affiliations and the presence of the A.C.V.V. and the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging (A.T.K.V.) in certain instances. In the heavily predominantly English areas the larger frequency arises from the presence of the B.E.S.L. and M.O.T.H. with their Womens' Auxiliaries, and the Toc H. in certain places. The specialised services for the blind, crippled and child welfare societies also enlarge the number.

The evidence suggests, therefore, that to a limited extent the language affiliation of any town does influence the number of organisations it possesses. It also tends to influence the type of organisation. The predominantly Afrikaans speaking towns tend to have slightly fewer organisations than the predominantly English speaking towns. Those towns possessing a marked homogeneity of language group tend, to a limited extent, to have a larger number of organisations than those with a more heterogeneous language composition, though

this phenomenon is much more marked where English is the predominant language. It occurs only in isolated instances where Afrikaans is the predominant language, and in these instances appears to be a function of religious affiliation and internal group tensions.

x x x x x x x

The discussion of the possible cause of the fluctuation in the number of organisations existing in towns of common population size has revealed that:

1) In general terms their number is not a function of the needs existing in any area. This statement must be qualified by taking into consideration the lack of available knowledge concerning the needs of the area as a whole and of the towns in any part of it; and secondly, by the prevailing attitude of the majority of European persons—especially in the Territories—that voluntary welfare organisations are not intended to cater for the needs of Non-Europeans and of Africans in particular.

There are isolated instances in the area of investigation where welfare organisations have been deliberately created to cater for a particular need. This is especially so in the case of anti-tuberculosis societies.

2) There appears to be no significant correlation between the number of organisations in any town and the mean wealth of the community. This appears to be true of towns of all population sizes.

3) Geographical isolation appears to be influential in determining both the number and kind of organisations. The enquiry shows a tendency towards regionalisation of services in the main towns and cities of the area. This regionalisation is additional to the over-all dominance of East London. Where it occurs it is found to be centred on prominent lines of communication.

quality and amount of work undertaken, and the attention paid to them by prominent persons on lecture and inspection tours.

4) The language affiliation of any town influences the number of organisations existing in it. In general terms predominantly English speaking towns possess more organisations than predominantly Afrikaans speaking towns. Towns where the English/Afrikaans ratio is verging on parity do not, with one or two exceptions, possess more organisations than towns where the community is heavily predominant in English speaking persons.

In addition, the ecological study of welfare organisations in the Border and Transkei reveals that their number in any urban area is closely associated with the size of that urban area. Though there are some organisations existing in rural districts--- principally clinics and health services--- the main concentration occurs in urban areas. The area of investigation has numerous small towns and villages of less than 500 people, but in all except the very smallest some type of welfare organisation is in existence. It was found that although it takes a European population of 100 - 150 to support an organisation, this population can support as many as three. The number of organisations was found to increase with an increase in the population size especially for towns with European populations in excess of 500. East London was found to differ from this general rule in that the number of organisations it contained was considerably less than its population indicated. This phenomenon was explained in terms of the nature of the city's population and the inability to create more organisations without duplication of existing services, or conflict with existing cultural and entertainment amenities.

The over-all picture, from the ecological point of view, is one of numerous small towns each supporting welfare organisations. Only in certain types of organisation is the ecologically

dominant position of East London illustrated. This type refers to organisations possessing administrative structures of an hierarchical character. In these cases the principal regional office is centred in East London. Organisations not possessing this structure tend to be purely local in orientation.

There is a tendency for certain towns on major lines of communication to become the regional centres for specialised services. This process is occurring in Grahamstown, Kingwilliamstown, Queenstown, Umtata and to a lesser extent Butterworth. The process is at present nowhere extensively developed, but specialised case work services are tending to centre in these towns and extending their services to outlying villages from them.

The ecological influence of East London tends to diminish in the South and West of the area of investigation. In the Districts to the West of the Great Fish River the influence of Port Elizabeth^{is} marked. To the North, in the Alival North and Barkley East Districts, East London retains its dominant position over Bloemfontein and the Orange Free State generally. This statement holds true of the English speaking organisations, but requires modification in respect of some of the Afrikaans organisations who tend to look towards the Free State rather than the Border. To the North-East, East London's influence extends to Umtata, and in some respects to Kokstad, but beyond Kokstad there is a marked tendency to look to Pietermaritzburg and Durban as the centres of ecological influence. This influence is well illustrated by the C.P.W.A.A. which fails to operate significantly north of Umtata, and the Federation of Womens Institutes which fail to operate south^{of} East Griqualand and Pondoland.

The region as a whole is marked by its divided ecological loyalties to East London, Port Elizabeth and Durban. In addition,

some organisations are tied more closely to Johannesburg and Cape Town than they are to East London. This refers to those with head offices outside the area of investigation and without an administrative structure centred locally large enough to give cohesion to branches in the area of investigation. In addition to these diffusing tendencies, the Department of Social Welfare and the Union Department of Health utilise, with minor exceptions, the area of investigation as an administrative unit. The very existence of the Border Local Welfare Board, centred as it is in East London, forces the organisations in the more remote areas to look towards East London in social welfare matters.

The area of jurisdiction of the Border Local Welfare Board is not a natural ecological area in the generally accepted sense. East London is not yet large enough to incorporate the whole of the area in its ecological influence by natural means. The area is held together rather by administrative devices than any natural ecological tendencies. This phenomenon can be exemplified by pointing out that not one organisation in the area, apart from the government departments, has an administrative unit that corresponds with the area under discussion. The nearest approach is the Red Cross Society and the East London and Border Society for the Care of Cripples, but even these fail to include the Districts to the West of the Fish River in their area of operations.

The area of the Border Local Welfare Board must be viewed as an ad hoc administrative creation, and not one which corresponds to an already established ecological area. This fact affects the structure of welfare organisation with regional or national organisational structures of their own. It also, in part at least, accounts for the heterogeneous and diffuse nature of welfare organisations in the area as a whole. It raises planning problems of a very difficult character.

Chapter 5.The Type of Welfare Organisations Found in Urban Population Concentrations of Various Sizes.

The number of organisations has been shown to vary with the European population of towns. It is now intended to examine whether the types of organisations are in any way correlated with the size of towns.

To achieve this it is necessary to find an adequate method of classifying the organisations. All welfare organisations, by definition, serve the needs of some individuals or groups. As such they have a common characteristic; but the method whereby they perform this service and the type of beneficiary varies markedly from organisation to organisation. The customary method of classification according to the type of clientele assisted i.e. serves to youth, the aged etc., implies the presence of a far greater degree of specialisation than occurs in the area of investigation. Such a classification tends to emphasise the help given to the client and the needy to the point where it tends to ignore the aspects of membership of the organisation. In so far as it does this it fails to illustrate a fundamental characteristic of many of the organisations in the area of investigation.

To overcome this difficulty it is proposed to create a classification on a different principle. Any welfare organisation may be viewed as possessing four components:

- a) A system of sentiments and values,
- b) A membership,
- c) An organisational structure,
- d) A clientele.

In many organisations the organisational structure is the means of bringing the aid offered by members to the needs of the clientele. In such cases the members and the clientele are

essentially different persons. In the case of the Child Welfare Society, for example, the financial help and the offers of personal service of the members, and the wider public, make possible a service to the community's children. The help given by members is given altruistically i.e. with no notion of receiving anything tangible in exchange. There may be an inner satisfaction on the part of members as a consequence of the services offered, but for present purposes this may be disregarded. On the other hand, an organisation such as Alcoholics Anonymous, combines the membership and the clientele into one person or group of persons. In consequence the aid offered by the organisational structure is obtained from the members and then returned to them again. From this point of view, the member himself stands to gain considerably from his membership of the organisation.

These two examples are, from one of view, polar extremes of a continuum expressing the returns to be expected from the membership of any organisation. Looked at from another point of view, these two examples are together at one pole of a continuum with organisations of a different kind at the other. If the question is asked: 'Would the organisation continue if the needs of the clients were removed by a third party?' we see that, on the face of it at least, both the two examples above would cease to exist. That is to say if every child was adequately cared for and if every alcoholic was cured, there would be no incentive for organisations serving these needs to exist, and we could expect them to become defunct. On the other hand, those organisations offering their members camaraderie and social pleasure may well continue to exist if they were no longer called upon to help the odd needy individual or to supply a community service of one kind or another. It is the prevalence of organisations of the latter type in the area of investigation that induced the author to

change the criteria of classification from that more commonly used. The method of classification it is proposed to adopt here is to ask the question: 'What does the member gain from his membership?' The replies to this question cover a variety of phenomena, which may be classified broadly as follows:

1) Altruistic, i.e. those who gain nothing but an intangible satisfaction from having fulfilled a humanitarian duty. This type is found in the welfare organisation par excellence i.e. the Child Welfare Society, the Cripple Care, Blind and other organisations of this type.

2) Those who gain merely a camaraderie from associating with others having had similar experiences in the past, or possessing common characteristics such as sex and age.

3) Those who gain moral support from associating ^{with} others who profess similar ethical ideals and standards of behaviour.

4) Those who gain a moral support from associating with others who possess similar patriotic and national sentiments and aspirations.

5) Those who gain a spiritual satisfaction from services rendered to and/or by persons of like religious persuasion.

6) Those who gain an educational advantage.

7) Those who gain, or stand to gain, care, support or rehabilitation as a consequence of their membership. This type includes not only the Alcoholics Anonymous, but organisations of a provident fund and contributory nature.

No attempt has been made to arrange these types according to either of the theoretical continuums mentioned above. Further, all these types, by definition, perform welfare work of some kind, to a more or less extent, in addition to the criteria under which they have been classified.

It must be pointed out that, with the exception of type one, the classifications are not mutually exclusive. That is to say, any one organisation may offer its members advantages from one or more of the classifications above. For example, the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging offers advantages of type 4 and type 7. It is impossible to attempt any assessment as to which of the advantages is more important, and to use this as the grounds on which to classify the organisation. Both individual members differ as to what they view the most important gain to be, and secondly, the branches of the same organisation offer different advantages from place to place. There is no logical difficulty in classifying one organisation under more than one heading as it is quite conceivable that many functions may be performed by the same organisation.

The size and prevalence of the towns and villages in the area of investigation has already been classified and discussed in the previous chapter. To ascertain if the type of welfare organisation differs in accordance with the type of town, it is intended to regroup the detailed classification of the previous chapter into villages, small towns, towns and the City of East London. By villages is meant urban concentrations with a European population of up to 500 persons. A small town is viewed as having a European population of between 500 and 1500 or 2000 persons. A town is an urban concentration of say 2000 to 10,000 persons. As is already known, the European population of East London was, in 1951, approximately 43,500 Europeans. It is not intended to adhere strictly to the populations quoted above as distinguishing a village from other sizes of concentration, as a functional rather than a statistical criterion of classification will serve the present purposes more adequately.

Before commencing this discussion it is convenient to mention briefly the position in rural areas. All the welfare organisations, except two, which are found in the rural areas belong to type 1 i.e. altruistic, of the classification. The two exceptions are womens associations which are classified under type 2. As the discussion in the previous chapter showed, the majority of organisations in rural districts are medical clinics. The only 'members' of these organisations--- which are heavily subsidised by the Union Government---are the members of the controlling committee. As these serve with no possibility of gaining from their service, the organisations have justifiably been considered as falling under Type 1.

It is significant that in the rural clinic and the larger case work society of the major towns, the role of the professional employee becomes evident. In the rural clinic the nurse and the itinerant doctor, in the larger case work agency the social worker, the secretary, the treasurer and/or the auditor are frequently professional persons. Professional services are predominantly associated with Type 1 organisations of the classification, and have an influence on the organisational structure that controls them.

The rural clinic committee largely controls the professional nurse, and has little to do with the clients served. In consequence its organisational structure can be simple, small and largely engaged in administration.

A) The welfare organisations of the Village:

The 53 villages with European population of under 500, about which information is known, are divided between the Transkeian Territories and the Border Area in the ratio of 25 to 28 respectively. In the following Table the organisations or representatives that exist in these villages are listed firstly according to their respective areas, and secondly for the

whole area of investigation.

Table 13.

<u>Name or type of Organisation.</u>	<u>Transkei</u>	<u>Border</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Classif-ication</u>
Red Cross Society Represents.	16	8	24	1
Red Cross Society Local Centres	3	2	5	1
Child Welfare Societies	1	1	2	1
Cripple Care Society Represent.	1	0	1	1
Anti-Tuberculosis Societies	0	2	2	1
Civilian Blind Societies	0	1	1	1
Hospital, Health & Clinic Com'tee	4	3	7	1
General Welfare Societies	0	2	2	1
Mayor's Poor Relief Fund	1	0	1	1
Community Chest Fund	0	1	1	1
A.C.V.V.	0	4	4	4
Womens Institutes & Clubs	14	5	19	2 & 6
B.E.S.L. & Womens Auxiliary	17	5	22	2
B.E.S.L. Coloured Legion & Aux.	1	0	1	2
M.O.T.H. & Womens Aux.	5	2	7	2 & 3
Cape African Parents Association	1	1	2	6
Coloured Memorial Fund	1	0	1	1
War Memorial Fund	1	0	1	1
Carols By Candlelight	1	0	1	5
A.T.K.V.	0	1	1	4 & 7
Entertainment Committee	0	1	1	2
Hervorde Susters Organisasie	0	1	1	5
	<u>69</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>109</u>	

In addition almost every village has a childrens Christmas Treat Fund, but these have not been included. This Table shows the Transkeian Villages to have more organisations and Representatives than Border villages. This increase is largely accounted for by the large number of Red Cross Representatives, Womens Institutes and Clubs, and B.E.S.L. and Auxiliary branches operating in the Transkei. In rank order of numerical representation in the area as a whole, the principal organisations are:

Red Cross Society	29 places,
B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux.	23 "
Womens Institutes & Clubs	19 "
Hospital, Health & Clinics	7 "
M.O.T.H. & Womens Aux.	7 "
A.C.V.V.	4 "

To ascertain the nature of these organisations, the total number must be classified according to the criteria enumerated above. This procedure reveals the results contained on the following page.

Table 14.

<u>Classification</u>	<u>Number of Organisat.</u>	<u>Number of Represent.</u>	<u>Total.</u>	<u>% of total.</u>
1	23	25	48	20.9 35.5 ^x
2	50	0	50	37.0
3	7	0	7	5.2
4	6	0	6	4.3
5	2	0	2	1.4
6	21	0	21	15.8
7	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.8</u>
	110	25	135	100.0

x with representatives included.

Though all these organisations undertake welfare work, the overwhelming majority are in classification number 1 and 2.

That is to say they are 1) altruistic in type, and

2) of a type where the members gain 'cameraderie' from associating with others having had similar experiences in the past, or possessing common characteristics such as sex or age. The essential point of this type is its quality of 'cameraderie'.

However, 25 of the 48 organisations classified as altruistic in type are merely representatives of organisations. That is to say they are not composed of committees, but are individuals. If this point is taken into account, then the 'cameraderie' type of organisation i.e. classification 2, represents over 37% of all the organisations in villages of this size. The purely altruistic type then represents just over 17% of the total, and those offering an educational service 15.5%.

This analysis suggests that the organisations i.e. as distinct from representatives, are predominantly of a 'cameraderie' or friendship type in villages of this size.

Classifications 3, 4, 5, & 7 represent slightly less than 12% of all organisations in villages of this size. Of these, those offering care, support, rehabilitation, provident funds etc. to members are scarcely represented at all. While those

offering their members moral support from associating with others possessing similar ethical standards, patriotic or national sentiments etc. are poorly represented.

The over-all picture presented by this analysis shows the majority of organisations to be of a 'cameraderie' or friendship type. Purely altruistic type of organisation is also well represented largely as a consequence of Red Cross Society activity. This is especially so if the representatives of such organisations are included. It appears that the allegiance of members in villages of under 500 European persons is divided between the 'cameraderie' or friendship type, the type offering an educational advantage and the purely altruistic type of organisation. There is almost no support for the type offering care or rehabilitation to internal members of the organisation.

The method of classification has hidden an important phenomenon of welfare activity in villages of this size. Those societies classified above as offering 'cameraderie' in type are composed almost entirely of the B.E.S.L. and the Womens Institutes and Clubs. These organisations make handsome donations to or their members are responsible for collecting donations for, altruistic type societies in the local area or in cities elsewhere in the country. This generosity results largely from the few cases needing help to be found in the local area. There is very little, if local Non-Europeans are excluded, on which their collections can be spent locally. In consequence they tend to be sent elsewhere to selected institutions and societies where the needs are thought to be greater. Thus, although the type of organisation offers its members 'cameraderie' and friendship it is also a significant means of offering financial assistance to purely altruistic type organisations situated elsewhere than in the local area.

As will be observed from later discussion, many large societies and institutions receive a considerable proportion of

their income from individuals and organisations operating in the villages. It is this support which, quite apart from other considerations, guarantees to local cases of need requiring specialist services who have been sent elsewhere, the attention of societies and institutions far removed in space from the country village. Conspicuous examples are the Schools for the Blind and Deaf at Worcester, Cape, and the Jan Kriel School for Epileptics, Kull's River. There are many others. Institutions of this type, and many specialist organisations, receive considerable financial support from the country villages.

In addition to this generosity on the part of non-denominational welfare organisations, the local community also assists, through its churches and church guilds, the orphanage or institution run by any particular church. The Orphanage of the Community of the Resurrection in Grahamstown receive considerable financial help from this source.

It is now intended to apply the same techniques to towns and urban areas of larger size.

B) The Welfare Organisations of Small Towns:

Small towns are those urban concentrations with from 500 to 2000 European persons. As only three Transkeian towns are of this size, there is little object in giving them separate treatment. In place of this it is intended to divide the 27 towns involved into those of 500 - 1000 (18 towns) and 1001 - 2000 (9 towns) population. This treatment will reveal any influence that may be otherwise concealed in grouping together towns of so wide a population range.

(Cont. over)

Table 15.

<u>Name or type of Organisation,</u>	<u>Population range.</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>classif-ication.</u>
	<u>500 - 1000</u>	<u>1001 - 2000</u>		
Red Cross Society Rep.	8	2	10	1
Red Cross Society Loc. Cent.	4	6	10	1
Child Welfare Soc. & Creches	7	6	13	1
Cripple Care Societies	1	2	3	1
Anti-Tuberculosis Societies	4	3	7	1
Civilian Blind Societies	0	1	1	1
Hospital & Clinic Committees	13	4	17	1
General Welfare Societies	2	2	4	1
Returned Soldiers Funds	1	1	2	1
Entertainment Club	1	0	1	1
Nursery School Society	0	1	1	1
Ambulance Service	0	1	1	1
National War Memorial Health Foundation	0	1	1	1
A.C.V.V.	7	3	10	4
C.P.W.A.A. & Womens Assocs.	7	7	14	2 & 6
B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux.	13	7	20	2
M.C.T.H. & Womens Aux.	4	5	9	2 & 3
N.G. Kerk Armesorgkomitee	4	1	5	5
Hervorade Sustersorganisatie	2	1	3	5
Nurses Trust Fund	2	2	4	7
A.T.K.V.	2	0	2	4 & 7
Womens Christian Temperance Union	1	1	2	3
Carols by Candlelight	1	1	2	5
Union of Jewish Women	1	0	1	2 & 5
Race Relations Institute	1	0	1	6
African Educational Society	1	0	1	6
Toc. H.	0	1	1	2 & 3
B.E.S.L. Coloured Legion.	0	1	1	2
S.A. Noodhulp Liga	0	1	1	4 & 6
	<u>87</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>148</u>	

Childrens Christmas treat funds have been omitted.

In rank order of representation in the area as a whole, the principal organisations are :

The B.E.S.L. and its Womens Auxiliaries	21.
Red Cross Local Centres and Representatives	20.
Hospital, Health & Clinic Committees	17.
Womens Associations	14
Child Welfare Societies & Crèches	13
A.C.V.V.	10
M.C.T.H. & Womens Auxiliary	9
Anti-Tuberculosis Societies	7

In comparison with the rank order of villages with less than 500 Europeans, the B.E.S.L. and Red Cross retain their dominant position. The B.E.S.L. assumes first place in the rank order of small towns. Hospital, Health and Clinic Committees jump to third in small towns from 5th place in the villages. To some extent this change in importance is reduced by the great

number of clinics in the rural areas of the Territories which have been omitted from the present calculations. However, it appears that small towns provide more voluntary welfare assistance to medical services in their areas than do villages. This fact is also off-set by the absence of hospital facilities in many of the villages, but which are present in almost all of the small towns.

Womens Associations retain a dominant position in both villages and small towns. However, relative to other types of organisations, the womens association in the small town tends to be reduced in importance, i.e. the presence of other types of organisations reduces the relative importance of the womens association. This appears to be due to an increase in the importance of altruistic types of society which appear as significant in the small town while they were less so in the village. The altruistic type is prominently represented in the small town by the child welfare societies and creches and the anti-tuberculosis societies.

In this connection it is interesting to note that both the child welfare societies and the anti-tuberculosis societies are equally well represented in towns of from 501 to 1000 Europeans as in those of 1001 to 2000. This suggests that the lower limit of population size in which the altruistic type society may function conveniently is about 500 European persons. Their representation in the villages was poor, i.e. four societies, or under 4% of the total, but in towns it was almost 14% of the total.

If the organisations of the small towns are classified according to the criteria given, the following results are obtained:

Table 16.

Classification	No. of Organisations.		No. of Represent.	Total	Per cent. of Total.
	501-1000	1001-2000			
1	33	31	10	74	40.0/41.8 ^x
2	25	21	0	46	26.0
3	5	7	0	12	7.0
4	9	4	0	13	7.3
5	8	3	0	11	6.2
6	9	10	0	19	10.6
7	2	0	0	2	1.1
	<u>91</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100.0</u>

x with representatives included.

The only significant differences between towns of from 501 - 1000 and 1001 - 2000 population size appear to be in classifications four and five. The classifications refer to organisations offering members moral support from association with others possessing similar patriotic and national sentiments, and a religious satisfaction from services rendered to and by persons of like religious persuasion.

The phenomenon is accounted for by the presence in greater number in towns of from 501 - 1000 persons of the A.C.V.V. and the N.G. Kerk's Armesorgkomitee, and the H.G. Kerk's Sustersorgan-
-isatie. These organisations are not as prevalent in the larger sized towns.

Table 16 shows the greatly increased importance of altruistic type organisations in towns of this size. When the representatives are included, they amount to 41.8% of the total. Without representatives they amount to 40.0% of the total. There is also a significant decline in the number of representatives as compared with the number in the villages. This is a direct reflection of the greater importance of the larger urban areas and the greater ease with which an organisation can be established and supported.

Organisations offering 'cameraderie' drop in per centage from 37.0% in villages to 26.0% in the towns. Classifications 3 to 5 all show an increase in the towns. Classification 6

(educational) shows a decline in relative representativeness from 15.8% to 10.6%. It remains the third most important type, but the relative degree of its importance has dropped markedly. There remains a significant paucity of organisations which supply their members with care, provident funds etc..

The phenomenon of generosity by type 2 organisations to type 1 organisations situated outside the local community, which characterised the village, is not so marked in towns. Though the research provided little statistical proof of this point, an examination of the financial statements, annual reports, and discussions with office bearers of organisations in towns of this size revealed the same tendency to exist, especially in towns possessing few altruistic type organisations locally. The donations through and to religious associations did not appear to be affected.

To a limited extent the figure for type 1 societies is affected by the two Non-European child welfare societies in Adelaide---in addition to the European Society. Theoretically all societies run by Non-Europeans should be discounted, but this has not been strictly adhered to as their numbers are not great, and the degree to which Europeans assist in their administration cannot be determined.

C) The Welfare Organisations of the Larger Towns:

Employing the same procedure for the five larger towns of from 2001 - 3050 European population size, the following results are obtained.

(Cont. over)

Table 17.

<u>Name or type of Organisation.</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Classifications.</u>
Red Cross Society Local Centres	3	1
Child Welfare Societies & Creches	4	1
Anti-tuberculosis Societies	3	1
Hospital, Health & Clinics Comtees	6	1
General Welfare Societies	2	1
Homes for the Aged	2	1
Boys Clubs	1	1
Community Centres	1	1
Memorial Hall Fund	1	1
A.C.V.V.	3	4
Womens Associations	1	2 & 6
B.E.S.L. & Womens Auxiliary	5	2
Coloured Legion, B.E.S.L.	1	2
M.O.T.H. & Womens Auxiliary	4	2 & 3
Round Table	1	2 & 3
Union of Jewish Women	2	2 & 5
Nurses Trust Fund	2	7
H.G. Kerk Sustersorganisatie	2	5
N.G. Kerk Armesorgkomitee	<u>1</u>	5
	45	

None of the organisations are very prominently represented. There is a wide spread of organisational type in proportion to the number of organisations in existence.

In rank order of representation in the area, the principal organisations are:

Hospital, Health and Clinic Committees	6
B.E.S.L. & Womens Auxiliary	5
Child Welfare Societies	4
M.O.T.H. & Womens Auxiliary	4
A.C.V.V.	3
Anti-tuberculosis Societies	3
Red Cross Local Centres	3

Hospital, Health and Clinic Committees have, relative to the others, moved into first place. The Red Cross has moved to fourth place. The B.E.S.L. has maintained its dominant position; and the M.O.T.H. has moved up to third place with the Child Welfare Societies.

The classification of the organisations reveals the following:

Table 18.

<u>Classifications</u>	<u>Number of Organisations.</u>	<u>Per Cent. of Total</u>
1	23	43.4
2	14	26.4
3	5	9.5
4	3	5.6
5	5	9.5
6	1	1.9
7	<u>2</u>	<u>3.7</u>
	53	100.0

This analysis reveals the altruistic type of organisation to be retaining the predominance it established in the smaller towns. The per centage of types 1 and 2 remain relatively constant, showing a slight increase in both types. Of the less well represented types, type 6 i.e. educational, which was well represented in the villages, and less in the smaller towns, has become almost insignificant in towns of from 2001 - 3050 Europeans. The per centages of the other types, excepting type 4, show small increases. Type 4 i.e. patriotic and national sentiment type, shows a small decline.

It is of interest to note that at the population size under discussion, organisations such as homes for the aged, boys clubs and community centres appear on the list for the first time. Their numbers are however, too small to draw any conclusions from, though their representation over the area as a whole is very small. There is also a noticeable lack of cripple care, civilian blind societies and purely womens associations in towns of this size. This may be a statistical accident, but the first two organisations were represented in the smaller towns by four organisations. The influence of the M.C.T.H. and Womens Auxiliary is also noticeably increased as the size of the towns increases, whereas the B.E.S.L. and the Womens Auxiliary is not so well represented vis à vis the other organisations in existence.

D) Welfare Organisations in Major Towns:

The three major towns of Queenstown, Kingwilliamstown and Grahamstown show the following number and type of organisation

In rank order: In the following analysis where an organisation has more than one branch in the same town, the total number of its branches in that town is awarded to that organisation.

Table 19.

<u>Name or type of Organisation.</u>	<u>frequency</u>	<u>Classification.</u>
Hospital, Health and Clinic Comtee.	5	1
General Welfare Societies	5	1
Womens Associations	4	2 & 6
Civilian Blind Societies & Blind Library.	4	1
Red Cross Society	3	1
Child Welfare Societies	3	1
Anti-tuberculosis Societies	3	1
B.E.S.L. & Womens Auxiliary	3 of each	2
M.O.T.H. & Womens Auxiliary	3 of each	2 & 3
Toc. H. Mens & Womens Sections	3 of each	2 & 3
Homes for the Aged	3	1
Union of Jewish Women	3	2 & 5
Carols By Candlelight	3	5
Round Table	3	2 & 3
Nurses Trust Fund	3	7
Cripple Care Societies	2	1
St. Johns Ambulance Units	2	1
St. Vincent de Paul Conferences	2	5
Womens Christian Temperance Union	2	3
N.G. Kerk Armesorgkomitee	1	5
A.C.V.V.	1	4
A.T.K.V.	1	4 & 7
Bantu Boys Club	1	1
Bantu Soup Kitchen	1	1
Race Relations Institute Branch	1	6
Alcoholics Anonymous	1	7
Anti-waste Association (Fund Raising)	1	1
Childrens Institutions (Fund Raising)	1	1
Dominican Welfare Association	1	5
War Memorial Association	1	4
Home for Unmarried Mothers	1	5
Jewish Burial and Helping Hand Society	1	5
University Rag Disposals Committee	1	1
Coloured Sport and Social Association	1	1
	74	

This list shows an even wider scatter of organisations than occurred in the towns of smaller size. As there are only three towns in the group under discussion, it is not likely that any one organisation will be more markedly represented than any other. It may be said that all organisations that occur three or more times are well represented. The Hospital, Health and Clinic Committees, and the General Welfare Societies are generally very well represented. An analysis of the classifications reveals the following:

Table 20.

<u>Classification</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Per Centage of Total.</u>
1	36	39.6
2	19	20.9
3	11	12.1
4	3	3.2
5	12	13.2
6	5	5.5
7	<u>5</u>	<u>5.5</u>
	91	100.0

This analysis reveals that the altruistic type of organisation retains a dominant position. The 'cameraderie' or friendship type of organisation, though still ranked second, has fallen in importance vis à vis towns of smaller size. The increase in importance of types 3 and 5, which first became apparent in towns of from 2001 - 3050 population size, is further increased in the major towns under discussion. Types 3 and 5 refer respectively to organisations offering moral support by associating with persons professing similar ethical ideals and standards of behaviour, and those offering religious satisfaction from service to and by persons of like religious persuasion.

The importance of societies which rest on similar patriotic and national sentiments appears, relatively to others, to be declining. There is a steady increase in the relative importance of classification 7 i.e. those offering care, rehabilitation, provident fund etc. help to members.

E) The Welfare Organisations of East London:

The City of East London may be more quickly analysed for present purposes as the list of organisations it contains can be found in Appendix B. The method of classification is by this time well established, but for future reference the last column of the page in the Appendix shows the classification into which each organisation has been placed. Where an organisation has more than one branch, the total of branches is credited to the society.

Table 21, below, shows the distribution of organisational type for East London.

Table 21.

<u>Classification.</u>	<u>Frequency.</u>	<u>Per Centage of Total.</u>
1	27	37.0
2	15	20.6
3	10	13.7
4	4	5.5
5	11	15.0
6	2	2.7
7	<u>4</u>	<u>5.5</u>
	73	100.0

In East London, as elsewhere, the altruistic and 'cameraderie' type of organisation predominates. The altruistic type is relatively less well represented than in somewhat smaller towns, but types 3 and 5 have increased in importance. This phenomenon was shown to be occurring in towns of smaller size.

Although East London possesses few organisations per head of population as compared with other sized towns, the types of organisations in existence do not show a/greater variety than those in the major towns. Though the voluntary welfare services in East London show a number of lacunae in type of service offered, as compared with those in existence in Johannesburg and other metropolitan areas e.g. Marriage Guidance, Legal Aid etc. the range is nevertheless great, especially when the population size is taken into account.

The author has come to the conclusion, as a consequence of this study, that any new type of organisation introduced into East London does not often arise from a sudden awareness by the local inhabitants of a new need. New types of service tend to be introduced by the activities of nationally organised societies wishing to enter the field. A good example of this is the Y.M.C.A. (Young Mens Christian Association), which, to the author's knowledge has been seeking to establish itself in East London for the past 8 years, and possibly for the past 20 years by means of correspondence. Though there is a branch of the Y.W.C.A. in the City, no active branch of the Y.M.C.A. had been

established by 1955. The ideas tend to be implanted as a consequence of a visit of a prominent personality or a national organiser, but whether or not the idea will be brought to fruition rests largely upon its acceptability by local interests. This fact supports the contention already argued that the existence of voluntary welfare organisations is not a direct function of local needs, though it is related to them. A need may exist and be very evident for a long period of time without any voluntary organisation arising to serve it. For an organisation to arise spontaneously to serve local needs, it appears that a sudden calamity or a 'boost' by the press and other propaganda agencies, concerning the presence and gravity of the need must first occur. Threats to the public health meet most readily with spontaneous action e.g. tuberculosis, cancer and poliomyelitis appeals. The element of public service, or even of 'public rescue' is almost an essential for the spontaneous creation of a new service.

To sum up the discussion so far, it is now proposed to create a composite table of the per centages of each type of organisation in the population sizes that have been discussed. A graph of this Table is shown on the next page.

Table 22.

<u>Classification</u>	<u>Under 5</u>		<u>Size of Urban Concentrations</u>			
	<u>500</u>	<u>501 - 2000</u>	<u>2001-3050</u>	<u>6000-11000</u>	<u>43500.</u>	
	x		x			
1	20.9/35.5	40.0 /41.8	43.4	39.6	37.0	
2	37.0	26.0	26.4	20.9	20.6	
3	5.2	7.0	9.5	12.1	13.7	
4	4.3	7.3	5.6	3.2	5.5	
5	1.4	6.2	9.4	13.2	15.0	
6	15.8	10.6	1.9	5.5	2.7	
7	<u>0.8</u>	<u>1.1</u>	<u>3.8</u>	<u>5.5</u>	<u>5.5</u>	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

x Includes both organisations and representatives.

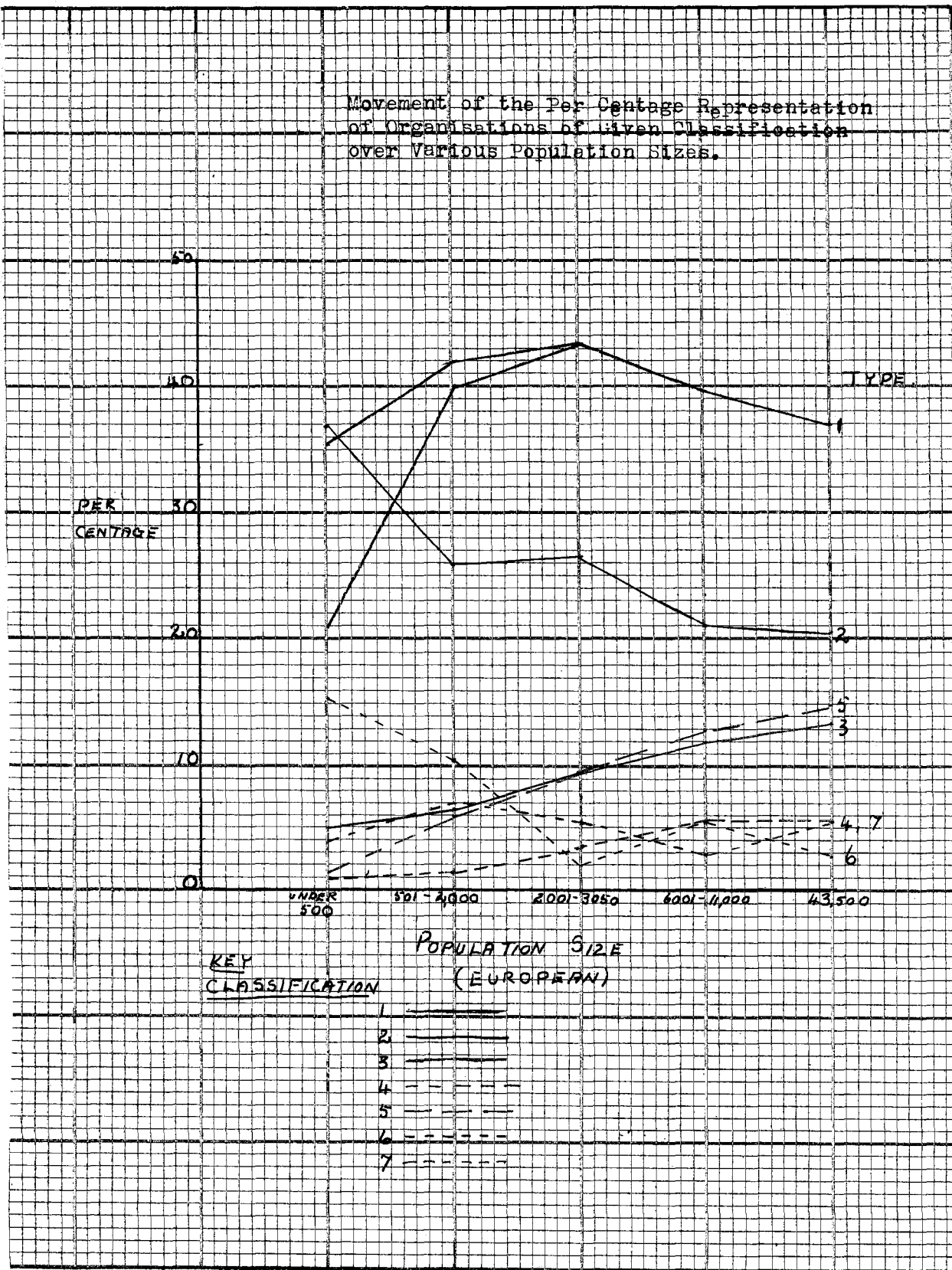
The above Table reveals the following:

- 1) In urban concentrations of all sizes altruistic and 'cameraderie' type organisations are most frequently represented.

2) Altruistic type organisations and representatives comprise from 35.5% to 43.4% of organisations in all population sizes. In the villages many of this type of organisation have merely a representative with no organisational structure. The number of representatives declines rapidly after a population of 500 has been reached. This statement requires some qualification as representatives are found in towns of all sizes, but the organisations they represent and the functions they perform, change as the population increases. In the village and small town the representative has a functional day-to-day duty to help any relevant need on behalf of the organisation represented. In the larger towns the representatives tend to be largely fund raising in character, and function often only at a certain time of the year, and may change from year to year. They do not, as a general rule, represent their society in a case worker capacity in the local community. The needs of cases can be more easily handled by a locally established organisation.

3) 'Comraderie' type organisations i.e. Type 2, those offering friendship based on common experiences or whose members possess common characteristics such as sex and age, show a declining frequency as the size of town increases. They are the most typical type of organisation in the village, but give way to altruistic and more specialised types as the size of town increases. In this connection it must be pointed out that Types 3 and 4 possess a similar quality of friendship, though of a more specialised kind. Type 3, those offering ethical ideals, show a steady increase as the size of population increases. Type 4, on the contrary, (Patriotic and national sentiments) show no clear trend at all. It is reasonable to infer, therefore, that as the population size increases the type of 'comraderie' obtained by members tends to change from that of a generalised, non-specific kind to that centred around high ethical ideals and standards of behaviour. This is expressed through organisations such as Toc.H. (Cont. over)

Movement of the Per Centage Representation of Organisations of Given Classification over Various Population Sizes.



on the contrary, (Patriotic and national sentiments) show no clear trend at all. It is reasonable to infer, therefore, that as the population size increases the type of 'cameraderie' obtained by members tends to change from that of a generalised, non-specific kind to that centred around high ethical ideals and standards of behaviour. This is expressed through organisations such as 7.

the M.C.T.H. and Round Table. As will be shown in a later Part of this work, these organisations have peculiar characteristics in their internal organisational structure which makes it difficult for them to function conveniently in small towns and villages. The phenomenon of more specialised kinds of friendship organisations may not therefore be a consequence of the change in the social environment as the size of town increases. It could be an expression of the inability of certain kinds of organisations to exist in smaller population concentrations. The general 'cameraderie' type of society is in the majority over all population sizes, and is more than twice as numerous as other friendship types in towns of 2001-3050 and less population size.

4) Type 5 organisations i.e. those offering members a religious satisfaction, appear to increase regularly in relative importance as the population size increases. Their rate of relative increase is considerably faster than is the case with type 3 (ethical ideal). From only 1.4% in villages, the 'religious' type of organisation increases to 15.0% of organisations in East London. In East London this increase is largely accounted for by the five Conferences of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, but the same phenomenon occurred in smaller sized towns and was there due to a wider range of religious organisations than in East London.

An explanation of this phenomenon may be mentioned. An analysis of the organisations classified as Type 5 in the four towns in excess of 3050 population, shows them to be associated with religious minority groups. They are associated almost exclusively with the Roman Catholic, Jewish and Afrikaans churches. As the four cities under discussion are predominantly English speaking and predominant Protestant in character, these organisations are able to come into being in these larger towns because the number of adherents to their particular faith becomes large enough to support them. Religiously viewed, there is also the

need to provide organisations attached to, but independent of, the church to retain the attachment of members in the face of the changing social environment of city life and the growing strength, numerically, of English speaking Protestant faiths. In towns of from 501 - 2000 population, the increase in the 'religious' type of organisation was due largely to the Dutch Reformed Churches' organisations.

6) The 'educational' organisation (type 6) shows a tendency to decline in importance as the population size increases. This is accounted for to a very great extent by the relative absence of womens associations offering 'adult education' facilities in the larger towns. The C.P.W.A.A. and the Womens Institutes of East Griqualand and Pondoland are found predominantly in the villages and small towns. These two organisations are the principal 'adult educational' services in the area of investigation. It appears that as the size of population increases, women tend to associate more with organisations possessing a strong male organisation e.g. the B.E.S.L., M.O.T.H. and Toc.H., than with purely female organisations. By doing so they tend to transfer their interests to the general 'cameraderie' and 'ethical ideal' type of organisation.

7) Organisations which offer their members care, rehabilitation, provident funds etc. (type 7) show a tendency to gain in relative importance as the size of population increases. In towns and villages of under 2000 population, this type of organisation is represented almost exclusively by the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging (A.T.K.V.). This organisation is associated exclusively with railway employees and their dependents. In the larger towns the S.A. Nurses' Trust Fund, Alcoholics Anonymous and the Commercial Travellers Association play a part. In general, however, there is a paucity of organisations of this type, especially in the larger towns and cities.

Thus, to sum up, it appears that as the population size increases

a) altruistic and patriotic sentiment types of organisation show no marked changes in their relative importance;

b) organisations offering members an ethical ideal, religious satisfactions, and care, rehabilitation and provident funds, increase in relative importance; and

c) organisations offering members general 'cameraderie' and friendship, and those offering an educational facility, tend to decline in relative importance.

x x x x x x x

The more general sociological significance of these findings is not easy to interpret. Undoubtedly the nature of city life is a contributory factor, but the matter appears to be far more involved than that.

It was discovered in previous chapters that the number of persons per organisation in East London was on the average four and a half times as great as in towns of smaller size. This ratio is much greater than could be accounted for by the mere size of East London's organisations vis à vis those in smaller towns. The findings of this chapter show that despite the far greater size of East London's population vis à vis other towns in the area of investigation, the types of organisations do not vary markedly from those of the smaller towns.

This in itself is a noteworthy phenomenon. It indicates, possibly, that in towns of all sizes the members of welfare organisations belong to only a limited class in the community. If this was so, then it presupposes that the class which produces members is represented in a more or less constant proportion in towns of all population size. Secondly, the

fluctuations in per centages of each classification type over the range in population size might indicate changes in the class proportions in towns of various sizes. It is possible that further enquiry along these lines would reveal significant results.

A second line of approach is to enquire what influence governmental provision for welfare needs has had on the type of organisation in existence. This research offers two clues in this direction. Firstly, certain specialised agencies, especially those serving the crippled, blind, deaf and tubercular tend to be concentrated in the towns offering specialised medical services,—especially East London. The major problem confronting this type of organisation is to find a means of decentralisation so as to be effective in the numerous small towns and villages in the area of investigation. At present they attempt to achieve this by an uncertain and unco-ordinated system of more or less vague representatives. Only in a few instances, with the exception of tuberculosis, are there properly organised committees effectively operating in the hinterland towns. In contrast, where the governmental provision has been decentralised to the local level—almost exclusively in the Magistrate/Native Commissioner—the voluntary welfare organisations have also tended to decentralise. This is particularly noticeable in Child Welfare Societies and the B.E.S.L. which are found far more commonly in the small towns than are societies assisting the physically deviate.

It is probably true that, in the European part of the community, cases involving the Childrens Act and pensions for war veterans are more numerous than cases involving cases of physical deviation capable of being treated through voluntary organisations. There are therefore some grounds for the greater representation of child welfare and B.E.S.L. services in the smaller communities—on grounds of greater need. But the very absence of any local provision, governmental or

voluntary---apart from financial assistance in the form of pensions---for physical deviates suggests the existence of a serious need for some form of voluntary organisation to help the physically deviate. The organisations at present attempting to fill this lacuna are those of type 2 (friendship) especially in the villages and small towns. It is the B.E.S.L. and the womens associations which at present assist local deviates in the villages and small towns. Creditable as this offer of service is, it is none the less in the hands of persons with little or no experience in the rehabilitative techniques of physical deviates---a type of social work peculiarly specialised in character.

One of the difficulties confronting organisations serving the physically deviate is the reluctance of Europeans generally to assist Non-Europeans. By far the greatest number of physical deviates are Non-Europeans. Malnutrition, a generally low standard of living, and an ignorance of hygiene and scientific knowledge about vital events and medicine among this group has had this result. So long as Non-Europeans are generally viewed, especially in the villages and smaller towns, as falling outside the scope of voluntary welfare activity, the needs of any local community will not be considered large enough, nor the membership be found, to give birth to new organisations. This point can be illustrated by the example of anti-tuberculosis societies. Pulmonary tuberculosis is a communicable disease. Its presence among Non-Europeans is a direct threat to the health of the European community, especially in the smaller towns where European mothers frequently go out to work and leave their children and household cooking almost entirely in the hands of Non-Europeans. Recent propoganda campaigns have had the effect of stimulating interest in anti-tuberculosis measures. In consequence there are now four anti-tuberculosis societies, serving mainly non-Europeans, in towns of from

501 - 1000 population, and the tendency is for them to grow in number.

The experience of anti-tuberculosis societies of this type indicates that finance will be their major difficulty. Those fortunate enough to establish a tuberculosis settlement can house and feed their patients almost entirely at government expense. Those unable to build settlements are forced, if they are to care for patients successfully, to supplement the governmental Disability and Family Allowances from their own funds. As the financial assistance forthcoming from governmental grants to Non-Europeans is inadequate to support a housing and nutritional level adequate for tuberculetics in villages and rural areas, the societies must provide an additional amount. The public's awareness of the threat of tuberculosis enables this type of society to make successful appeals for funds from all sections of the community. However, societies serving other types of physical deviates have not the appeal of the anti-tuberculosis society.

One possible solution to this difficulty is for societies serving the physical deviate and whose area of operations includes the whole Border and Transkei, to approach organisations of type 2 (friendship) in the villages and small towns with a view to them donating the money they at present distribute to all parts of the country, to local needs. It is significant that type 2 organisations are also the ones most concerned with adult education in the village and small towns. They should, other things being equal, be the most likely portion of the community to comprehend the need for developing services for physical deviates in the local area. They are also likely to be the most competent to start and administer them. The Red Cross appears to have been conspicuously successful in the use of this method.

A third approach to the more general ecological significance of the findings of this chapter, is an examination of the method whereby the major societies are internally organised. This phenomenon has generally been overlooked as a causative factor in the ability of organisations successfully to achieve their ends. Yet the sociology of industrial relations and management suggests that the way an enterprise is internally organised is of vital importance to its efficiency.

Though the discussion that follows in the next Part of this work is not primarily intended to fulfill this object, it has been designed to throw considerable light on it. The problem is clearly one deserving of far greater attention than has been given to it by governmental interests, the National and Local Welfare Boards and the voluntary organisations themselves.

PART III.The Structure of Welfare Organisations.

Every welfare society is the organised expression of the ideals and sentiments of interested individuals acting collectively. These interests, ideals and sentiments tend to centre around notions of societal or personal well-being. The organisational structure of the society co-ordinates the efforts of members, and thereby facilitates the achievement of the end in view by institutionalising the individual sentiments. From this point of view welfare organisations can be viewed as possessing four fundamental attributes, namely

- a) A value and sentiment system,
- b) Members or personnel of the society,
- c) An organisational structure,
- d) An object or objects to receive help, service or some other advantage.

Most commonly welfare organisations are classified according to the object/s they serve, or according to the social work technique they most commonly employ. The relationship between these two criteria is well known. For example, organisations serving the blind, cripple and other physical deviates tend to use the case work method, whereas community service organisations tend to use group methods. This emphasis upon either the object of service or the technique employed tends to ignore the important aspect of membership and organisational structure. Yet, a welfare organisation can continue to exist if it has a membership and an organisational structure but no objects to receive its services. Likewise, many worthy causes or needy individuals may exist without any organised individuals to support or help them.

It appears reasonable to suggest, therefore, that the organisational structure of any society must be related both to the objects served and to the membership which supports it. Further, the study of welfare organisations is incomplete without these two relationships being included.

It is intended to commence this study by considering the relationship between the sentiment of members and the organisational structure; then to consider the relationship between the organisational structure and the objects served. The outcome, it is anticipated, will reveal the underlying social relationships which determine the organisational structure of any society and, by indicating the tensions and difficulties, will reveal some causes of their success or failure.

This approach to the problem is complicated by many voluntary societies having an hierarchical organisational structure. If every welfare organisation was simply a local society functioning in a town or village there would be no difficulty. In the area of investigation the majority of welfare organisations are associated in some way to organisational structures which embrace far larger geographical areas than a town or even a city. Such organisations as the National Council for Child Welfare, the Red Cross Society, the B.E.S.L. and many others are nation-wide in their conception. Their membership is similarly proportioned. Therefore at the outset it is necessary to examine the nature of the co-ordinatory structure which relates local branches to other local branches, and to the hierarchical structure above them.

Chapter 6.Types of Co-ordinatory Structure, and The Degree of
Co-ordination in the Area of Investigation.

Part II of this study showed there to be approximately 480 organisations and representatives in the Border and Transkei area. Every welfare organisation is organised as a group structure. In consequence the members, committees, branches, centralising authorities and clients tend to be co-ordinated in a particular way. Not all of these organisations are isolated local societies unrelated to any others. In many instances the local branches are but one unit in a whole hierarchical structure of authority. They become related to similar branches through complex administrative structures. It is now intended to make an analysis of the types of co-ordinatory structure.

As the subject under discussion is involved in its terminology, it is desirable to clarify the meanings of words at the outset. All welfare organisations, whether local or national in size will be referred to as 'organisations' or 'societies'. It is useful for stylistic purposes to have these two words to mean the same thing. For example, the Red Cross Society can be referred to as a 'society' or as an 'organisation' when it refers to the Society in general, whether national, regional, or local in its representation.

The word 'Province' implies the political Provinces of South Africa, as in common usage. The Transkeian Territories are included as part of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Province).

The word 'Region' implies an ad hoc geographical area larger than a single city or town.

The word 'branch' implies a sub-unit of a society, and usually refers to the representation of a society at a village, town or city level. Where necessary other titles will be given to units of a society larger than the branch, but the meaning and scope will be explained in the text.

The methods whereby welfare organisations co-ordinate their activities vary widely. In very general terms the difference can be seen in whether the co-ordination has grown from the bottom upwards i.e. from the local, independent branch to the national co-ordinating authority; or whether the co-ordination has grown from the top downwards, i.e. from a central authority to the local branch.

Very largely this difference follows from the magnitude or scale of the conception which the organisation embraces. Certain organisations are nation embracing in their conception and the branches merely become the means whereby the society expresses itself at the local level. In contrast, other organisations are conceived purely at the local level, but for purposes of administration have created a regional, Provincial or even national superstructure to assist in the co-ordination of the various sub-units at the local level. Ultimately, the final area of activity may be international e.g. the Red Cross, St. Johns Ambulance, Toc.H. etc..

This difference is most commonly expressed in the form of membership. For example, the Articles of Association of the National War Memorial Health Foundation (N.W.M.H.F.) make provision for seven kinds of membership, but all members are 'members of the Foundation'. A person becomes a member of the Foundation, not of a branch or any sub-division of it. Where regional or branch organisations exist they are merely convenient administration units of the nation-wide conception.

In contrast, by becoming a member of the Grahamstown Child Welfare Society, the membership does not extend beyond the jurisdiction of this local, independent organisation. It is true that as a consequence of membership of the local organisation a person may become a member of the national co-ordinatory authority—the S.A. National Council for Child Welfare—but a person cannot join the National Council as one can join the Foundation. (N.W.M.H.F.). The National Council for Child Welfare is a co-ordinatory authority for a number of autonomous and local societies. The Foundation is a centralised authority functioning by means of a central office and a number of regions, local branches etc..

This fundamental difference in organisational structure has been utilised in this work as a criterion for classifying the societies in the area of investigation. Those organisations that are national (or Provincial) in conception, with theoretically centralised authority, and functioning at the local level by means of a branch, will be referred to as 'Organisations Co-ordinated by National Conception'. Those organisations which are ^{of} local conception, but under the co-ordinatory authority of some national or regional structure will be referred to as 'Co-ordinated by Federal Authority'.

For completeness, a third type of co-ordinatory structure must be mentioned. Certain organisations are able to conduct their operations without permanently established branches or societies at the town or village level. This follows largely from the nature of their work, and the use they make of postal and other facilities. Examples of this type are the S.A. Library for the Blind, Grahamstown, Blood Transfusion Services, the Poliomyelitis Research Fund Raising Appeal etc. Many childrens institutions must be considered as belonging to this type. This type will be referred to as 'National Organisations without Branch Representation.'

1) The term 'organisations co-ordinated by national conception' implies one type of co-ordination as distinct from other types. It does not necessarily follow that because an organisation is national in conception that in practice authority is entirely centralised at the head or national office, or that bureaucratic controls are exercised from the centre.

Certain organisations leave the local branch almost entirely to its own devices. The branch may often write its own constitution, retain most of its funds, and in fact retain a large amount of autonomy. Its fundamental characteristic is, however, that it is a branch of a larger, national or Provincial wide conception. Its branches merely demonstrate at the local level what the central authority stands for. The relationship between the central authority and the local branch can vary from direct control to an almost complete independence and autonomy. But because of the scale of its conception there must exist an hierarchical organisational structure.

In the area of investigation there are approximately 35 organisations of this type. Of these, 24 have been registered, or portions of them have been registered, under the Welfare Organisations Act. For convenience, the number of local branches or representatives, each organisations has in the area of investigation, is included in the second column.

The B.E.S.L. and Womens Auxiliary (European and Coloured)	82
The Red Cross Society	58
M.C.T.H. and Womens Auxiliary	29
A.C.V.V.	22
Tot. H. Mens and Womens Sections	9
S.A. Nursing Association and Trust Fund	8
Society of St. Vincent de Paul	7
Union of Jewish Women	7
Carols by Candlelight	6
Round Table	6
A.T.K.V.	4
St. John of Jerusalem	2
Christmas Stamp Fund (Anti-T.B. Preventorium)	2
Institute of Race Relations	2
Alcoholics Anonymous	2
Nasionale Hervormde Sustersvereniging	2
Die Noodhulpliga (First Aid & Emergency Help)	2
National War Memorial Health Foundation	2
Commercial Travellers Association	1
Social Services Association	1
S.A. Air Force Association	1
S.A. Jewish Ex-Sergisemens League	1
	<u>1</u>
	256

Other organisations, which are not the subject of discussion are:

The National Council of Women
 The National Council of African Women (although a few
 branches of the N.C.A.W. are registered under
 the Act.)
 Womens Institutes,
 Womens Christian Temperance Union,
 Boy Scouts, Cubs and Pathfinders,
 The Voortrekkers,
 The Girl Guides etc.
 Sons of England Patriotic and Benevolent Society,
 The Masons.

Because these organisations are of national or provincial magnitude
 it is not surprising that many are national branches of
 international organisations. Others, although not directly
 affiliated to international organisations, are the South African
 counterparts of similar organisations overseas. Others are of
 purely South African dimensions.

Of the 24 organisations for discussion, the following are

Branches of international organisations:

The B.E.S.L.
 Tec. H. (Mens and Womens Section)
 The Red Cross Society,
 St. John of Jerusalem,
 Society of St. Vincent de Paul,
 Round Table,
 Alcoholics Anonymous.

the following are South African organisations associated with international organisations:

The S.A. Nursing Association,
 The S.A. Jewish Ex-Servicemens League,
 The Union of Jewish Women,
 S.A. Air Force Association,
 Carols by Candlelight.

the following are South African or Provincial organisations:

(1)

Die Noodhulpliga
 Die Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging,
 Die Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging,
 Commercial Travellers Association,
 Institute of Race Relations,
 Social Services Association,
 National War Memorial Health Foundation,
 Christmas Stamp Fund,
 Nurses Trust Fund,
 M.O.T.H. and Womens Auxiliary.

There is no certainty that the administrative structure in South Africa of branches of international organisations, or South African organisations associated with international organisations, should be similar to their overseas counterparts. Nor is there any certainty that, for example, all organisations which are branches of international organisations will have similar types of administration within South Africa. The facts suggest wide variation in these two respects.

For present purposes it is adequate to appreciate that because these organisations are national in their conception there must, by definition, be some type of co-ordination, or at least some relationship, between the local branch and the head office. The national dimension of their conception further

1) Die Noodhulpliga is an Afrikaans organisation intended to instruct in first aid, home nursing and other skills. It is colloquially thought of as the Afrikaans counterpart of the Red Cross Society.

precludes any of these organisations having achieved national co-ordination by the amalgamation into one organisation of a number of societies, formerly heterogeneous in aims, local in dimension and independent. Thus organisations of national conception tend to have a uniformity of aim. The method by which the aim is put into practice at the local level may vary considerably from branch to branch, but all branches have in common the basic ideal and aim of the national organisation. This frequently involves identical wording of the aims and objects in the constitutions of the various branches. The branches become the agents through which the members express the central ideal.

2) Organisations co-ordinated by Federal Authority are local in conception, but for purposes of administration, convenience, and to obtain the advantages of a wider and more general appreciation of their work, they have created a national co-ordinatory authority. In doing so they have not lost their independent nature---they have not become branches of a larger conception, but have remained independent and autonomous societies. The co-ordinating authority at the national level tends to become the agent through which the local organisations can make an approach to government departments, can formulate national campaigns and conduct propaganda at a national level. Thus in place of the branch being the agent of the national organisation, in the societies now under discussion the national co-ordinating authority becomes the agent of the local society.

In the majority of cases the name given to the co-ordinating authority is 'National Council'. In the area of investigation the following authorities are relevant:

The National Council for Child Welfare,
 The National Council for the Deaf,
 The National Council for the Care of Cripples,
 The National Council for the Blind,
 The National Council for Mental Health,
 The S.A. National Tuberculosis Association.

It will be observed that the only difference between this type of society and those in the area of investigation which are not co-ordinated in any way i.e. are local, independent organisations, is that there exists a national co-ordinatory body. Societies such as the Grahamstown Ladies Benevolent Society, or the Grahamstown Good Samaritan Society, are similar in conception to the Grahamstown and District Child Welfare Society, except that they do not possess a co-ordinatory authority. They are entirely local in their conception and not co-ordinated beyond the local level.

It is the localised nature of their conception that precludes the possibility of creating an hierarchical organisations structure between the branch and the central authority. In all the above mentioned organisations which have a means of co-ordination on a national level, there are no intermediary structures between the branch and the National Council. (The only exception is the East London and Border Society for the Care of Cripples, whose administrative structure is somewhat different from the others. This will be discussed below.) This compares markedly with many organisations of national conception. Many of these have developed a complex hierarchical organisational structure relating, for example, a branch to a district, a district to a region, a region to a province and a province to a head office.

The area of investigation contains many health clinics and hospital boards which have been registered under the Welfare Organisations Act. On the face of it each of these are an independent, autonomous organisation of local conception. They are also without a national co-ordinating authority of the

kind discussed above. But the interest of the Union Department of Health and/or the Cape Provincial Administration takes in them, as a consequence of heavy subsidisation, in effect makes these governmental authorities act as co-ordinating authorities. In many respects the governmental authority performs the functions otherwise carried out by the National Council and its staff.

In the area of investigation the National Councils co-ordinate the activities of the following societies:

(a) The National Council for Child Welfare:

Adelaide: (i) School Benevolent Society (European)
(ii) African Child Welfare Society,
(iii) Coloured Child Welfare Society,

Alexandria Child Welfare & Benevolent Society,
Alice Health, Social and Child Welfare Society,
Aliwal North Child Welfare Society,
Barkley East Child Welfare Society,
Cala Child Welfare Society,
East London Society for the Protection of Child Life,
Elliot Health Society,
Fort Beaufort Child Welfare Society,
Grahamstown Child Welfare Society,
Indwe Welfare Society,
Kingwilliamstown Child Welfare Society,

Kokstad: (i) Child Welfare Society (European),
(ii) Coloured Child and Welfare Society, (represented
by the European Society on the National
Council).

Maclear District Nurses and Child Welfare Association,
Matatiele Child and Social Welfare Society,
Queenstown Benevolent and Child Welfare Society,
Umtata Child Welfare Society,

(b) S.A. National Tuberculosis Association:^x

Alice Branch of S.A.N.T.A.,
Bathurst Branch of S.A.N.T.A.,
Bedford " " "
East London " " "
Fort Beaufort " " "
Grahamstown T.B. Care Society,
Kingwilliamstown T.B. Fund,
Komgha Branch of S.A.N.T.A.,
Kokstad " " "
Matatiele " " "
Port Alfred " " "
Salem Health and Tuberculosis Society,
Umtata Anti-tuberculosis Association,

x Although many of these societies are termed 'branches', they are autonomous organisations, but with an unusual relationship to the head office due to the heavy capital subsidisation of settlement and other institutional costs.

(c) National Council for the Care of Cripples:

East London and Border Society for the Care of Cripples,
with which is associated:

(1) Kingwilliamstown Cripple Care Society.

Eastern Province Cripple Care Society (Port Elizabeth),
with which is associated:

(1) Bedford/Somerset East Cripple Care Society,
(11) Grahamstown Society for the Care of Cripples.

(d) S.A. National Council for the Blind:

East London Civilian Blind Society,
Grahamstown Womens' Civilian Blind Society,
Kingwilliamstown Civilian Blind Society,
Transkeian Civilian Blind Society (Butterworth).

(e) S.A. National Council for the Deaf:

East London and Border Society for the Deaf.

(f) S.A. National Council for Mental Health:

East London Mental Health Society.

Institutions, such as creches, settlements, holiday camps for the blind etc. have not been included.

These National Councils co-ordinate the work of 43 societies in the area of investigation.

It will be observed that all these societies perform social welfare activities involving face to face relationships with the particular type of deviate they serve. They all actively employ case work methods of social work. As such, there is a marked tendency for them to employ specialised, professional employees. Much of their work is technical, however, not all organisations doing this type of work fall under this classification. The A.C.V.V., the National Council for Social Services, the Red Cross, St. John of Jerusalem and Die Noodhulpliga perform similar functions in more or less specialised fields. It is not inevitable, therefore, that social case work agencies need be coordinated by federal authority, though in fact the majority are so.

3) The National Organisations without Branch Representation:

These are entirely centralised organisations. They are few in number. They may be divided into two types:

- a) Those offering a service to special types of people,
- b) Those making a temporary appeal for funds to be used on a specific project of national significance.

These are often temporary in character as was the case with the National Poliomyelitis Appeal and the National Cancer Appeal. The appeal of the National Tuberculosis Association was not of this type as the Association deliberately created branches co-ordinated by federal authority.

This type of organisation uses the area of investigation and the rest of the country largely as a source of funds. Thus institutions such as The Worcester School for the Blind, the Jan Kriel School for Epileptics, and organisations such as St Dunstons (Military Blind) are centred outside the area of investigation. They take cases from within the area, and also draw funds from it.

Certain organisations and institutions have their centre within the area of investigation. These include:

S.A. Library for the Blind, Grahamstown,
 The Ugie Orphanages, Ugie,
 The School for Handicapped Girls, Steynsburg,
 The Orphanages of the Community of the Resurrection, Grahams-
 -town (Woodville and Bethlehem Homes). -
 Isele Orphanages, Convent of the Sacred Heart, Kingwilliamstov

Many of these organisations, and especially the childrens institutions, receive their support, and are in contact with the public, individuals and local areas which show an interest in them. As far as certain childrens institutions are concerned, they receive children at the instance of Commissioners of Child Welfare in terms of the provisions of the Childrens Act, 1937.

Funds are often raised by appeals to town councils and other local authorities for permission to hold a street collection.

These are not

the mayoress or other interested local person for administration. None of these organisations have interests at the local level large or permanent enough to warrant the existence of a permanent committee or branch. They rely at the local level on local authorities or on the benevolence of interested individuals or societies. The co-ordination between the local and central levels is haphazard, temporary and usually confined to a special instance.

x x x x x x x

This analysis shows that a considerable proportion of the 480 organisations and representatives in the area of investigation are related one to another by some means of co-ordination. Those co-ordinated by (1) National Conception number 256,

(2) Federal Authority number 43

The total is therefore 299.

There are also six national organisations without branch representation. The total is therefore 305, which represents 64.2% of the total.

In addition to these there are certain influential co-ordinated organisations not registered under the Act. They include the Cape Province Womens Agricultural Association with 14 branches; the Womens Institutes with 12 branches. The total then becomes 331.

If the clinics and health services in receipt of considerable governmental subsidy are accepted as being to some extent co-ordinated, then an additional 47 organisations must be included. The total then becomes 378, which is 79.6% of the total.

Thus almost 80% of all the organisations in the area of investigation are co-ordinated in some measure by their own

machinery. The problem of co-ordinating the remaining 20% is not difficult when a large number of them possess common characteristics. For example, there are many womens associations which are not affiliated either to the C.P.W.A.A. or to the Womens Institutes of East Griqualand and Pondoland. There is at present no co-ordinatory authority for the homes for the Aged which exist in the area. Treatment for the aged is a growing problem and the number of institutions set up for their care has grown markedly in recent years. There is a pressing need for some co-ordinatory authority for the Aged to represent the growing interest in this subject in the area of investigation.

It is the presence of these facts that led to the questioning, at the beginning of Chapter I, of the wisdom of the present method of electing the members to the Border Local Welfare Board. It was pointed out that no member of the Board was intimately associated with either the B.E.S.L. or the Red Cross Society. These organisations, together represent approximately 140 branches and representatives, which¹⁵ almost 30% of the total, in the Board's area of jurisdiction. The policy of electing members on a basis of wide geographical dispersion has not proved effective in the local area.

However, a policy based on the representation of co-ordinated welfare organisations would ensure that at least 80% of the existing organisations would be represented on the Board. No doubt such a change in the method of electing the Board's membership might involve changes in the Act, and in the composition of the National Welfare Organisations Board. It is not intended in this research to make an analysis of the changes involved, but the research has revealed that the amount of existing co-ordinatory machinery is sufficient to warrant a serious examination of the subject by persons in a better position to take the national picture into consideration.

Chapter 7.Sentiment among Members as a Criterion for the Analysis
of Organisational Structures.

The previous chapter was intended to clear the ground for an analysis of the relationship between the four fundamental attributes of a welfare organisation: namely, a sentiment or value system, the membership, the organisational structure and the objects of assistance. In the present chapter it is intended to examine the second and third of these relationships, namely, the relation between membership and the organisational structure. To do so it is necessary to recognise a fundamental dichotomy of types expressed by the orientation of the ideals and sentiments of the members of any organisation.

Certain societies have as their aim the improvement of the lot of persons entirely outside the organisation itself. Membership of the society thus involves a willingness to assist others who are not members. Membership may thus involve considerable sacrifices of money, time, and service with no prospect of regard to the member. The assistance given may be directed to the client in person, to the day-to-day administration of the organisation itself, or to the provision of funds with which the organisation can fulfill its purpose.

Societies with a membership orientated in this manner can be indicated as organisations with 'Everted Sentiment Membership'. They were referred to in Chapter 5 as 'altruistic' organisations, and composed type 1 of the classification.

Examples of this type include child welfare societies, blind, deaf, cripple societies etc.. They are the type of voluntary society popularly referred to as a charitable organisation. As membership implies a remuneratively disinterested personal service, membership tends to confer the

right to appeal to the public for funds 'on behalf of the Society'. Funds may be solicited with a clear conscience as a distinction is drawn and publicly recognised between the membership on the one hand and its clientele on the other.

The polar antithesis of the altruistic type of society is those with 'Inverted Sentiment Membership'. This type comprises societies organised with the aim of improving the personalities or position in society of its members. The improvement takes place as a consequence of membership. The object of the society's activity is its members who benefit by virtue of their membership. Though examples in social welfare are few, the best is perhaps 'Alcoholics Anonymous'. This organisation restricts its membership to persons who have suffered or are suffering from alcoholism. By the act of membership an individual submits himself to the techniques of assistance that the organisation can offer.

In addition certain organisations offer their members the means of providing for themselves should a misfortune befall them. Thus through contributory and benefit funds an organisation can provide its members with security. Examples of this are the S.A. Nurses Trust Fund, and the S.A. Commercial Travellers Association, and the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging (S.A.R. & Harbours).

Organisations of the latter type frequently provide members with more than mere financial security. They can provide additional benefits in a variety of ways. Most commonly they provide 'cameraderie' and friendship by encouraging meetings and social events. Membership may be restricted to persons with common experiences or problems, or with common religious, national and patriotic ideals. The important point is that the organisations tends to direct the sentiments of its members entirely into itself and into its membership.

Numerically the most common type of organisation is one combining the two polar concepts discussed above. The type is characterised by offering its members benefits---frequently intangible ideals, emotional experiences or avenues of expression---but at the same time using the membership to assist an object of need outside itself in the community at large. This assistance frequently takes the form of acts of service or charity by the organisation's members in an individual capacity, but acting also in the name of the organisation.

Societies of this kind will be referred to as organisations with 'Omniverted Sentiment Membership'. Examples are the Toc.H. the A.C.V.V., the B.E.S.L. etc..

Organisations with omniverted sentiment membership show a wide variety of organisational structure, and include some of the most complex organisations to be studied.

Chapter 8.Organisations with Everted Sentiment Membership.

Organisations with everted sentiment membership are those which offer a service—usually individual but not necessarily so—to selected persons outside the organisation itself. The members themselves receive no advantages from membership or from their services to the clients. Membership involves the donation of time, cash, kind and/or service. The organisation becomes the 'modus operandi' through which these services are made effective. The society's function is to relate the offers of assistance made by members to the needs of selected non-members. The sentiments of members are directed not towards themselves or the organisation per se, but outwards towards the selected clients it serves.

The research will show that it appears essential for the member, if he is to retain interest and be expected to part with his services, to indentify himself, to a more or less degree, closely and practically with the objects of his generosity. There appears to be three types of identification:

- a) with the clients as persons;
- b) with the day to day administration of the organisation and the services offered, non-personally, to the client; and
- c) with the organisation as an abstract conception worthy of financial and/or moral support.

To achieve any of these types of identification it is desirable for the society to be in the same local community as the member. It must be at least within easy reach of its members. Where the members and the society are not in close proximity, as is frequently the case with the National War Memorial Health Foundation, the sentiment of members requires persistent stimulation to remain effective and thus produce the services

involved. The sentiment of a member in such cases tends to be abstract rather than practical; remote rather than intimate.

It thus appears desirable that organisations whose objects require their members to have everted sentiments, are organised at the local level. It is not a coincidence that the majority of societies of this kind are local in conception. Where they are co-ordinated nationally they tend to be subject to federal authority.

There are four principal organisations in the area of investigation which co-ordinate activity at the local level by central authority i.e. they are national in their conception.

They are (a) The Social Services Association,
 (b) The South African Red Cross Society,
 (c) The Order of St John of Jerusalem,
 (d) The National War Memorial Health Foundation.

It is thus possible for organisations of both local and national conception to be everted in sentiment type. Theoretically, it has been argued, the fundamental requirement of all organisations with everted sentiment membership is that they must emphasise the local branch in order to retain the active sentiments, and hence the service, of their members. That is to say, whatever form the hierarchical structure, or the relationship between the society and the co-ordinating authority may take, for successful functioning the emphasis must be placed on the local branch or local society.

It is now proposed to proceed to an examination of the above types of organisations to examine the validity of this generalisation. Though it may be argued that by definition organisations co-ordinated by federal authority must emphasise the branch, it is still necessary to examine briefly the relationship between these two units of administration.

(a) The National Council for Child Welfare: (Established 1924)

The constitution of this Council is clear on the nature of

its function. Section 2 (a) reads 'It exists to deal with all matters and questions of a national character appertaining to the children of South Africa....' It is the official channel for communication in matters of national and general policy between child welfare societies affiliated to the Council and the governmental authorities of the country.

As far as the affiliated societies are concerned, it aims 'to link up child welfare societies, to stimulate and expand their activities, to encourage their affiliation to the Council, and to assist in the formation of new societies.' Each society remains an independent organisation and associates itself with the Council by affiliation. There are no personal members of the Council---only the representatives of independent societies, governmental authorities, and representatives of other national organisations with interests in child welfare.

Any child welfare society can apply for affiliation, but the Council holds the right to grant or refuse the affiliation and also to lay down terms and conditions. On becoming affiliated, a child welfare society relinquishes the right to approach any government department on a matter of national policy, save through the Council or its appointed members. This, however, is the only right removed from an independent society as a consequence of its affiliation.

Membership of child welfare societies is essentially a local matter. No individual can be a member of the National Council; his membership of the Council follows from his appointment thereto as a consequence of his membership of a local society.

(b) S.A. National Council for the Deaf: (Established 1929)

(No details were made available to the author as the Secretary had only one copy of the constitution which could not be lent out.)

(c) S.A. National Council for the Blind: (Established 1929)

This Council is a statutory body under the Blind Persons Act, 1936, with powers and duties prescribed thereunder. Its aim is to 'encourage, co-ordinate and, where possible, assist the activities of affiliated and associated societies.' Clause 2 of the Constitution reads that the Council 'does not interfere in any way with the initiative and autonomous powers of local bodies and interests concerned with the welfare of the blind.'

The Council is the official channel for communication between affiliated societies and the governmental authorities.

Any school, institution, society or other body existing solely for the welfare of the blind may apply for affiliation to the Council. Similar organisations which concern themselves inter alia with the blind may apply for representation on the Council. The Council holds the right to admit or refuse affiliation or representation.

Membership of the Council is possible only as a consequence of membership and appointment by constituent local societies, governmental authorities and certain bodies granted representation.

The Council derives its funds from voluntary contributions from local societies, governmental grants-in-aid and other sources.

d) The National Council for Mental Health: (Established 1920).

Membership of this Council falls into three groups:

- (a) Constituent Members,
- (b) Affiliated Members,
- (c) Advisory Members.

The constituent members are the local Mental Health Societies wherever established. The affiliated societies are bodies with interests in mental health work e.g. The Medical Association of South Africa, the National Councils of other organisations etc. The advisory members are principally state employees e.g. The

Commissioner for Mental Hygiene, The Director of Prisons etc.

The respective local Mental Health Societies are 'independent and autonomous'. The Council subsidises the societies from governmental grants, and endeavours to form new societies where necessary and when funds permit. The Council has as one of its aims 'to direct and co-ordinate' the work of the local Societies. This direction applies rather to the technical treatment of clients than the internal affairs of local societies. The Council acts as 'the official channel of communication' between constituent societies and governmental departments.

e) The S.A. National Tuberculosis Association: (Established 1948).

(The author was not supplied with the constitution of this Council, but from personal experience over five years of voluntary work and two years of employment by local societies affiliated to this Council, he is in a position to state that in principal the relationship between the two administrative units is not different from those already discussed.)

f) The National Council for the Care of Cripples: (Established 1939)

This Council is composed of nine Provincial and Regional Cripple Care Associations, which are affiliated. In addition governmental representatives and representatives of other national organisations form 'Representative Members'. In addition there is provision for 'Special Members' who act largely in an advisory capacity. In general membership is available only through representation of affiliated organisations or governmental departments.

The principal function of the Council is 'to co-ordinate and correlate the work of the different Associations, Departments and Institutions engaged or interested in this work'. It also encourages existing societies to form to new societies when and

where necessary.

This Council has one of its affiliated members --The East London and Border Society for the Care of Cripples---in the area of investigation. The East London Society has also established a local branch in Kingwilliamstown. This local society, though independent financially, operates under a letter of delegation from the East London office. There are also a number of representatives and interested persons elsewhere in the area, and it is hoped to create a number of local societies as soon as convenient.

In so far as the National Council affiliates only large Regional Societies, and not branches of them, it has a somewhat different organisational structure from the others discussed above.

The above organisations are all characterised by being co-ordinatory agencies of independent, local societies. Membership of the Council is only possible as a consequence of membership of a local society or some other recognised body or authority. Public support of the service offered must therefore be of a local character. This support is partly kept alive by propaganda from both the national administrative unit and the local society. It is the prestige and work of the local society which ultimately determines the success of the national council. In so far as this is true the local societies are in a similar position as local organisations with no co-ordinating structure.

In every case the principal employee of the National Council is one trained not only in administration, but also in the technical aspects of the treatment provided for the particular type of deviate. This is necessary as many of

the local societies employ qualified social workers, and to obtain competent technical advice from the National Council compels the latter to employ equally, if not better, trained staff than the employees of the local societies. The designation of the National Council's principal employee is usually National Secretary, though 'National Organiser' is also used. However, his function is scarcely that of an organiser, as the term is used in societies of different organisational structure.

The relationships between different units of authority in organisations coordinated by central authority is somewhat more complex. The fact of national conception, yet operating through branches in contact with clients, leads to difficulties in the relationship. It is now proposed to examine the four organisations of this type in some detail.

a) The National Council for Social Services: This organisation has its head office in Durban. The East London branch is the only one in the area of investigation. The organisation should not be confused with the British National Council for Social Services, which has quite different functions.

The aim of the National Council for Social Services is the rehabilitation of prisoners and the care of their dependents during and after imprisonment. This is essentially a local task involving face to face interviews and relationships with clients. As the society aims at more than the provision of relief, its operations are largely technical and rehabilitative. To perform these functions it employs trained personnel.

The local branch is controlled by an annually elected committee of office bearers. The East London branch makes provision for members who pay or donate a given sum annually, and

Life Members who have donated one large, specified amount or more to the Society. The annual general meeting of local members elects the controlling committee.

The branch is autonomous, owing an allegiance to the head office resulting more from historical accident than organisational requirements. From the practical point of view the organisation could be viewed as co-ordinated by federal authority except that it views itself as an association of national dimensions. Up to 1934 the organisation was known as The Prisoners Aid and Probation Association of South Africa. It was given official recognition in the Prisons and Reformatories Act of 1911, as the accredited Prisoners Aid Society of the Union. Thus, as one society, it received statutory recognition. Its operations and those of its successor, were thus of necessity carried out as a national conception with the branches functioning as its agents, but, out of practical considerations for the social case work it undertakes, the branches had to be given a relatively free hand.

The relationship of the branch to the central office, like those of organisations co-ordinated by federal authority, is governed largely by the subsidy for the professional employees and the grant in aid received from the central government. This financial support is paid to the head office of the organisation for subsequent distribution to the branches. Local branches are left free to collect from and to dispense funds to their local area. These funds are used largely on the clients the organisation serves. They are thus used at the branch level.

The administration of funds, and the relation between the head office and the branch is no different from the National Councils discussed above. It appears that the dimensions of

conception---national or local---does not affect the administration of government grants and subsidies paid to the national office.

A further control exerted by the central authority, as was the case with the National Council for Child Welfare and some other National Councils, is that of inspection of the routine methods of filing, office administration and the proper maintenance of records and statistics. This function is carried out by an annual visit of the national organising secretary. The need for this control arises not so much from the wish of the central authority to control the branches, as from the need to maintain a high standard of administrative efficiency to qualify for the subsidy and grant-in-aid from the central government. It is noticeable in the annual reports of branches and the head office that statistical records are of great importance. They are kept to the last detail. They serve a purpose in convincing the government of the work done by the organisation and hence in justifying the annual grant-in-aid (amounting in 1953 to £6,250, and an additional £10,304 in respect of subsidy for professional employees salaries, travelling allowances etc.). As will be seen below, the statistics perform a further function in respect of fund raising.

Similar inspections are carried out by the employees of federally co-ordinating National Councils in respect of their constituent local societies. However, in their case there is no power to compel a local society to do what the inspector demands. His advice is in the form of a recommendation, backed up by the sanction of expulsion from the National Council and the possible failure of Government to recognise the local society for subsidy purposes. In the case of the Social Services Association, however, he could theoretically compel compliance with his advice. In practice, however, this

distinction has no significance as the relationship between the central and local administrative units is a close and friendly one in both types of administration.

Thus although the head office performs an essential function in the administrative process, the emphasis in so far as it relates to the function and aim of the organisation, is at the branch or local level. It is the branches that perform the day to day duties of the organisation. It is the branches that put the ideals of the organisation into practice.

An examination of recent annual reports of the East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town branches of the Social Services Association, shows that nowhere is there any mention of the number of members in any branch. They are neither listed nor is their number specified. Many reports do not speak of members, but of 'supporters'. The annual report of the East London branch opens with a list of office bearers and committee members. The committee members are referred to as 'representing members', but the individual committee members are in many instances associated with the day-to-day work of the Society, e.g. representatives from the Department of Justice, Municipal Council, Prisons Department, Department of Social Welfare, Religious denominations, the Side-Bar, and four representing the public. In 1952 there were three life members—the names of whom appear listed under the names of the committee. Further, this report opens with the remark that "there are indications that the public (sic.) is giving thought and recognition to the efforts that are being made on behalf of the community." It is the public interest that is referred to, not an increase in the society's membership.

These facts suggest the membership of this organisation serves very little purpose. This is to be distinguished from financial donors who clearly are of vital importance; but a donor is a member of the public, not a member of the society.

The donor can only indirectly affect policy. He is non-participant.

The annual reports of the branches, and of the National Association, contain large amounts of propaganda material emphasising a point of view. This is often punctuated by vivid case descriptions. In short, the organisation must, vulgarly expressed, 'sell a line' to the public. Efforts are not aimed at increasing membership of the organisation. Thus expansion of the organisation is measured not by the size of its membership, but by donations made to it, and the inception of new branches. That the organisation is successful at collecting donations is shown by the per centage these reflect in the total income. Thus in 1952 donations to the East

London branch were worth	£572
grant in aid	£447 (ex the National Association)
subsidy	£587 (on employees salary)
other income	£70
	<u>£1676</u>

Thus donations accounted for 34% of the total income, which is relatively high for organisations employing specialised employees and subsidised as heavily as the organisation under discussion. It is also important to observe that there is no income from members' fees mentioned in the Revenue and Expenditure Account. Nor any income from bazaars, fêtes etc. An examination of the list of individual donations shows that 81 out of a total of 101 donations came from business or associations. Three came from anonymous donors and 17 were from private individuals.

The central authority requests municipal councils and other local authorities to give donations or to organise local street collections on the organisation's behalf. Thus street collections are held in towns throughout the area of investigation where no branch of the organisation exists.

This collection of funds from communities which receive no direct participant benefit from the activities of the organisation tends to be a function of national and highly centralised organisational structures. The organisation is of national dimensions and hence draws on the nation as a whole. Societies of local conception are, by definition, excluded from this source of income though in many instances the national council undertakes the collection of funds from areas where no local society exists. These funds accrue to the national council and may be distributed to the branches at the council's discretion.

It therefore appears from this analysis that organisations of national dimension may function with a minimum of membership at the branch level, provided that sufficient individuals in the local community can be found to form a controlling committee, and particularly if the activities can be carried out by a staff largely paid for by the government subsidy. On the other hand, societies of local conception possibly draw more heavily on members especially in the administration of the local branch. The need to keep the organisation in funds forces both types of organisation to integrate themselves into the life of the community, but the local society tends to call on members, whereas the branch of a national conception of the kind discussed tends to call more for funds than for members. The structure is thus a centralised bureaucracy rather than a participant democracy.

b) The Red Cross Society:

This Society's articles of Association are explicit in according membership as follows:

(a) Life Members, who are

(1) persons who make a contribution of not less than £10.

(ii) Persons who by reason of having rendered exceptional and distinguished services are elected Honorary Life Members by the National Council on the recommendation of a Regional Council.

(b) Ordinary Members, who are

(i) Persons who pay an annual subscription of not less than 10/-.

(ii) 'All registered members of the S.A. Red Cross Voluntary Aid Corps who are classified as efficient for the previous calendar year.'

(c) Associate Members, who are persons who pay an annual subscription of 2/6d, and 'who are enlisted as a member of an associate group', but who are not otherwise a members of the society. An Associate Member has no vote at any meeting other than at a meeting of his associate group. An Associate Group is, in terms of Section 68 of the Articles of Association, 'a group of persons established for the purpose of carrying out personal Red Cross service or services in a particular area and responsible to the local authority of the Society having jurisdiction in such area'.

(d) Corporate Members who 'mean and include any firm, society, association or corporation' paying a subscription of not less than £5 per annum.

There are thus two principal types of membership:

(a) Membership of the Society as a national conception with voting rights in many spheres of activity;

(b) Associate membership for persons serving the interests of the Society at the purely local level, and with a purely local voting power. Associate membership excludes participation in the organisation as a national conception. Full membership of the Red Cross Society entitles one to full participation at the local level with no additional subscriptions.

It will be observed that the membership is open to all races, both sexes and is not limited by age or previous experience. There appear to be no limitations or grounds of eligibility for membership.

In its organisational structure the S.A. Red Cross Society is controlled by a National Council consisting of

- (1) The President of the Society,
- (2) The Hon. National Treasurer,
- (3) Two delegates elected by each of the Regional Councils

either from their own membership or the membership of other Regional Councils. The National Council has the right to vary the number of delegates 'on grounds which the National Council may deem equitable', provided that no Regional Council has more than double the number of delegates representing any other Regional Council.

- (4) Ex-Officio Members who are
 - (a) The Secretary for Health or his Alternate,
 - (b) The Director-General of Medical Services or his alternate,
 - (c) The Chairman of the National Health Education Committee of the Red Cross Society,
 - (d) The Chairman of the Technical Training Committee of the Red Cross Society,
 - (e) The Chief Commandant of the Nursing Division of the Red Cross Voluntary Aid Corps with the Deputy Chief Commandante as alternate.
 - (f) The Chief Commissioner of the Ambulance Division of the Red Cross Voluntary Aid Corps, with the Deputy Chief Commissioner as alternate,
 - (g) The Director of the Junior Red Cross Section,
 - (h) The Secretaries for the time being, or their alternates, of such other Departments of State of South Africa as the National Council may from time to time determine,
 - (i) The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee.

(5) In time of war or great emergency the National Council may for specific purposes, and on not less than a two thirds majority vote of the members of the Council present, co-opt additional members, but their number shall not exceed two-thirds of the elected members of the National Council. Such co-opted members shall be entitled to vote and need not necessarily be members of

the Society.

Established by the Articles of Association are regions, governed by Regional Councils, as follows:

The Cape Region,
Transvaal Region,
Orange Free State Region,
Eastern Cape Region,
Natal Region,
South West Africa Region.

The National Council is empowered to create new Regions at its own instance. It also delimits the area of jurisdiction of each Regional Council. The above Regions have an existence sui generis in so far as they were not created by the National Council in the first instance, but by the Articles of Association. The National Council has a right thereafter to change or vary their title, area of jurisdiction etc.

The Regional Council consists of the following, elected at the Regional Annual General Meeting:

(1) Such number of members of the Society, not exceeding 18 in number as are elected by the members of the Society resident within the area of jurisdiction of the Regional Council. One-third retire in rotation annually.

(2) A representative of each branch committee within the area of jurisdiction of the Regional Council.

(3) Such additional members of the Society, not to exceed in number two-thirds of the number of members elected, as may be co-opted by the Regional Council. These limits may be exceeded in time of war or great emergency.

(4) Regional Commissioners and Regional Commandantes of the Ambulance Division and the Nursing Division of the Voluntary Aid Corps respectively, as ex-officio members.

The Regional Council elects from among its members a chairman, vice-chairman and hon. treasurer. It may also elect any other honorary officers or appoint paid officials 'but the paid officials shall not be members of the Council'. Honorary officers are elected annually.

It is incumbent upon every Regional Council to keep a register of membership of its Region, and to furnish a copy of this to the National Council each year. Also, the Regional Council provides each member in good standing, other than Associate Members, with a membership card.

The Regional Council is empowered to establish and control branches within the area of its jurisdiction. A branch is controlled by a committee consisting of

(a) Such number of members of the Society as may be approved by the Regional Council, elected by the members of the Society resident within the area allotted to the Branch, but not within the area allotted to any Local Centre.

(b) A representative from the Local Committee of each Local Centre within the Branch area.

A Local Centre is controlled by a Local Committee which consists of such number of members of the Society as may be approved by the Regional Council in consultation with the Branch Committee having jurisdiction in that area, elected by the members of the Society resident in the area allotted to it by the Branch.

In turn, a branch committee may appoint within the area allotted to it, and not entrusted to any Local Centre, one or more Local Representatives, and may assign to such Local Representatives the locality within which they may exercise the functions entrusted to them. They are subject to the control of the Branch Committee. Local Representatives are persons duly appointed to undertake such functions as are entrusted to them.

This organisational structure possesses the following characteristics:

(1) It contains, inter alia, democratic procedure up to the Regional Council level, i.e. members of the Society elect a major proportion of the Regional Council by direct vote. In addition, the units in the lower level of authority can elect a member. But above the level of the Regional Council the ordinary member of the Society has no direct power. The National Council is elected by the Regional Councils. It consists of those elected by the

Regional Councils, certain individuals appointed by itself, ex-officio members and any that it may agree to co-opt. The Executive Committee is in like manner not elected by the democratic direct vote of members, but by appointment or election by the Regional Councils.

(2) The hierarchical structure is so extended as to incorporate individuals, when appointed Local Representatives. It is thus designed to allow for representation of the Society in the smallest of communities.

(3) There is some ambiguity in the relationship between a branch, a local centre and the regional council. The ambiguity arises from the utilisation of two criteria to determine status:

- (a) area of jurisdiction viewed geographically,
- (b) authority and responsibility.

In terms of the geographic area of jurisdiction a branch clearly includes a Local Centre, and possibly many. In terms of authority and responsibility, however, the branch is not necessarily the next senior authority above the Local Centre. For example, the size of the committee of a Local Centre is determined not by the Branch alone, but by the Regional Council 'in consultation with the Branch Committee having jurisdiction in that area.' Further, the committee of a branch is elected by members within its area excluding those who fall under the jurisdiction of a local centre. Yet a Local Committee, established by a Branch Committee after approval from the Regional Council, exercises 'such function as may be assigned to it by such Branch Committee, and shall be subject to the authority and jurisdiction of such Branch Committee'.

It appears, therefore, that in respect of authority a Local Committee is subordinate to a Branch Committee, but in other respects it is given a status almost independent of the Branch and is associated directly with the Regional Council.

(4) The existence of prescribed honorific offices in the

form of Honorary Presidents, Vice-Presidents etc. which are excluded from the day-to-day administration of the Society.

(5) The incorporation into the upper levels of the organisational structure only of the heads of specialised branches or divisions of the organisation. These Divisions concern aspects of the Voluntary Aid Corps and the Junior Section which function as organisations outside the main administrative structure. They are not incorporated at the branch level, but at the Regional and National Council level only.

The powers granted by the Articles of Association to various levels of the structure are as follows:

To the National Council is reserved, inter alia, the determination of the general policy and the direction and control of its affairs. (1) It can create new regions and define the area of regions in consultation with the Regional Councils affected.

(2) It can effect the dissolution of a Region 'should the continuance of such Region to the National Council appear unnecessary or undesirable'.

(3) It can require any Region to maintain a given standard of efficiency in its work.

(4) It can employ such persons as it deems necessary.

(5) It can make, on a national basis, collections or appeals for funds in support of the objects of the Society.

(6) It determines the contributions to be made by Regional Councils to the national funds after consultation with the Regions.

(7) It can provide a Regional Council with funds to maintain a given standard in its area.

(8) It can 'create, maintain, regulate and control on a national and uniform basis the Ambulance and Nursing Divisions of the S.A. Red Cross Voluntary Aid Corps and Section'. It also appoints the Heads of these Divisions.

(9) It can negotiate with Government on behalf of the Society.

(10) In addition it has further powers concerning publications, the Society's emblem, the standards for examinations, register of members etc. It also represents the Society in South Africa vis à vis the international head quarters and Societies in other countries.

The National Council must meet at least bi-annually.

The Regional Councils, subject to the general policies laid down by the National Council, enjoy full autonomy within the area of their jurisdiction in matters of

(1) administration,

(2) the utilisation of funds raised,

(3) negotiation with Provincial or Local Authorities of Government within its area, and also with the Central Government after consultation with the National Council, in respect of matters arising in or affecting its own area,

(4) the establishment and control of branches, and the assignment of areas of jurisdiction of subordinate units,

(5) the admission to and expulsion from membership.

The Regional Councils can also make bye-laws for the conduct of the affairs of the Society.

A Branch exercises control over the area allotted to it by the Regional Council, but is subject to the authority and jurisdiction of the Regional Council. It may also make bye-laws for the conduct of its affairs.

The Committee of a Local Centre exercises control over its area and performs such functions as are assigned to it by the Branch Committee. It may also make bye-laws for the conduct of its affairs, but these must be approved by the Regional Council in consultation with the Branch Committee concerned.

A Local Representative merely carries out 'such functions as are duly entrusted to him from time to time'.

Immovable property may be vested in either the National Council on behalf of the Society as a whole, or in the Regional Councils in respect of property relating to themselves only. In the event of a Region ceasing to exist, the property becomes vested in the National Council.

The financial responsibility of the National Council is restricted to the central funds. In turn, a Regional Council may not, without permission, raise or expend funds outside the area of its jurisdiction. Where a Regional Council raises funds from within its area for expenditure outside it, the funds are remitted to the National Council for administration. Otherwise any operations of the Regional Council within its own area of jurisdiction are entirely its own concern.

All funds raised by the Branch or Local Centres, within the areas allotted to them, are remitted to the Regional Council, or, with the consent of the Regional Council, are held by the unit that raised them, and are dealt with 'in such manner as the Regional Council shall direct'.

The characteristics to be observed in respect of the functions described above, are:

(a) The direct control of the Regional Councils over the administration, functions and funds of all subordinate organisational units. The Regional Council keeps direct control in the affairs of its subordinate units; it can enhance the status of certain units by enlarging their geographical area of jurisdiction; by changing their name to that of a branch; and by granting them only limited authority over the subordinate units a branch collaborates in establishing. The essential point is that a Branch is not a miniature Regional Council. Its administrative powers are limited, and financial assets are held merely by the permission of the Regional Council.

(b) The autonomy of the Regional Council vis à vis the National Council.

In so far as membership of the society is concerned, the fundamental unit of administration and interest is the Regional Council. The National Council is a general policy making and enforcing unit. In itself it has little to do with the practical application of the aims of the Society. The Regional Council is the essential unit for this purpose. The delegation of its functions and duties to inferior units down to the level of the Local Representative, not only ensures a means of retaining the active interests of members, but of ensuring the representation of the Society in the smallest community.

The complex administrative structure is not designed to place any member in an inferior/superior relation to any other. Nor does the hierarchical structure of the organisation serve a purely honorific or title-prescribing function. It is designed deliberately as an administrative and controlling device to make effective at all levels and in all geographical areas the aims of the Society. Membership implies a membership of the national conception, though the organisation has appreciated the need to provide for a purely local or associate membership.

The hierarchical structure below the Regional Council level provides democratic representation to both the members as individuals and to the units of authority representing the organised expression of members in geographical association. The individual member is ingratiated into the administrative structure at all levels up to the Regional Council. No member need be left without an administrative unit through which he can actively express his sentiment and wish to further the aims of the Society.

In this respect the Red Cross Society differs from the Cripple Care Society. Though both have regional structures as the principal functionaries, the Red Cross has created an

administrative machine capable of functioning towards the objects of service and towards the members who support it, right down to the village or Representative level. No population concentration is too small to have a Red Cross Representative. In contrast, the Cripple Care Society has not, as yet, been able to decentralise its regional structure to the small village in a permanent and organised fashion. In fact the Society in the area of investigation appears to be having difficulty in decentralising effectively to even the small town level. To some measure this difference between these two important organisations lies in the more general aims of the Red Cross, but that is by no means the only causative factor.

There is little need to relate fully the aims and objects of the Red Cross Society. The work of this organisation is well known. It need only be noted that its objects are essentially practical and utilitarian. None refer to an ideal or abstract concept. The organisation is essentially practical in orientation. It is essentially everted in sentiment type. It confers no practical advantages to the member per se.

In the area of investigation the Red Cross Society has a Branch---the Border Branch---centred in East London and having the whole of the Border and Transkei as its area of jurisdiction. This Branch comes under the direct control not of the East Cape Regional Council, but of the Cape Regional Council, with head office in Cape Town. In addition, the East Cape Region is responsible for the following Local Committees or branches in the area West of the Great Fish River:

- (a) Grahamstown Branch covering the Magisterial Districts of Albany and Bathurst;
- (b) Fort Beaufort Local Committee covering Fort Beaufort, Adelaide and Bedford;
- (c) A Voluntary Aid Detachment at Somerset East, which includes Pearston.
- (d) There is also a detachment at Alexandria.

The Border Branch has Local Committees established in the following places:

Alice,
 Alwal North,
 Butterworth,
 Cofimvaba,
 Dordrecht,
 Elliot,
 Engcobo,
 Idutywa,
 Kingwilliamstown,
 Komgha,
 Lusikisiki,
 Maclear,
 Peddie,
 Sterkstroom,
 Stutterheim,
 Umata,
 Whittlesea.

It also has Local Representatives in the following:

Balfour,
 Barkley East,
 Cacadart,
 Elliotdale,
 Halseton,
 Herschel/Sterkspruit,
 Indwe,
 Jamestown,
 Keiskammahoek,
 Kentani,
 Lady Frere,
 Lady Grey,
 Middelrift,
 Molteno,
 Mqanduli,
 Nqamakwe,
 Ngqeleni,
 Port St Johns,
 Queenstown,
 Qumbu,
 St Marks,
 Seymour,
 Tsole,
 Tsomo,
 Ugie,
 Willowvale,
 Tabankulu.

(c) The St John Ambulance Association: This organisation is the Ambulance Department of the Priory in Southern Africa of the Grand Priory in the British Realm of the Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. The Ambulance Department of the Priory in Southern Africa operates through a Director of Ambulance and a number of centres. There is no hierarchical structure as was the case with the Red Cross Society, though many of the objects and functions are the same.

The name, area of jurisdiction and the place of the headquarters must be determined by the local centre and included in its constitution.

Membership of the Centre is obtained by the payment of 5/- to the Centre which 'constitutes membership of the St. John Ambulance Association within the Priory'. A donation of £10 and upwards to a Centre by an individual constitutes Life Membership. In the case of a business firm the amount is £20 and upwards, and the firm can nominate a representative as its Life Member. Certificates of Membership are issued through the Centre but signed by the Director of Ambulance.

The affairs of a Centre are administered through a Centre Committee, which is responsible to the Director of Ambulance ('in accordance with the statutes and Regulations of the Order, and the Regulations of the Priory').

The Centre Committee consists of an unspecified number of persons elected annually at the Annual General Meeting from among the members of the Centre. The Committee has apparently unqualified powers to co-opt members of the Centre to the Committee. The Committee may ask the Department of Health, Defence, Education, Social Welfare and Labour, and other public organisations it may decide on, to nominate a representative on the Centre Committee. The Committee also has powers to appoint an Executive Committee.

The Centre Committee must operate a banking account, and keep such books and minutes as are prescribed. An annual report and financial statement must be submitted to the Director of Ambulance annually.

Any difference of opinion that cannot be settled locally may be submitted to the Director of Ambulance for a decision.

A Centre may elect its own Patrons.

The Officers of the Centre "who shall be persons of influence, and, if possible, members of the Order of St John" are:

- (a) The Presidents and Vice-Presidents, who are elected at the Annual General Meeting;
- (b) The Chairman, Deputy Chairman and Honorary Treasurer who are elected by the Centre Committee at its first meeting immediately following the Annual General Meeting;
- (c) The Centre Secretary if in an honorary capacity, and if an elected member of the Centre Committee, has a vote.

The officers of a Centre are ex-officio members of the Centre Committee.

To carry out its functions a Centre procures funds "by means of annual subscriptions, donations, the organisation of bazaars, fêtes, entertainments etc. and in other suitable ways, such as street collections and a yearly Ambulance Day." Funds remain under the control of the Centre, and may be invested by the Centre Committee, but in the name of the Priory in Southern Africa. The Priory will give an authority in writing to the Centre to administer premises, lecture halls 'and all other property in possession of or acquired by a Centre', for the purposes of the Centre. The Centre Committee, however, "shall accept full and sole responsibility for the due and proper use of such property and the due solution of all liabilities and expenses connected therewith and incurred during the period such Authority is in

force". A centre, however, may use its own funds to acquire or rent a hall, room etc.; and it may utilise its funds in the purchase of land and/or buildings. It is the vestment of these assets, that must be made with the permission of the Priory.

A Centre Committee may establish "Sections of the Centre" in any part of the area of its jurisdiction, and determine the relations of the sections one to another.

The purpose of a Centre is to assist the St John Ambulance Association in carrying out its objects in the area of jurisdiction.

The objects include:

(a) "The formation of classes for the instruction of persons in First Aid, Home Nursing, Health and Hygiene, sanitation, Child Welfare, Occupational Therapy and other subjects of a kindred nature."

(b) "The distribution by sale or presentation of ambulance material."

(c) "The formation of Ambulance Depôts in or near centres of industry and traffic and the organisation of Medical Comforts Depôts."

(d) "The transport of the sick and injured."

(e) "The encouragement of the formation of units of St John Ambulance Brigade."

(f) "And generally the promotion of instruction in, and the carrying out of, works for the relief of the suffering and the sick and injured in peace and war, irrespective of race, class or creed."

The Ambulance Department is only a portion of the organisation known as the Order of St John of Jerusalem. The nature of the organisation is essentially everted in membership type. The organisational structure is characterised by:

(1) The absence of an hierarchical organisational structure. Though a Centre is empowered to create sub-units within its area of jurisdiction, they are termed "Sections of a Centre", which implies, in the absence of anything to the contrary, a status of equality between the parts;

(2) The almost complete autonomy of a Centre. The only restriction on the autonomy is a requirement to vest assets in the name of the Priory.

(3) The presence of an individual---the Director of Ambulance--- as the ultimate authority over Centres. He is apparently the local agent of the Priory of the British Realm.

(4) Persons who benefit from the classes arranged by a Centre need not be members of the Centre. The Centre merely acts as the agent for the dissemination of knowledge and skills to volunteer members of the public. The persons pay a fee towards the costs of materials etc. used in the classes and the fees of lecturers and examiners.

In the area of investigation there are two Centres, one in Grahamstown and one in East London.

Though membership of a Centre confers membership of the Ambulance Division of the Priory, the local Centre is the practical unit of administration. Membership involves attachment to the Order, but is expressed in the daily affairs of the Centre. The absence of a complex organisational structure has the effect of concentrating a members activities wholly within the Centre. In this respect, and in respect of finance, the Order of St John is similar in organisational structure to many societies co-ordinated by federal authority, save that the Director of Ambulance has a more controlling and commanding authority than has the National Council of federally co-ordinated societies.

(1)
D) The National War Memorial Health Foundation: (N.W.M.H.F.)

This organisation was conceived by the members of the 6th South African Armoured Division after the cease-fire in Italy, 1945. Its fundamental object was the promotion of health among all sections and races of the South African community.

The Articles of Association make provision for seven kinds

(1) After this discussion was written the author received the Minutes of the 10th Annual General Meeting, wherein it was proposed to amend the organisational structure to give the Regional Councils more autonomy administratively and financially, and to limit the powers of the Trustees. This discussion is somewhat out of date in consequence, but the principle it illustrates remains intact.

of members, but all are conceived as 'members of the Foundation'. It is nation-wide in its conception.

The organisational structure makes provision for the control, "the determination of its policy, the management of its affairs, and the carrying out of its objects" to be "vested in and exercised by the Council, subject, however, to the powers and duties of the Board of Trustees...." The Board of Trustees has the function of safeguarding "the fundamental purpose of the Foundation" i.e. to promote good health among all sections, "and to ensure that in the carrying out of the objects of the Foundation the Council maintains a proper sense of proportion and perspective." This 'sense of proportion' refers to the allocation of funds between the races.

The Board of Trustees exercises its functions by its joint control with the Council of the Trust Banking Account. This Account can only be operated on over the signatures and authority of one representative of each body, duly authorised by respective resolutions. A second Account, the General Account, is under the sole control of the Council. All monies received by the Foundation "irrespective of the source thereof, shall be deposited to the credit of the Trust Account". "The General Account shall consist of monies transferred from the Trust Account."

The Council, in its effort to promote the health of all sections of the population, draws up a programme of action with estimates as to cost. This is submitted to the Board of Trustees for approval. If the Board approves, the necessary funds are transferred from the Trust to the General Account. Disagreements between the Board and the Council are referred to a general meeting of the organisation, whose decision is binding on all parties.

The effect of this procedure is to entirely centralise all funds. Subordinate units of authority have no power to handle any funds other than those agreed to by the board at the request of the Council. Monies raised at the local level must be

credited to the Trust Account of the Foundation, and then be issued according to the above procedure.

The organisational procedure is highly centralised. It proceeds from the assumption that the promotion of health in the nation as a whole must follow a nationally determined plan. The allocation of money for the benefit of different racial groups must be planned according to the racial group's respective needs as well as the general geographical distribution of benefits.

The Articles of Association also make provision for Regional Councils. In the area of investigation East London serves as the Regional headquarters for the area East of the Great Fish River. The Council has a right "to establish regional committees and branch offices at such places and with such functions as the Council may deem fit." The exact relationship between such committees or offices and either the Regional Council or the Council is not defined in the Articles of Association. The Council is given power to frame regulations governing the Constitutions of Regional Councils and determining their powers, procedures and functions.

The organisational structure and the administration of funds are so designed as to centralise the decision as to what projects are undertaken by the Foundation as a whole. Local branches cannot, unless provided with the funds and authority from the Council, undertake any projects on their own initiative. The Regional Council acts as a co-ordinator of proposals from branches in its area of jurisdiction, but has no funds or authority to allow a branch to proceed unless the Council has obtained the necessary funds from the Board of Trustees.

The sources from which the Council obtains suggestions for the proposals it submits to the Board of Trustees are the Regional Councils. The converse route is also possible. Thus the Council may formulate a health promotive scheme which is

referred to a Regional Council for application in the local area. The danger is always present that suggestions put up by local branches may not meet with the acceptance of the Regional Council, the Council or the Board of Trustees, and thus bring into being conflicts between the units of administration.

Conversely, schemes initiated at the national level may be difficult to enforce at the local level as local members may not be enthusiastic about a suggestion emanating from an authority so far removed.

As the foundations funds are entirely centralised there is no possibility of a local branch raising funds from local sources for a purely local project. The project and the funds must be agreed to by the national authority. There is every likelihood that if a local branch raised the necessary funds from local sources that the Board of Trustees would agree to its expenditure locally; but this likelihood is, in the author's experience, no substitute for the direct application of local funds to a local project. The knowledge that approval must be granted by the national authority, and that funds must be sanctioned by that source also, is adequate to dampen the interest of all but the most ardent supporters. The same problem arises in respect of Tuberculosis Settlements of the S.A.R.F.A., where the central office keeps a very close check on plans, estimates etc. for capital projects subsidised by Government.

The author's experience over a number of years of voluntary assistance to the N.W.M.H.F. is that members of local or regional committees become frustrated at the complete centralisation of funds and policy. It has the effect of removing from them any responsibility for recommendations or decisions they may come to at the local level.

It appears true in the border area at least, and there is some evidence to support the contention from elsewhere, that the

efficacy of the Regional Council and the local branch is largely determined by the energy and efficiency of the regional organiser. If this organiser has the ability to initiate, examine and suitably propose local schemes---and adequately substantiate the worthiness of the proposal in terms of local needs and national policy---then the chances of a local project being accepted by the Council and the Board of Trustees are greater. If there is no regional organiser acquainted with the methods of submitting proposals in the light of local needs and national policy, the chances of local schemes being accepted are less. The voluntary members at the regional or local level are rarely in a position to relate local needs to national policy and then to properly plan and substantiate a proposal. A regional organiser who is merely a fund raiser is inadequate in this type of administrative structure. Local interest begins to wane rapidly if the local suggestions are repeatedly turned down by higher authorities.

Donations from the public and large business houses, rather than the subscriptions of members, has always formed the principal source of funds to the Foundation. In 1955, the Foundation received £1,303 by subscriptions, but £25,764 by donations, fêtes, street collections etc. As was the case with the Social Services Association, a situation of this kind necessitates perpetual propaganda and the inculcation of the ideals of the Foundation to the public as a whole. The sentiment of members and the public must be kept active at an abstract level because there is little chance of active, practical participation. The danger is always present at the local branch level that a branch committee may be denied funds from the central authority for a locally proposed project. As soon as delays for the Council or the Board of Trustees to meet, or funds are reduced or amended, occur local members tend to lose enthusiasm. Local committees begin to dissolve. Thereafter, in the author's experience, the process matures by the once interested member questioning the whole practicality of the Foundations ideals, and eventually

voicing opinions which do the organisation no credit. In so far as this is true there is a danger in Regional Councils encouraging the formation of branch committees unless they definitely have in hand an approved scheme and the necessary finance. This organisational structure demands that expansion be not measured in the number of branch committees, but in the amount of money available for expenditure.

Branch committees may be created for an ad hoc fund raising scheme in support of the organisation as an abstract ideal, but the purpose of the committee must be made clear from the beginning.

The difficulty the Foundation has been facing, as least in so far as the area of investigation is concerned, may be summed up as follows: the highly centralised administrative structure became necessary as the aim of national promotive health and an 'equitable' distribution of resources between the races, necessitated a planned approach. To achieve this the administration of funds had to be centralised with a consequential organisational structure that left no responsibility to the local level. Yet, in the absence of extensive subsidisation of capital or maintenance by one or other governmental authority, the funds of the organisation had to be drawn from the members or the public. Though national appeals may be effective means of raising a substantial sum at any one time, there is little chance of an appeal raising sufficient to allow a capital investment in buildings and for their maintenance and running from interest on unexpended capital. The costs of daily maintenance of projects already established had to be catered for, if expansion was to proceed, by regular and continuous fund raising from the nation as a whole. But this type of fund raising depends for success on local interest and initiative. In many instances it comes from organisations of type 2 ('cameraderie') of the classification. There is no machinery in the organisational structure of the N.S.M.H.F. to retain the interests of local members. Authority and

administration is so rational at the top of the hierarchical structure, that it denies many local branches anything practical around which the members can centre their sentiments and ideals. A decline in funds for capital expenditure on new projects leaves more and more originally sympathetic sentiment with no means of expressing itself. In consequence members and the public have tended to donate less which in turn has aggravated the shortage of capital for expenditure. The processes appear to have created a vicious circle.

The regional secretary of the Cape Eastern Regional Council, centred in East London, explained the decline in activity in the Border and Transkei as due to "the financial position of the Foundation making it impossible to establish projects in each town".

(1)

The S.W.A.B.F. had to be an organisation of national conception as promotive health had to be nationally planned. Yet except where projects were actually in hand the members had no local administrative unit through which their everted sentiment could be expressed. The centralised financial and policy making organisational structure did not even allow an established local branch to raise and expend the funds it raised locally. Even the means whereby enthusiastic members could work for a local project was denied them. In effect membership of the Foundation became nothing more than an abstract allegiance to a splendid ideal, but one which provided almost/avenues for participation. The only avenue available was the donation of funds for projects to be undertaken often far removed from the donor. Although the organisation did emphasise its aims and objects as fund raising propaganda, there is a limit to the length of time propaganda alone can sustain so abstract an allegiance on the part of members.

The East London office is administering a Community Centre in the Duncan Village Location, East London (African). The Hobbiton-On-Hogs-Back Childrens Camp (European), situated in the

(1) Removal correspondence with the author

Victoria East District, which was taken over by the Foundation about 1950, has once more sought independence and was registered in its own name under the Welfare Organisations Act in 1955. Prior to 1954 there were branches of the Foundation in Butterworth, Kingwilliamstown, Cathcart, Elliot, Idutywa, Komgha, Umtata and Queenstown. There was also a rural community project at Mount Coke, Kingwilliamstown District. In 1954 the only branch left was at Butterworth where a local committee continued to raise funds for local expenditure on a Garden of Remembrance.

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The N.W.M.H.F. illustrates excellently the consequences of an organisation with everted sentiment membership failing to emphasise the local branch as a fundamental unit of administration. In all the other cases discussed in this chapter the local branch has been so emphasised. It may have been emphasised as only one in a series of authoritative units in an hierarchical structure e.g. the Red Cross Society, but it was not disregarded. In the case of organisations co-ordinated by federal authority, the local branch was left independent and autonomous. By emphasising the local administrative unit an organisation provides the machinery for the continuous expression of members sentiments. By so doing it tends to sustain and revitalise those sentiments. It ingratiate the organisation into the community. It does not have to rely on an abstract good-will on the part of members, but turns the good-will into a practical and tangible method of expression.

The analysis of organisations co-ordinated by central authority revealed that where these organisations employ full time staff at the local branch level there is little need to have a voluntary, active local membership. This was true of the Social Services Association and the N.W.M.H.F.. In the case of the Red Cross Society the voluntary, active local member was made

great use of in the smaller towns where a paid staff could not be sustained. So long as the funds to pay the staff can be obtained from governmental sources or from national appeals, the local membership can decline in importance. However, as in the case of the Red Cross and the N.W.M.H.F., where funds come mainly from the public it is essential to retain the active interest of local members. The Red Cross has deliberately created an administrative structure for this purpose, which largely accounts for the organization's success. The N.W.M.H.F. has failed to do this. On analysis, it appears that this omission has been largely responsible for its decline in the area of investigation.

Chapter 9.Organisations with Inverted Sentiment Membership.

Certain societies have as their sole ideal the improvement of the personal qualities of their members. Their interest in non-members is largely one of seeking prospective members, but not of performing a service to non-members. In its pure form this phenomenon of inverted sentiment i.e. where the sentiment of members is entirely directed inwards to the society and its membership is a rare phenomenon in social welfare, though in political, religious and cultural organisations it is far more common. The implication of this type of membership is that the individual member will get something from his membership that will benefit him as an individual. In its pure form it is a condition where the client of the organisation and the member are fused into the same individual. An individual assumes both the active role of member and the passive role of client or recipient of benefits.

The organisation known as Alcoholics Anonymous is the most perfect example in social welfare. A press report in the Saturday Evening Post (Port Elizabeth) of August, 4th, 1956, mentions the formation in Port Elizabeth and possibly East London of a society to further fellowship among victims of poliomyelitis. The idea emanates from the Infantile Paralysis Fellowship of Britain. It aims at enabling poliomyelitis victims to develop a mutual understanding. Membership will be confined to victims only, though provision is made for associate membership for interested non-victims. Other organisations of this type which will not be dealt with in this research, are Free Masoury, the Sons of England Patriotic and Benevolent Society, The Good Templars, The Odd Fellows and the Forresters (The latter three organisations appear now to be defunct.) This type of organisation has the fundamental condition necessary for the

formation of a secret society, but it is not intended to pursue this point.

Alcoholics Anonymous: This organisation is not registered on a national basis though certain individual branches are. Some of those registered under the Act are in the area of investigation.

In the forward to the book "Alcoholics Anonymous" appears the following, "We are not an organisation in the conventional sense of the word. There are no fees or dues whatever. The only requirement for membership is an honest desire to stop drinking". The organisation offers a technique to overcome the habit of compulsive drinking. Membership is limited only to alcoholics or ex-alcoholics. The interest of members is concentrated inwards to the membership, their fellowship and co-operation.

Alcoholics Anonymous had its beginnings in America, and is not an international organisation. Between 1934 and 1937 the organisation was in close contact with the Oxford Group. In 1938 a Trust known as "The Alcoholic Foundation" was registered in the State of New York. It received a donation from John D. Rockefeller, and established its own press, known as The Alcoholics Anonymous Publishing Company. The Alcoholic Foundation acts as a general service headquarters for the movement throughout the world, and as the custodian of the A.A. tradition it governs over-all policy and the contributions of groups or branches.

It was introduced into the area of investigation about 1952, largely as a result of services offered by members of the Toc.H. in East London.

The publications of the organisation are at pains to emphasise that A.A. is not an organisation, but a movement. In the 'Group Secretary's Handbook and Directory', 1953, is written: 'The movement is exclusively a spiritual endeavour whose only aim is to obtain personal recovery and to carry the message of the way to recovery to others. The Movement is the all important

thing...." The basic principles as they affect the individual member are reflected in what has become known as "The Twelve Steps to Recovery"; as they affect relations between persons the organisation and other organisations, are reflected in "The Twelve Points of Tradition".

As this research is essentially concerned with welfare organisations and not with methods of treatment, our concern is with the latter.

The Twelve Points of Tradition developed out of concern for the common welfare of the organisation. They apply throughout the organisational structure from the local branch to the head office in New York. The Twelve Points re-affirm the following: that God alone is the members ultimate authority; that members have but one primary purpose---to carry the message to the alcoholic who is still suffering; that the principle of anonymity has primarily a spiritual significance i.e. to practise a humble modesty; that the organisation should for ever remain non-professional and that any special services in extraordinary circumstances should be paid for; That the least possible organisation is required; that all contributions are to be entirely voluntary and the accumulation of excess funds discouraged; and "that matters of business, policy, money and property should be separated from the spiritual concern of A.A. to the extent of delegating such affairs to appropriate instrumentalities."

The Alcoholic Foundation is such an instrumentality at the international level. The Trust has 15 members, of whom, by constitutional deed, eight shall be non-alcoholics i.e. not members of the organisation. The Foundation has the custody of funds received from branches and royalties on publications. It also strives to protect the movement from objectionable publicity that cannot be handled at the local level.

No evidence was readily available, and the matter was not pressed by the author, as to the national co-ordinatory organisation

in South Africa, if there is any at all. In the area of investigation branches are known to exist in East London and Grahamstown. The Grahamstown branch was established on 1st October, 1954, and had plans of setting up a branch in Port Alfred. However, the life of the branch in Grahamstown was not a happy one, and nothing has been heard of it, by the author, during 1956.

The central unit of administration must be the local branch. In any organisation attempting a personal rehabilitation, there must be a face-to-face contact of members. Help is given the individual essentially by his relationship, and feeling of friendship, with others. The Twelve Points of Tradition underline the 'cameraderie' aspect, and to achieve it recommend a minimum of organisational structure, and a minimum of attention to finance. The organisational structure and the administration and control of funds are essentially mundane i.e. non-spiritual, pre-occupations.

The efficacy of membership is enhanced not by an organisational structure or the collection of funds, but by service to one's fellow members and alcoholics not yet made members. The "Group Secretary's Handbook" has this to say on the subject: "The service concept explains how A.A. Groups (Branches) get things done without resorting to the elaborate organisational set ups other societies may choose". It lists a number of activities or services a member may perform, and then continues "It takes people to get these jobs done. In A.A. the people who do these jobs are servants of the group, not leaders. No honour or special recognition is intended in the election or selection of a man or woman to 'help with the chores' of keeping an A.A. Group alive....".

The organisation of the local Group is left entirely to itself. There is usually a "steering committee", which is an advisory unit of from three to five members. There is a

Secretary and a Treasurer, a programme chairman and a refreshments committee.

There are two basic kinds of meeting

- (a) the closed meeting for alcoholics only,
- (b) meetings open to the public.

At a typical open meeting, the leader—usually a member—opens with a few general remarks on A.A.. This welcomes any newcomers to the organisation. Then a speaker, or possibly one of each sex, tells his or her personal story. This exemplifies the ideals of the organisation. The secretary and treasurer then present their reports. There may then be another speaker, or close after the leader's final remarks and prayer.

A typical closed meeting may be varied in its presentation. It can be a straight discussion meeting on members, their problems, or on prospective members. It can concern itself with The Twelve Points of Tradition and the general inculcation of the ideological principles the organisation maintains.

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This rather detailed description of an organisation strictly beyond the confines of this research has been made to emphasise the nature of inverted sentiment membership. It also illustrates the relationship of the member to the organisation. He becomes the servant of the organisation as did the member of organisations with everted sentiment membership, but in the type under discussion the service is directed inwards towards fellowship among members—not outwards towards people ineligible for membership. Psychologically, membership affects the individual by creating a feeling of comradeship in the face of common experiences. In the case of A.A. the experience is the helplessness of the individual sufferer from compulsive drinking;

in the case of professional or occupational organisations from the common experiences of that type of work.

The S.A. Nursing Association and Trust Fund:

The S.A. Nursing Association is a statutorily created organisation, and is not registered under the Welfare Organisations Act. Its organisational structure is also laid down in the Nursing Act No. 45 of 1944, as amended. Part III of this Act grants corporate status to the Association, and vests the assets and liabilities of the previous South African Trained Nurses Association, which was registered under Section 21 of the Companies Act No. 46 of 1926, in the new organisation.

The Nursing Association is more a Trade Union in character than a welfare organisation. It is relevant to the present study because its local branches act as agents for the S.A. Nurses Trust Fund. The committees controlling the local branches of the Association are the recognised authorities for the Trust Fund at the local level, and undertake fund raising on the Trust's behalf.

The S.A. Nurses Trust Fund is registered under the Welfare Organisations Act. In terms of the regulations made under the Nursing Act, the Trust Fund "shall, subject to the terms of the Trust Deed, be available in the discretion of the Trustees to any member of the Association in need of financial assistance on account of illness or incapacity." To some extent the availability of the Fund has been responsible for the retardation of the development of a proper pension and provident fund for the Nursing profession as a whole. Many nurses voluntarily give one days pay a year towards the fund, but most of its income is obtained from public support.

The Fund was started in 1943 to provide for the comfort of nurses on military service. Since the War it has become a

national fund for civilian use.

The Fund is centralised in Johannesburg. Funds are invested by and are under the direct control of a Board of Trustees which meets monthly. There is also a Relief Sub-Committee at head quarters to scrutinise applications from the Fund.

There are eleven Regional Committees, but none of these function in the area of investigation. Their work is undertaken by local branches of the Nursing Association, who have direct access to the headquarters in Johannesburg.

In the area of investigation the Association and Trust Fund have branches in East London, Port Beaufort, Grahamstown, Kingwilliamstown, Queenstown, Umata, Victoria East and Port Alfred. A branch in Somerset East closed down in 1955.

The S.A. Commercial Travellers Association:

This organisation is nationally registered under the Welfare Organisations Act with head office in Cape Town. It has, however, a regional organisation at the local level. A regional organisation is adequate for the needs of commercial travellers as in each region the major city tends to be the centre of commerce, and modern motor transport covers the hinterland within a week.

At the turn of the century commercial travellers disappeared into the veld on animal drawn vehicles for months at a time. In their absence there was no provision for the care of their families. In 1902 and Eastern Province Commercial Travellers Association was formed. The Western Province of the Cape followed suit in 1905, Natal in 1907, East London and Border in 1910, and the Transvaal and Orange Free State in 1911. These separate associations organised their own benevolent and educational funds. In 1912 the various associations formed

a federal relationship, and amalgamated in 1914 into the S.A. Commercial Travellers Association. The Association largely retained its geographical areas, and established district committees in the principal city of each region. Thus East London is the centre of the Border and Transkei Region. The members meet monthly to discuss any difficulties met with on the road. If they can be handled locally, the region deals with them. If of national significance, e.g. third party insurance, they are forwarded to the head office to be dealt with by a Grand Council.

The Grand Council is the national authority and is composed of the chairmen of the Regional Committees. It employs a General Secretary to administer a number of Funds to wit:

Mortuary Benefit Fund, which expended in 1954	£2,080
Old Age Provident Fund " " " "	306
Benevolent Fund " " " "	606
Education & Maintenance Fund " " " "	950
Gould Bequest Fund " " " "	334
Monte Sytner Memorial Fund " " " "	-
J. Neil Boss Bursary " " " "	120
D. & M. Schapera Fund " " " "	69
	<u>£4,465</u>

Some of these Funds are governed by their own constitution; some are run on actuarial insurance contribution principles; some are bequests from which the interest is used; some are of a charitable nature for immediate use in time of distress or emergency. As commercial travelling involves a risk to life and limb on the roads, it is inevitable that the principal funds are the Education and Maintenance Fund for the assistance of widows and orphans and The Mortuary Benefit Fund. The former Fund is of a charitable character and operates to assist those in need. The latter is run on actuarial insurance principles to provide immediate ready cash to cover contingencies and funeral expenses on the death of a member.

At the 1954 General Meeting of the organisation---which was the first held for seven years---resolutions were discussed concerning a pension fund, to be based on monthly contributions

from members, and a Medical Benefit Fund to be run by an addition to the annual subscription.

The cost of administering the above Funds is met by a "S.A.C.T.A. Day", when all the "regions send contributions to the head office. These contributions are raised by entertainment organised by the respective regions, and includes the annual ball. A trophy is provided for the "region contributing the highest per capita membership amount. Donations are also made by firms employing commercial travellers.

The centralisation of these funds is necessary as the demands made upon them vary from Region to Region according to the shift in business---and hence commercial travelling--- from one Region to another. Local Regional Committees are also empowered to raise local funds for their own purposes. Local office bearers are appointed annually. A sub-committee at the local level to deal with applications for assistance both for local and national purposes, is also established.

Dances, raffles and other forms of amusement are enjoyed at the branch level. They also serve as fund raising media. In keeping with the occupational nature of the organisation, the regular branch meeting acts as a means of expressing grievances or relating experiences gained during the course of employment.

The organisation also lays down a moral code for business, and encourages a policy of fair dealings to all parties. The organisation is said to be non-denominational, non-racial, non-sectarian and non-political and "exists solely to advance the vocational interests of members in particular and commercial travellers in general; and to cater for the well-being of members and their dependents."

In a publication entitled "Review of the Aims and Objects and the Accomplishments of S.A.C.T.A., 1902 -1953", there appears this statement: S.A.C.T.A. "ever operates for the relief of privation or disability among members or dependents whose

suffering may be considered to reflect upon the conduct or resources of the Association as the organisation for the protection and benefit of the honour and status of commercial travellers in S. Africa."

Membership is reserved to European commercial travellers under the age of 54 years who have had at least twelve months active experience on the road, and who 'are of good character', and provided they sell goods wholesale for resale. To become a member they must be proposed and seconded by members who have known the applicant for at least six months.

Die Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging. (The Afrikaans Language and Culture Association). (1)

This organisation is different from both the professional type of organisation and the Alcoholics Anonymous. It restricts membership principally to the European employees and their dependents of the South African Railways and Harbours Administration. It offers members contributory funds, holiday camps and a spirit of enthusiasm towards the study, preservation and promotion of the Afrikaans language.

The organisational structure is as follows:

- (a) An annual Congress,
- (b) An Executive Board:
 - (i) Daily Management Committee,
 - (ii) Finance Committee,
 - (iii) Editorial for the magazine 'Die Taalgenoot'.
 - (iv) Sub-committees.
- (c) Board of Trustees,
- (d) Branches,
- (e) Boards controlling institutions,
- (f) The organisation known as Die Vrou-en-Moederbeveging (The Wife and Mother Movement), which holds an annual meeting and has its own headquarters and committees functioning as a sub-organisation within the Society.

The annual congress is composed of the members of the

(1) All translations from the Afrikaans have been made by the author.

Executive Board and representatives of branches in the following proportions:

One representative for each properly constituted branch with a membership of 500 or less; and

One representative in addition for every further 500 members up to a maximum of ten.

The Congress receives the annual reports and has the over-all control and administration of the organisation. It elects the membership of the Executive Board and the Board of Trustees.

The Executive Board is composed of a chairman, vice-chairman, Treasurer and nine ordinary members. A member of the Board must have had at least two years active association with the organisation in a managerial capacity at either the branch or head office levels. Attendance at the meetings of the Board is obligatory and absence without leave for three consecutive meetings warrants dismissal from office. The Executive Board both executes the decisions of the Congress and manages affairs in the interim between Congress meetings. It elects a Daily Management Committee composed of the Chairman, vice-chairman, Treasurer and Secretary; it also appoints sub-committees, Finance Committee etc. at its first meeting.

The organisation has a regional structure corresponding to that of the Railways and Harbours. The centres of each of these Regions is in the same town as that of the System Manager of the Railways Administration. The constitution does not mention the functions, if any, of these regional structures. It is suggested that they act as convenient mental constructions when referring to sub-divisions or geographical areas. They appear to possess no organisational structure. In the area of investigation, East London is the principal centre.

The Executive Board decides where and when a Branch may be created, and limits its area of jurisdiction.

The monthly subscription of members is made to cover the

organisation's various activities, and may be amended from time to time. The organisation also has funds to cover study loans and the purchase of property. The organisation has established a Holiday Camp near Mossel Bay.

The Burial Fund is to cover the cost of funerals of full members.

Branches of the organisation have a right to collect and administer funds in their own name. The Executive Board has power to make contributions from general funds to the funds of a branch on the following conditions:

- (1) That such contributions are essential to maintain a branch, and to enable it to function.
- (2) The request for assistance must come from the branch, and the branch must indicate that it has made efforts to raise its own funds by functions etc..

Branches are expected to pursue the following aims:

- (a) To develop a pride in occupations relating to transport,
- (b) to develop a pride in the Afrikaans language,
- (c) to take an interest in higher and lower education,
- (d) to spread knowledge about the work of members, pride in the organisation, and the general responsibilities of citizenship,
- (e) to foster comradeship and encourage social events among members,
- (f) to organise holidays and other pleasurable and vocational activities,
- (g) to collect funds for study bursaries etc..

Branches are obliged to hold a general meeting of all members quarterly; and an annual general meeting for, inter alia, the election of branch office bearers, committees etc. All full members are entitled to vote.

The aims of the organisation as a whole are briefly as follows:

- (1) To further the use of Afrikaans both inside and outside the Railway service.
- (2) To further Afrikaans culture and arts in general, and especially among members.
- (3) To further the intellectual, cultural and social activities of members.
- (4) To stimulate the bonds of comradeship among members.

(5) To strive for co-operation with other organisations having similar objects. etc..

Membership of the organisation as at 31st March, 1954 was

50,679 full members,
<u>15,774</u> half members. (children dependents)
66,453

The organisation is represented in the area of investigation in East London, Queenstown, Burgersdorp, Alicedale and Kommadagga. Up to 1952 there was also a branch at Aliwal North.

As far as could be ascertained the East London and Queenstown branches also have a branch of the Vrou-en-Moederbeveging. This sub-organisation is an integral part of Die Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging, but is the womens and girls portion thereof. Membership is open to all female members of the 'Vereniging'. Its organisational structure corresponds with and is parallel to that of the 'Vereniging' except that the words 'annual meeting' are exchanged for 'annual congress' etc.. The constitution stipulates that the sub-organisation can only exist as a part of the 'vereniging', and branches can exist only as part of the nation-wide movement and be recognised and approved by the headoffice.

The funds of the headoffice of the 'Beveging' are obtained from a levy on the branches and any contributions made to it by the 'Vereniging'. A branch obtains its funds from voluntary contributions, the organisation of functions, any available subsidy from governmental departments for work it may undertake, etc..

Die Vrou-en-Moederbeveging emphasises in its aims the social welfare and social work aspects of the 'Vereniging'; and generally undertakes relief and welfare among both railway employees and members. It is not strictly inverted in sentiment membership. It further emphasises the qualities expected of Afrikaans mothers and women in Afrikaans culture generally.

In brief, it appears that although the female members of the 'Vereniging' are members in the full sense of the word, as a practical and utilitarian measure it has been found expedient for them to organise themselves into a separate sub-organisation. This organisation, is, however, an integral part of the whole. It is a question of interest and function that has warranted Die Vrou-en-Moederbeteging as a separate body rather than a difference of kind, although the work it undertakes is somewhat different from that of the parent body.

x x x x x x x

The four organisations under discussion have in common an inverted sentiment membership. In three of the four cases this sentiment is associated with occupational experiences. In every case membership is limited to persons with given qualifications. Benefits are likewise restricted.

In every case the local branch has been emphasised as a fundamental administrative unit. The organisational structure tends to be simple. In the case of the three occupational organisations the head office fulfills not only a policy making function, but also acts as the central recipient and administrator of funds; though in the case of the S.A. Nursing Association the latter function has been delegated to an independent authority with statutory connections. Alcoholics Anonymous has adopted a deliberate policy of keeping funds to a minimum, but where they are available they tend to be centralised in the international headquarters.

The branch is an essential administrative unit because the individual member receives and donates services through it. In so far as the branch activates and perpetuates the sentiment of the member, this type of organisation has much in common with organisations of everted sentiment membership.

It is noticeable that in organisations with inverted

sentiment the constitution often lays down how frequently a branch must meet. It also tends to ensure that all members are attached to a branch. The phenomenon of a member existing unattached to a branch is incompatible with the fundamental nature of organisations of this type.

The subjects for discussion at branch meetings vary according to the emphasis the organisation gives to its aims and objects. Social and recreational pursuits are common.

Organisations of inverted sentiment type tend to be homogeneous in membership. They draw to themselves persons with common experiences and attitudes. The organisation serves the purpose of activating and stimulating members' sentiments with no intention of practically affecting non-members or the public generally. As such, the collection of funds from non-members tends to be limited. Only in the case of the Nurses Trust Fund are collections of a charitable nature made from the public. In this instance the organisation makes use of the public sentiment towards the nursing profession—a sentiment perhaps outdated under modern conditions, but one still very real. The presence of this phenomenon has enabled the Nursing Association to delay the formation of large scale contributory schemes within the organisation itself.

Chapter 10.Organisations with 'Omniverted' Sentiment Membership.

The majority of organisation in the area of investigation may be described as both inverted and everted in sentiment type. That is to say, they offer their members an ideal or means of self-satisfaction, or some other benefit, obtainable as a consequence of membership, at the same time as expecting them to serve the community or deviates within it. This type of organisation will, for convenience, be referred to as 'omniverted' in sentiment type in view of its multi-purpose or omnibus activity.

The reward any member may receive, or the duties he may be expected to perform to clients, varies markedly according to the aims of the organisation. The only form of reward not compatible with this classification is a monetary one where charity and not contributory schemes have motivated the reward. By definition, any person receiving charity in a material form is a client of an organisation, not a member. Though any one member may, theoretically, receive charitable assistance, not all members as a group could do so.

In Chapter 5 a classification of organisations was made showing what a member may expect to gain as a consequence of membership. Type 1 of this classification was called 'altruistic' and included the societies where the member gains nothing, but merely gives his time, donations etc.. This type has been referred to as 'everted' in sentiment membership, and is not the concern of the present chapter. Similarly, Type 7 of the classification i.e. those who gain care, support or rehabilitation as a consequence of membership, are mainly 'inverted' in sentiment type and are therefore excluded from this discussion.

The remaining types are relevant. For convenience,

the remaining types are reproduced below:

Type 2 Those who gain merely a 'cameraderie' from associating with others having had similar experiences in the past or possessing common characteristics such as sex and age.

Type 3 Those who gain moral support from associating with others who profess similar ethical ideals and standards of behaviour.

Type 4 Those who gain moral support from associating with others who profess similar patriotic and national sentiments and ideals.

Type 5 Those who gain a religious satisfaction from services rendered to and/or by persons of like religious persuasion.

Type 6 Those who gain an educational advantage.

It will be recalled that any one organisation can offer more than one of these advantages to its membership. Further, by definition, all organisations of the above types perform a welfare service to a clientele outside of their membership in addition to what they offer the members i.e. they are not purely 'inverted' in sentiment type.

As organisations with omniverted sentiment are common in the area of investigation it is proposed to discuss only two of each type of the classification above.

Type 2: The organisations for discussion in this Type are the British Empire Service League (South African Legion), and the Federation of Womens Institutes of East Griqualand and Pondoland.

The B.E.S.L. is possibly the most complex organisation dealt with in this research. It is an organisation co-ordinated by central authority. Structurally it has four main divisions:

- (a) The S.A. Legion of the B.E.S.L. (Europeans).
- (b) The Womens Auxiliary of the S.A. Legion (Europeans).
- (c) The S.A. Coloured Ex-Servicemen's Legion of the S.A. Legion of the B.E.S.L. (Coloured).
- (d) The Women's Auxiliary of the Coloured Legion. (Coloured).

The constitution of the S.A. Legion also makes provision for an African and an Asiatic Ex-Servicemen's organisation, but these are not relevant to the area of investigation. These Non-European organisations are formed 'under the aegis of' the S.A. Legion. They also have a name and constitution approved of by the S.A. Legion. They have the right to send European delegates to the annual Congress of the S.A. Legion. Such delegates have the right to speak and vote.

The Constitution of the Coloured Legion makes provision for the ultimate control in questions of the interpretation of its constitution, amendments to its constitution, resolutions or acts done by its Council etc. to lie with the S.A. Legion. A copy of minutes and financial statements of the Council must be sent to the S.A. Legion. The headquarters of the Coloured Legion is in Cape Town, whereas that of the S.A. Legion is in Johannesburg.

To facilitate co-operation and collaboration between the Coloured Legion and the S.A. Legion there is provision for the a Joint Advisory Committee of three members from each, presided over by the National President of the S.A. Legion.

In other respects the two organisations are separate and distinct. Both are separately registered under the Welfare Organisations Act. Both appoint a Board of Trustees, a National Council, National Presidents and Vice-Presidents, a National Executive Committee, National Secretaries and officers. Both constitutions allow for a stipulated number of members in any locality (16 for the S.A. Legion and 25 for the Coloured Legion) to apply to their respective Councils for permission to form a branch. Branches pay an annual affiliation fee to their respective Councils. Further, both organisations make provision for the establishment of a Women's Auxiliary. These Auxiliaries must be attached to a branch of the respective Legions. If no such branch exists in their locality, it is in the discretion of the National Executive to attach them to

National Headquarters.

The Women's Auxiliaries are not, therefore, independent organisations. They have a right to draw up their own constitutions, subject to approval, and to hold their own funds, but they are essentially 'attached to' the respective Legions usually at the branch level.

Once established, branches have a relatively autonomous status. They elect a branch President and Vice-President, committees, may appoint paid officials, and establish the usual machinery for the administration of a branch. The S.A. Legion empowers a branch to appoint a Branch Board of Trustees, but there is no such provision in the constitution of the Coloured Legion. Generally, branches "shall have power to do all things necessary to carry out the policy and objects" of their respective Legions "within the jurisdiction of their branch".

There is also provision for joint advisory committees between the Coloured Legion and the S.A. Legion branches at the local level.

When it appears to the National Executive of either Legion that a branch should be dissolved, it has power to dissolve it and to distribute the members between other branches, or to enlarge the geographical area of a branch to include the town in which a branch has been dissolved. Thus two or more branches may dissolve into one branch, though members are distributed over a wider geographical area.

The Women's Auxiliaries, being essentially local, have no National Presidents or hierarchy of authority. They meet nationally for occasional conferences and elect an ad hoc chairman. The Women's Auxiliaries of the S.A. Legion have an Honorary Organising Secretary who reports to conference, and submits an annual statement of finances etc to the head office of the S.A. Legion.

The B.E.S.L. is characterised by:

(1) The direct nature of the link between head office and the branches. There is no intermediary organisational structure. The constitution makes provision for 'Regional Conferences', but they may be held only 'periodically'. They may be convened either by not less than three branches in any area acting together, or by the National headquarters or the National President. Such conferences are not permitted to exercise the powers of the Legion or of its branches, and no resolution passed is binding on any party.

(2) The relatively autonomous nature of the branches; though branches are created by the decision of the national authority, when once in existence they are permitted to function as virtually autonomous organisations. Their constitutions may not be amended without the central authority's approval, but so long as they act within the limits of their constitution, send an approved capitation fee and an audited statement annually to the head office, they are left largely to their own devices.

(3) The absence of an administrative unit smaller than the branch. The constitution makes no provision for a smaller unit, yet limits the minimum size of membership to form a branch. In practice individual members in places where a branch does not exist, act as local representatives should the need arise.

(4) The presence of Women's Auxiliaries attached to the Legions at the branch level, but without a national administrative structure of their own. They operate under Letters of Delegation under the Welfare Organisation Number of the S.A. Legion. The Hon. Organising Secretary is responsible for the collection and submission to head office of the audited balance sheets and annual reports of the various Women's Auxiliary branches. In the absence of a national administrative structure this work is difficult, and must make compliance with the provisions of the Welfare Organisations Act and its regulations uncertain.

The headquarters of the South African Legion has been made responsible for, or is assisting in, the administration of the following national ex-servicemen's funds.

- a) The Womens Auxiliary Air Force Fund,
- b) The Natal Red Cross Fund---besides concerning ex-servicemen in Natal, this fund extends its jurisdiction to certain areas of East Griqualand. An annual amount is provided by the Natal Region of the S.A. Red Cross Society.
- c) The Army Benevolent Fund---this fund was made available by the Empire Headquarters for the assistance of Imperial ex-servicemen who served in the British Army during the 1939-45 War.

It also performs the secretarial duties of the following organisations which are relevant to the area of investigation.

- a) The Navy Welfare Fund.
- b) South African Merchant Seamen's Trust Fund.
- c) The South African Ex-Prisoners of War Trust Fund.

In addition to these the B.E.S.L. headquarters and branches assume the responsibility of acting as agents---nationally and locally respectively---of the Governor General's National War Fund. In this capacity they receive and report upon applications for assistance from the Fund. The Headquarters of the B.E.S.L., and certain branches which undertake much of the work, receive an annual administrative grant from the Governor General's National War Fund in view of services rendered. There are also close contacts between the Headquarters and branches of the B.E.S.L. and the Council of the National War Fund. This is achieved through a common membership by certain persons on the committees of both organisations. There is also some constitutional provision.

The Headquarters of the B.E.S.L. also receives an ad hoc grant from the Governor General's Fund (1914-18 War) for the relief of eligible applicants. All ex-service men and women, irrespective of race, have access to benefits from both the Governors' General's Funds.

The Coloured Legion administers a Coloured Ex-Servicemen's education fund for the benefit of ex-servicemen or their dependent's children.

It thus falls to the Headquarters of the S.A. Legion to administer almost every national ex-servicemen's fund in the country. In addition the B.E.S.L. Headquarters undertakes to fight the case of any ex-serviceman having difficulty in obtaining a statutory military pension from the Government. It acts as the mouthpiece of ex-servicemen in dealings with the central government both in individual capacities and as a whole.

These functions make it necessary that the emphasis in administrative authority must rest largely in the headquarters. But to execute its functions, the branch, which acts in a liaison capacity with the public and the clients, must be maintained. Committees at the branch level investigate local applications and see to the proper use of any assistance granted. At the same time the right to retain funds at the branch level, and the relative autonomy of branches, enables immediate assistance from local resources to be granted an applicant. The obtaining of pensions or assistance from national funds is often a lengthy process, and the right of a branch to assist as a result of its own decision enables temporary but speedy assistance to be offered.

The function of the branch, in its capacity as agent for the local administration of centrally organised funds, makes it desirable to retain a direct link between branch and headquarters. Any intervening structure such as a regional authority, would hinder rather than facilitate the administration of assistance to applicants. In so far as the constitution of the B.E.S.L. expressly excludes an intervening authority between headquarters and the branch, it is rationalising its administrative procedure.

Membership of the organisation is limited to men and women who served in a full time capacity in the Allied military forces in recent wars. The Women's Auxiliary, however, accepts any woman anxious to help ex-servicemen irrespective of any war service. It is only the B.E.S.L. itself which prescribes the grounds of eligibility for membership. The organisation's

head office can refuse an application for membership.

Membership is thus exclusive, and is based on an experience of military life. Unlike the Memorable Order of the Tin Hats (M.O.T.H.), which limits membership to persons who served for six months in an active theatre of war (prior to October, 1954, membership of the M.O.T.H. was confined to persons who had experienced front line action), the B.E.S.L. opens its membership to a much wider group.

The assistance the organisation offers its clients is largely financial. The local branch's liaison function between client and headquarters is largely handled by the branch executive committee. The ordinary member of the branch has, usually, very little to do with clients assisted save to accept the annual reports and financial statements, and to make an occasional donation. In isolated branches especially, the organisation becomes largely inverted in sentiment type as far as the ordinary member is concerned. The members of the branch committee perform nearly all the everted type work of the organisation.

In sentiment type the B.E.S.L. is more inverted than everted in character. The following quotations from the aims will illustrate what any member may expect to receive:

"To foster and maintain that spirit of self-sacrifice and racial co-operation which inspired ex-servicemen and women to subordinate their individual welfare to the common interest." It could be construed that this aim implies an everted type sentiment. Relative to the organisation as a whole this is true, but the subordination of the self for the welfare of the common interest is a personal quality which the organisation assists the member to maintain. Relative to members it therefore tends to be inverted.

"To inculcate and perpetuate a spirit of comradeship amongst ex-servicemen and women throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations."

"To strive for the adequate and proper rehabilitation in civil life and generally to watch and safeguard the interests of all ex-servicemen and women and their dependents and to take such steps as are necessary to protect them and their dependents." This clause could be construed as involving an everted sentiment in so far as members and the organisation aim to serve all ex-servicemen and women irrespective of whether or not they are members. This is a true interpretation, and makes the organisation omniverted in character.

"To encourage social intercourse amongst members by means of clubs, institutes, re-unions and social functions, or in any other manner possible." In addition, the organisation speaks for and defends the interests of ex-servicemen and women collectively where ever necessary or desirable.

The B.E.S.L. does not restrict its services to members only, but widens its activities to cover all ex-service men. In the field it was found that many B.E.S.L. branches were raising and donating funds to a variety of causes only remotely connected with ex-servicemen. War Memorial Libraries, Childrens Institutions etc were often the objects of generosity. But the largest contributions of any branch were made to the headquarters of the organisation.

In the field the organisation was found to be doing two principal acts, namely

(a) creating a means for members to get together socially and for purposes of engendering 'cameraderie'. The means commonly adopted were dances, dinners, smokers, braaivleises etc.

(b) Assisting any ex-serviceman irrespective of membership, to obtain relief, a pension or even low interest loan facilities. For this purpose every branch had created an executive committee to handle the day to day duties of this kind. The committee was also responsible for arranging the social 'get togethers' of the membership.

The local branch, which has been given an almost autonomous status within the organisation, serves to maintain the interests and sentiments of members. Membership of the organisation is only possible through a branch. The organisation as a whole serves to engender a spirit of loyalty to the ex-servicemen and military traditions. This it achieves through its branches and the 'inverted' sentiments of its members. It is its loyalty to the military tradition of assistance to comrades everywhere that provides its members with everted sentiment to assist non-members and to further the cause in the community generally. For these purposes the branch is an essential unit of administration.

One or two other points must be mentioned before closing this discussion. The motto of the organisation is "Not for Ourselves, but for Others". This essentially everted symbol typifies the military tradition, but it is itself the means of giving members a 'cameraderie', friendship and common interest of an essentially inverted character. Its capacity as mouthpiece for all ex-servicemen and the help it offers to them irrespective of membership are the everted sentiments which provide an ideological impetus to the inverted qualities it offers its members—especially 'cameraderie' as a consequence of the military tradition. Further, unlike the M.C.T.H. and Toc.H. there is very little ritual and ceremonial attached to the B.E.S.L.. The organisation participates in the Armistice Day ritual, but has none of its own for private meetings.

In the area of investigation, the S.A. Legion has a branch or representative in almost every town and village. As such they need not be listed.

The Women's Auxiliary of the S.A. Legion has the following branches which submitted a report to the Hon. Organising Secretary to cover the year 1955. Certain branches failed to submit their report and financial statement, so the following list is possibly incomplete.

Adelaide,
 Alexandria,
 East London,
 Fort Beaufort,
 Grahamstown,
 Indutya,
 Kingwilliamstown,
 Komga,
 Lusikisiki,
 Ngqamakwe,
 Queenstown,
 Somerset East (defunct 1955)
 Steynsburg,
 Umtata.

The Coloured Legion has branches in the area of investigation in the following places:

Alival North,
 East London (believed defunct 1955)
 Grahamstown,
 Kingwilliamstown,
 Queenstown,
 Somerset East.

The Coloured Women's Auxiliary has a branch in East London only, but the investigation revealed that Coloured Women in Alival North were helping the men's organisation considerably, but they may not have established a branch officially. The East London branch of the Women's Auxiliary sent a representative to the 1955 Annual Conference, though the male branch did not.

The second example of the type of organisation offering its membership 'cameraderie' and friendship is the Federation of Womens Institutes of Natal, Zululand, East Griqualand and the Transkeian Territories, to give it its full name. This organisation is co-ordinated by central authority.

In the words of the constitution, the Women's Institute movement "is based on the spiritual ideals of fellowship, truth, tolerance and justice. All European women are eligible for membership, no matter what their views on religion or politics may be."

The main object of the organisation is to improve 'and develop the conditions of our national and community life.' To achieve this object the Institutes have power "to provide for the fuller education of women in citizenship, in public questions, both national and international, in music, drama and other cultural subjects; also to secure instruction and training in all branches of agriculture, handicrafts, domestic science, health, social welfare and adult education in all its aspects." Further, "to provide centres for social intercourse and activities."

In certain respects the Womens Institutes can be viewed as the rural counterparts of the National Council of Women, which is predominantly an urban phenomenon. The National Council of Women is not made the subject of special study in this research.

The organisational structure of the Women's Institutes is composed of three units:

- (a) Head office in Pietermaritzburg,
- (b) Groups of Women's Institutes,
- (c) Institutes.

The interposition of a Group between the head and local units of administration is to "act as a link between the Institutes within the Group and the Executive Committee of the Federation." Its practical function is to "arrange, at Group level, tours for lecturers and demonstrators", to decide the subject of the tours and their itinerary. The Group acts also as a centre for educational and social intercourse. It widens the interests of local Institutes' members through associating with like-minded persons in other towns, and assists in creating interest through competitions within the Group and between Groups.

In the field, the Women's Institutes were found to be undertaking numerous public duties. In many instances they were responsible for allocating and administering public collections on behalf of other welfare organisations. Others were taking an interest in tree planting and the development of gardens in the public streets etc.. Others undertook catering

at public functions as a means of fund raising. In a few instances members were interesting themselves in the needs of impoverished groups, or the provision of medical services. In general, "to improve and develop the conditions of our national and community life."

The role of the local branch in maintaining both everted and inverted sentiment among members need not again be demonstrated. The role of the group, however, needs further comment. At its face value the Group is merely an administrative convenience, and a means of widening the experiences of local members. The Group, however, has an administrative structure of its own. It has a Chairman, who is a member of the Federation's Executive Committee, Vice-Chairman and committee members. It has limited control over funds in its own name, and can impose a small levy on its component Institutes. Membership of the Group's administrative structure is an honorific incentive to the members of the local Institutes. It is an honour to attend Group meetings, and to sit on its committees. As such the Group acts as an incentive to enthusiastic members of local Institutes.

This function was well illustrated in the field. Members of Group Committees were widely known outside the town of their domicile. Members of local Institutes were repeatedly referring the author to a prominent member of the Group's administrative structure. To a very large extent the honour is conferred as a consequence of long standing membership, though personal administrative qualities, charm and ability are also essential prerequisites.

The value of a co-ordinatory administrative structure for organisations of this type was well demonstrated in the field. The Institutes visited, and the branches of the Cape Province Womens Agricultural Association, were all active, vigorous organisations. In contrast, non-coordinated womens associations were found to be less inspired, less concerned with adult education and more the true social get-together type. All

perform acts for the public good, but the value to members was far greater in the co-ordinated organisations than in those of purely local conception.

Under Type 3 it is proposed to analyse the Memorable Order of the Tin Hats. (M.O.T.H.S.) and Round Table. The M.O.T.H. has been preferred to the Toc.H. as it is pre-eminently a South African organisation. The Round Table has been selected because of the author's long acquaintance with it.

The M.O.T.H. is an unregistered ex-servicemen's organisation co-ordinated by central authority.

It is different from the B.E.S.L. both in its membership requirements and organisational structure. It offers its members a more emotional attachment than the B.E.S.L.. Both organisations offer their members

(a) financial aid if necessary, which is extended to ex-servicemen generally irrespective of membership;

(b) social functions and 'cameraderie' which is available to members only and frequently to members of the respective Women's Auxiliaries also;

(c) emotional attachments to war dead, and the cause of peace through emphasis on war time experiences.

But the degree to which each emphasises these three qualities varies markedly. The M.O.T.H. tends to emphasise the emotional attachments and spirit of war to a higher degree than the B.E.S.L.. Though both organisations assist eligible non-members, which determines their 'omniverted' characteristic, the B.E.S.L. has assumed more the nature of a business organisation. As the official representative of the Governor General's Funds much of the time and activity of the B.E.S.L.'s head office and local office bearers at least is taken up with pensions, grants and other financial matters, for the

clients served. The B.R.S.L. pays less attention than does the M.O.T.H. to the 'cameraderie' aspect of its functions, though both are active in this respect.

Associated with the M.O.T.H. is a Women's Auxiliary (M.O.T.H.W.A.), which is a registered welfare organisation in its own right. It is theoretically a separate organisation, but for the present study its function in relation to the M.O.T.H. will be described.

Membership of the M.O.T.H. is restricted to "Those of unmixd European descent, who have been on active service in any war. 'On Active Service', as applied to a prospective member, refers to one who was engaged in active service operations against the enemy." Membership is thus restricted "To those privileged to have had front line service---Military, Naval, Air or Merchant Navy." At a Convention of the Organisation in October, 1954, there was some relaxation in the interpretation given to the concept "front line service".

Membership is denied to enemy forces or members of the Axis Forces, 1939-45. The organisation is not therefore for anyman who has experienced the dangers of war.

There is no right of membership "even for any individual whose eligibility is beyond doubt. Every Shellhole (branch) has the right to refuse admission to anyone whose company is not desired by the majority of the members."

There are no Honorary Members either at the branch or national level. There is also no provision for Life Membership of the National conception but 'no objection has been raised where Shellholes have accorded Life Membership of the Shellhole' to a member.

It will be observed that the M.O.T.H. requires more than a mere experience of military life for eligibility for membership. It requires an experience of personal danger which adds to the cohesiveness of the organisation. This requirement was not

was not necessary in the case of the B.E.S.L..

The objects of the M.C.T.H., as they affect the individual member, are:

- (1) "To maintain the living spirit of front line comradeship.
- (2) "To protect the interests of war veterans and their kin.
- (3) "Benevolent activities of an ex-service character.
- (4) "To dedicate M.C.T.H. actions to the Sound Memory of gallant kindred of air, land and sea, and to those they left behind."

The question of 'Sound Memory', in the last object mentioned, has to do with the ideals of the organisation as a whole. In this respect the Constitution contains: "The Foundation ideals of the Order are:

(a) T.C.—True Comradeship, to be perpetuated by the application of front line friendship to civil life.

(b) M.H.—Mutual Help means the personal and collective obligation to help each other as in front line service.

(c) S.M.—Sound Memory, to remember the Fallen as a Living Companionship; to serve Them as they served us, in practical actions which rise above divisions of social status, rank or political creed."

It is these three ideals that represent the mental of ideological qualities the organisation can give to its members. The giving of material assistance, grants, loans, etc to the needy is not restricted to members only, but, as in the case of the B.E.S.L., is enlarged to include all ex-service men and women and their kin. Members of the M.C.T.H. as well as local Shellholes in an organised form, make generous donations of cash and service to community projects often quite far removed from ex-servicemen. For example, in Grahamstown the local Shellhole has contributed generously to the War Memorial Homes for the Aged.

The organisational structure is highly differentiated and resembles the military structure. The terms given to the units of the structure, though not military official terminology,

are associated with military phenomena. Thus, the local branch is called a Shellhole, the unit co-ordinating a group of branches in a geographical area is called a District Dugout, in turn these are co-ordinated by a Provincial (Regional is the term used in this research) Dugout, and ultimately by General Headquarters, situated at Warriors Gate, Durban.

The minimum number of eligible persons to form a Shellhole is twelve. An application to form a new Shellhole must be sent to the nearest superior unit---the District Dugout, or if one does not exist, to the Provincial Dugout, or failing that to the General Headquarters. No Shellhole or other unit can function without a charter issued by the Headquarters through Provincial Dugouts. All correspondence, resolutions etc. must go through the hierarchical structure in exactly the same way as military orders etc. are transmitted.

Membership of the Order is through a shellhole. Applications are sponsored and seconded by two members in good standing "who shall vouch for the worthy motives of the applicant". Sponsors introduce the applicant to a meeting of the shellhole, at the same time stating his war service, unit etc. An entrance fee is payable to the Shellhole, plus a fee levied by the District and Provincial Dugouts. Each Shellhole has the right to charge its members a small monthly subscription, but failure to pay this regularly does not per se give a ground for expulsion of a member---each case must be treated on its merits. A member of the Order may be a member of two Shellholes when circumstances warrant it, but his name appears on the Nominal Role of only one, though subscriptions are paid to both, and office held in only one.

Each Shellhole appoints its executive officers for its control and administration. The Executive is composed of four members---Old Bill, who is chairman; Deputy Old Bill, who is vice-chairman; Scribe who is secretary; and Pay Bill who is treasurer. Shellholes may elect other members to their

committee to assist the executive officers in the work of the Shellhole. All members of a Shellhole are eligible for office. Elections occur annually in October to be effective from the following November meeting.

Every Shellhole retains its own funds for its own benevolent or other activities. No Shellhole is allowed to collect funds from the public for the Shellhole's domestic use. In the event of a Shellhole wishing to raise funds for ex-service cottages, halls etc. permission must first be obtained from the District or Provincial Dugout.

District Dugouts can be formed for the convenient administration of two or more Shellholes. Their formation requires the approval of the Shellholes concerned, and of the Provincial Dugout. The controlling committee of the District Dugout is composed of the Shellhole Old Bills and one other Shellhole delegate.

The Provincial Dugouts administer the affairs of the Order in the area to which their jurisdiction has been limited by the Headquarters. Provincial Dugouts are formed of District of Shellhole Old Bills and other District or Shellhole delegates if required. An alternate may be appointed for delegates. Executive office in a Provincial Dugout is composed of Moths (members) 'having special qualifications'. Where some units are geographically remote from Provincial Dugouts, the following points serve as a guide to nomination:

- (a) nominees should be convenient to the Dugout centre;
- (b) be able to devote the time to the office.

Executive officers are styled the same in all units of authority. e.g. Provincial Dugout Old Bill etc..

The Headquarters is composed of the founder of the Order, C.A. Evenden, in his lifetime, all members of the National Executive, the Provincial Old Bills and one other representative from each Provincial Dugout, and the Editor of the official magazine 'Home Front'. The Executive Committee is appointed

annually by means of the General Secretary circulating the names of suitable members for appointment to Executive office to the Provincial Dugouts for their approval. Confirmation of such appointments is by majority vote of the Dugouts concerned. The Executive is composed of a chairman, vice-chairman and the Founder if he is not acting as chairman.

Headquarters is more than a geographical conception; it is a body of members not elected directly by individual members or Shellholes in democratic direct vote, but by itself submitting 'the names of suitable members' to Provincial Dugouts. Though the organisation holds an 'annual general Convention or Rally', this has no power to elect members to the National Executive.

Representation on the Convention is itself strictly limited to a maximum of two delegates from each Provincial Dugout who carry the voting power of their respective Dugouts "as laid down in the basis of representation which appears on page 1 of each Convention Agenda". "No Province which is not in good standing (in respect of subscriptions etc.) shall have representation at Convention." In addition, the Headquarters is represented by the Founder and the members of the National Executive, who have one vote each. This Convention, "in the true M.O.T.H. spirit" deals with "matters affecting the administration of the Order and such other matters as are considered to be within the province of the Convention."

The Headquarters has supreme control of the Order.

(1)

Further, its functions include:

(1) "To further and safeguard the interests of the Order and to promote the maintenance of its objects and ideals.

(2) "To maintain the original intentions and aims of the Order by ensuring that it is conducted on the lines laid down in this Constitution.

(1) All quotations are taken from the Constitution or the organisation's official literature.

(3) "To control all matters of policy, and to represent the Order to the Crown, and in a general sense, internationally.

(4) "In its discretion to suspend the activities or functions of any unit, to close down any unit, and to resuscitate any unit." Other functions include legal provisions, and the internal control of the organisation through Standing Orders etc..

It thus appears that the hierarchy of organisation is democratic in nature up to the Provincial Dugout level. Headquarters, the National Executive and the Annual Convention are nominative in nature though democratic to those at that level of authority. In this sense the organisation is divided between the branch and its immediate superiors in the structure on the one hand, and the Headquarters and related units of administration on the other. It is thus possible to deduce that the Headquarters and the Branch are the two fundamental units of administration. As far as the individual member is concerned the branch is the most important unit. It appears, therefore, that hierarchical as this structure is, it does not invalidate the generalisation that the emphasis must be laid on the branch in organisations tending towards or with predominantly inverted sentiment among members.

The function of the intermediary units in the hierarchical structure is to provide a constitutional means for many branches to combine their efforts towards a single project should they so desire. Such a project might be the construction of a M.O.T.H. Hall in a town with many Shellholes co-ordinated into a District Dugout. There is no need for a branch to establish an ad hoc organisation to co-ordinate the activities of the others. In fact, the Constitution makes provision for M.O.T.H. clubs, cottages, sporting amenities etc. to be units of the Order in their own right. By this means they are brought into the immediate and centralised surveillance of the Headquarters.

A notable feature of M.O.T.H. administration is the almost entire absence of paid officials. Apart from a small clerical staff at head office the work is undertaken at all levels by volunteers. The hierarchical structure has the effect of passing the work through many hands. The result is to effect a degree of co-ordination as the matters proceed up the organisational structure. For example, to produce the annual financial statement, Headquarters has only to call on the Provincial Dugouts, who call on the District Dugouts etc. to obtain the necessary information. The Provincial Dugouts should, in turn, already have received the District Dugout statements etc.. This hierarchical structure, in the manner in which it is operated, has the effect of enabling the organisation to operate on a minimum of administrative expenditure. The hierarchy has the effect, as was the case with the Women's Institutes, of providing a series of honorific offices for enthusiastic members.

In respect of finance, the dues payable at the different levels are set out in Standing Orders issued by Headquarters. All units may purchase, receive, mortgage or raise loans on immovable property with the approval of Headquarters, which is sought through the correct channels of communication. All units have an unrestricted right to sell or donate moveable property, but the handling of funds must accord with the objects and ideals of the Order. All units may appoint Boards of Trustees.

The M.O.T.H. is characterised by an emphasis on ceremonial and ritual. This character assists in providing the emotional appeal. The Constitution refers to the Order as "an independent Brotherhood of Ex-Servicemen". There is a prescribed ritual for

- (a) opening and closing each meeting,
- (b) opening and winding up of a Shellhole,
- (c) the induction of new members, known as 'recruits'

initiation'.

The Order has established gold and silver emblems of office for the Old Bill (gold), the Deputy Old Bill, Scribe and Pay Bill (silver); there are also three M.O.T.H. honours:

(a) A Certificate of Merit, which is the highest award and is only presented to Moths, ^{whose} 'loyalty and devotion' to the Order has been outstanding over a considerable period of time and in a sphere wider than the Shellhole.

(b) Certificate of Comradeship, which is an award by a Shellhole to a member whose service to the Shellhole is of exceptional merit.

(c) Certificate of Good Comradeship, which is awarded by a Shellhole only to non-members who have earned the gratitude of the Shellhole for outstanding efforts on behalf of the M.O.T.H.. The award of the last two must be made only after the authority of the next senior unit has been obtained.

The emblem of the Order is a Tin Hat (Military fashion) surmounted by a Lighted Candle and surrounded by twelve stars, flanked by reversed Crossed Rifles---"the whole being symbolic of the Order's Ideals." The badge of membership is a miniature bronze Tin Hat engraved with the letters M.O.T.H.. The salute of the Order is the "Rest on Arms Reversed" position, right hand over the left.

The basic ritual, as laid down by the Founder, is as follows: "The spirit of the Order is symbolised at every M.O.T.H. meeting by the Tin Hat and lighted candle, signifying the perpetuation of front-line comradeship, which transcends race, rank and social status, within the meaning of the M.O.T.H. (Three large dice, respectively marked T.C., M.H., S.M., should be placed near the Tin Hat)" The above initials refer to the ideals of the Order.

The ritual for the opening of a Shellhole is als follows: (1)

(1) It is not clear from the Constitution whether this refers to the opening of a new Shellhole or is the ritual attending the

"When Shellhole is assembled, Sentry closes door. All lights out as O.C. (1) lights Candle on Tin Hat. All Moths stand.

"O.C.: 'In true Comradeship, Mutual Help and Sound Memory, we open this Shellhole. MOTH Salute!

"Pause (in complete silence). Thereafter drop salute. At end of pause all sing with spirit 'Old Soldiers'. Lights on.

Candle out. All sit. (Business matters should be left to a separate monthly business meeting, allowing monthly Shellhole meetings to be devoted to harmony and initiation)".

The ritual for other ceremonial occasions is contained in the Regulations. It is similar to that described.

The M.O.T.E. is thus an organisation tending towards inversion of sentiment, though its work for individual cases and in public causes ensures its classification as 'omniverbed'. The emphasis of the organisation is upon the code of conduct it expects of its members. Its organisational structure, the terminology given to various units of authority, and the ritual, are designed to inculcate members with sentiments and feelings. Above all it creates a brotherliness within the Order. It might be considered 'Primitive Comradeship' in the sense used by Bartlett in his 'Psychology of Primitive Culture' (Cambridge) p. 126f. It has not the rational, business-like administrative structure of the B.E.S.L.. The use it makes of an hierarchical structure is not like that of the Red Cross, for example, where it was designed purely for administrative purposes. That of the M.O.T.E. tends to be devised to further the contact and comradeship of members, and to provide a series of honorific titles and positions conferring status to which any branch member may aspire. There is an emphasis on

opening of every meeting of a Shellhole. It is suggested, on the grounds of the author's experience as a visitor, that this refers to the opening of each meeting.

(1) The meaning of this abbreviation is not given. It is suggested it means 'Officer Commanding', as in the case of military terminology.

being 'a good Moth', as though a prescribed pattern of behaviour and attitude is an essential attribute of membership.

The Round Table. This is a young man's organisation which restricts membership to selected men from 18 to 40 years of age. It is co-ordinated by federal authority. Though the constitution does not limit membership to Europeans, in practice this has been the case. It is affiliated to Round Table International, which in turn is affiliated to the international organisation known as The World Council of Young Men's Service Clubs.

In South Africa, the various Tables are associated through The Association of Round Tables of South Africa (A.R.T.S.A.); though each Table or branch retains a fundamental autonomy. In addition there is a regional structure interposed between the branch and head office. In organisational structure it thus resembles the Federation of Womens Institutes.

The Round Table is a young organisation in South Africa. It was started in East London in 1948 by Dr. David Smith, and in 1956 had over 53 branches established throughout the country. It is, apart from the S.A. Library for the Blind, and possibly the Toc.H. the only national organisation which had its beginnings in the area of investigation.

As the branches are autonomous units, the constitution of the national co-ordinating authority tends to define the relationship of the branch to the national authority and the branch to other branches. It thus becomes necessary, to interpret the significance of the organisation and its membership, to examine the constitutions of each of the branches. These ^{are} found to contain certain common elements—a fact dictated by the constitution of Round Table International, which admits to membership

only those organisations whose constitution conforms to certain prescribed conditions. Thus all branches possess in common these provisions prescribed by the international authority. It is largely these provisions that form the centre of the description that follows.

The national authority can appoint Honorary Presidents--- an honorific title---for those who have rendered conspicuous service to the organisation. The local Tables usually have provisions for two kinds of members:

- (a) Active,
- (b) Honorary.

A local Table thus provides Honorary Membership to any male who has rendered conspicuous service to the branch or the community. This status is effective only for one year, but may be continued from year to year. In fact, local Tables have awarded this honour sparingly. There is a tendency for local Tables to make men over 40 who have ceased to be members, Honorary Members, and thus retain their services. This tendency prevents the younger men from accepting the responsibilities of membership, and thus defeats one of the aims of the organisation. Honorary members enjoy all the privileges of membership, but have no vote.

Active Membership is limited to men not less than 18 years of age, nor older than 40, who are actively engaged in a business or profession in a responsible position; or who are articled to a profession, or serving a properly indentured term of apprenticeship.

Membership, however, is not by application. Though each Table may prescribe its own methods of electing members, the typical pattern is for two members to propose the name of a non-member. This is done in writing to the Table Secretary, and includes as many relevant details of the nominee as can be ascertained without making him aware that he is under consideratio

for membership. The nominee is then discussed by the Table Executive Committee (known as Council), who submits the name to members at a general meeting, or by post. Any member has the right to lodge objections within a given time. Any objections are then considered, and a vote of members taken to determine whether the nominee is asked to become a member or not.

In seven years experience of this organisation, partly in the East London Table, and partly in the Grahamstown Table, the author knows of singularly few nominees who have been refused membership on the grounds of an objection lodged and upheld. Nominees have, however, been prevented or their membership delayed through a policy aimed at restricting membership to a given number. In 1950, in East London, the Table membership had exceeded 70, and members felt that the Table was becoming so large as to threaten the 'cameraderie' and feeling of friendship the organisation was intended to engender. A deliberate policy of reducing the size of membership was agreed to. Thus for some years few nominees were admitted to membership.

This restriction on membership is accomplished not only by members refraining from making nominations, but also by the constitutional distribution of members over trades and professions in the town in which the Table operates. There is no predetermined list of occupations and professions, but it is incumbent on any Table to devise its categories so as to obtain a representative cross-section of the community. It is reported that Tables in areas of a very homogeneous nature, economically, have had difficulty in achieving this without limiting membership to futile proportions. Thus in a predominantly deciduous fruit growing area, where membership was largely composed of farmers, criteria based on the type of fruit predominantly grown were suggested! This is an exceptional case, and in general the requirement to broaden the occupational distribution has not led to difficulties

Each Table with less than 40 members is limited to two

representatives from each occupational category. Above this membership the limit is raised to four. Thus in a Table wishing to limit or reduce its membership, refusal of a nomination can be made on the grounds that the nominee's category is already filled. As most Tables restrict the knowledge as to what categories have been created and who is filling them, to its Council, the possibility of a member's feelings being hurt by a refusal to accept his nominee is avoided. At the same time, the possibility of a non-member's feelings being hurt by a knowledge that he has been refused membership, is avoided by him being unaware that he has been nominated for membership.

Though this procedure is perhaps complex, and savours somewhat of exclusiveness, the author's experience is that it is workable in practice and creates few unpleasant situations within the membership or outside it. Like the M.C.T.E., membership of Round Table is limited, but instead of requiring particular past experiences e.g. experience of front line service, the Round Table aims to limit its membership to persons of particular responsibility and type. To do so, it must devise a method of strict selection. The grounds of eligibility for membership are not objective i.e. in the applicant, but subjective i.e. in the wishes and desires of the organisation itself. This is different from a mere right to refuse an application for membership.

Each member is obliged to attend at least 50% of all meetings of a Table during a year. Each Table must hold not less than 24 meetings in any year. If a member is out of town he may attend a meeting of a Table in any other town which counts towards his attendance. A member may also be granted leave of absence by the Table Council, or if his occupation makes it particularly difficult to attend 50% of the meetings, his absence may be excused. In practice, farmers living many miles out of town, and members of the medical and legal professions have found difficulty in keeping up their attendance. The effect of this

stipulation on attendance is to remove from the organisation any member unable to contribute to the Table's activities. The Constitution provides for the non-re-admission of a member who has failed to attend 50% of the meetings without exoneration, in the following financial year. Membership, therefore, must be active.

It is argued by members that membership implies the keeping out of non-members who may be anxious to join and would be active in their attendance. Hence it is incumbent upon a disinterested member to resign and give way to a new member who might be more active. By inference it is argued that membership is a privilege which can be removed or denied if a person fails to fulfill what is expected of him as a member. But this assertion has no validity in fact. The right of any Table to devise its own occupational categories virtually makes it possible to admit anyone the Table may consider to be a desirable member. Further, if it is desired to limit the size of membership, there is no constitutional ^{prohibition} ~~prohibition~~ to the creation of more than one Table in any town or city.

The administrative organisation of a Table is simple. A Table Council, which amounts to an executive committee, is elected annually by democratic vote. The Council is usually composed of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, and four members. This Council administers all the affairs of a Table except that it, or any member, may not commit the Table to undertake any project without first obtaining the approval of a majority of members. By this means it becomes necessary for all matters in which the membership will be involved vis à vis the community to be discussed and approved by the membership. The member is thus brought intimately into the affairs of the organisation as it affects the community. In practice, though sub-committees are usually formed to execute the details of any approved project, they rarely act without a full discussion by the whole

membership. Though this is a relatively inefficient method of operation it has the theoretical effect of enabling any project to be put in the hands of the youngest and most inexperienced member with the knowledge that no serious blunders will be made.

This method is effective in so far as one of the unofficial aims of Round Table is to develop among the members a capacity to accept responsibility. Though the aims as given in the Constitution make no specific reference to this point, the author's experience is that Round Table does more for the community at large through developing the personalities of members i.e. the attribute of inverted sentiment, and thus equipping them for public service for the rest of their life, than any other community service or project performed by the organisation. Members who have passed through the East London Table and retired from it at the age of 40, are conspicuous in the positions they now hold in major everted type organisations, public bodies and Municipal Councils.

Superimposed above the Table or branch is a regional organisation. The boundaries are determined by the national authority. In the area of investigation, the Border Region is composed of the East London, Kingwilliamstown, Queenstown Alice and Umtata Tables. The Grahamstown Table falls under the Eastern Cape Region.

This regionalisation was established at the Annual General Conference of A.R.T.S.A. held in Port Elizabeth in 1954. It was intended to effect a more satisfactory administration of the whole organisation, and to facilitate the acquaintance of members of different Tables within a defined geographical area. Each Area, or region, was given power to elect an Area Council. The Border Area Council calls an Area Conference at least quarterly which is held in a different Table's town each time. Though each Table appoints voting representatives at Area Conferences as many members as can attend are welcome and can participate in the debate, though only the official representatives

have a vote. This principle is also extended to the Annual Conference of A.R.T.S.A.. It has the effect of drawing into the discussions the entire membership of the organisation able to be present, though the right to vote is limited.

The effectiveness, as functional units, of both the regional and central authority is limited by the fundamental clause that any project must be approved by the membership of any Table before it can be accepted. A national project would then require the approval of every Table. In fact very few projects have to date been attempted at either the regional or national level. In the past the tendency has been for every Table to guard jealously its independence and right to decide what it will or will not support. When the National President of A.R.T.S.A. was attending the conference of Round Table International in Scandinavia he was unable to commit the South African organisation to the support of a Chair in Race Relations at the new University of Rhodesia—a project suggested by the Salisbury Table, Southern Rhodesia. Even if the support of this project had been previously favourably voted on at the Annual Conference of A.R.T.S.A., it would have carried little weight without the prior approval of each individual Table. Thus, although most Tables in South Africa did support the project financially, it was not done as the Association of Round Tables of Southern Africa, but as an individual Table's undertaking.

It is this characteristic that makes the Round Table organisation essentially a federal structure. The tendency in the past has been towards centralisation of authority, and the tendency is still very strong. It will be of interest to observe in the future whether the organisation can resist the tendency to create an organisational structure of a more centralised character.

The national authority is composed of a National President, Vice-President, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer and a Committee.

These are elected at the Annual Conference by a majority vote of representatives on names previously submitted by the Tables, through the Regional Councils. The national authority is responsible for the relations between the South African Association and the international headquarters; the internal administration of the organisation in so far as it refers to matters outside the jurisdiction of the local branch; the extension of the movement to other towns etc.. The national and regional authorities are financed by a levy on the constituent branches on a per capita basis. The tendency towards co-ordination by central authority is shown in a prevalent belief that the payment of a subscription and levy towards regional and national funds entitles a member of one Table to be admitted into any other should he change his place of domicile. Many members view the organisation as nation-wide and membership as involving the whole concept. As originally conceived membership was of a Table only and members visiting from another Table were treated as privileged guests---not as members of a national conception. The levy on members for the administration of the upper units of authority is viewed by many members as affiliating them to a national conception. To date no constitutional changes have been made to validate these growing tendencies.

The aims of the organisation are:

- (1) "To develop the acquaintance of young men through the medium of their professional and business occupations.
- (2) "To emphasise the fact that one's calling offers an excellent medium of service to the community.
- (3) "To cultivate the highest ideals in business, professional, and civic traditions.
- (4) "To recognise the worthiness of all legitimate occupations and to dignify each his own by precept and example.
- (5) "To further the establishment of peace and goodwill in international relationships."

In themselves these aims do not make the organisation eligible for registration under the Welfare Organisations Act. Yet the method employed to put the aims into practice frequently involve acts, such as fund raising for charitable purposes, which

require the organisation or person to receive recognition under one or other provision of the Act. Certain Tables have considered it necessary to register under the Act. This decision raised two fundamental difficulties:

(1) The aims as they stand preclude eligibility for registration. Yet the aims are internationally determined and may not be amended by local decision. This situation has been resolved by Round Table International permitting the South African Association to add a further aim to read approximately in this fashion: 'To further the above objects by meetings, lectures, discussions and other activities, and to give effect to these six objects by charitable, social welfare and community service work of all kinds.' The addition of this clause then makes the Organisation eligible for registration under the Act.

(2) As the independence of the local branch is a fundamental requisite, the addition of the last mentioned clause could not be enforced by the national authority, but remained an essentially local decision. Certain branches felt there was no need to register under the Act at all as they could be covered under the provisions of the Act relating to Letters of Authority issued by registered organisations they decided to help, and other means should they wish to undertake welfare work. Other Tables, wishing to enjoy the status registration gives in the public mind, added the last clause, applied for registration and received it. Thus the Organisation is in the anomalous position of having some of its branches registered while others are not.

Another means of overcoming the difficulty has been for certain Tables to set up a welfare organisation distinct from Round Table proper; staff it and control it by Round Table members, and allocate to it all matters of a welfare kind. By this means the Table itself would not be registered, but the Round Table Welfare Organisation would be.

On the other hand, there are certain advantages, to the Registrar of Welfare Organisations at least. For the national

authority to be registered and the branches to function under Letters of Delegation. This view has received some sympathy among the organisation's membership, but such a move is clearly a threat to the independence of the branches and the federal nature of their co-ordination.

The organisation is par excellence effective at the branch level. The inability of national or regional levels of authority to sponsor projects, makes the hierarchy of organisation an honorific one rather than a functional one. The matters dealt with by the structure above the local branch level are largely to do with internal administration. With the exception of international contacts, the organisation would serve the community as effectively had it no hierarchical structure; the structure is designed largely to foster the inverted sentiment of members--- it encourages the acquaintance of members of different branches, and provides honorific offices for members with exceptional records.

There is a limited amount of ritual associated with the organisation. The type of ritual is left to each Table to decide what it wants. There is no prescribed formula. Often it amounts merely to the recitation of the organisation's aims at the commencement of each meeting.

No branch is legally constituted until it has been awarded a Charter by the central authority. This is usually given at a special Charter Dinner, and the National President frequently performs the act.

In one of the organisation's publications entitled "Round Table---An Introduction", mention is made of a "Round Table Ideal." This is said to be epitomised in its motto "Adopt---Adapt---Improve", which was taken from a speech by the Prince of Wales in 1927, when he said "The young business and professional men of this country (Britain) must get together round the table, adopt methods that have proved so sound in the past, adapt them to the changing needs of the time and, whenever possible, improve them."

It is argued, in the same publication, that the democratic nature of the organisation finds expression "in the individual member's own interpretation of the Aims and Objects." It is this characteristic which necessitates an almost sacrosanct independence and autonomy of the local branch.

The nature of this ideal, however, is such that it must be expressed in service to the community. The organisation exists both to assist the member and the community in which it functions. In this sense it is a typical 'omnivered' type organisation. The concluding words of the above publication are: "Young men joining Round Table have before them the prospect of many genuine friendships, a widening of outlook and an opportunity of sharing in the worthwhile service to the community.

Though they undertake certain obligations, they join a company of energetic young men in a movement that is steadily increasing in influence and importance. Much has been done, but even more remains to be achieved. For, although Round Table's name recalls the past, its chivalry and conduct were conceived to meet the future."

This dichotomy of interest (inverted--everted) has led to some difficulty in the definition of a 'good' Tabler. For example, certain members see their function as a 'good' Tabler in standing for election to the executive committees of local welfare organisations, public associations etc. But by participating in these affairs—often as an elected representative of the local Round Table—the time available for spending on purely internal Table matters is reduced. A member may be able to keep barely his 50% attendance, or find difficulty in participating in the various Table community projects. As a consequence he may be viewed by fellow Tablers as showing only a limited interest in the organisation itself. There is a difficulty in assessing the 'worthiness' of any member extensively engaged in public functions outside the organisation.

Past experience has shown that the policy of placing members of Table on the Committees of other Organisations as

representatives has not been very successful. To a limited extent only, does it affect liaison between the organisation and Round Table. In the past, and in general, a 'good' Tabler has been one who has devoted the majority of his time to the Table and its affairs, but who has devoted a limited amount of time to outside societies as well.

The type of assistance offered the community is generally of a communal, i.e. non-case work type. Not infrequently it has taken the form of raising capital from the public for other averted type organisations. Certain Tables have purchased a film projector to show to hospitals, childrens institutions etc. Others have given generous assistance to anti-tuberculosis associations. Round Table has been conspicuously successful in assisting in the administrative control of projects sponsored by other organisations or by itself i.e. Hobby Exhibitions, Art Exhibitions etc..

Type 4 The organisations to be discussed under this type are the S.A. Noodhulpliga and the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging. (A.C.V.V.) . The author is responsible for all translations from the Afrikaans.

Die Suid-Afrikaanse Noodhulpliga (S.A.N.L.) is co-ordinated by central authority. Its work is best compared with that of the Red Cross Society or St John of Jerusalem. It is, however, more restricted in its membership, and its objects are more ideological than the essentially practical and utilitarian objects of the English speaking organisations.

Eligibility for membership, in terms of the Constitution, is limited to Europeans over 16 years of age who have been

approved by the Managing Committee. This provision is laid down more precisely in the Statutes of the Organisation. The relevant clause reads as follows:

"Membership:

- (1) The number of members of the S.A.N.L. is unlimited;
- (2) The qualifications for membership: Any person making application on the prescribed form and who is eligible in terms of the under-mentioned requirements, can be admitted to membership by the Head Office:
 - (a) He must be a European;
 - (b) He must be at least 16 years of age,
 - (c) He must subscribe to the fundamental principle of the S.A.N.L.,
 - (d) He must be approved by the branch he intends joining,
 - (e) He must have paid in advance six months membership fee."

The Head Office retains a right to refuse membership without any obligation to supply its reasons.

The fundamental principle mentioned in (c) above is, in terms of the Constitution, Christian National (Christelik-Nasionaal), but the term is nowhere specifically defined. This term has been the subject of much political comment in recent years, particularly over its application to education. (1) In brief, the term refers to the dogma of the Protestant Churches as distinct from the Roman Catholic. Among Afrikaans speaking people it has come to mean principally the dogma of the Dutch Reformed Churches, philosophically known as Neo-Calvinism or rejuvenated Calvinism. (2) The 'national' refers to South Africa as distinct from any other country.

Membership therefore becomes restricted to persons holding particular beliefs. In this respect the organisation resembles other societies such as the Society of St Vincent de Paul, or the Union of Jewish Women. Constitutionally, however, the S.A.N.L. does not restrict membership to any denomination, but merely to the concept 'Christian National'. In this respect

(1) See, for example, "Blueprint for Blackout—commentary on the education policy of the Instituut vir Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys" The Education League. Or, "Christian National Education —20th Century Inquisition" M.C. Botha. (Cory Library, Rhodes University. S.A. Pamphlets Vol 31 No. 59).
 (2) See de Vleeschauer H.J. in "Moussion". University of South Africa. Pretoria. 1956. p.7f

it is in marked contrast to the grounds of eligibility for membership of both the Red Cross Society and the Order of St John.

There are three types of members:

(1) Ordinary or Serving Members who are individuals attending classes to pass any examination of the S.A.N.L. or who have already qualified in any examination.

(2) Donor Members, who are eligible persons for membership who make an annual contribution of at least £1 to the organisation's funds. Donor Members have no voting rights.

(3) Honorary Members, who are persons given this status by the Managing Committee on the recommendation of a branch, a Kommandant or on its own initiative. The status is granted to persons in recognition of outstanding services in the cause of health and nursing.

The only voting members are the Ordinary or Serving Members. They are the trainees or those already qualified. This is somewhat different from the membership of the Red Cross and St John, which, although these persons are not specifically excluded from membership, they need not necessarily become members. Many candidates and holders of Red Cross or St John certificates are not members of the organisations. Members of the S.A. Noodhulpliga strictly obtain benefits from their membership; membership entitles them to learn skills and to receive training. These skills are later put to the benefit of the sick and suffering. In this capacity the organisation must be thought of as 'omniversted' in sentiment membership.

The organisational structure is complex, and emphasises the overruling authority of the central administration. The structure resembles a military hierarchical structure in that it is ranked from the top to the ordinary individual member or 'private'. The relationship between rank or office and its superiors and inferiors is also determined. In addition, provision is made in the Constitution for a Medical Advisory

Authority, and Examining Authority and a Field Inspection Authority. There is also provision for conferences at various levels in the hierarchical structure where the problems experienced in subordinate units may be resolved.

At the local level the fundamental administrative unit is the branch which cannot have less than twelve members. As soon after formation as possible a branch must register with the Head Office. Prior to this registration the branch is not recognised as a unit of the S.A.N.L., and has no representation on the Officers Conference. Branches may affiliate to local co-ordinating committees of the Federasie van Afrikaans Kultuurvereniging and/or Afrikaans organisations approved by the Managing Committee.

The functions of a branch include:

- (a) the organisation of lectures, demonstrations and examinations on the subjects prescribed by the Managing Committee;
- (b) the holding of health talks, demonstrations etc. open to the public, to further the cause of health in the nation;
- (c) the coaching of members as teams for work in emergencies and in competitions;
- (d) the holding of Church parades and other functions designed to further the knowledge of members and the cause of the S.A.N.L. in general;
- (e) to hold an annual fund-raising function for branch funds;
- (f) the application of the skills of members to needy people at public functions, and, with the approval of the Kommandant, to provide gratis a nursing service at national celebrations;
- (g) the purchase of necessary branch equipment;
- (h) the creation and maintenance of a library to assist lecturers on health and other topics relevant to the organisation.

Each branch holds an annual general meeting during which the branch management is elected. The management consists of a Deputy Field Cornet assisted by the following subordinate officers:

- (a) for every four members, or part thereof, a team-leader sergeant---who is one of the four;

(b) for every three teams, an Assistant Field Cornet. For incomplete teams, provision is made for an Under Field Cornet. All officers, including the Deputy Field Cornet, are elected at the Annual General Meeting from among the members. So also are the secretary and treasurer. Vacancies during the year are filled by the management itself. Attendance by members of the branch management is compulsory and unsanctioned absence of more than two meetings must be reported to the regional Kommandant.

This organisational structure is characterised by

(1) its complexity; brought about by making the organisational structure serve as a distributor of rank and status for the individual member, and the membership generally. All members are awarded a status in the organisation. Membership is only possible in the context of status---the hierarchy of which is determined by the Constitution.

(2) The organisation is democratic to members only up to the Assistant Field Cornet level. Officers above that level are elected by the Field Staff in consultation with superior authorities up to the status of Kommandant. Officers above this level are appointed largely by the Managing Committee.

(3) The representatives to both Command Conferences and Officers Conferences are not popularly elected, but are appointed by the inferior and superior units of authority acting in an official capacity.

(4) The authority of the Managing Committee is pronounced. It is the supreme authority except when the Governing Council is in session. The Governing Council is not composed of the membership generally. It is composed of certain offices e.g. the Managing Committee, all Kommandants and Field Kornets and the Assistant Field Cornets of each branch. The simple private, to use military terminology, has only an indirect representation through the Assistant Field Cornet whom he elected

at the local branch level.

(5) Through the above and other means, the central administration tends to be select and beyond the reach of the ordinary member. The ordinary member has little voice in the appointment to office of the senior executives of the organisation. This characteristic is often met with in military type organisational structures, though that of the S.A.N.L. is more democratic in many respects than that of the M.O.T.H. for example.

The aims of the organisation may be briefly stated, *inter alia*, as the following:

(1) To enhance the spirit of fellow-feeling amongst one's fellow men in all matters to do with health;

(2) to encourage a spirit of self-sacrifice by service to one's fellow men everywhere and at all times both within and without the organisation;

(3) to further the health of South Africa, and to spread a health consciousness in the nation;

(4) to support any project dealing with health.

The organisation achieves these aims by the inculcation of health methods and knowledge by First Aid, Home Nursing, Mothercraft etc. to members; by establishing a Junior Division of the Organisation; and "subject to the principles of non-equality between European and Non-European and the guardianship of Europeans over others, to create a Non-European division or divisions of the Organisation", or such other organisation as may be decided on.

The S.A. Noodhulpliga thus not only enables a member to serve his fellow-man, but a member is in turn rewarded by the knowledge he gains, the facilities available to him, and the 'cameraderie' of working with like-minded members.

The organisation is closely associated with Afrikaans sentiment and values. It becomes a means of expressing

National Christian sentiments in the service of mankind.

Though the branch is essentially the unit through which the organisation functions, the superior units of authority are much more than honorific. They become more co-ordinatory and executive the higher up the hierarchy they may be. Further, the higher up the hierarchy is a given office, the wider is its geographical area of jurisdiction. The ultimate control, even in matters of admission to membership, is vested in the Managing Committee. The authority of this Committee is not only absolute---subject to the Governing Council and the Constitution---but its members have representation officially on many of the subordinate units of authority. This is a further method of achieving co-ordination of policy.

Although use is made of regionalisation in the form of Chief Commands, they are scarcely regional organisations in the same way as were those of the Red Cross or the Society for the Care of Cripples. They tend to be units of authority rather than units of geographical administration. The same applies to the branch. It does not write its own constitution or bye-laws---these are either written into the national constitution or laid down by the Managing Committee. The branch is as much a unit of authority as it is a unit of geographical administration.

In the area of investigation, 1954, a branch existed in Adelaide and strenuous efforts were being made to extend the movements. In the past branches had existed in Alexandria, Aliwal North, East London, Pearston, Elliot and Venterstad, but these had closed down for sundry reasons.

Die Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging (A.C.V.V.).

This organisation is of Provincial dimensions co-ordinated by central authority. It is associated with similar organisations in other Provinces through the Vroue-Federale Raad. The A.C.V.V. functions entirely within the Cape Province and South West Africa. It is composed of 132 branches of which 20 are in the area of investigation. The organisation's official language is Afrikaans.

Membership is open to "All women who accept the Protestant creed and who are of worthy character". Men and women possessing the same requirements as members can be made Honorary Members, but are not entitled to vote nor to sit on the management of the organisation. Membership is available only through the branch; and a member may belong to one branch only.

The organisational structure is simple, being composed of the branches and the Headquarters. Branches may be opened in any community in the Cape Province or South West Africa, who desire it and are able to perform the proper duties of a branch. Every branch has complete control of its own affairs both administrative and financial, subject only to the provisions of the Provincial Constitution and the requisite contributions towards the maintenance of the Headquarters.

Every branch elects annually, or at least biennially, its own managing committee existing of a Chairman, one or two Vice-Chairmen, Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary and as many more as it may decide. The constitution provides that as far as possible the management shall/consist of closely related persons. The management committee meets monthly if possible, but not less frequently than quarterly. A financial report is given by the management at every meeting of members, and an annual report and balance sheet submitted

to the headquarters annually.

The right to dismiss a member for improper conduct is in the hands of the managing committee, but the decision must be by two-thirds majority of a meeting of the full committee.

In their handling of clients branches are expected to co-operate with the local Church Council and Predikant.

The Headquarters consists of a President, two Vice-Presidents, one or more Secretaries, a Treasurer and as many members as Congress may determine. Closely related persons may not serve simultaneously on Headquarters. Headquarters is elected biennially at Congress. The President and Vice-Presidents are elected by the Congress, but the Secretaries and Treasurer are appointed by the Headquarters from its own membership. Election is by private ballot and a clear majority is required. Congress may elect to office others than those who are delegates to the Congress. Nominations for election to Headquarters are supplied on a geographical basis, but elected by the whole Congress. A geographical distribution of members is assured.

Headquarters meets from time to time, and copy of its minutes is sent to all members.

A member of Headquarters who absents herself for three consecutive meetings without leave of absence forfeits her seat. Vacancies are filled by Headquarters itself up to a maximum of four. Thereafter the President is obliged to call a special meeting for the purpose.

The duties of Headquarters include:

- (a) The creation of new branches.
- (b) To resolve any difficulties within a branch, but there is a final appeal to Congress.
- (c) To hold a watching brief on all institutions and projects sponsored by the organisation.
- (d) To report to and to organise Congress.

(e) To execute the decisions of Congress.

(f) To keep contact through the Vrou-Federale Raad with sister organisation in other Provinces.

The Headquarters may appoint an executive committee of four to handle the day-to-day affairs of the organisation.

Headquarters has the right to levy the branches a per capita amount to cover administration.

The Constitution provides for a Congress composed of members of the Headquarters and representatives of the branches. Every branch may appoint one member.

The administration of property is in the hands of branches, but the Headquarters must be notified of any changes. Any immovable property purchased by the Headquarters is registered in the name of the organisation. Such property is subject to the surveillance of Headquarters but under the daily control of the local branch to which it is allocated. All immovable property purchased by a branch is registered in the name of the branch.

Each branch is registered separately under the Welfare Organisations Act, though the address by which it is known is that of the Headquarters' office in Cape Town.

The purpose of the A.C.V.V. is "To safeguard and develop everything that is inherently ('suiver') and soundly ('gesond') Afrikaans; and to further everything conducive to the building up of our people ('volk')". To achieve this end the work of the organisation is briefly as follows:

(a) To keep a watchful eye on all needy and suffering persons; to see that they do not sink lower and that the receipt of assistance does not cause them to lose their dignity and self-respect.

(b) In conjunction with the State etc. to retain the health of the people.

(c) To support the Church by means of
 (i) acknowledging the sanctity of the Sabbath;
 (ii) encouraging religious activity in the home;
 (iii) to inculcate a sympathy for the Church amongst children.

(d) To eulogise Afrikaans as a spoken and written language; and to encourage the reading of good Afrikaans and Hollands books, and to further the study of Afrikaans history.

(e) To support the development of a healthy education ('n gesonde volksopvoeding').

(f) To foster a simple home life.

(g) To care for the welfare of female workers and others, brought into association with the poor, and persons of impoverished circumstances.

(h) To create institutions for the handling of special social problems.

The A.C.V.V. grew directly out of the suffering of Afrikaans women and children during, and immediately after, the Anglo-Boer War. Distress brought the Afrikaans speaking women together. The germ of its growth lay in the existence of committees in most platteland (interior) towns collecting and making articles of relief for the suffering in the concentration camps particularly. This effort required co-ordination. It was in Cradock that this need was first met by the formation of the Afrikander Vrouwen Vereniging in 1900. This was a women's organisation intended to give more permanence to the local relief committees working in Cradock. In later years contact was established between the Cradock Association and a similar movement already in existence in Cape Town. In 1904 a meeting in Cape Town established the "Zuid-Afrikaansche Christelike Vrouwen Vereeniging." Certain fundamental ideological requirements were laid down which future branches and members had to conform to before membership was possible. One of these was the Christian nature of the organisation, the other was its association with Afrikaans nationalism.

The book "Ons Saamreis" ('Our Journey Together'), which was published by the organisation on its 25th anniversary,

shows the intimate way in which the organisation was associated with the national feelings and aspirations of the Afrikaans speaking people.

The word 'Christelike' in the title was in the early years to mean members of the Lutheran, Nederduits-Gereformeerde, Hervormde en Gereformeerde Church congregations. But this would have excluded any person who had helped the cause of the sufferers during and after the War who was a Catholic. One notable helper was a Roman Catholic. This complication was resolved by a wish merely to keep the movement free of 'foreign influences'. Membership became open to all European women who considered South Africa their fatherland and called themselves Afrikaners.

The nature of the movement in its earlier years is shown by the topics on the agenda of its earlier congresses. Matters of language rights for Afrikaans, morality, educational facilities etc. were high on the list. The organisation has always been in the forefront of the movement for the recognition of what is popularly termed 'Afrikanerdom'. It has always been associated with national sentiments and aspirations. As such it had to create an organisational structure larger than the local branch in its conception.

In so far as national sentiments and aspirations were concerned, as was the case with many other organisations already discussed above, the local branch centralised the members feelings. The local branch acted as the local representative of the more abstract movement as a whole. As such it had to be an important administrative unit. The welfare of individuals in the local community had of necessity to be left to the local branch. The local autonomy of branches was a further prerequisite. The autonomy of local branches was as necessary for the A.C.V.V. as it was for local Child Welfare Societies, and for much the same reasons i.e. the emphasis on case work and the local control of funds and

the active identification of members in local charity. In addition, however, the A.O.V.V. was associated with powerful national aspirations which, to be effective, demanded some degree of central co-ordination. It was therefore necessary to create an organisation more intimately co-ordinated than any federal structure could achieve. The allegiance to the Provinces, which were independent political units prior to the Act of Union, 1910, was sufficiently strong shortly after the Anglo-Boer War to prevent centralisation of co-ordination occurring on a national basis, though, as 'Ons Saamreis' demonstrates, the matter was seriously considered. Thus, to this day, co-ordination nationally is achieved by federal means through the Federale-Vroue Raad, and the Provinces are left centrally and intimately co-ordinated, but independent.

The criteria of eligibility for membership were sufficiently strict to ensure a high degree of homogeneity of membership sentiment. Though largely everted in sentiment type, the member receives sufficient abstract benefit from the ideological principles of the organisation to warrant its classification as 'omniversted' in sentiment membership.

From the beginning the organisation was sufficiently centralised by its Headquarters and Congresses to enable its total resources to be brought to bear on a single project should that be thought desirable to further the general welfare of Afrikaans women and children. It is in this light that House Craft Schools, Homes for the Aged and other institutions were initiated.

The organisation has none of its institutions in the area of investigation. It has branches in the following towns:

Adelaide,
 Alexandria,
 Alival North,
 Barkley East
 Bedford,
 Boesmansriviermond,
 Burgersdorp,
 Dordrecht,

East London (two branches),
 Grahamstown,
 Jamestown,
 Lady Grey,
 Molteno,
 Pearston,
 Riebeek East,
 Somerset East,
 Sterkstroom,
 Steynsburg,
 Venterstad.

Type 5 The organisations of this type chosen for special study are the Society of St Vincent de Paul and The Union of Jewish Women. Other organisations of this type include the Arnesorgkomitees of the N.G. Kerk and the R.G. Kerk's Sustersorganisasie.

The Society of St Vincent de Paul is co-ordinated by central authority, and is one of the oldest organisations with interests in the area of investigation. The Society had its beginnings in Paris in 1833. The first branch in South Africa was established in Cape Town in 1856. Thereafter a local unit, known as a Conference, was started in Port Elizabeth in 1859, and the third in Grahamstown in 1860. In 1954, the organisation functioned in the area of investigation through

one Conference in Grahamstown,
 one Conference in Kingwilliamstown, and
 five Conferences in East London organised into a Particular Council.

The organisation recruits its membership from persons of the Roman Catholic faith, but provides benefits theoretically to all, but in practice to persons of that faith only. Membership is, however, somewhat more

(1) Author's correspondence with the National Secretary.

confined than mere acceptance of Roman Catholicism. In 1900, the Pastoral of the National Synod of Maynooth (Ireland) recommended the Society in these terms: "As a means towards extending amongst the laity (particularly those of the educated classes who are most exposed to dangers against faith) the practices of religion, we desire most earnestly to commend The Society of St. Vincent de Paul." The same authority continues: "We would particularly recommend it to young men, many of whom are disposed to yield themselves up to the pleasures and frivolities of life, and pass their best years without realising its earnestness and its solemnity. It is most worthy that in its origin this Society was the work of six or eight young students of the University of Paris, under the leadership of Frederick Ozanam, and was their answer to the taunts of infidels and sceptics, 'show us your works'. We should desire most earnestly that young Catholics throughout the country followed that blessed example. In visiting the poor in their homes they would be brought into actual contact with the stern realities of life; they would be schooled in the lessons of Christian charity; and by the very poor themselves, in their resignation to God's Holy will—their vivid faith—their undying hope—they would learn the deep and wonderful power of our Holy Church to ennoble the lives of the lowliest of her children."

When the original constitution was drawn up in December, 1831 the Society of Charity, as it was referred to, was composed of active members "and of others who cannot devote themselves to the works in which it is engaged. The latter assist the former by their efforts and by their influence; by their offerings and their prayers they supply the place of that actual
(1)
co-operation which they are obliged to forego."

(1) Quotations from "Rule of the Society of St Vincent de Paul for Conferences".

More recent constitutional provisions allow for active members; corresponding members i.e. one time members of a Conference who have changed their place of abode but who continue membership in their presently nearest Conference by correspondence; honorary members who do not attend the ordinary meetings of a Conference, but are invited to all other meetings, and make an annual contribution to the Treasurer; and subscribers who "as benefactors are entitled to its prayers", though they are not members.

As a means of maintaining unity among the members and "of cementing the Christian friendship", admission to the Society is available to "only such candidates as are worthy of the confidence and affection of our brothers. It might be an advantage for some individual to participate in our charitable work; but, perhaps it might not be an advantage for the Society to count him among its members. Previously, therefore, before the admission of any friend into our ranks, we will carefully consider whether he be calculated to draw closer those ties which bind us to each other; whether his amiability and Christian demeanour will enhance the value of the small aid which he will be commissioned to bring to the distressed; whether the firmness of his character authorises us to hope that he will persevere in his generous resolutions..... The choice of a new member is of the utmost importance....., the society will inspire some confidence---will be efficient for some good, only so far as its members will prove its worth by their whole life, and particularly by their perseverance in the acts of charity to which they devote themselves".

It is customary for a prospective member's name to be mentioned at a meeting prior to his attending. Only at the second meeting is he informed of his admission to membership. This enables objections to a proposal for membership to be lodged before the following meeting.

Membership, therefore, is limited firstly, to persons of the Roman Catholic faith, and secondly, to a particular class or type of persons within that faith. Membership is by invitation and selective in character. There would appear to be a tendency towards the admission of better educated and more wealthy persons, and youth rather than age. It is a male organisation.

The organisational structure is complex. The primary unit is the Conference which is associated with a Parish of the Church. A cardinal rule of the organisation is that all officials in the hierarchy must be active members of Conferences "so that they do not lose touch with the spirit of the Society." (1) Further, all work is done in an honorary capacity. There are no paid officials. In terms of the 'Rules', a Conference is formed thus: "when in any town a number of young men form themselves into a branch of the Society, they meet to encourage each other in the practice of good works. This meeting is called a Conference which was the name originally given to the Society itself."

Conferences meet as often as they choose. Their business is administered by a President, one or more Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who together constitute the 'Board' of the Conference. The President is elected by the Conference. The other officers are appointed by the President on the advice of the Board. If necessary a Librarian and a Keeper of the Wardrobe may be appointed. The latter's function is to keep the clothes for distribution to the poor.

General meetings of Conference are held on prescribed religious occasions---approximately five times a year; though the President has power to call a Special Meeting between these times. The ordinary meeting of members is held as often as members wish. The customary procedure is to hold a

(1) Secretary's name and address

weekly meeting.

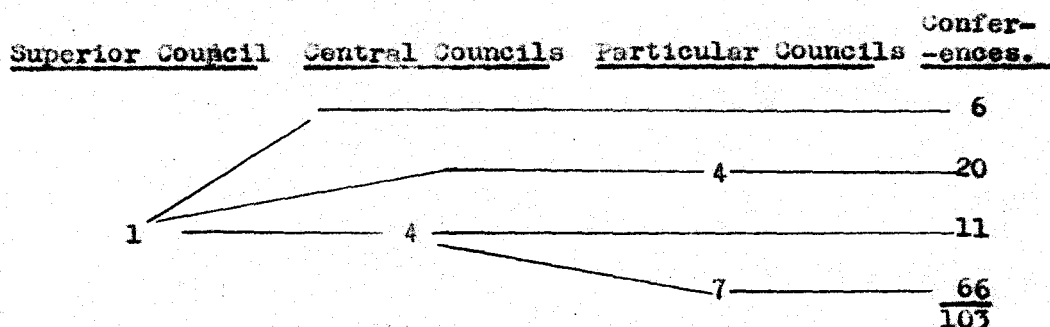
Where there are a number of Conferences in a town they are grouped under a 'Particular Council'. The Particular Council takes the name of the town in which it is established. The Conferences of which it is composed take the name of the Parish. The Particular Council is apparently composed of the Presidents---and possibly other officials---of the Conferences that compose it. The special function of a Particular Council is co-ordination, though this refers especially to finance and internal administration rather than the ~~casual~~ work of the organisation. Conferences "endeavour to communicate with each other for their mutual edification, and whenever necessary, to recommend to the kind offices of each other, either the members themselves of the Society, or other young men, or the poor families who change their places of abode."

The available literature is not clear as to the financial responsibilities of a Particular Council. In a footnote on Page 45 of the 'Rules' there appears the following: "In recent years it has been determined by the Council-General that each Particular Council may, if it thinks fit so to decide, not only permit Conferences under it to retain the subscriptions of honorary members, but also, by a formal minute, concede to these Conferences the right of admitting honorary members in their respective districts." It may, therefore, be inferred that the right did and still does exist for Particular Councils to make themselves responsible for the administration of funds. It is clear, however, that the Conference retains a large amount of autonomy in respect of administration and finance. The powers of superior units are not explicit in the information available. However, as the organisation is registered under the Welfare Organisations Act as a national organisation, the control of the central authority over the branches extends

at least to the point of obtaining an annual audited statement.

Superior to a Particular Council is a Central Council which generally has two or more Particular Councils beneath it. A Conference which is not related to a Particular Council may acknowledge the authority of a Central Council direct. Central Councils tend to be associated with a Diocese of the Church. Above the Central Councils is the Superior Council which is the nationally controlling body and responsible to the Council-General in Paris.

By the kindness of the Honorary National Secretary of the Society, the following diagram has been prepared as a statement of the hierarchical structure for the Union of South Africa, 1956:



The joining lines indicate the lines of control.

It will be observed that a Conference can come directly under the Superior Council--the highest national authority. It thus appears that the units of authority known as Central and Particular Councils are units of convenience in the administrative structure, rather than essentials thereto. The fundamental units appear to^{be} the Superior Council and the Conference

The relation of the organisation to the clerical authority is made clear in the 'Rules'. The relevant section reads: 'We will always remember that we are only laymen, and for the most part young men, without any mission to teach others; for this, and every other reason, we will pay the utmost deference to the Counsels which may be given to us by the

Society, or its heads; we will, above all, follow with respect the course which the ecclesiastical superiors think proper to point out to us. St Vincent de Paul wished that his disciples should not undertake any good work without first having secured assent and received the benediction of the local pastors. Neither will we ever undertake new and important work within an ecclesiastical jurisdiction without consulting him who is at the head of it. We will do nothing in opposition to spiritual authority.....Lastly, among ourselves, the younger will defer to the elder, and the newly admitted member to those who are of longer standing."

The hierarchical structure of the organisation largely corresponds to the structure of the Church itself. But it is conceivable that the hierarchical structure of the organisation makes available honorific titles and responsibilities to certain suitable incumbents. If this is not so, it seems difficult to appreciate the function of certain units in the hierarchical structure. The nature of the Society's work among the poor is essentially charitable, involving face-to-face relations of a case work character. This type of work in other organisations necessitates the administrative emphasis to be placed on the local branch, and frequently functions adequately with no co-ordinatory structure at all. It appears, therefore, that the hierarchical structure performs a function rather towards the member than the client.

The 'Rules' of the Society of St Vincent de Paul are peculiar amongst the organisations studied in this research in so far as they contain minute details of what the Society offers its members and how its members are to assist its clients. As the Roman Catholic Church is the oldest institution advocating the practice of charity in the area of investigation, it may be of advantage to repeat some of its comments in the present study. Further, it will be recalled that the Society is classified as 'omniverbed' in

sentiment membership. The comments will be of advantage in so far as they illustrate the relationship between the 'inverted' and 'everted' sentiments operating within the one organisation. It must, however, be constantly born in mind that this organisation is intimately associated with a religious organisation possessing a particular type of dogma and belief. Further, the object of the religious denomination in so far as the organisation is concerned, is clearly stated in that it sees in the Society an opportunity of retaining the allegiance of the Society's members to its own wider ends. By so doing the denomination has largely made the benefits of membership of the Society the benefits of the denomination itself.

This point is well expressed by the following quotation from the 'Rules' (pp 14-15) "We must ever avoid giving to our work the name of any particular member, whatever may have been the services which he is reputed to have rendered it, or the names of the places in which it meets, for fear that we may accustom ourselves to look upon it as the work of man. Christian works belong to God alone, the sole Author of all good

The objects of a Conference, as quoted from the 'Rules' are:

(1) "to maintain its members, by mutual example and advice, in the practice of a Christian life;

(2) "to visit the poor at their dwellings, to bring them succour in kind, to afford them, also religious consolation, remembering these words of our Master: 'Non in solo pane vivit homo sed in omni verbo procedit de ore Dei';

(3) "to apply ourselves, according to our capabilities and the time which we can spare, to the elementary and Christian instruction of poor children, whether free or imprisoned....;

(4) "to distribute moral and religious books;

(5) "to apply ourselves to all other kinds of charitable works for which our resources may be adequate, but which will

not interfere with the chief object of the Society."

The 'rules' confirm that the Society should endeavour to attain and practise every virtue; but certain virtues are more essential. Among these are "self-denial, Christian prudence, the active love of our neighbour, zeal for the salvation of souls, meekness in heart and word, and above all the spirit of brotherly love." The 'rules' then proceed to elaborate on these maxims and to relate them to the service the Society performs for its clients.

(a) That of self-denial is interpreted as "the surrendering of our own opinion without which surrender no association is a lasting one. The man who is in love with his own ideas will disclaim the opinions of others; contempt for our brethren far from uniting, engenders division..... We should likewise avoid all spirit of contention with the poor, and we must not consider ourselves offended if they do not yield implicitly to our advice...."

(b) That of Christian Prudence is interpreted as: "Among the poor there are some who have the happiness of being Christians; others are careless, and some, perhaps impious. We ought not to repulse them, even in this latter case; our language ought to vary according to the dispositions of those whom we address.....Kindness opens the heart to confidence, and it is by corporal charity therefore that we prepare the way for spiritual benefits....."

(c) That of 'Love of our Neighbour' and zeal for the salvation of souls, is interpreted as the fundamentals of the Society. The 'Rules' remark: "He who is not animated by this two-fold sentiment, which in the Christian forms but one feeling, should not become a member.....We must never murmur at the labours, the fatigues, nor even at the repulses to which the exercise of charity may subject us.....Neither should we regret the pecuniary sacrifices that we make to our work,

esteeming ourselves happy in offering something to Jesus Christ in the person of the poor, and in being able to bring some relief to His suffering members....."

(d) That of Humility is interpreted as being "kind and obliging to one another and we should be equally so to the poor whom we visit. We can have no power over souls except through meekness."

(e) That of Brotherly Spirit is what "will make our Society of Charity become beneficial to its members and edifying to others..... We should love one another now and ever, far and near, from one Conference to another, from town to town, from nation to nation. This friendship will render us able to bear with each other's failings.....the troubles and the joys of each of us should be shared by all, in accordance with the advice of the Apostle, who tells us to weep with those who weep, and rejoice with those who rejoice." In conclusion, "This sentiment which, with us, will make of all our hearts one heart, of all our souls one soul.....will endear to each of us our little fraternal Society."

The Society celebrates certain religious festivals i.e. the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin and the Feast of its Patron, St Vincent de Paul, and has special privileges in respect of the Church and its services.

It will be observed that the majority of benefits refer to conduct and methods of applying the services offered. Besides the religious benefits conferred by membership, the spirit of brotherliness is probably the most tangible. By becoming a fraternity of a select nature the Society reinforces the inverted sentiment of its members; and by the ideals it sets itself and its membership in the handling of its clients it not only sets a standard of charitable activity, but binds the Society's members to the Church with which it is associated. Through serving the Society's clients the members themselves

become taught certain fundamentals of the faith they adhere to. Membership is therefore typically 'omniverted'.

The Union of Jewish Women of South Africa is a federally co-ordinated organisation of national dimension. The Constitution has recently undergone amendment---at the 8th Annual Conference---of which the author has been unable to procure details. The discussion is therefore subject to amendment in at least minor details.

The organisation had its origin in a unanimous resolution passed at the 1930 Congress of the S.A. Jewish Board of Deputies. This resolution was not spontaneously implemented. Eventually a Mrs Saphra of Johannesburg individually established local branches in Johannesburg (1931), followed by Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Bloemfontein. A national headquarters was established at a conference in Johannesburg in October, 1936. This conference elected a National President and Vice-President with other office bearers.

The essential organisational unit is the branch, and membership of the organisation is by means of membership of a branch. Membership is available to "all women interested in the objects of the Union of Jewish Women of Southern Africa". There are three kinds of members:

- (a) Affiliated Societies,
- (b) Individual Members,
- (c) Country Members.

Country members are deemed to be members of the branch nearest to their place of residence. In addition a branch may appoint Honorary Life Officers, who may be invited to attend branch meetings, and are persons having rendered conspicuous service to the organisation. On ceasing to be members they forfeit their honorary office.

branches are independent and autonomous, administratively and financially. They may draw up their own constitution and frame their own bye-laws subject to the over-all provisions of the national body. A copy of the constitution must be lodged with the head office. A branch may not negotiate, however, with the Governments of the Union or Rhodesia or with any representative thereof on any matter of national import unless authorised by headquarters to do so. Further, they may not undertake projects on behalf of organisations outside their national boundaries (The Union or Rhodesia) without headquarters approval. Thus efforts on behalf of Israel must be approved by the national authority. No branch may be dissolved unless a member of headquarters is present.

The administration of the affairs of the national organisation is vested in a 'Board of Officers' and an Executive Committee known as Headquarters. The Board of Officers consists of:

- (a) a President,
- (b) the retiring National President,
- (c) Two Vice-Presidents,
- (d) Hon. Treasurer.

All of these, save the retiring National President, must be resident within 50 miles of the town in which the Headquarters is presently situated. (One of the amendments made at the 8th National Conference was to the effect that the Headquarters should remain permanently in Johannesburg, so the above remark re residence within 50 miles probably falls away).

The Executive Committee consists of:

- (a) The Board of Officers,
- (b) The Provincial Vice-Presidents (One from each of the Provinces of the Union and one from Rhodesia).
- (c) Additional members, not exceeding five in number, who shall be resident

either in the town in which the Headquarters is presently situated, or within 50 miles of that centre.

(d) Honorary Life Officers (if resident where the Headquarters is situated).

(e) A Social Welfare Convenor and any other Convenors Headquarters may appoint from time to time.

(f) Provincial Vice-presidents are appointed by the incoming Headquarters in consultation with the out-going Headquarters within three months after assuming office. They hold office for two biennial periods.

The Executive carries into effect the directions of Conference. Prior to recent amendments, the Headquarters was situated in various Provinces in Southern Africa in rotation for two biennial periods each.

The function of the Provincial Vice-presidents was to keep contact with the branches in their respective areas, and to keep Headquarters informed of their activities. They had no right to take action in matters of policy without first consulting Headquarters. No Provincial Vice-president could at the same time be a Chairman of a branch. Thus, in place of a complex regional organisational structure there was provision for the appointment of a single individual, given an honorary title, and whose essential function was co-ordination.

Headquarters is financially maintained by a 1/- capitation fee on all branches. A pro rata assessment for administration or development may be levied by Headquarters, based on the numerical strength of branches. Monies not required immediately for Headquarters may be kept in a Savings Bank Account, and disposed of at the discretion of Headquarters.

This simple organisational structure is designed to serve the following aims:

(a) To serve as a central organisation for the co-ordination of all Jewish Women's Societies interested in the promotion of the spiritual, educational and social welfare of Jewish Women.

(b) To form a link with similar Jewish organisations in other countries.

(c) To promote ties of friendship and to foster cultural relations with the people of Israel.

(d) To work for the improvement of the position of women in Jewish law and for their equality of status with men in the Jewish community.

(e) To assist in the promotion of Jewish education in South Africa.

(f) To undertake or participate in social welfare work for all sections of the community of Southern Africa.

(g) To co-operate with national and international organisations working to secure equality of status of men and women.

(h) To participate in or initiate activities which are calculated to promote goodwill and better understanding between all sections of the population of Southern Africa.

(i) To co-operate with national and international organisation for the maintenance of world peace.

(j) To provide a platform for the discussion of Jewish and general problems.

The local branch serves the local community by assisting in projects of help to the underprivileged, undernourished, the sick, aged, infirm and children. Branches frequently donate cash, kind and service to projects sponsored by other organisations. "We believe", wrote the President, "that it is our duty to become effective citizens and to establish friendly relations between all sections of the community and in order to achieve this it is not possible to act alone in the complex structure of modern society. The problems that we face can be met only by careful planning, thought and action of organised women."

With regard to service towards the Jews of South Africa, the primary concern is the strengthening of Jewish culture, education and tradition. Branches contribute through

Headquarters to the support of the United Communal Fund which incorporates those institutions which build and support Jewish life in South Africa. Support is given to Jewish childrens' homes, nursery schools, Hebrew Classes etc.. There are no such institutions in the area of investigation.

In addition the head office organises the Toni Saphra Education Bursary which enables a woman graduate of any faith to further her studies in order to equip herself better for service to the community.

On the international level, branches contribute to the South African Jewish Appeal, as well as to individual causes in Israel. The Hebrew University and the Students' Hostel have been of particular interest to branches in the area of investigation.

This organisation is almost purely everted in sentiment type. Its aims show no single one to be essentially inverted in character. Membership offers an advantage to Jewish women to work together with people holding common religious sentiments to achieve the furtherance of Jewish ideals in South Africa and Israel. Because the end in view involves the furtherance of the particular faith to which members belong the organisation could not be classified strictly as entirely everted in sentiment membership. In one of the organisation's publications the President remarked: "Membership of the Union of Jewish Women brings you the feeling of 'belonging', of joining forces with others of like mind and heart to work towards a common goal." No purely everted type organisation can give a member this feeling of 'belonging'--it tends rather to give a feeling of 'serving'.

In the field it was found that this organisation was active everywhere it had been established. Not only was it contributing to purely Jewish interests at home and in Israel, but was actively participating in social welfare work among all sections of the community. Generally the organisation tends rather to assist in community work than in case work. It

goes to the aid of other organisations and their work e.g. it assisted in running the East London Location School Feeding Scheme during the school vacations when the government subsidy was no longer paid; the Aliwal North Branch gave generously in cash and also in membership to the local Child Welfare Society when the latter was in difficulties; it has contributed extensively to anti-tuberculosis work and so on.

Type 6 has to do with those organisations offering an educational advantage to members. This type is poorly represented in its pure form in the area of investigation. There are two African organisations with these objects--the Cape African Parent Teachers Association and The Progressive Society, situated in Berlin. Neither of these organisations are large enough to warrant examination of their coordinatory structure. The Women's Institutes and the C.P.W.A.A. undertake considerable adult education among members, but as these organisations have been briefly mentioned, and the Womens Institutes examined in some detail, it is not intended to pursue the discussion further.

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The organisations discussed above have been deliberately chosen as representative of different types of organisations with 'omniverted' sentiment membership. There are many more such organisations. It is evident that they vary widely in organisational structure, and in the degree to which they are prone towards inversion and eversion. There may exist a relationship between these two variables.

Types 2 and 6 i.e. those offering a 'cameraderie' and an educational advantage to their members, tend to offer a practical tangible type of benefit. Types 3, 4 and 5 all offer abstract

and ideological benefits i.e. moral support from associating with others professing similar ethical ideals, or national, patriotic sentiments, or religious satisfactions from the services they perform. Organisations of the latter types tend to show the member "the right way", the "good life", and attempt to impress their concepts upon him. If this distinction is valid, then it offers an opportunity to examine whether the nature of the benefit offered to members in any way affects the organisational structure.

It has already been indicated in the discussion of purely inverted and everted type societies that the method of assisting the client to some extent affects the organisational structure. Conversely, it is conceivable that the benefit offered the member may have similar effects.

Organisations classified under types 2 and 6 include the B.E.S.L., the Womens Institutes and the C.F.W.A.A.. The latter have educational advantages as well as 'cameraderie' to offer their members. The B.E.S.L. offers 'cameraderie' and to a lesser extent patriotic qualities. Although these organisations are technically co-ordinated by central authority, they all grant a large amount of independence and autonomy to the local branch.

The B.E.S.L. has the simplest possible organisational structure. It is composed of head office and branches. The Womens Institutes and the C.F.W.A.A. interpose a regional unit in their administrative structure. The functions of the regional unit are laid down constitutionally as

(a) facilitating the planning of lectures, demonstrations, and other educative functions, and

(b) offering a means of competition between component branches in respect of handicrafts, efficiency of administrative activity and other work done ^{during} the year. It also enhances the 'cameraderie' of members through social intercourse on a larger scale than can be achieved at the local branch level.

During the work in the field it was observed that the regional units offered an honorific status to persons with long and meritorious service.

With the exception of the last function, which is nowhere mentioned in the Constitution, the function of the regional unit is largely administrative and encouraging of friendship. It serves a definite and practical function.

In contrast to the simple and utilitarian organisational structure of these organisations, many of the organisations of type 3, 4 and 5 tend to be complex and in some respects administratively irrational.

The organisational structure of the M.O.T.H., Toc.H., the S.A. Moodhulpliga and the Society of St Vincent de Paul is characterised by an hierarchical structure. In the case of the S.A. Moodhulpliga this was to some extent due to the demands of discipline in the training and organisation of personnel for the ambulance and nursing work. The incorporation of these units into the central administration of the organisation---which is not the case with the Red Cross Society or St John of Jerusalem---has forced the central administration to adopt an almost military type of hierarchical structure..

The elaborate District and Provincial Dugout structure of the M.O.T.H.; the Guard of the Lamp, Area and District Committees etc, of the Toc. H.; and the Particular and Central Council structure of the Society of St Vincent de Paul have little administratively rational place in the organisational structure. As far as the work on behalf of the client is concerned, the organisations would probably be as effective were the intermediary units dispensed with. These units appear to serve a function towards the membership i.e. are a function of the inverted functions of the organisations.

It is perhaps coincidental that both the M.O.T.H. and Toc.H. have historical associations with military traditions and

experience. Their organisational structure is similarly conceived to that of the military, but the authoritarian character of the latter has been somewhat modified. The intermediary units of authority between the head office and the branch have been made to fulfill a largely social function. They bring together members from widely separated branches where the ideological aims of the organisation can be furthered in unison; they can also act jointly together to achieve a given end; and can heighten the emotional appeal of the organisation to its membership through mass and large scale identification and ceremonial. Further, the intermediary units serve as honorific titles to which enthusiastic branch members with adequate qualifications may aspire. Persons holding office in these units tend to personify the abstract qualities and ideals for which the organisation stands.

In all cases, it was found, that the highest offices in the organisation were filled not by democratic vote of the ordinary member, but by nomination or election from the ranks of those already holding superior positions in the hierarchical structure. The nominations were frequently made by the highest authority. In this manner the organisation ensures that its ultimate controlling authorities are composed of persons entirely sympathetic to the ideals and beliefs the organisation represents.

It thus appears that organisations offering their members abstract, ideological qualities can and do make use of an hierarchy of office not so much to facilitate the administration, as to provide facilities to encourage and activate the membership

For completeness it is necessary to examine other organisations of Types 3, 4 and 5 to ascertain if other phenomena are not determining their organisational structure. This examination has been postponed to the following chapter as it can be more conveniently handled in connection with a

more general treatment of the relationship between members,
the organisational structure and the clients served.

Chapter 11.

Organisational Structure as a function of the Sentiments of Members and the Aims of Organisations.

At the conclusion of the last chapter it was found that certain organisations offering an abstract, ideological quality to their members were co-ordinated typically by central authority. They also possessed an hierarchical organisational structure. The A.C.V.V. and the Round Table are organisations which, inter alia, offer abstract qualities to their members. On examination it was found that the Round Table showed tendencies towards a centralised type of authority, though its constitution had not yet been amended to make provision for it.

The A.C.V.V. is constitutionally co-ordinated by central authority, though, like the Women's Institutes, it tends towards a complete autonomy of the local branch. Though case work implies a necessity to place the administrative emphasis on the local branch, the A.C.V.V. does more than case work. In the past at least, case work has been undertaken as a function of the organisation's principal objective towards Afrikaans nationalism. Its case work has been aimed to assist those stranded by the way-side as a consequence of the devastating socio-economic world forces that Afrikanerdom has been faced with over the past half century.

Throughout its history the A.C.V.V. has acted as a rallying focus for persons anxious to further the cause of Afrikaans culture. It would not be exceeding the bounds of fact to say that its fundamental aim has been the furtherance of Afrikaans culture and that social welfare work per se has been secondary to that end. To uplift individual Afrikaans persons through the good offices of the organisation is only one way, amongst many others, of furthering the cause of the Afrikaner as a total group. The more abstract primary aim of this organisation has had the effect of turning it into a 'Movement'—'n Beweging, as it is termed in Afrikaans.

There are 'Movements' of different kinds. The establishment of Child Welfare Societies has been referred to as a 'movement', but this is clearly of a different kind from the A.C.V.V.. The Child Welfare Movement was an attempt merely to relieve the distress and to further the interests of children. It had its beginnings in the realisation that a child was largely the product of the environment in which it was nurtured; hence it was in the public interest generally to ensure that every child was nurtured in a suitable environment. The efforts to control the environment were directed along two lines

(a) governmental statute in the form of Childrens Acts, Public Health Acts etc. and

(b) case work agencies to handle the individual deviate.

The local Society was expected to see the local child in terms of the local nurturing environment. The society, the child and the environment were essentially interrelated as local phenomena.

These two lines of approach have been expressed, in so far as organisational structure is concerned, in the National Council for Child Welfare and in the local autonomous society, respectively. There was no necessity for the two aspects to be welded into one national conception so long as close ties and communication were maintained between the two administrative units. In fact,

the nature of case work, involving as it does the local control of finance and voluntary membership to do the work, gave added incentive to make the local society an independent, autonomous unit.

The A.C.V.V. Movement is not of this kind. It was aimed at maintaining deliberately certain fundamental aspects of Afrikaans culture. It was aimed at resuscitating a culture facing extinction after the Anglo-Boer War. Its immediate adversary was not inimical social environments, but a whole ideo-political conception which it viewed as alien and hostile. The ideological nature of its adversary forced the organisation, as indeed it did also in the case of the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging, into a close and intimate unity that could only be maintained by centralising authority, and, subsequently, by attaching itself indirectly to a major religious Afrikaans institution---Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk.

Though the centralisation of authority provided means of perpetuating the ideological aims of the organisation, it had also to influence Afrikaans speaking people scattered over a wide geographical area. To be a real living institution in the lives of the people it wished to help, it had, as the National War Memorial Health Foundation has found out recently, to create a strong local branch structure. Through enlarging its membership, and attaching its members practically to local organisational units, it was able to carry the ideological aims to the remotest areas. Its membership was restricted constitutionally to persons with given sympathies. The member became the recipient as well as the exponent of the ideological aim. At the same time she was the agent through which the organisation could execute its benevolent work amongst non-members and the community generally.

While in the field it was notable how often A.C.V.V. members quoted examples of cases assisted who were not Afrikaans speaking.

It appears that the organisation is undertaking welfare work in a wide range of ideological type, though its clients are restricted to Europeans only. In its maturity, and perhaps with the growth of confidence in itself and its ideological concepts, it is becoming a general welfare agency anxious to assist wherever there is need, and not merely acting in pursuance of a defined and recognised ideological principle. In this respect it differs from the Society of St Vincent de Paul.

The organisation ^{had} no need to create a regional organisational structure. Neither its fundamental ideological aim nor the case work it undertook made a grouping of local units a necessity. As far as women's organisations are concerned, the only time regional administrative units are created is when an element of

- (a) practical adult education,
- (b) competition in handicrafts made by members, and
- (c) a 'cameraderie' and friendship,

are the aims of the organisation. With the possible exception, to a limited degree, of the last mentioned, the A.O.V.V. had none of these aims. The friendship it created among members came rather as a product of common national sentiments than of a deliberate attempt to create it.

Thus the organisational structure of the A.O.V.V. can be viewed as a compromise between the dictates of centralisation to further a given ideological aim and the practical aim of obtaining members at the local level to undertake case work among fellow Afrikaners suffering hard times or in other ways distressed. The very nature of case work demanded the administrative emphasis be placed on the local branch while the presence of an abstract ideal necessitated at least some centralisation of organisational structure.

If organisations offering their members abstract ideals tend to be co-ordinated by central authority, it is reasonable

to suppose that these offering practical, utilitarian qualities should tend to be co-ordinated by federal authority.

Organisations of this type are composed of independent, autonomous, local societies who have agreed to be members of or to be affiliated to an organisation of national or regional dimensions. By doing so, however, they have not lost their individual autonomy and status.

As membership or affiliation to these national organisations is available to member societies only, it follows that no individual persons can be a member in his own right, except for the rare case of honorary or advisory appointment. Ordinary membership by a person is only possible as a consequence of his membership of a local, autonomous society. Hence the advantages of membership are limited to those that the local society only can offer.

Local autonomous societies are generally created to supply an essentially local need. They arise out of the social milieu and environment of the local area. In consequence they tend to draw their membership from the local community. They tend to be the objects through which local individuals can serve community ends, and they frequently involve the member in personal identification.

This personal identification can be achieved in two ways:

(a) through donations to the organisation or service in the day-to-day administration of the organisation; and

(b) through activity on the organisation's behalf towards the clients it serves.

Both are vital to the organisation. However, both are practical, utilitarian services. They involve no abstract or ideological notions save that of a wish to benefit mankind generally.

As this wish is the fundamental qualification for all welfare activity, it cannot be used^{as} a negating argument for the present contention.

It is now necessary to examine this generalisation in the face of the facts revealed by this research. Those organisations co-ordinated by federal authority, which are entirely everted in sentiment membership can be dismissed briefly as they can only offer the member a practical way of serving the community. By definition he can gain nothing from his membership save that of serving the organisation and its clientele. However, organisations co-ordinated in this way but with inverted or omniverted membership sentiment require a more detailed analysis.

Of the organisations of inverted sentiment membership, there is no doubt that Alcoholics Anonymous offers a practical, utilitarian quality to its members. In extreme cases it makes the practical art of living a possibility. In its techniques it uses ideological, religious methods, but techniques of rehabilitation must not be confused with the inverted character of membership.

The S.A. Nursing and Commercial Travellers Associations, being largely professional and occupational organisations, offer members both practical and ideological benefits. The practical are, however, more in evidence than the ideological. The latter refer to standards of conduct and professional practice. The organisational structure of both these organisations is simple, being merely the head office and the branches, (regional in the case of the Commercial Travellers Association).

The organisations of 'omniverted' sentiment type to be considered include the Union of Jewish Women and the Round Table. During the discussion of the Union of Jewish Women in the previous chapter, it was mentioned that the organisation could be considered everted in sentiment type save for the 'feeling of belonging', of joining forces with others of like mind and heart, which the organisation offers its members. The aims of the organisation are essentially practical. None can be considered ideological or abstract. In the field the organisation was found to be

interested in practical welfare work at home and abroad, and in the discussion of international and national problems. It had an essentially practical outlook despite the religious affinity that characterises the organisation.

The Round Table is the only exception to the general rule. It has already been mentioned that the tendency within the organisation is towards a central authority, though its present constitutional structure is federal in character. In the past the organisation has endeavoured to make a place for itself in the welfare activities of the country. It has frequently gone out of its way to prove its practical worth and standing in the community. As a relatively young organisation these endeavours have assisted to bring home to members the unity of purpose, the friendship, and ultimately the ideals for which the organisation stands. To a very great extent the aims and objects of the organisation referring to the cultivation of the highest ideals in business, professional and civic traditions, has been ignored as a group phenomenon though it has frequently been observed by members in their personal capacities. By no means has this object been emphasised to the extent of that relating to the development of the acquaintance of young men, or of that relating to acts of public welfare. Thus, during its infancy the organisation has concentrated on the more practical aspect of its aims. Possibly, in maturity, the organisation will turn more to consideration of its more ideological and ethical aims. If this proves to be the case, then an even stronger tendency towards co-ordination by central authority and the creation of an elaborate hierarchical structure may become evident.

It thus appears generally true that organisations co-ordinated by federal authority tend to offer their members practical, utilitarian ends. The conditions which give rise to this phenomenon are:

(a) that these organisations, being local in conception, tend to reflect local community needs;

(b) that they enable their members to make a personal identification with the organisation;

(c) through this identification they tend to give status in the local community to members in a way membership of an organisation with central authority cannot so easily do.

There are also organisations co-ordinated by central authority which do not offer their members an abstract, ideological benefit. They tend to offer practical and utilitarian benefits. It is now necessary to examine the reasons why they have adopted this method of co-ordination in preference to the federal type. The principal organisations are:

The B.E.S.L.,

The National War Memorial Health Foundation,

The Red Cross Society,

St. John of Jerusalem.

The first two of these, and also the S.A. Nursing and Commercial Travellers Associations which are of the same type, are characterised by an emphasis on the central control of funds. It appears generally true that any organisation which collects and disburses funds from and to individuals scattered over the nation, must have a simple organisational structure, must emphasise the importance of the national office, and must be co-ordinated by central authority. In the case of the B.E.S.L. it was found to be administering almost every ex-servicemen's fund of national dimensions in the country. It also acts as the agent of the largest of these, namely the Governor General's National War Fund.

The N.W.M.H.F., until recent amendments, adopted a deliberate policy of centralising the control of its funds in order to facilitate the rational planning of preventive health.

The Red Cross Society and the Order of St John are organisations with practical and utilitarian objects. Their aims contain no reference to abstract ideals save that of the relief of human suffering. The examination of their organisational structure showed the local branch to be a fundamental unit of administration. To carry their objects into practice they had of necessity to be strongly represented at the local level.

In the case of the Red Cross, co-ordination by central authority was necessary to achieve deliberate planning of the distribution of available means over the country as a whole. There had to be created an organisational unit capable of acting at an international level, and also of diverting the society's resources from any subordinate unit within the organisation to another unit to meet any emergencies that might arise in any one of the subordinate units. By this means the society's total national resources could be switched to the aid of any unit whose local resources were inadequate.

Despite these requirements the Red Cross organisational structure tends to allow a large amount of autonomy to the Regional Councils. It is only when their own resources are inadequate does the national authority interfere in their local administration. There appears to be a tacit recognition by this Society that an organisation with practical aims must leave its local units of authority largely independent and autonomous. Secondly, the Red Cross has not allowed the local units to be so small as to be ineffective. The Regional Council is the fundamental administrative unit with smaller subordinate units beneath it. In this manner this organisation achieves a very wide geographical distribution of representation, yet has created organisational units large enough and financially strong enough to provide an adequate service. This latter point is well illustrated by the recent tendency of the Red Cross (Eastern Cape Region) to lead

the way in voluntary ambulance services to urban concentrations in the hinterland of large cities. It is rapidly developing an ambulance service in keeping with the growing regionalisation of governmental hospital services. It is one of the few organisations in the area of investigation with an organisational structure that would allow this development to be a success.

It appears, therefore, that co-ordination by central authority is necessary under the following conditions:

(a) where the aims of the organisation tend to be abstract and ideological.

(b) where the organisation aims at the collection of funds from the nation as a whole for distribution to beneficiaries spread throughout the nation.

(c) where the organisation represents the organised expression of any occupation or profession.

(d) And where the aims of the organisation are such that they embrace the welfare of every section of the community and are designed to relieve suffering caused by major calamities or national emergencies. In such a case the national authority tends to be an authority for planning rather than an a direct administrative unit of day-to-day activity.

The role of sentiment membership as a determinant of organisational structure can be more briefly discussed. Organisations with purely everted sentiment tend to be federally co-ordinated. To be effective the local society must be the fundamental unit of administration as the work undertaken tends to involve face to face relationships with clients, and requires readily available money for relief purposes. If the society's case work is to be performed by voluntary assistance, the society must ingratiate itself into the local community in order to obtain its manpower. Only organisations in receipt of a large government subsidy for professional social workers can

afford to dispose of an active, participating local membership. In such an event, as was the case with the Social Services Association, the organisation tends to call for financial support rather than members. This it obtains rather by written propaganda than personal contact.

The National War Memorial Health Foundation was found to be losing ground in the area of investigation. The analysis revealed this to be due largely to its inability to be effective at the local level. The highly centralised administrative and financial structure had made it difficult to retain the interests of members assisting in a local project or in any organised capacity locally. Thus membership of the Foundation was of an abstract character and had no method of practical expression. This had proved difficult to maintain among members over long periods of time despite extensive propaganda. Thus although the aim of the organisation was essentially practical, and its members' sentiments essentially everted, its failure to create an organisational structure effective and satisfying at the local level had been largely responsible for its decline. In fact, there was some evidence to suggest that this failure had created some animosity among members who strongly supported the organisation in its earlier years.

The sample of organisations of purely inverted sentiment membership in the area of investigation is too small to allow any conclusions to be drawn. Those studied showed a variety of organisational structure. Alcoholics Anonymous appears to be federally co-ordinated. As this organisation concentrates on the technical treatment of member clients through very intimate face to face relationships, it is inevitable that the local branch is of fundamental importance.

The Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging is co-ordinate by central authority, but this may possibly be due to the contributory nature of its financial arrangements, and its

holiday camp for the benefit of members. It has, however, a distinct ideological aim, associated with furthering the Afrikaans culture and language. Like the A.C.V.V., the A.T.F.V. was found to have no effective intermediary or regional structure between the branch and the head office. It appears that in both organisations the more ideological aim has not necessitated the creation of a regional structure. It appears that this aim can best be achieved through a local branch. This may be due to the nature of the ideological aim. This aim need not involve the encouragement of 'cameraderie' in an organised form on a scale larger than the local branch. The strict criteria of eligibility for membership ensures a homogeneous outlook on the part of members. Further, the 'pathological' conditions the organisation is attempting to improve, or the object it is intending to encourage, may best be handled at the purely local level. Should the organisation attempt action at a level larger than the local, it might be running the risk of accusations of political pressure or even of a tendency towards political association. If its activities remain purely local this accusation could not, under South African conditions, be substantiated.

Organisation with omniverted sentiment membership show a wide range of organisational structure. This structure was found to be related to the relative abstract or practical nature of the qualities offered the members. The organisational structure tended to reflect the aims of the organisation both in respect of its everted sentiments and its inverted sentiments. Where the benefit offered the members was abstract there tended to be an hierarchical organisational structure which could not be explained totally in terms of administrative expediency. Those tending to offer a practical benefit to members possessed a simple organisational structure. To provide a service of an everted character it was necessary for all organisations of this type to emphasise the local branch.

To conclude, it appears that welfare organisations provide their members with benefits as well as providing a service to their clients. Certain organisations direct their attentions, in theory, solely to the client, others solely to the members while certain others serve both the membership and the clientele.

When a number of organisations with common or similar aims are to be co-ordinated at a level above that of the local branch, the method of co-ordination is such that the interests of members are considered as well as those of the clientele. Those organisations aiming at a service to clients only tend to be purely local in conception. Where they are co-ordinated above the local level, the method adopted tends to be federal in character.

Organisations which provide benefits to members as well as to clients tend to be organised according to the nature of the benefit offered both the members and the clients. Where the benefit offered the members is abstract and ideological there tends to develop an hierarchical organisational structure which is not always a function of administrative necessity. Such organisations tend to emphasise the importance of the upper units of the organisational structure, and to co-ordinate their activities essentially by central authority.

Where the benefits offered the member are practical and utilitarian there tends to be a rational, simple organisational structure. It appears to make little difference whether the method of co-ordinating activity above the local level is by federal or central authority so long as the financial requirements of the organisation as a whole, or the allocation of its resources, do not necessitate one or other type of co-ordinatory structure.

Where the benefits offered the client involve face-to-face interviews, and possibly the provision of immediate relief,

the organisational structure tends to be local in dimension, financially autonomous and, except for case recording, filing and office routine, administratively independent. The standard of the work undertaken is frequently made subject to superior inspection.

Where the benefits offered by the organisation are directed more to community or public service, involving little case work and face-to-face interviewing of individual clients for technically therapeutic purposes, the organisational structure tends to be hierarchical, co-ordination to be achieved by central authority, and the organisation to be characterised by offering its members abstract, non-practical ideals. In such cases the work undertaken towards clients is frequently done as a means to the furtherance of the organisation's inverted aims. That is to say, it is not undertaken for its own sake, but as a means to further other aims--the aims relating to the benefits received by members.

Lastly, though the point has not been specifically proven, it is suggested that the actual organisational structure of any society is a complex function of

(a) the direction or directions in which the members' sentiments are turned i.e. inverted, everted or omniverted;

(b) the practical requirements of social work techniques or the administration of finance in organisations of purely inverted or everted sentiment membership; and

(c) the nature (ideological or practical) of the benefits received by members in organisations not purely everted in membership sentiment.

Part IV.The Administration of Local Societies and Local Branches.

Part iii dealt with the way in which organisations of larger dimension than the local branch or society co-ordinated their activities. It is now proposed to analyse the administrative structure of the local branch or society.

It has been shown already that many welfare organisations serve not only a clientele but offer benefits to the members themselves. It is intended to retain the terminology and classification used previously to indicate the type of sentiment membership i.e. inverted, everted and omniverted; and the type of national co-ordination i.e. federal and central, wherever that should be necessary.

It is intended firstly to examine all societies purely everted in sentiment type; then those purely inverted in sentiment type, and, lastly, those of omniverted sentiment type. As this Part of the study is concerned with the local level of the organisational structure only, it includes all organisations irrespective of whether or not they are co-ordinated above the purely local level.

It is hoped, ultimately, to extract the relevant generalisations.

Chapter 12.Local Societies with Averted Sentiment Membership.

This type of society is characterised by offering its members no reward for their membership. It expects only their service and contributions. Its functional emphasis is entirely upon the client. It may be expected, therefore, that the organisational structure should emphasise the service to the client rather than the co-ordination of its members for their own purposes.

The annual reports and replies to the questionnaire reveal that many societies do not even make mention of their membership. In fact some constitutions make no provision for a membership, but merely for an Annual General Meeting of 'donors or subscribers', or even of the public generally. Membership, whether provided for or not, always involves a financial contribution. Hence societies of this kind tend to measure their growth not by the size of their membership, but by their annual revenue. For example, the annual Report of the East London Mental Health Society, 1952/53 says "We are pleased to report a substantial increase in our membership, which now stands at 160. This is largely a result of the Mayor's Appeal Fund...." Membership becomes merely a reflection of the financial statement.

Societies that are co-ordinated above the local branch level tend to show similarities in local organisational structure, and in the forms of their membership. This largely reflects the advice given by the national authority at the time of the local societies' inception, or at a later date when a change in their constitutions was made. Despite the unifying tendency of this phenomenon there is a wide variety of both membership and organisational structure. For convenience the membership and organisational structure will be discussed seriatim.

Membership:

Membership can be of many different kinds. In the area of investigation the following kinds were discovered:

Ordinary Member,
Paid-up Member,
Donor Member,
Subscriber Member,
Honorary Member,
Life Member,
Associate Member,
Working Member and so on.

Though each of these represents a different thing, for convenience they can be grouped into broad categories. Membership of an averted organisation can be theoretically of four different types:

(a) The Working Member, who undertakes the regular, day-to-day administration, case investigations etc..

(b) The Associate Members, who assist the society in a variety of ways, but most frequently on special occasions, or through casual donation. They do not regularly participate in the work, but are dormant until called upon for a specific purpose. Many of these fill the vacancies in the ranks of the Working Members when an opportunity presents itself either due to vacancies or the ability of the person to take a greater and more active part in the Society.

(c) The Donor Members, who may take no direct part in the administration of the Society either temporarily or regularly, but who make or have made officially recognised donations in cash or kind. A Life Member is considered to be a Donor Member for present purposes. Many firms and business houses can be classified in this type.

(d) The Honorary Members, who are usually few in number. This is not due so much to any failure of a society to honour notable individuals, but to the fact that such people are most frequently honoured by being made Trustees, Honorary Presidents Vice-Presidents etc. which are strictly part of the Society's organisational structure.

The research found that the purely passive Honorary

Member is found only in the biggest of societies—notably in East London. In the smaller society the Honorary Member tends to be an active, working member, and frequently participates in the day-to-day administration.

All the everted type organisations in the area of investigation were asked for details of membership. Of the 183 organisations classified as Type 1 in Chapter 5 (Page 96), 140 replied with satisfactory answers. Some subjective judgements on the part of the author were made in interpreting the answers supplied by the organisations as the terminology used to describe the types of members frequently varied from that provided for in their constitutions. The annual reports, read in conjunction with the other sources of information, revealed an approximate number of each. Therefore the tables below are approximations only, but have been compiled after a thorough scrutiny of all the information available. As the research in the field was undertaken over the course of two and a half years, the information on any one society could refer to any of the three financial years covered by this time.

Table 23 below shows the size of membership as a whole. This is the number of persons actively and more or less regularly participating in or aiding a society.

Table 23.

Sizes of Total Membership.

<u>Less than 10</u>	<u>11 - 25</u>	<u>26 - 100</u>	<u>101 - 250</u>	<u>Plus 250</u>	<u>Total.</u>
45	34	36	9	16	140

Those societies with less than 10 total membership contain 21 of the rural clinic societies. The remainder are made up of small societies, branches, regimental associations administering a local fund etc. Generally, the tendency is for societies to have between 11 and 100 total membership. Those with over 250 tend to be co-ordinated nationally and administered with the aid of the national office. The biggest of these are the Red Cross Society, East London Cripple Care Society, the Child Welfare

Societies in the larger towns, the East London Branch of S.A.N.T.A. and one or two others.

When the total membership is classified according to the above criteria, the following Table emerges:

Table 24.

The Size of Types of Members in Local Societies.

<u>Type of Member</u>	<u>Less than 10</u>	<u>% of total</u>	<u>11-25</u>	<u>% of total</u>	<u>26-100</u>	<u>101-250</u>	<u>250</u>	<u>Tot</u>
Working Members	67	50.0	56	41.8	11	0	0	134
Assoc. Members	6	12.5	12	25.0	17	5	8	48
Donor Members	7	26.9	4	15.4	4	3	8	26
Honorary Members	4		0		1	0	0	5

Unknown 6.

Every society has working members. This must be so for the society to exist at all. The Table reveals that no society has more than 100 Working Members, and 91.8% of them have less than 25 Working Members. The ~~median~~^{modal} number of Working Members lies between 8 and 12. This figure is influenced by the clinic societies which all have relatively few Working Members. Only four of the 25 clinic societies were found to have more than 10 Working Members. Thus, the ~~median~~^{modal} size of Working Members in organisations other than clinics is between 11 and 14 members. Where organisations have divided their activities into a number of sub-committees, the number of Working Members increases.

The Table also shows that 48 or 35.8% of organisations had what were called 'Associate Members'. The presence of this type of membership was difficult to ascertain from the information available. Also, the clinic societies and the hospital boards rarely have Associate Members. These account for 36 organisations, which, if deducted from the total of 134, raises the per centage of organisations with this type of

membership to 48%.

Donor Members are found in only 19.4% (26 instances) of the 134 organisations. They tend to be found only in the larger of the Societies, though are found in all sizes. The smaller societies frequently obtain their income from casual, irregular donors or from bazaars, street collections etc. Donors are common in societies which make no provision for membership in their constitution.

Honorary Members are a rare phenomenon. As has already been mentioned, Honorary Members tend to be drawn into the honorific posts of the organisational structure. In both forms, however, the number of societies offering honorific titles is not very great, and it tends to be associated with the older and well established organisations.

The phenomenon of membership has to some extent been influenced by the provisions of the Cape Ordinance No 4 of 1919. This Ordinance allows members' subscriptions and donations to be included under the items subsidisable by government. Thus societies benefitting under this Ordinance tend to record their subscriptions and membership accurately. However, as both subscriptions and donations are eligible for subsidy, many societies have combined the two items in their financial reports.

It is notable that the reports of the Child Welfare Societies are particularly complete in enumerating their statistics of membership. This is accounted for largely by the attention of the national office to matters of statistics and office routine.

To some extent the concept of a 'subscriber' is losing popularity. Some of the younger societies make ^{no} provision for subscribers in their constitutions at all. Subscribers were the backbone of the finances of voluntary organisations during the last century, and up to the end of the First World War. Since that time, and notably after 1925, societies have tended to raise funds not so much by subscription as from bazaars, fêtes and

other forms of entertainment. In more recent times funds have come from the public generally, rather than from a section of the community making individual donations. In the last century public appeals were made only at times of emergency i.e. during and after the Kaffir Wars, droughts etc.. The larger municipalities commenced the subsidisation of certain voluntary organisations during the First World War. The Grahamstown Ladies Benevolent Society received its first municipal grant in 1915, as a consequence of a request made in November, 1914. The Provincial Administration entered the field under the provisions of Ordinance 4 of 1919. The increasing help forthcoming from governmental authorities has diminished the role of the subscriber, and has assisted in the change towards fund raising from the public generally or from business houses.

Organisational Structure:

The 140 organisations with everted sentiment membership under discussion, show the following types of organisational structure. The frequency of occurrence is given in column 2.

Table 25.

Types of Local Organisational Structure.

<u>Type</u>	<u>Frequency.</u>
(1) Hon. Titles, General Committee with representatives, and Executive Committee	15.
(2) Honorary Titles plus an Executive Committee	7
(3) General Committee plus Executive Committee	9
(4) General Committee plus Branch Committees	1
(5) General Committee plus Representatives	17
(6) Committee plus sub-committees	8
(7) Committee only	69
(8) Unco-ordinated Groups	6
(9) Individual Representatives	6
Unknown	2
	<u>140</u>

For purposes of Table 25 the term:

(a) Honorary Titles refers to persons such as Patrons, Honorary Presidents, Honorary Vice-Presidents etc.. In very few cases only were honorary titles found in societies which were not co-ordinated in some fashion above the local branch level. In some respects the provision of Honorary Titles is the end of

the process of growth, it is a sign of maturity and public confidence. The term should not be confused with Presidents and Vice-Presidents acting in an administrative capacity.

(b) 'Representatives' refers to persons holding office as a consequence of their nomination by governmental authorities, church authorities, or other large organisations. It does not refer to the individuals representing large societies in the isolated, hinterland towns in the sense in which the term was used elsewhere in this research.

(c) 'Sub-Committees', when mentioned in the Table, refer to those organisations whose constitutions make standing provision for their existence. It does not include those sub-committees created for an ad hoc purpose. The ad hoc type of sub-committee is found generally and appears to be common in all types of organisational structure.

(d) 'Branch Committee' refers to the Matatiele Child Welfare Society which has branch committees established in Matatiele and Cedarville. These branch committees are co-ordinated by a General Committee.

(e) 'Unco-ordinated Groups', as the term implies, are structures where a few individuals co-operate together but are not formally constituted. A 'convener' is usually responsible for their assembly.

(f) 'Individual Representatives' refers to persons appointed by branches of large societies to attend to the functions of the society in the small, hinterland towns, but who have collected a number of helpers around them. They are more organised than 'Unco-ordinated Groups' in so far as the 'Individual Representative' is officially appointed by the parent society. The organisational structure is different, also, from the Representative of a large society in a hinterland town who has not collected a group of helpers around her.

The Table reveals that the most common type of organisational structure is the simple committee. This type is general in the smaller societies. Some small towns adorn the structure by giving the Chairman and Vice-Chairman the title of President and Vice-President. This honorific title was nowhere found among the clinic societies, except in one or two cases where the clinic was part of a missionary institution.

Certain constitutions provide for the appointment of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer from among its committee members and by their own appointment, but the most common method is for the office bearers to be elected by the annual general meeting.

These committees frequently have one or two representatives from other organisations or authorities with interests in the affairs of the society, but the representatives are in no way an influential majority. This criterion differentiates the 69 'committees' from the 17 organisations with 'Committees and Representatives'. In the latter case the Representatives of other organisations and authorities form a considerable part, and often a majority, of the committees' strength. In a few instances they form the total membership. This phenomenon occurs where the funds and interests are supplied almost entirely from outside sources, or where an organisation has been established by another with a controlling influence over it. Certain hospital and clinic committees are composed entirely of representatives, drawn frequently from the Union Department of Health, the Provincial Administration, the local Municipality or Divisional Council, the local Magistrate, missionaries etc.. The mission organisations tend to draw from local Bishops, Priests and other clerics.

The committee is the simplest type of organised structure. Except for any ad hoc sub-committees, all the committee members participate directly in all the affairs of the society. There are no constitutionally created executive committees in this type.

A somewhat more complex organisational structure is the committee constitutionally superior to one or more sub-committees. This type is found in only 8 instances (5.7% of the total). An example of this type is the Rhodes University Rag Disposals Committee which controls two sub-committees---the Rag Sub-Committee and the Rag Disposals Sub-Committee. This type of organisational structure tends to be entirely functional and administratively determined. It occurs most frequently where an institution/s have to be administered in addition to the general affairs of the society.

A further type is where there are two distinct administrative units---a General Committee and an Executive Committee. Both these units are essential to the administration. The General Committee frequently consists of elected members at the annual general meeting and a number of representatives of other organisations and authorities. It frequently meets quarterly whereas the Executive Committee meets monthly. It is usual for the Executive Committee to be appointed by and from the membership of the General Committee, but in two instances the Executive Committee was elected directly by the annual general meeting.

The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the General Committee are frequently given the honorific title of President and Vice-President, leaving the more functional title of Chairman and Vice-Chairman to the head of the Executive Committee.

The General Committee tends to be a policy making unit, whereas the Executive undertakes the day-to-day administration. Frequently all matters relating to the disposal or purchase of immovable property, the appointment of Trustees etc. is a duty of the General Committee. The General Committee, through the representatives that sit on it, also serves as a liaison unit with influential organisations and authorities in the local area. In so far as this is so, the General Committee is the most common means of co-ordination of societies at the local level.

The General Committee can also be the means of bringing together the entire membership of the organisation. In three instances a meeting of the General Committee takes the place of the general meeting of other societies. This occurs only where membership is clearly defined and numerically small.

A further modification is where the holders of Honorific Titles form an organisational unit apart from the administrative committee. There are only seven organisations of this type (5% of the total). In one sense this type is an extension of the simple committee. Certain constitutions allow the holders of Honorific Titles to sit on the administrative committee in an ex-officio capacity. Others delegate these titular offices to the task of Trustees. The holders of titular offices tend to be elderly persons with long experience of the society, or else persons of influence in the local community such as Mayors, Magistrates, Chairmen of Chambers of Commerce etc..

The most complex organisational structure is where there exists a number of Honorific Titles, a General Committee often enlarged by a large number of representatives, and an Executive Committee. This occurs only in the largest of societies. Due to their size, there tend to be numerous ad hoc sub-committees whose activities are co-ordinated by the Executive Committee. This frequently involves enlarging the size of the Executive Committees to cater for a representative from each of the Sub-Committees. This type comprises 10.7% (15 instances) of all organisation under discussion.

This 'mature' type of organisational structure is a consequence of three requirements of welfare societies of this magnitude. Such societies must:

(a) grant honorific titles to persons with long and faithful service to the society, or holding influential offices in the community;

(b) provide for a wide representation of interested organisations, authorities and influential persons, donors etc.

on their highest governing unit. This not only provides rigidity and an element of more conservative thought to the organisation as a whole; but also ensures that any person of importance to the organisation in the local community is made to feel well disposed towards it. It places the organisation in that section of the community most able and likely to support it financially, most able to administer it satisfactorily, and most able to represent it to other authorities; and

(c) provide for a relatively small, active administration to carry out the day-to-day control of its affairs. This is achieved by an executive committee of active persons prepared to devote time to the organisation. The members of the executive committee may not, and frequently are not, the largest donors to the society's funds. They tend to be persons with an administrative ability, with time enough to give often daily attention, and persons possessing particular knowledge of the techniques of work undertaken by voluntary societies.

Whereas the small town society can combine all or at least two of these requirements into one committee---often relatively large in size---the large, big town society needs to differentiate them. It does so by creating an organisational structure large enough to accommodate them. It leaves matters of policy, of general discussion, and the wider issues of national significance to its General Committee and its Honorary Title holders. Matters of daily or pressing concern are handled by the Executive Committee, which in matters of greater importance, it refers to the more interested members of the General Committee and Title holders for advice.

The General Committee fulfills another function. Through the good offices of its Representative members, it is able to command a very wide public for fund raising and propaganda purposes. The details of fund raising schemes need not be handled directly by the Executive Committee, but can be passed off to sub-committees or individuals of the General Committee.

Thus in East London the staff to man a street collection do not come solely from within the organisational structure of the Society, but from a large number of organisations with representation on the General Committee.

Though it was difficult to ascertain accurately the size of the various units in the organisational structure of all the societies, the following Table provides what information could be obtained.

Table 26

The Size of Units in the Local Organisational Structure.

(a) Number of Honorary Titles:

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6 - 10</u>	<u>Total</u>
Frequency:	1	4	3	2	0	2	12

(b) Size of General Committees:

	<u>No. of Members</u>					
	<u>less</u>					
	<u>than 10</u>	<u>10-15</u>	<u>16-20</u>	<u>21-30</u>	<u>30 plus</u>	<u>Total.</u>
Frequency:	0	5	13	2	4	24

(c) Size of Executive Committees:

	<u>No. of Members</u>				
	<u>0 - 4</u>	<u>5-10</u>	<u>11-15</u>	<u>16-25</u>	<u>Total</u>
Frequency:	2	18	8	2	30

(d) Size of Committees:

	<u>No. of members</u>				
	<u>0 - 4</u>	<u>5 - 10</u>	<u>11 - 15</u>	<u>16 - 25</u>	<u>Total</u>
Frequency:	2	50	27	12	90

(e) Size of Sub-Committees (ad hoc as well as constitutionally established).

	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6 - 10</u>	<u>10 plus</u>	<u>Total.</u>
Frequency:	3	5	4	9	17	11	49

The above Table suggests that the number of Honorary

Titles is dispersed. Though the sample is very small, the tendency appears for the most frequent number to be 2 to 3 Titles per organisation. The two organisations with from six to ten make up this number by allowing for Patrons, Honorary President, Honorary Life Vice-Presidents etc.

The size of General Committees shows a tendency to uniformity with from 16 to 20 members. There are no societies with a General Committee of less than 10 members.

The size of Executive Committees tends to be 5 to 10 members, though over 25% of the sample had Executive Committees of between 11 and 15 members. An Executive Committee of less than five is rare.

The size of Committees i.e. where one committee alone (with or without ad hoc sub-committees) is responsible for a society's affairs, tends to be between 5 and 10 members. Within this interval unit by far the greatest number have 7 - 8 members. This is largely accounted for by the statutory requirement (in terms of the Welfare Organisations Act) of a minimum of seven members for registration under the Act. Almost all clinic societies have 7 - 8 members. The organisations with less than 5 committee members are those where the society is becoming defunct, and an insufficient number of persons can be found to fill the vacancies. Despite a tendency for Committees to have from 5 to 10 members, 43.3% of the organisations had a committee membership of between 11 and 25. On examination these societies tended to be the larger, well established and popular societies in the small and middle sized towns (500 to 2,000 European population). It appears that they have not grown sufficiently to require a differentiation of function between a General Committee and an Executive Committee. Due to the failure of certain Committee members to attend meetings regularly, such a Committee tends to become an Executive Committee with a more complete attendance only on special occasions.

The size of sub-committees was difficult to ascertain. From the little information obtained, it appears that 43% are of less than 6 members. The mode is, however, from 6 to 10 members. Those sub-committees of more than 10 members tended to be catering and entertainment sub-committees. For example, the Mission to Seamen in East London has two sub-committees---a Lady's Guild of about 20 members for catering, and a Junior Section of about 16 - 20 members responsible for entertainment etc. A sub-committee of between 6 and 10 members tends to be appointed to manage an established institution, whereas the smaller type tends to be created to enquire into or administer a project of more temporary duration. In some instances the larger type of permanent sub-committee tends to become almost an independent society within the greater whole. For this reason certain constitutions make provision for their establishment and also define their relationship to the parent body.

The Table suggests that an effective, administrative committee has between six and ten members. It will be observed that the most frequent size of Committees, Executive Committees, and Sub-Committees is between 5 or six and ten members. In fact committees of this size represent 55.6% of the total number of organisational units of these types.

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In addition to the membership and organisational structure, the research provided some information on a number of related topics. These concern the number of paid employees in the area of investigation, and the sex, age and characteristic of committee members. Though it was originally hoped to obtain information on the occupational distribution of members also, this was eventually abandoned.

The distribution of upper grade paid employees or persons in receipt of honoraria---excluding nurses and the staffs of

clinics, hospital societies and childrens institutions, is as follows:

Regional Organisers	2
Full and Part Time Salaried Secretaries	9
Salaried or Honoraria Treasurers	4
Salaried or Honoraria Secretary/Treasurers	3
Secretary/Social Workers (Professional)	4
Salaried Social Wrokers (Professional)	
Non-European	6
European	9
	15
Salaried Social Workers (Non Professional)	1
T.B. Settlement Directors	3
Childrens Camp Organisers	1
Boys Club Organisers	3
Matrons	6
Chaplains/Clerics	1
Prisoners Friend	1
	<u>53</u>

Sixteen of these 53 posts refer to purely administrative staff i.e. Secretaries and Treasurers. In addition, the Secretary /Social Workers and the T.B. Settlement Directors undertake considerable administration. If these are added to the purely administrative posts the total becomes 23, which is 43.4% of all the posts enumerated.

Posts concerned directly or indirectly with social case work in a wide sense are:

Salaried Social Workers	15
Salaried non-professional Social Worker	1
Secretary/Social Workers	4
T.B. Settlement Directors	3
The last five groups in the above list	<u>12</u>
	<u>35</u>

Thus 35 of the posts are in some way connected with case work. This represents 66% of the total. Of these, the professional social workers, Boys Club organisers, Matrons and Chaplains have received professional training of some kind. They represent 29 cases or 80% of all posts involving social case work. Professional social workers comprise 42.8% of all posts involving case work, though if the Boys Club Organisers are included the per centage increases to 51.4%.

The ecological distribution of these posts over the area of investigation is as follows:

(Cont. over)

Table 27

Ecological Distribution of Senior Salaried Employees.

<u>Type of post.</u>	<u>Alice.</u>	<u>E.L.</u>	<u>G.T.</u>	<u>K.W.T.</u>	<u>Q.T.</u>	<u>K.D.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Regional Organis.		2					2
Salaried Secreters.		5	2	1	1		9
Salaried Treasurer.		3	1				4
Salaried Sec/Treas.		2	1				3
Social Workers (Prof)		10	2	2	1		15
" " (Non-Prof)		1					1
Sec/Social Workers		3				1	4
T.B. Settlement Dirs.		2	1				3
Holiday Camp Organis.	1						1
Boys Club Organiser		2	1				3
Matrons		5		1			6
Chaplains		1					1
Prisoners Friend		1					1
	1	37	8	4	2	1	53

E.L. means East London.

G.T. means Grahamstown.

K.W.T. means Kingwilliamstown.

Q.T. means Queenstown.

K.D. means Kokstad.

Expressed as per centages of the total, each town has:

East London	70.0%
Grahamstown	15.1%
Kingwilliamstown	7.5%
Queenstown	3.6%
Kokstad	1.9%
Alice	1.9%
	100.0%

There is only one professional social worker in the whole of the Transkeian Territories, namely at Kokstad. Of the 19 professional social workers, 10 or 52.6% are centred in East London. The governmental subsidy offered to certain welfare organisations which employ professional social workers has enabled this type of employee to be employed over a relatively dispersed geographical area. The relatively large size of certain organisations in East London enables them to employ social workers in East London but who serve cases sent from the hinterland.

A notable feature of the distribution of the types of remunerated posts is the paucity of regional organisers. The two posts mentioned belong to the National War Memorial Health Foundation and the Red Cross Society. Since the field

work was undertaken the N.W.M.H.F. have dispensed with their post. Thus since 1954 only the Red Cross is maintaining a regional organiser.

The sex and age distribution of committee members was poorly revealed by the questionnaire. The subject itself did not lead to satisfactory replies, and the relative importance of other facts to be obtained led this aspect to be disregarded. What facts are available indicate that certain types of societies prefer the services as members of one sex in preference to the other. Secondly, it appears that the type of committee has also a sex preferential. The subject appears to be complex.

The N.W.M.H.F., the Navy League, the Association for the Deaf, the Mental Health Society and the Missions to Seamen all tended to show a bias towards males in the more important committees and honorific titles. On the other hand, the Cripple Care Society, Child Welfare Societies and the Blind Society in East London showed a marked female bias in all committees and honorific titles. The East London Society for the Protection of Child Life and the East London and Border Society for the Care of Cripples are almost exclusively female. When questioned on the point, one official replied that the meetings are held ~~are~~ in the afternoon which make it very difficult for any men to come along! The Civilian Blind Society in ~~East London~~ ^{Grahamstown} is also exclusively female—due to the historical circumstances of its birth. It was sponsored by the Grahamstown Womens League of Help.

The Red Cross Society, the Anti-Tuberculosis Societies, and the Social Services Association appear to be more or less equally distributed between the sexes at all levels of organisation except the local Representatives, in the small towns, of the Red Cross Society, which are preponderantly female.

The clinic societies are almost exclusively male. There

are certain exceptions, especially where the clinic has been sponsored by a female organisation such as the Cape Province Womens Agricultural Association (C.P.W.A.A.). The male influence is accounted for by the presence of governmental officials, missionaries, medical officers, African Headmen, Traders, and other occupations where males predominate.

The smaller societies generally tend to be mixed in their sex structure with a slight tendency towards a female preponderance.

Certain societies are constitutionally exclusive to one sex only. Thus the Womens Christian Temperance Union, the Ladies Benevolent Societies, the Womens League of Help etc. are exclusively female. There are no exclusively male everted type organisations.

The general picture is for the General Committees and the Executive Committees to be more or less equally divided between the sexes. This is partly caused by the representatives of Governmental Departments, Municipalities and Divisional Councils being exclusively male. Honorific titles also tend to be divided between the sexes as mayors, magistrates and other influential persons are male. The honorific titles filled from the ranks of the organisation are frequently female.

The sub-committees tend to be predominantly female. This is largely accounted for by many sub-committees being of a fund raising, catering or case work type, which are principally female activities. Fund Raising and case work appear to be overwhelmingly female.

In general terms, females outnumber males by about 2 : 1 in the overall membership of everted type welfare organisations. This is but a very general statement as the methods employed in this research were not suitably designed to elucidate this matter. The subject is of sufficient sociological importance to warrant an enquiry using more suitable methods.

The age distribution of both sexes shows the following:

<u>Ages</u>	<u>Per Centage.</u>
Under 25	2
26 - 35	6
36 - 45	28
46 - 55	36
56 - 65	23
65 plus	<u>5</u>
	<u>100</u>

Sample 230.

The tendency is clear for the majority (87%) to be between 36 and 65 years of age. The mean is 48.7 years of age.

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The internal administration of local everted type societies and branches tends to be undertaken by persons of middle-age. The personnel undertaking the fund raising and case work aspects of the society's activities tend to be female, while males tend to undertake administration and the more passive aspects of the work.

In the area of investigation the type of internal administration, and the personnel who execute it, are reinforced by the inclusion in the research of the clinic society. Because of their homogeneous organisational structure and membership, and their total number vis à vis other societies, they tend to affect the overall picture for the area as a whole. Nonetheless in the Transkeian Territories the clinic society is the most numerous of all everted type societies. The development of welfare services of a non-medical type has been slow. The fact that there is only one professional social worker attached to a voluntary organisation in the whole area, is significant of its state of development.

Throughout the area of investigation as a whole, voluntary welfare work is undertaken largely by voluntary helpers. Though the principal societies

and the three major towns employ professional social workers, the distribution of qualified staff is generally confined. There is no provision whatever for a travelling or itinerant social worker. Only the Red Cross Society has an itinerant Regional Organiser, but the function of this incumbent is rarely to undertake case work. Rather is it to activate and co-ordinate the minor administrative units of the Society in the less populated areas.

Despite the presence of certain organisations whose constitutional area of operations covers the entire Border and Transkei eastwards of the Great Fish River, the characteristic of voluntary welfare provision is the small town society. The larger societies in East London, excepting the Red Cross, seem unable to decentralise their services effectively over the region as a whole. This does not mean that they do not assist individual cases from the hinterland, but rather that they are unable to express themselves in an organised form in the hinterland they serve. The case work agency best able to achieve this appears to be the Child Welfare Societies, but these societies tend to serve only the immediate locality. With one or two exceptions, these societies have not the funds nor the means of distributing their professional or able voluntary helpers into their immediate rural environment.

To some measure this is accounted for by the paucity of known cases in the rural hinterland, and their dispersion over a wide geographical area. But these are only influential factors in the total scheme; they should not, if the aim generally is to supply an adequate and complete service, be the determinants in the situation. As the everted type society must be the principal case work agency, the means of providing an adequate service must fall largely to them. Inverted and omniverted type societies do make a contribution, but their essential aim is not case work, and the alleviation of

individual distress. Therefore, in the discussion which follows in subsequent chapters it is necessary to make an enquiry into the possible causes of a failure to disperse the voluntary services of everted type societies, and to suggest possible means whereby it could be achieved. But before undertaking this task it is necessary to enquire into the local administration of inverted and omniverted societies.

Chapter 13.

The Administration of Local Societies with Inverted and Omniverted Sentiment Membership.

The organisations with inverted sentiment membership may be disposed of briefly. The Societies involved are

- the Alcoholics Anonymous,
- The S.A. Nursing Association and Trust Fund,
- The S.A. Commercial Travellers Association,
- Die Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging.

Alcoholics Anonymous has constitutionally the minimum of organisational structure. Every branch is local in conception, and is administered by a small executive committee. There tends to be numerous sub-committees to cater for every aspect of the organisation's affairs. In the recommendations to branch secretaries, issued by the international office in New York, even the treasurership may be dispersed over two or three individuals

working in unison. The provision of refreshments at meetings often falls to a number of individuals; the therapeutic meetings of the society tend to include its entire membership, and discussions tend to centre around members^{AND} their alcoholic problems. Thus, though the organisational structure appears simple at first sight, this is illusive as underlying it is a series of organised groups, not constitutionally provided for, but which aim at producing a 'cameraderie' and faith among members. Through working in unison they get to know each other, they build friendships and faith in each other. These working associations not only enable the organisation to continue, but create a subtle mental condition in the member himself. In fact the working associations and the psychological properties they engender become the techniques whereby the Society achieves its ends. As such, this unconstitutionally provided for organisational structure becomes one of the therapeutic techniques of the organisation.

The three remaining organisations are primarily occupational in character. Each has associated with it an ethical or national ideal. In organisational structure the branches are similarly organised. Each contains a committee elected by the local members to undertake the affairs of the branch. Special duties are delegated to ad hoc sub-committees as the needs demand. Liaison between the sub-committee and the committee is maintained either by direct representation or ex-officio representation. All three societies make provision for frequent and regular meetings of members, usually to discuss matters affecting the profession or the ethical ideals of the society. Topics and discussion tend to centre around the branch and national administration and the ethical aims of the organisation. All organisations provide some entertainment facilities within the local branch. There is no provision for General Committees. The General Committee is displaced by a meeting of the entire branch membership. The administrat

-ive organisational units tend to^{be} small in size and functional and utilitarian in character.

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Reliable details were obtained from 130 local organisations with omniverted sentiment membership. This total is distributed over the respective organisations as follows:

<u>Name of Organisation.</u>	<u>No. of Branches.</u>
Cape African Parent Teachers Association	2
Dominican Welfare Association	2
Y.W.C.A. (East London Association)	2
S.A. War Veteran Association	1
African Progressive Society (Berlin)	1
Toc. H. Mens Section	4
Toc. H. Womens Section	3
Union of Jewish Women	4
Round Table	6
Federation of Women's Institutes	9
C.P.W.A.A.	13
Independent Women's Associations	4
A.C.V.V.	12
B.E.S.L. and Womens Associations	
	male 29
	female 14
	43
M.O.T.H.	13
M.O.T.H. Womens Auxiliary	4
Carols by Candlelight	4
Society of St Vincent de Paul	3
	<u>130</u>

Details in respect of other local units could not be obtained.

The membership of these branches shows the following distribution:

Table 28.

Size of Membership of Omniverted Type Societies' Branches

<u>Membership Size</u>	<u>Frequency.</u>
Under 16	19
16 - 25	32
26 - 35	21
36 - 45	20
46 - 55	5
56 - 65	7
66 - 75	5
75 - 100	3
101 - 150	3
200 plus	5
The public	4
Unknown	6
	<u>130</u>

The interval unit classified as 'The public' refers to the Carols by Candlelight organisation whose membership cannot be ascertained.

The above Table shows that 70.8% of the branches have less than 45 members. The mean is 42.1 members.

Table 29 below, shows the mean and the range of membership of the different organisations. This Table must be viewed as very approximate in so far as the information is incomplete in respect of certain organisations. For example, an organisation with a branch in East London where membership is likely to be large, but about which information is lacking, may have a larger average membership than that shown in the Table. The branches about which information is known are not necessarily a representative sample of the whole.

Table 29.

The Mean and Range of Membership of Certain Omniverted Type Organisations.

<u>Name of Organisation</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Range</u>	<u>Frequency of cases</u>
Toc. H. Mens Section	18	14 - 28	4
Toc. H. Womens Section	17	12 - 23	3
Union of Jewish Women	85	16 - 273	4
Round Table	30	13 - 65	6
Federation of Womens Institutes	36	18 - 120	8
C.F.W.A.A.	52	18 - 80	12
Independent Womens Associations	30	15 - 50	4
A.C.V.V.	34	20 - 70	12
B.E.S.L. (men)	64	12 - 298 ^x	29
B.E.S.L. Womens Auxiliary	43	10 - 280	14
M.C.T.H. (men)	44	12 - 140	13
M.C.T.H. Womens Auxiliary	39	30 - 50	4
Society of St Vincent de Paul	11	6 - 19	3

^x East London's membership, which must be considerable, was not ascertained.

This Table shows the smaller membership to be associated with the Society of St Vincent de Paul, the Toc.H. Mens and Womens Sections, the Round Table and the Independent Womens Associations. The first four of these organisations tend to be selective in their membership. The independent Womens Associations are found only in the small towns.

The organisations with small membership tend to be 'intense' in the demands they make on their members. The Society of St Vincent de Paul, the Toc H. and the Round Table all offer abstract ideals to their members. In contrast, those organisations offering more practical benefits to their members, and which are less exacting in their demands, tend to have a large membership. This is noticeable in the case of the B.E.S.L. and its Women's Auxiliaries and the C.P.W.A.A.. The figure for the Union of Jewish Women is markedly affected by its East London membership. A more representative figure for the area as a whole would be 30 - 40 members.

The membership of organisations of this type is affected by both the size of the town they function in and by the criteria of eligibility for membership. Thus the membership of the Union of Jewish Women, the Society of St Vincent de Paul and the M.O.T.H. is limited by the number of persons with the necessary requirements for membership in any community. The Round Table is to some extent similarly affected.

The figures quoted in the above Tables represent the theoretical membership. This membership is markedly different from the practical or active membership. It was not possible to ascertain the active membership by the methods used. What was noticeable was that in organisations offering practical, non-exacting benefits to members, the difference between the theoretical membership and the active membership was often large. Interviewees of the Women's Association and the B.E.S.L., for example, remarked that although the membership was about 60, only 20 to 25 members attended with any regularity. Membership of the Women's Auxiliary of the B.E.S.L. was frequently quite unknown to local office bearers as "nearly every woman in town turns out to help when something is on."

In contrast, the membership of the 'intense', exclusive, abstract, ideal, type of society was always well known. The membership of every Round Table, M.O.T.H., M.O.T.H.W.A., Toc H.

and Society of St Vincent de Paul were immediately forthcoming without any reference to files, minute books etc.. The theoretical membership and the active membership tend to be identical. This was not quite the case in respect of the M.O.T.H. and M.O.T.H.W.A., but nowhere was the difference between the theoretical and the active more than an estimated 25% of the theoretical membership. In the organisations offering practical benefits, the difference was at times as much as an estimated 60 - 70%. The figure tended to vary according to the type of meetings members were asked to attend or according to the way in which the local community had responded to any ~~community~~ ^{project} in hand.

One notable characteristic of all omniverted type organisations was that it was inconceivable, in the opinion of interviewees, for a branch to increase the size of its membership to enable it to cope with any project on behalf of the community i.e. of everted type. It was often suggested that if the problem ever arose the organisation would rather ask another society to come in with them and handle it together. In contrast, organisations with everted sentiment membership immediately thought the suggestion of increasing membership to be a sensible solution.

The membership of the A.C.V.V., the C.P.W.A.A. and the Federation of Women's Institutes tended to be easily ascertained. This was not so much due to the nature of the local branch, but to the arrangements with the head office to make a correct annual return of membership to deduce the branch's affiliation fee to head office.

The organisational structure of all the organisations under discussion showed a marked similarity. In almost every case a simple executive committee is the primary

administrative unit. The number of sub-committees tends to be large, and is larger than in everted type societies. The reason for this prevalence is that sub-committees exist to deal with both the benefits received by members and the community at large. There tends thus to be a duplication.

Only in the case of the East London branch of the Union of Jewish Women was there a large General Committee, a smaller Executive Committee and sub-committees. This branch has also created honorific titles, which are uncommon throughout the area as a whole in all organisations of this type. Many branches refer to the committee's chairman as 'President', however.

The absence of representatives of governmental authorities, other organisations, churches etc. is notable. In turn, omniverted type organisations tend to send representatives to the General Committees of everted type organisations. The work they do to the benefit of everted type organisations represents an important part of their work towards clients.

The size of Executive Committees was also relatively homogeneous. Table 30, below, shows the distribution of the size of the principal administrative unit in the organisational structures.

Table 30

<u>Size of Committee</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
3 members	1
4 "	4
5 "	4
6 "	10
7 "	14
8 "	17
9 "	10
10 "	7
11 "	5
12 "	3
18 "	1
No committee at all	20
Unknown	<u>34</u>
	130

Those branches claiming to have no committee at all tend to

allow the office bearers—President, Vice-President, Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer—to make decisions in an emergency. Those societies with committees of less than five persons tend to be the same as those with none at all save that the former make constitutional provision for the office bearers to form a committee. In both cases the total branch membership tends to be the committee. If those branches with ostensibly no committee at all are considered as having a de facto committee of four, then the mean for the 96 branches involved is 7.1 members per committee.

The branches showing a noticeably larger committee membership than the average are those of the A.C.V.V. and the larger branches of the B.E.S.L.. The M.O.T.H. and Toc H. tend to have small committees.

Meetings of the total branch membership, except in the case of the B.E.S.L. and its Women's Auxiliary, tend to be held frequently. In the majority of cases it is monthly, though in the case of Round Table, Toc H. and the M.O.T.H. it is fortnightly. It is significant that these organisations offer an abstract, ideal benefit to their members. They have been described aptly, above, as 'intense'. The B.E.S.L. branches tend to meet quarterly, bi-annually or even annually. With the exception of an annual business meeting, the meetings of members tend to take the form of social gatherings. One B.E.S.L. branch office bearer remarked cogently that "the chaps will come in for a braaivleis and dance, whereas they won't if it's purely business". (A braaivleis is a social gathering involving the cooking of meat over a naked flame in the open air).

The research indicated that the number of B.E.S.L. branches is declining in the area of investigation. No less than five branches had closed down within a few months of the date of the author's visit. Others had amalgamated with branches in neighbouring towns as their local membership had become too small to carry on, or they could not find a member to

take over the secretarial duties. On the other hand, the M.O.T.H. appears to be gaining ground both in the number of branches and in their membership, and also in the intensity of members' participation. It is tentatively suggested that this phenomenon is in some way related to the activities and organisational structures of these organisations. The author gained the impression when in the field that the B.E.S.L.'s administration of ex-servicemen's funds was what made the organisation so well represented in the area of investigation. It was not the organisation itself. As the branches act as a liaison between the Funds and the clients, it is always necessary to have a local committee of some type permanently established in all but the smallest towns. This committee, which is responsible for the organisations' everted activities, also undertakes to call the members together at more or less regular intervals.

This statement needs modification in that it is not true of every branch. In certain instances local committees hold regular meetings and make sincere attempts to bring the membership closely into the organisation by arranging functions and calling members together for business purposes. In comparison with the M.O.T.H., however, the over all impression gained was that the B.E.S.L. was not in existence because it offered its members any substantial advantage, but rather because it was an officially recognised channel for the administration of relief and assistance to ex-servicemen. The M.O.T.H. appears to be highly organised and to attract its members. Branches everywhere were found to be vigorous, attendance regular, and activities of an everted nature frequent and effective.

The B.E.S.L. Women's Auxiliary is responsible for most of the fund raising undertaken in support of the B.E.S.L.. The women are enthused with an everted type ideal to provide for and

assist ex-servicemen. This everted sentiment gives this sub-organisation a meaning which adds greatly to the inverted benefits obtained from the social functions they enjoy and help to organise. There is almost no everted aspect for the mass of male members. Only the committee members undertake work of this character. To the ordinary member, apart from some fund raising, membership tends to involve a quarterly get together for an evening of social entertainment.

The function of the executive committee in all organisations tends to be purely administrative. It co-ordinates the day-to-day activities of the sub-committees, and attends to any business emanating from or addressed to the national or next senior administrative office. One of the reasons for the diminished functions of the committee in omniverted type organisations as distinct from those of everted type, is that it does not make frequent financial disbursements throughout the year. It tends to make either an annual distribution of funds collected throughout the year at the annual general meeting of members, or ad hoc distributions towards projects already approved of by the general membership. The A.C.V.V., the Society of St Vincent de Paul and to a lesser extent the B.E.S.L. and the M.O.T.H. are the only organisations undertaking case work as a general function of the society. Case work, even when handled by a Case Sub-Committee frequently requires the principal administrative committee's approval for the payment of accounts. As case work tends to be persistent in character i.e. involving the payment of small amounts over long periods of time, there is a tendency to emphasise the importance of the committee ultimately responsible for financial affairs.

The relative ease with which the administration of funds can theoretically be regarded in omniverted type societies, is demonstrated by the tendency of the smaller branches to do without a constitutionally established committee—a phenomenon that no everted type society could contemplate.

As omniverted type societies tend to raise funds not so much by direct charitable appeals to the public, but by projects of an entertainment character, there is not the persistent awareness that the branch is the trustee of publicly donated funds. In the omniverted type society the money tends to be earned rather than begged, with the result that the accountability to the public for its judicious expenditure is reduced. In consequence there is no particular need to safeguard its expenditure by an elaborate committee structure.

This point is well illustrated by purely inverted type organisations. With the exception of the Nurses Trust Fund, which in itself is everted in character and has special characteristics, they do not need to make any public statements concerning the expenditure of their funds. Their funds emanate entirely from within the membership, and is accounted for to them only. The same applies to many omniverted type societies such as the Society of St Vincent de Paul, Toc H. and to a lesser extent Round Table and the M.C.T.H.. The phenomenon of representation on the General Committees of the large organisations of everted type is accounted for as much by a desire to satisfy the organisations represented of the bona fides of the manner in which the funds are spent, as to any requirements of a policy making character. The disbursement of funds and the determination of policy are intimately associated in the majority of organisational structures generally.

A further important fact conducive to a relatively simple committee structure is the homogeneity of the omniverted type society's membership. The branch, and especially the smaller ones, tend to be run by the whole membership. The greater the degree of members' participatio

the greater can be the degree to which decisions can be passed to the members as a whole. Round Table, for example, can undertake no project unless it receives the branch membership's approval at an ordinary meeting. The M.C.T.H., Toc H., A.C.V.V., the Union of Jewish Women and the Society of St Vincent de Paul function in practice along similar lines. Members tend to think alike in matters of policy due to them satisfying the relatively narrow criteria of eligibility that enables them to become members. It is significant that the causes, as revealed by interview with one or two persons in each organisation only, why certain womens' associations broke away from their original parent bodies, was over matters of policy. Certain persons who were dissatisfied with the A.C.V.V., and who had one time been its keenest supporters, ascribed their resignations to differences in matters of policy. The frictions discernable in the relations between the A.C.V.V. and the Nedduitse Gereformeerde Kerk were due essentially to matters of approach and general policy. It appears that the omniverted type society requires an homogeneity of members' views as a fundamental of its existence. The more elaborate committee structure of the everted type society enables it to contain within itself a heterogeneity of approach more adequately.

Further, because an omniverted type society tends to measure its strength in terms of numbers of members, whereas an everted type society measures its strength in terms of funds raised or available for expenditure, the omniverted type is much more susceptible to a decline in its popularity than is an everted type society. The latter type can maintain its strength by appealing to a wider public or a different section of the public. The omniverted type has far fewer opportunities in this respect.

Lastly, in the author's experience, omniverted type

societies tend to spend an inordinate amount of time discussing trivials and details. This phenomenon occurs largely when the details are likely to affect the pleasure or good feelings of the members or when the reputation of the organisation is at stake. It rarely occurs when the subject under discussion refers to any everted type project in hand. For example, the author has witnessed 28 business and professional men discuss for three-quarters of an hour whether coke or wood should be burnt at a braivleis being held for the entertainment of members and visitors of other branches situated in neighbouring towns. On the other hand, a donation to a worthy cause amounting to over £100 will be agreed to in less than five minutes discussion. The internal, detailed administration of the branch and the members themselves are persistent topics of lengthy discussion. In certain instances it is as though the membership as a group has become inordinately introspective. How general this phenomenon is in practice, or the detailed conditions necessary for its existence, are not known to the author, but the author has witnessed it persistently over five years in one organisation, and been present at meetings where it has occurred in four other organisations of omniverted type. The phenomenon is also known to exist in organisations of inverted type.

The sex distribution of members can be ascertained with relative ease. With the exception of the Cape African Parent Teachers Association, The African Progressive Society and the Carols by Candlelight (which is organised predominantly by males as the Rotary Clubs have tended to sponsor it), all the organisations under discussion are sex orientated in membership. The three exceptions mentioned above are all small organisations

This sex orientation is significant. It is suggestive

that members either gain more or find it easier to administer when each sex has its own organisation. It does not appear to be functionally caused, as, with the exception of case work which is undertaken predominantly done by women, both male and female organisations tend broadly to do the same things.

Of the organisations under discussion, six are male and ten are female. In addition, there are the three of both sexes mentioned above. The membership, classified according to sex, is approximately parity, though the samples of each are not representative of the wholes. The male membership is markedly affected by the B.E.S.L.. If the B.E.S.L. is excluded, then the sex membership ratio becomes approximately 3 females to one male. This is probably a truer reflection of the ratio of active, as distinct from theoretical, members,

It is further notable that the abstract, 'intense' type of organisation tends to be predominantly male. The M.O.T.H., Round Table, Toc H., and the Society of St Vincent de Paul are all male in orientation. The M.O.T.H. and Toc H. have independent womens organisations also. The Round Table has a loosely organised women's section but it is in no way constitutionally associated with the male organisation and not constitutionally organised in itself. The Society of St Vincent de Paul has an unofficial Woman's Guild associated with certain branches whose function appears to be essentially fund raising.

The ages of members could not be accurately ascertained. There is some evidence to suggest that it is considerably younger than the ages of members of everted organisations. The B.E.S.L. and the M.O.T.H. are composed largely of men from 30 - 45 years of age. The ex-service character of these organisations accounts for this. Interviewees were of opinion that the members of the Union of Jewish Women, the Society of St Vincent de Paul, the Toc H. and the Womens Associations of all kinds were composed of persons between

35 and 45 years of age. Membership of Round Table is open to men between 18 and 40 years of age only. Membership of the A.C.V.V. was said to be composed of women of between 45 and 55 years of age in general. The S.A. War Veterans Association is composed of men approaching their 70th year or older.

It appears, therefore, that the members of omniverted organisations have a mean age of approximately 35 - 45 years, or possibly 10 years younger than the members of everted type organisations.

Chapter 14.

The Determinants of the Local Organisational Structure.

The administration of local societies and branches differs according to the direction in which the members' sentiments are turned. The purely everted type of organisation tends to have an elaborate organisational structure on reaching maturity or becoming large in size. The method of elaboration is to create committees and honorary titles above the day-to-day executive unit of administration as well as sub-committees below it. In contrast, the method of elaboration of omniverted type organisations is to create numerous sub-committees below the day-to-day executive unit, with little but the members themselves superimposed above it. The purely inverted type of organisation appears to dispense, to a more or less extent, with an elaboration both above and below the day-to-day executive unit of administration.

The explanation of these phenomena appears to lie in two interrelated causes. Firstly, in the functions of the organisation, and secondly, in the relationship between the

organisation and its membership on the one hand, and the community in which it functions on the other.

The function of the Executive Committee, which is found in all types of society and branch, is to carry out the day-to-day administration of the organisation. Its interests are centred in the organisation itself. It matters little, therefore, in which direction or directions the members' sentiments are turned. As all organisations have members and an organisational structure, the Executive Committee must be a universal phenomenon, though it may go by a variety of names. The only conditions where it may be reduced to insignificant dimensions is where the membership itself assumes its functions.

When the organisation's functions are directed outwards exclusively towards the community and individuals within it (everted in type), there must be then administrative units in direct contact with the community. This may be achieved by sub-committees, thus leaving the Executive Committee free to concentrate on the organisation. In certain instances this function may be undertaken by the Executive itself, but this tends to occur only when the amount of contact with the clients is small.

The Executive Committee of an everted type society must also be representative of the membership. As the membership of everted type societies tends to be vague and heterogeneous, there may be a need to create some organisational unit which will enable all sections to express an opinion. This function is fulfilled by the General Committee in the larger societies. In the smaller societies the annual general meeting or an enlarged Executive Committee fulfills the requirement. The annual general meeting of the larger societies possessing a General Committee tends to fulfill a different function than it does in the smaller society. In the larger society it tends to become an account of the society's activities and a means for the election of members to the General Committee.

It does not so much offer an opportunity for the expression of conflicting views which it does in the case of the smaller society. The place for the expression of conflicting views in the larger society is the General Committee, whereas it is the annual general meeting in the smaller society.

Thus though the function of the society may be purely everted in character, its organisational structure must possess the means for the community as a whole i.e. the membership in one sense, to express its opinions. This it achieves, in the larger societies at least, through an hierarchical structure above the executive unit of administration or through its annual general meetings.

Organisations whose functions are directed both outwards to the community and inwards to its membership (omnivered in type) tend not to have an administrative unit in direct contact with the community. The community it serves does not supply the organisation with funds obtained by charitable means. The community offers its assistance through supporting fund raising projects of an entertainment character, which individuals can support or disregard as they please with no moral implication of a general unwillingness to assist charity. This does not mean, however, that omnivered type organisations of certain kinds cannot benefit by a street collection, where fund raising tends to be impersonal and non-compulsive.

The community tends to benefit from the actions of omnivered type societies either through their donations to already established everted type organisations or through public assets such as halls, clinics etc.. The indirect nature of the community's relationship with the organisation itself and with the membership thereof, as a consequence of the criteria for the eligibility for membership, tends to place the community outside of any direct or controlling influence over it. In consequence, the organisation need not create an

administrative unit to cater for the interests of the community as a whole.

An omniverted type organisation emphasises its own internal administration. The nature of its membership's omniverted sentiment makes it necessary to provide both for its membership and for the works it undertakes in the community. It can achieve this either by creating numerous sub-committees, or by bringing the entire membership closely into the administration. The former method appears most common in the larger branches as the need to encourage a close and intimate participation of the membership can best be achieved in this manner. Sub-committees tend to become the means of close participation of the members, and to act as the means whereby the more particular objects of the organisation can be achieved. The member becomes identified with the whole by participation in the parts.

Organisations whose functions are directed solely to its membership (inverted in type) tend to have no need for administrative units in direct contact with the community. It need create subordinate units only to the point where it need ensure the active participation of its members. Where the organisation aims at the rehabilitation of individual members, it may make use of subordinate, often non-constitutionally provided for, and non-organised groups of members. In this way the organisational structure becomes a means of therapeutic activity. Where the organisation aims at the preservation and furtherance of professional and occupational standards and interests, the Executive Committee can act more effectively than an ad hoc sub-committee. These functions tend to become the essentials of the Executive Committee's functions---apart from its universal duty of administering the day-to-day affairs. Only when involved enquiries are needed, or specialised studies of involved subjects are required, are sub-committees necessary. If the branch undertakes entertainment for

its members ad hoc sub-committees to serve a purely functional end may be necessary. They do not become, however, an essential aspect of the organisational structure. They are temporary, ad hoc in character.

Thus the organisational structure of a local society or branch is a function not only of the type of clientele it serves or the methods of social work it employs. It is a function of the nature of its membership as much as that of its obligations towards its clientele. The organisational structure is, further, a function of the organisation's relationship with the community in which it exists. This is particularly a consequence of the manner in which the funds are collected, and tends to reflect the general attitude of the public towards their conception of what a welfare organisation is and how it should function both generally and in the local community.

Part V.Conclusions and Summary.

The area of jurisdiction of the Border Local Welfare Board is characterised in its composition by a number of ecological areas. The ecological dominance of East London is not effective over the whole area, yet East London has been made the centre of the Government's administration. That portion of the area to the West of the Great Fish River belongs ecologically more to Port Elizabeth than to East London. Likewise, the area to the North and East of Kokstad is more under the influence of Pietermaritzburg and Durban than East London. The area must therefore be considered rather an administrative unit than a natural ecological region.

Within the area itself East London contains all but one of the major welfare organisations purporting to operate regionally over the area. The single exception is the South African Library for the Blind in Grahamstown, which is a national library. Despite the dominance of East London, the five major towns in the area---Grahamstown, Kingwilliams-town, Queenstown, Umtata and Kokstad---show signs of minor regional development of welfare services around them. The same is true of Butterworth in so far as Civilian Blind Services are concerned.

The area is composed of 99 urban areas and rural townships. Sixty-three per cent of these have a European population of less than 500, and only 18% have a European population in excess of 1,000. The area is technically under-developed, having a low urban density of persons and organisations. It contains the largest Native Reserve in the Union of South Africa, where the European

population comprises only 1.43% of the total population of about 1,300,000 persons. In the area outside the Transkeian Territories the European population is only 137,000 or 16.4% of the total of 834,000 persons. The total population of the whole area is approximately 2,125,000.

Voluntary welfare organisations are almost exclusively European phenomena. The research revealed less than 15 organisations administered solely by Non-Europeans, though a number of clinic societies in the Transkei had only one or two Europeans on their executive committees. The enquiry showed the presence of not less than 480 organisations and representatives of organisations (the list can be found in Appendix B) operating in the area as a whole. Their distribution covered everyone of the 61 Magisterial Districts, and showed a marked tendency to concentrate in the urban areas. With the exception of clinic societies and one woman's association, there are no organisations functioning exclusively in the rural areas.

The welfare organisations were found to be of different kinds. They not only served the deviates and the needy, but many were found to provide benefits to their members. It followed that any classification based on the type of service offered the client alone would not prove an adequate instrument for the analysis of the organisational structure, the membership, or the functions of the organisations.

A basis of classification which would reveal the four fundamental components of a welfare organisation, namely, a value, sentiment system; the membership; the organisational structure, and the clientele, had to be devised. The criteria of classification eventually adopted were to enquire what an organisation demanded of and offered to its membership. This enquiry revealed the presence of two polar types, namely:

(a) Organisations which make demands on their members without offering them any rewards, save that of a general satisfaction for having assisted the more handicapped and necessitous of mankind in a general, humanitarian fashion. This type was called organisations with 'everted' sentiment membership.

(b) Organisations which provide benefits to their members only; in this type the membership and the clientele of the organisation become fused in the same individuals. The organisation exists to serve its members only. This type was referred to as organisations with 'inverted' sentiment membership.

A third, or intermediary type was those possessing both 'everted' and 'inverted' sentiments amongst their members, and was referred to as 'omnivered' in sentiment membership. In this type the member both served the clients or the community and at the same time obtained some benefit from the organisation as a consequence of his membership.

This classification proved to be a useful instrument in the analysis of organisational structures both at a national and a local co-ordinatory level. The classification emphasises the organisation and its membership, not the client. This emphasis proved to be advantageous as the voluntary welfare organisations of the area are not so developed as to warrant too lengthy an analysis of the ways and techniques in which deviates are assisted. Further, the presence of the 'omnivered' type organisations, which composed about 50% of the total, meant that an over emphasis of the client would have obscured the important relationship between organisational structure and the membership.

This classification by organisational type enabled an enquiry to be made into what type of organisations existed in the small urban population concentrations so typical of the area. It was thus not only possible to show the influence of population on the presence of absence of welfare organisations

but also to gain some understanding of their nature and characteristics. The latter is clearly an essential to any intention to plan deliberately a welfare service for the area as a whole.

The presence of so large a number of small towns and villages, widely dispersed over the whole area, makes the provision of an adequate welfare service a difficult task. The research revealed that welfare organisations are possible only in communities of more than 100 Europeans; and that they tend to average just under 2½ organisations per town in communities of up to 500 Europeans. It appears, therefore, that approximately 63% of all urban areas cannot maintain more than two or possibly 3 organisations. This fact rules out any possibility of providing permanent, residential organisations of a specialist kind to cater for all types of physical, mental or social deviates in every town or village. It appears that any everted type organisations to be established in the smaller towns must be of a general welfare kind capable of handling a variety of cases. They should be non-specialised, undifferentiated and highly flexible.

It could be argued that there is no demand for the specialist kind of organisation in the smaller town. As the situation is at present this is possibly true, but the research also revealed that, especially in the Transkeian Territories, little attempt is being made to ascertain the numbers of nor to provide for the ostensibly large number of deviates in the rural African population; apart from the Civilian Blind and Cripple Care Societies no attempts have been made. Apart from the Red Cross no society has developed the organisational structure necessary to obtain representation in every small town or village. So long as Europeans persist in regarding voluntary welfare organisations as largely European phenomena, and the African is not encouraged and taught to develop services

of this kind, there is no possible means of establishing specialist services in any organised, permanent form in the majority of towns and villages if the present methods of organising welfare services are to be retained. There is little doubt that a need exists throughout the entire area; the problem is essentially one of organising a service to supply it, given the present population distribution and the prevailing racial attitudes towards voluntary welfare organisations.

The analysis of the way in which organisations serving similar needs are co-ordinated above the local level revealed the majority of averted type organisations to be essentially local in conception and co-ordinated federally by means of affiliation to a National Council. All the principal averted type organisations, except the Red Cross, are co-ordinated in this way. They are highly integrated into the local community. Their affiliation to a national co-ordinatory authority does not deprive them of their local autonomy, and a major proportion of their administrative costs must be defrayed from locally raised funds.

This aspect of their organisational structure precludes to a large extent any possibility of planning an adequate service at the national level. The local nature of their conception is an historical remnant from the charitable, relief type of society common in the last century and up to the First World War in the 20th Century. It represents a social lag which is proving inimical to the development of a complete service structure. The forces conducive to its persistence tend to lie in the popular conception of the functions of a welfare organisation. The donating public is thought still to be imbued with the notion of charity and relief. This notion is essentially local in its orientation. On the other hand, the governmental provision in the form of regional hospitalisation, regional Social Welfare services, the improved techniques of social case work, the provision of

professionally trained social workers subsidised from national funds, the availability of high speed transport etc. etc. offer to voluntary organisations a challenge to amend their organisational structure to equip them more adequately for an enlarged and more comprehensive service. Their own organisational structure appears to be as much inimical to the development of an adequate service as the geographical and demographic phenomena of the area and the racial attitudes of the people who inhabit it.

The study of two everted type organisations which were centrally co-ordinated and national in their dimensions revealed some of the fundamental requirements of organisations of this type. The S.A. Red Cross Society and the National War Memorial Health Foundation before its recent constitutional amendments, are interesting in the present argument because they are both national, not local, in their conception. They do not, therefore, suffer the same disabilities as everted type organisations of local dimension. Further, the Red Cross Society has proved to be a success whereas the N.W.M.H.F. has shown a marked tendency to decline in importance at least in the area of investigation. The aims and public appeal of these organisations cannot account for this phenomenon as the aims of both were deeply and emotionally imbedded in the hearts of many South Africans at the close of the Second World War. It appears that, 'ceteris paribus,' the reasons for the success of one and the relative failure of the other must lie in the methods of their internal organisation rather than in the nature of their appeal.

With one exception both organisations make similar provision for membership. The Red Cross Society has provision for an 'associate member', who is one actively assisting a branch or minor administrative unit but is not

a member of the national organisation. All members of the N.W.E.N.F. are members of the organisation as a national conception. This difference in itself is insufficient to explain the phenomenon under discussion, though it is relevant to the central point.

The organisational structure of the Red Cross Society has four fundamental characteristics:

(a) The national controlling authority has the right, after consultation, to allocate the society's assets to any of its subordinate units facing a serious drain on their financial resources or equipment. It can also delimit the area of jurisdiction of its component Regional Councils.

(b) The daily administration of affairs is relegated to a relatively autonomous Regional Council which is responsible for the creation of a suitable hierarchy of administrative authority throughout the area of its jurisdiction, and which is given an almost free hand in the administration of its own financial affairs, subject to the overriding authority of the National Council.

(c) The national constitution makes provision for an hierarchy of authority down to the lowest level of an individual representative. The organisation is thus able to establish some type of administrative unit in the smallest or largest of population concentrations, and is little handicapped by a paucity of people available to support a local society of more organised type. Until 1955, the branch of the Society in the area of investigation did not encourage the retention of funds raised locally by the smaller units of authority, but requested their transmission to the East London office. Since that time this policy has been amended to encourage the retention of at least a portion of locally raised funds by the local administrative unit. Thus, in part at least, each administrative unit could decide on the appropriate method

of disposing of local funds and at the same time has the support of funds regionally held by superior units in the hierarchical structure.

(d) The method of electing committee members is democratic up to the Regional Council level. This has the effect of drawing the membership into the organisational structure by allowing each member to participate actively in the election of office bearers and committee members. In addition, the major branch in the area of investigation keeps contact with its subordinate units through the services of an itinerant Regional Organiser.

The organisational structure of the Red Cross Society is so designed as to incorporate two essential qualities, namely, an element of control over subordinate units by superior units which implies the co-ordination of resources according to need; and, secondly, provision for the intimate participation of the members in the hierarchy of authority and in the work undertaken by the respective units themselves. Thus a member in the smallest village can actively participate in an administrative unit of the Society and in the work such unit and its superior units undertake. The organisational structure allows for an element of planning at all levels of authority, but in doing so it allows sufficient scope for local membership to satisfy local needs and to see some result in the work it undertakes. Thereby it is assured of the persistent interest of its membership both in local and superior affairs.

The organisational structure of the National War Memorial Health Foundation centralises the financial administration in two units at the head office---the Trustees and the National Council. Centralisation of authority and

finance is a rational approach to the design of an organisational structure intending to plan a national service. But it fails to take account of the vital fact of membership at the local level. In all organisations not empowered to legislate to their own advantage or which are not able to obtain their funds by compulsory levy, the organisational structure must make provision to bring its membership actively and intimately into itself. The organisational structure of the N.T.M.H.F., prior to recent amendments, almost ignored the local membership. A member in a country town could participate in the organisation's affairs if he chose to attend the regional or national annual general meeting, or if there happened to be a branch established in his local area. But a local branch offered him nothing save the right to raise funds to be administered by the national headquarters; the right to execute projects laid down and financed by the Regional Council if such local area was sufficiently fortunate to have a project allotted to it; and the right to represent the organisation in the local area and thereby to make representation to the Regional Council and subsequently to the headquarters.

Though the nature of membership of everted type organisations is to give altruistically of time and wealth, there is a limit to the way in which a member is prepared to do this. A member of an everted type organisation, even more so perhaps than members of an inverted type organisation where membership itself provides compensations, must personally participate in the way his time and wealth are spent, or at least should have tangible evidence occasionally of the results of his generosity. If participation in welfare activities is to be persistent, active and of long duration it must be a more or less practical participation. It cannot be abstract or impersonal, though it can be directed from above if tact and

care are taken in its direction.

It is suggested that the explanation for the success and relative failure of these two organisations lies in the provision made by the respective organisational structures for the personal, practical and active participation of members at the lower levels of administrative authority. The N.W.M.N.F. has now appreciated this point, and has recently amended its constitution to the point where the Regional Councils are given a far greater autonomy over their locally collected funds. By this move they have created an organisational structure similar to the Red Cross Society at the Regional Council level. It is also similar to the structure of the Cripple Care and the Deaf Societies save that it is centrally co-ordinated whereas the last mentioned are federally co-ordinated.

The mere fact of decentralisation to the Regional Council level is not in itself sufficient. This is proven by the fact that the Red Cross Society has been able to make itself effective in the smallest villages, whereas, as shown by the evidence provided in this study, the Cripple Care and the Deaf Societies have not achieved this despite their regionalisation of the administrative structure. Neither have societies which have disregarded a regional administrative structure and concentrated on purely local societies e.g. the Child Welfare, Blind and Mental Health Societies. Of these, the Child Welfare Societies have managed to distribute themselves more widely over the area than any other purely local society. This is perhaps due to the type of client they serve and their consequently enhanced public appeal; the presence of government officers i.e. Commissioners for Child Welfare, in every magisterial district; the attentions of their head office; and the relatively greater number of known cases existing throughout the hinterland and rural areas.

A unit of administration of regional dimension can serve a co-ordinatory function. It would appear to be an essential where the type of client served is in need of specialised medical services which can be obtained only at regional hospitals. It becomes a matter of fundamental importance that Blind, Crippled, Deaf, Tubercular and Mental Health Services should be organised in such a manner that the voluntary organisational structure corresponds with the Governmental and Provincial medical services. At present there is no deliberate attempt to achieve this, though the research found that 64.2% of the 480 existing organisations were co-ordinated nationally or Provincially by some means or other. The Governmental Mental Health service, for example, is situated in Queenstown, Grahamstown, Port Beaufort and Port Alfred whereas the only voluntary organisation is situated in East London.

The regionalisation of welfare services must correspond with governmental provisions, and the voluntary welfare organisations should create organisational structures with this aim in view. Some examples would illustrate this point.

(a) The Cripple Care Services should have a regional office in East London, supported by committees and constitutionally provided for representatives and associate members in every town and village in the area served. The only orthopaedic surgeon in the area is domiciled in East London, and the most adequate medical provision is also centred there. The periodic visits made by this surgeon to hinterland hospitals should be supported by a strong branch of the Society drawing its personnel from the local town, but in close association with the regional office.

The present Cripple Care Society in East London is

making valiant efforts to establish representation in the hinterland, but has experienced difficulty in creating full scale local societies in all but Kingwilliamstown. In the past the policy has been to create an independent society in the smaller towns, fostered and nurtured by the East London office until financially, technically and administratively able to tend for itself. The Kingwilliamstown society is officially covered under the Welfare Organisations Act by a 'letter of delegation' from the East London office.

The essential organisational difficulty is the existing local conception of the East London 'regional' office and those intended to be created in the hinterland. The East London Society constitutionally embraces the whole Border area, and admits to affiliate membership any society anxious to join. The phrase used in the Constitution (as revealed in the "Draft of New Constitution for Society" sent to the author) is "Membership of the Society shall be open to all Societies, Committees and Organisations interested and active in the care of cripples in East London and the Border Districts." The objects of the Society include "To co-ordinate and correlate (sic.) the work of the different societies, Committees, Departments and Institutions already engaged or interested in the work....." The emphasis is upon affiliation and correlation, which assumes a fundamental local autonomy. This is inimical to deliberate planning.

It is suggested that before the East London Society can be effective in what it aspires to do, it must regionalise its conception by constitutionally incorporating into itself the variety of local activities and organisations it now attempts to co-ordinate voluntarily.

Constitutionally it must provide for an organisational structure into which all existing and proposed cripple care services in the whole area can be fitted. Provision for the

democratic representation of subordinate units in the hierarchy, up to the Regional Council level, must be created. Members must join a Border Society for the Care of Cripples when they join the local unit of its administration in the town in which they live. In short, the concept of an isolated, totally independent local Cripple Care Society must be dispensed with and in its place a Regional Society with local, subordinate branches or representation be created over a wide geographical area.

The question of sub-regionalisation around certain prominent urban centres such as Umtata, Queenstown, Kingwilliamstown and Grahamstown is worthy of consideration. The fundamental points in this respect are the governmental provisions for medical services, the number and type of cases needing assistance in any geographical sub-region, and the presence or absence of small, local branches in the surrounding towns and villages. Where the latter are numerous, as the position in Kingwilliamstown is likely to be, then a sub-regional administrative structure may more readily become a co-ordinatory unit than a direct administrative relationship of each small branch or representative to the East London Regional office. The sub-region has been effectively developed in many omniverted type societies such as the Toc H., Womens Institutes, M.O.T.B. etc.. It can prove an effective structure to retain members interests and to stimulate their activities towards clients.

(b) Much the same argument is applicable to the Tuberculosis, Blind, Deaf and Mental Health Societies, except that a greater emphasis on the Sub-Region may prove more effective. At present all these societies are essentially local in conception. The sub-regional hospital services centred in Butterworth, Umtata, Queenstown, Kingwilliamstown

and Grahamstown to cater for the Blind and Deaf could be utilised for centering a sub-regional organisational structure. Tuberculosis Societies could do likewise around the principal infectious disease hospitals at Umtata, Alice, and East London. The establishment of regional or sub-regional tuberculosis settlements can be efficacious, as has been proven by the Grahamstown Settlement which accepts patients from as many as six Magisterial Districts. Each of the major urban areas serves a natural ecological region which could with ease be ascertained, and the sub-regional administrative structure be made to correspond.

(c) Child Welfare Services are somewhat different from those of a more medical character. In social work practice there is much to be said for the policy of sending committed children to institutions far removed from their original homes. When the relatively drastic act of removing a child from his home has been decided upon, there is a strong argument in favour of at least a temporary ^{total} break with the original home. There is therefore little purpose served in creating a sub-regional administrative structure around the existing Childrens Institutions. Further, as family welfare work tends to enter very intimately into the lives of many people it is necessary to emphasise the small, local society rather than the sub-regional or regional unit.

But the techniques of family social work are no longer so simple as to be handled by untrained, benevolently disposed members of the public. If marriage guidance and clinics for children suffering from mild behaviour aberrations (Child Guidance Clinics) are to added to the existing child welfare services, it is essential that the service be undertaken by professional social workers. It has been shown that these employees are not very numerous in the

area of investigation, though the majority are at present employed by Child Welfare Societies.

Further, as Child Welfare Services of this kind are required in the rural areas, and cases must be treated in the homes, there must be administrative provision for the sub-regionalisation of itinerant social workers. At present only the Child Welfare Society in Queenstown is undertaking work in neighbouring towns. If money for transport and an enlarged staff were made available this service could be extended considerably. It thus becomes necessary, though for other reasons, that the Child Welfare Services are sub-regionalised in a somewhat similar fashion to those of a more medical character.

There is another complicating factor in the administration of Child Welfare Services. At present the voluntary work is undertaken by three authorities:

- (a) The non-denominational, secular Child Welfare Societies;
- (b) The Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging composed predominantly of persons adhering to the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk; and
- (c) The 'Susters' organisations and the Church Councils of the two major Dutch Reformed Churches in the area.

In addition, the Departments of Social Welfare and Justice are intimately concerned.

The Christelike Maatskaplike Raad has not yet developed to significant proportions in the area of investigation, though it established a branch in East London in 1955-56. The Vrou-en-Koeder-Beweging of Die Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging is so specialised in the occupational class it serves that it is in practice insignificant in the general picture.

Child Welfare Services have become, therefore, intimately associated with religious and national ideals. This fact

could seriously complicate the provision of a planned Child Welfare Service. Further, in certain areas of the hinterland, the A.C.V.V. has tended to consider the European case as its own, leaving the secular Child Welfare Societies to concentrate on the Non-European case. The Union Government's policy has been to make the Department of Native Affairs responsible for all family welfare services for Africans outside of the larger Municipal areas. As yet, to the author's knowledge, no trained, professional social workers, African or European, have been employed by this Department for work in the area of investigation. The existing provision appears to be at the administrative level, and no case work or rehabilitative social work services have been developed.

The rational planning of Child Welfare Services appears to be necessary in the area of investigation. The present service is inadequate in its geographical distribution, in the professional staff employed and in the type of work performed. The service has, however, been made so involved by the numerous interests associated with it, that no suggestions that would not cause offence to some party or other, can be made. The services to children, of all the services studied in this enquiry, are the most affected by interests of a politico-religious and ideological character. Interests which are strictly outside the scope of scientific social work. As such, little purpose will be served in this enquiry by making suggestions as to their more rational co-ordination.

The change from local dimension to regional dimension in the conception of welfare societies may lead to problems of democratic representation and the preservation of a degree of local autonomy. There is a danger that regional organisations may become bureaucratic and highly impersonal both to the membership and the clientele. This would not be in

keeping with the traditions of voluntary social work, nor likely to prove beneficial to the clients it is intended to assist.

The research revealed that organisations already organised on regional dimensions, solve the problem by making membership either national or regional. That is to say a member joins the regional or national organisation, not a local, autonomous society. This act immediately makes the local branch merely an administrative instrument of the regional conception, but an instrument that is at the same time an organized entity drawing its manpower and office bearers from the local community. It is in a position to attract the sentiments of local members to itself in much the same way as if it were entirely independent and autonomous. The voting rights of members in the selection of office bearers are extended to the upper units of administration usually by the upper units allowing for a given number of committee members to be elected by direct vote of individual members domiciled in the area of its jurisdiction, and another given number elected by the vote of organized subordinate units of authority.

The financial relationships between subordinate units and the regional office are matters for individual arrangement depending both on local needs to be served and the potential of fund raising power in any given area. The concept remains, however, that all assets and funds held by all units of authority belong in theory to the regional conception as a whole. As such, they can be transferred from one unit to another as the units' needs vary from time to time.

The reason for this type of organisational structure tending to prevent the development of bureaucratic impersonal administration, appears to be that there is no hierarchy of power in the military sense. That is to say.

no one unit of authority has any more right to direct the affairs of an other unit than has another. Every unit is merely putting into practice in the geographical area for which it is responsible, what has been decided on jointly at a regional or sub-regional level—the society is regional in its conception, and all units in the structure are merely applying the society's decisions in a given geographical area.

The hierarchy of authority is not bureaucratic in the 'rank' or seniority sense. The word 'subordinate' tends rather to have a 'smaller geographical area' sense than one of 'command and obey'. A relationship of 'command and obey' clearly cannot exist under conditions of voluntary, everted type participation of members. A society of regional dimension need have no more authoritarian character than a society of local conception, similar to those at present in existence. The local, isolated, hinterland branch of the regional conception might be viewed as a sub-committee of the Executive Committee (Regional Council).

The suggested structure is not impersonal because the lack of 'rank' or command throws the responsibility for decisions on the individual member personally or as a member of a committee. Decisions do not emanate from an 'office' of given status and responsibility in a hierarchy of power and authority. Decisions emanate from joint discussion under conditions of equality between representatives of units varying in size of geographical area they represent.

As an organisation of regional conception must have a unit of co-ordinatory authority, where the local units can be represented, it is necessary to create a Regional Council. In certain cases an enlarged 'General Committee' of the East London branch of the Society might serve the purpose and would save the cost of creating an additional adminis-

-trative unit. The representation of other organisations and governmental authorities now provided for on the General Committees might be somewhat amended to allow for a wider representation of subordinate units, but the representation of major omniverted type organisations on the General Committees of local branches ---who at present carry a considerable burden of the fund raising and ad hoc manpower needs of the everted societies---need not be interfered with. The provision of honorific titles at both the regional, sub-regional and branch levels could adequately incorporate a large number of 'notable characters' of local societies who would find it difficult to adjust to a new administrative procedure.

At the purely local, small town level the organisations of regional conception must have more efficient representation than the present structure makes possible. With the exception of the Red Cross Society, no large everted type organisation has direct representation in small towns. There are one or two isolated exceptions which arise more from historical accident or the interest of one individual, than from a deliberate attempt to organise it. Nearly all the fund raising on behalf of large everted type societies is at present done by the members of, and through the generosity of, the existing omniverted type organisations. Through the failure to organise at the small town level, few of these omniverted organisations have any representation on any administrative unit of the everted type societies. The proposed scheme would enable a much closer liaison to be made between these two types of organisational structure.

The research revealed that the omniverted type organisation which, in proportion to its numbers is most prevalent in the rural areas, is at present serving a vital function in supplying the major everted type organisations with considerable funds.

These funds, however, are rarely disposed of locally, but are sent to a variety of centres both within and without the area of investigation. The proposed scheme, through the operation of local, sub-regional and regional planning would enable these funds to be disposed of to maximum efficiency. In this respect the needs of the specialised institutions in Worcester, Johannesburg and elsewhere should not be forgotten. The present function of the everted type organisation would in no way be impaired, in fact it might be enhanced, through the donation of funds to local or sub-regional units of administration of organisations serving specialised needs.

The administrative structure of purely inverted organisations need not be amended. The administrative structure of Alcoholics Anonymous is already deliberately planned to further the therapeutic techniques of the organisation. The administrative structure of the three occupational organisations is directed towards the national authority in view of the centralised nature of control over nationally raised and disposed of funds.

The major omniverted type organisations, with the exception of the B.E.S.L. which is influenced by its centralised control of national funds, already possess regional or sub-regional units of administration. They are also Provincial or national in their conception. Despite this the local branch has remained a fundamental unit in their administration. They are already well designed to assist the everted type organisation at all levels of administrative authority. Their principal functions at present are:

(a) to provide everted type organisations with funds and manpower, and

(b) raise the necessary capital for particular local community needs.

The role of the first mentioned function has already been

discussed. The role of the second fits admirably into the suggested scheme. The omniverted type society could supply the capital required for any project of a community type or the capital needs of a local branch of an everted type society. The research showed the omniverted type society to be ideally designed to raise money for an ad hoc purpose, but relatively poorly designed, due to its emphasis on members and not on finance, to undertake the daily and continuous maintenance of case work or other essentially personal and everted type activities.

The fundamental principle of the suggested organisational scheme outlined above is the removal of the purely locally conceived, independent society. Historically the existence of this type of organisation is based on the concept of local, individual charity. It is a concept quite outmoded in an era where rehabilitation of the client, rather than his relief, is the fundamental aim of all welfare work. It is a concept which denies planning at anything but the purely local level. Even at this level planning is scarcely achieved as is demonstrated by the absence of central case registers, community chests, local welfare planning committees, or co-ordinatory councils over the entire area. That measure of co-ordination is achieved between one society and another is largely the result of one or two enthusiastic individuals sitting on the executive or case committees of numerous local welfare organisations. Its efficiency is therefore entirely dependent on individual memory and public gossip. In any event, it is not likely to ensure the best possible treatment for any particular case of need.

Functionally there is very little need for welfare organisations to retain their local conceptional dimension as the State's provision of subsidy and grant, and the modern method of fund raising through entertainment,

bazaars etc. in place of the previous subscribers list and door to door collection, no longer makes it necessary. Further, the public is already conditioned to the idea of fund raising on behalf of a class—for cripples, blind etc. as a group—rather than in aid of a local society. The 'Our Childrens Day' collections, Easter and Christmas Stamp Funds etc. are of this type.

The function of the co-ordinatory national council, which typifies the larger everted type society, is not threatened by the proposed organisational scheme. Instead of being composed of a large number of affiliated societies—few of which it can really provide a service for—it tends to function similarly to that of the Cripple Care and Red Cross Societies. Regional Councils nominate a given number of representatives to the National Council who are empowered to present the case of the whole region and to plan the administration and allocation of funds on a regional and national basis. The work of the secretariat of the National Councils, and the governmental departments supplying subsidy and funds, would be greatly reduced, yet increased in efficiency. Already the Union Government's Departments of Social Welfare and Health are designed regionally and correspond with the area of jurisdiction of the Border Local Welfare Board.

The suggested scheme contains the essentials for planning at a regional level. The efficiency of the service could be maintained by regional organisers, both administrative and professional. Co-ordination at both the regional and sub-regional levels would be much simpler, and the representation of governmental and other authorities much more effective. With the exception of East London, and possibly the three major towns with European populations approaching 10,000 persons, there is little need to create any form of local co-ordinatory machinery. In the smallest towns and villages, where all

cases are known personally to members of organisations, co-ordination could be left to the public and the members of organisations. In the larger towns, if welfare work was organised along the lines suggested, the staffs of welfare organisations meeting in almost daily contact would tend to co-ordinate efficiently without an organised means of achieving it. There remains for discussion the method of regional co-ordination.

One of the functions of the Local Welfare Boards is to encourage the voluntary co-ordination of welfare organisations. As at present constituted, this function cannot be performed. The principal factors inimical to this are:

- (a) The method of representation of Board members; and
- (b) The lack of regional organisational units of administration in the everted type welfare organisations themselves.

Functionally these two factors must be viewed as different aspects of the same thing. So long as there is no practical co-ordination among the everted type welfare organisations, it is impossible to arrange for membership of the Local Board in such a manner as to provide for an adequate representation of societies serving any one or more needs. In fact the present method of representation, based on as wide a geographical distribution as convenient, is the most efficient possible, except for omniverted type organisations where a good measure of internal organisation already exists.

The exact structure and function of a regional co-ordinatory Board is difficult to envisage. The structure of the British National Council for Social Services might possibly serve as a commendable guide in this respect. The structure of this Council has remained intact, with but one or two minor amendments, since 1919. (1)

(1) See, for example, "Voluntary Social Services Since 1918" Ed. H.A. Mass Kegan Paul London 1947. Pp.82-83.

In the past the Local Boards have been financed entirely from government funds. The Department of Social Welfare has paid the subsistence and travelling allowances for the members. Clearly much depends on what provision government or the regionally organised societies are prepared to make towards the costs of a Regional Co-ordinating Council. In the Border Area, the majority of regionally organised societies would have their regional offices in East London. As the representatives to the Local Board are most likely to come from the regional offices of the voluntary organisations, there should be little difficulty in arranging for meetings of the Local Board in East London.

Ideally the Local Board should have a representative from each regionally organised society, one or two additional members to represent societies of local dimension, and interested governmental officials--Union, Provincial and Local. Such a Board would contain possibly 35 members, and might prove difficult to administer.

The whole function of a Regional Board would be primarily to provide an adequate, complete and efficient service to cover every need of the people in the area. This function is markedly different from the functions of the present Board. In the past, and at present, the Local Boards have been concerned almost exclusively with the investigation of societies anxious to register in terms of the Welfare Organisations Act; ensuring that they were recommended by local authorities, magistrates and other organs of government; recommending their registration or non-registration as the case may be to the National Welfare Organisations Board, and generally seeing to any matters submitted to it from the National Board, other Local Boards, or submitted by societies in its area of jurisdiction. The National Welfare Organisations Board assumes the

ultimate responsibility for registering welfare organisations.

The rare occasions when the Border Board has been asked for its advice on more general matters of social welfare falling within its experience have been seriously considered by the members, but none were in a position to supply factual, relevant opinions, or to make recommendations to cover the area as a whole. In consequence the members have tended to form opinions, and to pass recommendations, based not on actual knowledge but on a vague consensus of opinion concerning what is most likely to be the best for the area as a whole.

This is a poor basis for planning at a national level. As the National Welfare Organisations Board is largely dependent upon the advice of its Local Boards, the evidence available for it to arrive at realistic decisions has tended to be of a vague, matter-of-opinion type. As the research possibilities at a national level are restricted to subjects where the facts can be revealed from nationally collected statistics, there is clearly a need for the Regional Boards to possess at least one or two full-time organisers and research workers. The nature and range of problems capable of elucidation are much greater at the regional level than at the national. Though the National Board should not be deprived of a research and organising staff, there is a strong case to be made for the emphasis to be placed at the regional level in matters of fact finding and research. The Region would be the natural level for research into the needs, problems and activities of regionally organised societies; of the case and community work needs of the area; as well as the role of governmental institutions, hospitals and other amenities in the total social welfare picture.

As the principal task of any Regional Board would be largely administrative, its principal functions could be stated briefly as follows:

(1) The determination and clarification of objectives, functions and policies of the voluntary organisations and their relationship to governmental policy, in the area of its jurisdiction.

(2) The mobilisation and maintenance of resources--- personal, financial, material and psychological---to the end that all welfare services may be adequately supplied with their requirements. Though much of the responsibility for the detail of this function falls on the individual organisations, some central planning to avoid the most obvious overlapping would be desirable.

(3) The standardisation and evaluation of the services offered by the various organisations, bearing in mind the requirements of the national offices and co-ordinatory authorities of the organisations themselves.

(4) Public relations and propaganda concerning the existing welfare provisions of the area. At present, in the author's experience, so little is known by the public about the services available that many clients approach welfare organisations only after the human relations have reached a point where they can no longer be repaired. A large section of the public, and particularly the middle and upper classes of the Europeans, persist in viewing welfare services as associated with charity and hence designed to help only the poor. There is a large task ahead for any Regional Board to encourage the break down of this belief and to create an attitude more in accordance with the modern services voluntary welfare organisations are capable of providing. This prevailing public belief is reflected in the type of services at present offered and those presently absent from the area of investigation.

From the information revealed by the present research, the social work needs of the area appear to be:

(a) A widening of the services covering

- i) Mental Health,
- ii) Adult Prisoner Rehabilitation,
- iii) Boys', Girls' and Youth Services of all kinds,
- iv) The Aged,
- v) Adult Education, for males in particular,
- vi) The Alcoholic,
- vii) Every other aspect of social welfare in so far as the rural areas are concerned.

(b) The creation of new services covering:

- i) Child and Parental Guidance Clinics, Juvenile Behaviour Problems etc.
- ii) Marriage Guidance Clinics,
- iii) Legal Aid Bureaux,
- iv) Citizens Advice Bureaux, especially for Non-Europeans dealing with such topics as insurance policies, legitimacy and illegitimacy of children, non-support of children, and the direction of a client to an organisation best suited to his needs.
- v) Community Chests and the planned raising of funds over large geographical areas,
- vi) Rural and small town welfare amenities generally through the development of itinerant social workers and regional organisers.

The area of investigation already possess a wide range of social services. The more immediate need is a wider distribution of those that already exist. The new services suggested need investigation to establish the demand and ecological distribution. It will be observed that some of the suggested services could be incorporated into the existing organisations, should they be willing and able to undertake them. Child and Parental Guidance and Marriage Guidance services might well be fitted into the existing Child Welfare Services. Legal Aid Bureaux and Citizens Advice Bureaux tend to be best established as independent organisations. The creation of regional fund raising drives and services might well be encouraged and co-ordinated by the Regional Boards if its membership was made sufficiently representative of interested parties. At present many organisations and institutions draw on the whole region for funds in a disorganised way. Some go so far as to send an

itinerant collector round the area, but the most common method is to use the services of local representatives or interested omniverted type organisations.

Though the Regional Board could undertake certain important organisational functions, certain others would be better left with the regionally organised societies themselves.. These

(1)
include:

(1) The development of programmes, which should be dynamic, fluid and related to the changing needs of the area.

(2) The mobilisation of manpower, leadership and funds to bring about the envisaged programme. This aspect involves the important point of retaining the sympathy of the organisation's members, helpers and local administrators; the devising of organisational structures in keeping with both the demands of members and of clients; and the provision of any institutional services that may be required either within the area of jurisdiction of the regional society, or more widely over the nation as a whole.

(3) The co-ordination of the organisation's administrative units, especially those of the sub-regions and their relationship to the local branches in the smaller towns and villages; in particular the use and distribution of the professional staff of the organisation and their relationship to the staff and services of other organisations.

(4) The supervision of the staff and voluntary workers of the organisation, the funds and finances, and the standardisation of records, files, book-keeping techniques and the details of administrative procedure.

The allocation of functions between the voluntary welfare organisations and the statutorily created welfare Boards, or the proposed Regional Boards, involves an

(1) See, for example, 'Administration of Social Agencies', an article by Arthur Dunham, in 'Social Work Year Book, 1949.' Russell Sage foundation, New York. pp. 15 - 16.

essential component of co-operation by all parties. To be effective this co-operation must rest on

(a) a desire to make any administrative provision a success. That this desire has been strong in the past is shown by the enthusiasm of the Local Welfare Board's members and the co-operation the Board has received from the voluntary organisations in its area of jurisdiction.

(b) A suitably designed organisational structure on the part of both the Local Board and the voluntary organisations, and adequate representation of all interested parties on the statutorily created Local Board.

There is a natural aversion to change in most social institutions, and especially is this so in associations with roots deep in the past and intimately associated with the emotional and ethical values of people. But if the lag which now exists in the organisational structure of the voluntary services vis à vis governmental provision and the more modern approach to social welfare generally, is to be removed, then some fundamental re-organisation of the existing voluntary services must be undertaken. This research has shown that in more than general matters both the types of service in existence and the internal methods of administration already possess every fundamental requirement to provide an adequate and comprehensive welfare service. The steps to be taken to make what already exists more effective throughout the area are not drastic in character. Minor modifications in the conceptual dimension of most everted type organisations, coupled with an hierarchical organisational structure, the creation of sub-regional units of administration, and a small amount of publicity to show the advantages of the change, would suffice to lay the foundations of a far more efficient service. Already the nature of fund raising activity, the presence of a well organised system of omniverted type

organisations to support those of an everted character, and the traditional interest of the Department of Social Welfare in the activities of the voluntary agencies, have already removed some of the difficulties that may arise.

British experience is that the changes must come about spontaneously from within the community itself. The national Council for Social Services has found the conference to be an ideal means "to achieve a real measure of co-ordinated voluntary social service, not by imposing administrative schemes--it would in fact be impossible for the N.C.S.S. to impose any schemes since it can apply no sanctions---but by providing the means for free discussion."⁽¹⁾ The Local Boards are in a similar position. They can apply no sanctions except in the matter of registration. Their function could well be to encourage the voluntary organisations to enlarge their spheres of activity spontaneously; not as a consequence of direction or legislative authority, but by providing them with an administrative unit that will offer them every facility to work out and effectively implement the necessary changes. The calling of conferences has little value in itself; its value lies in the discussion of a draft programme of change. A conference must have a definite object to achieve. If this research has provided any material to form the subject matter of discussion it will not have been in vain. The research has laid bare a few fundamental facts to assist in determining the direction in which administrative and organisational changes may be encouraged.

The change from purely local dimension to at least regional dimension is a 'sine qua non' of an improved service, and also of an effective Local Welfare Board. The ecological

(1) John Morgan in "Voluntary Social Services since 1918"
Ed. H.A. Ness *ibid.* P.85.

distribution of the population in the area of investigation, and the relatively weak ecological dominance of East London, precludes any possibility of development on other than regional lines. East London itself will require some form of local co-ordinatory machinery, similar, possibly, to the Cape Town Board of Aid. But East London is not large enough, nor is its hinterland sufficiently well developed nor ecologically suitably distributed, to warrant a dual system of administration embracing East London on the one hand and its hinterland on the other. East London must be brought intimately into the administration of the whole area. In consequence any administrative unit smaller than the region would not prove efficient nor practicable.

It may be necessary to redefine the area of regional administration. Already the most northern and eastern Magisterial Districts have been handed to the Natal Local Welfare Board. (1) The Districts to the West of the Great Fish River i.e. Albany, Alexandria, Mathurst, Pearston and Somerset East, fall more naturally into the ecological area of Port Elizabeth, and may well be administered better from there. In this connection, Rhodes University and its constituent African College, Fort Hare, are ideally situated to assist in the research schemes of both the East London and Port Elizabeth regional areas.

The development of regional welfare services in other countries has occurred somewhat earlier than in South Africa. In the United States of America the development of welfare services at State conceptual dimensions occurred in the 1930's. (2) It is noticeable that in America this development

(1) The Districts are Bizana, Flagstaff, Lusikisiki, Mt Ayliff, Mt Frere, Flagstaff, Matatiele, Mt Currie, Tabankulu and Umzimkulu.

(2) See "Statewide Organisation in Social Work" by Hugh R. Jackson in "The Social Work Year Book, 1949" pp.506-511.

followed largely from the use of the State as an administrative organ for health and welfare services. In South Africa, the Government has already created health and welfare services on a regional basis. The Provincial Authorities are similarly, though somewhat differently in detail, bringing about the same thing through the regionalisation of hospital services and education inspectorates.

In Britain, the National Council for Social Services itself grew out of the work of a number of local Councils of Social Service and local Guilds of Help established before the first World War. The concept of 'local' as applied to Britain is comparable to 'regional' in this research. The relation of space to population makes this necessary. The total population under discussion in this research is less than 24 million, of which probably less than 500,000 are in a state of development where the typical welfare organisation of Western Culture can be run efficiently either from the membership or clientele points of view.

The problem of bringing any form of welfare service--- even that of a medically rehabilitative kind---to tribal African, is a subject as yet quite untouched, yet its influence on the Border Local Welfare Board is likely to be enormous if the ideal of an adequate and comprehensive service is to be achieved. Everyone with experience of the subject, (1) not least of all the author, is well aware that Bantu tribal culture possesses many characteristics inimical to the development of welfare services of the voluntary kind found effective in Western Culture.

In Britain, and in many respects America also,

co-ordination was achieved from the bottom upwards. It

(1) See Bettison D.G. "Child Maintenance in a Small South African Town" in 'African Studies' Vol 15 No.3. September, 1956. Pp.132-136. Witwatersrand University Press.

grew as a consequence of changes in the local community and its needs, brought about by local, national and governmental changes. In South Africa, the governmental administrative changes have already been introduced, so also has a change in the aims and techniques of social work, the availability of state subsidy etc. The enactment of the Welfare Organisations Act, 1947, was in a sense premature in that the ground work at the local level had not first been accomplished. Although many reverted type organisations had created National Councils to effect their voluntary co-ordination, this had not been extended to the regional level. In consequence, the creation of a National Welfare Board that did not take into account the existing National Councils, and the creation of local Welfare Boards when the co-ordination of voluntary services had not been achieved at this level, were premature. The function that could be assigned to them, in the absence of any others, had to be largely the registration of voluntary organisations, but to what purpose is not very clear.

The statutory nature of these boards may not prove a disadvantage, though in Britain and America they have been voluntary undertakings. In South Africa the State has frequently led the field in many developments of a social welfare character, and in almost all activities it has created participant machinery.

The prestige which registration under the Act has afforded voluntary organisations in the eyes of the public, omens well for a continued policy of State sponsorship, though the element of voluntary co-ordination as distinct from authoritative direction is an indispensable fundamental of the relationship. The task of the future is clearly to develop the local i.e. regional, co-ordinatory provisions to enable

the national facilities to be made better use of.

Methodologically the present research made effective use of the questionnaire. This instrument proved adequate for standardisation of interviews, though it tended to ignore the more personal and local social phenomena which underly all voluntary welfare activity, and which bind the local members so intimately to the organisations they serve. That the membership of an organisation is equally as important as its clients has been a fundamental tenet of this research. It is inevitable that this should be so if the emphasis was to be on the organisation and not on the services rendered. The research has achieved the object set for it and has illuminated a number of generalisations concerning the voluntary welfare organisations of the Border and Transkei.

APPENDIX 'A'

QUESTIONAIRE

/S.

1. W.O. No: _____

Form: IDENTITY.

NAME

NAME OF ORGANISATION:

ADDRESS:

PHONE No:

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

AREA OF OPERATION: (a) From Constitution:

(b) In Practice:

AIMS & OBJECTS (From constitution):

AFFILIATIONS (membership of):
(a) National:

(b) Regional:

(c) Local & Other:

BRANCHES OR SUB-AGENCIES:

RELEVANT LEGISLATION: (1) Registered under Act 40 of 1947?
(2) " " " 31 of 1937?
(3)
(4)
(5)

/s.

2.

W.O. No: _____

Form: DOCUMENTS.

NAME OF ORGANISATION:

DOCUMENTS:

(A) Reports: Collected. Promised. To be returned. available
for refer.

(B) Accounts:

(C) Constitution:

(D) Publications:

(E) Others.

Form: VISITS & CORRESPONDENCE.

W.O. No: _____

NAME OF ORGANISATION:RECORD OF VISITS:

(1) Date:
Place:
Informant:

(2) Date:
Place:
Informant:

(3) Date:
Place:
Informant:

RECORD OF CORRESPONDENCE:Out GoingReplies

(1) Date:
Addressee:
Subject:

(2) Date:
Addressee:
Subject:

(3) Date:
Addressee:
Subject:

Form: MEMBERSHIP.NAME OF ORGANISATION:

W.O. No. _____

(1) TYPE & NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIP:

<u>Type</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>How many are of each sex?</u>	<u>Subscription paid p.a.?</u>
(a) Patrons:			
(b) Honorary members:			
(c) Ordinary members:			
(d) Subscribers: etc.			
(e)			
(f)			
(g)			

(2) TYPES OF OFFICE BEARERS:

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Elected by?</u>	<u>Term of Office?</u>
(a) President			
(b) Vice-President/s			
(c) Life President/s etc.			
(d)			
(e)			
(f)			
(g)			

(3) Kindly make a list of the occupations and the sex of the office bearers: (NO names please)

Form: COMMITTEES.NAME OF ORGANISATION:

W.O. No. _____

- (1) Into what committees/sub-committees/ad hoc committees is the work of the organisation divided?

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Size</u>	<u>Reports to?</u>	<u>Chairman elected by?</u>	<u>Meets how often?</u>	<u>Function</u>
--------------------	-------------	--------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------	-----------------

(a)

(b)

(d)

(d)

(e)

(f)

(g)

- (2) How many times did the four principal committees of the organisation meet in the last financial year? Any changes this year, and why?

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

- (3) REMARKS concerning the way the Organisation is divided, and why it is divided this way.

Form: ACCOMMODATION & BUILDINGS.NAME OF ORGANISATION:

W.O. No. _____

- (1) In what building is the society administered? Give the number of administrative offices.
- (2) What other accommodation (other than institutions and clubs) is available, and for what purpose is it used?
- (3) What grounds are available, and for what purpose are they used?
- (4) On what form of tenure are the buildings and/or grounds held?
- (5) What rent/rates are paid?
- (6) Of what material are the principal structures built?
- (7) What is the local authority valuation, if any?
- (8) If the organisation owns a property, is any portion of it sub-let? If so, on what terms and for how much?
- (9) Are there any other welfare organisations making use of the building? (Kindly give details).
- (10) Remarks:

Form: VOLUNTARY STAFFNAME OF ORGANISATION:

W.O. No. _____

- (1) Apart from fund raising, who performs the voluntary work of the organisation? Kindly list below those who assist. (NO names please).

<u>Person</u>	<u>Type of Service</u>	<u>Committee or Office held</u>	<u>Sex.</u>	<u>Approx. age</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Profession or Occupation</u>
---------------	------------------------	---------------------------------	-------------	--------------------	-------------	---------------------------------

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

- (2) With respect to fund raising, what use is made of voluntary service? List the type of functions and activities carried on by volunteers to raise funds, with the approximate amounts each activity raises.

- (3) Remarks:

Form: Organisation's PAID & HONORARIUM STAFF.NAME OF ORGANISATION:

W.O. No. _____

- (1) What paid or honorarium staff is there in the organisation (excluding institutions and clubs)

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Full or part time</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Salary scale</u>	<u>Educational Qualification</u>	<u>Approx. Age.</u>
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- (2) Vacant posts for Paid Or Honorarium staff:

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Full or part time</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Salary scale</u>	<u>Minimum educat. required</u>	<u>Vacant for how long</u>	<u>Means tried to fill it</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
--------------------	------------------------------	-------------	-------------------------	-----------------------------------------	------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------	----------------

- (3) Number of and reasons for resignations, deaths etc. in last two years. (
- NO
- names please).

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Full or part time</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Salary scale</u>	<u>Reasons:</u>
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- (4) What provision is made for relief staff during absences on leave?

Form: HISTORY & DEVELOPMENT.NAME OF ORGANISATION:

W.O. No. _____

- (1) Date Organisation was first established:
- (2) Its purpose at the time:
- (3) What was the history leading to its founding: (Who founded it, did other organisations help in its founding etc?)
- (4) For what type of client was it originally intended?
- (5) What were its old names, and when were they changed?
- (6) Kindly give the dates of its affiliations to various national, regional and local bodies.
- (7) Are there members of the association who have watched its growth over the years, and who would answer questions on its policy? Please give names and addresses.
- (8) Kindly supply copies of Annual Reports and Balance Sheets for as far back as possible. All those to be returned kindly mark accordingly.
- (9) What future plans of development has the Organisation got?

Form: ANALYSIS OF CLIENTS SERVED.

NAME OF ORGANISATION:

W.O. No. _____

(1) How many clients are there on the books of the Organisation?

.....

(a) Those actively being assisted?

(b) Those not being actively assisted?

(2) How many clients have been on the books for

less than 1 year

1 to 2 years

2 to 3 years

more than 3 years

(3) Roughly speaking, what is the age, sex and race proportions of clients?

(4) Are clients at times turned away from the Organisation? If so, on what grounds? (Residential qualifications, means test, race test, religious test etc.)

(5) What are the criteria for deciding to refer a case to another society, and how often is this done? (say 2, 5, 10 etc. times a month.)

(6) How often are cases referred to your organisation from other societies? What criteria do you use to decide whether they fall under your Organisation or under the Society they came from?

Form: HOW CLIENTS ARE SERVED.NAME OF ORGANISATION:

W.O. No. _____

- (1) How many clients are in receipt of some form of material assistance from the Organisation? (During the current financial year).
- (2) Is the organisation satisfied that no clients are receiving assistance from two Organisations at the same time? Please quote any cases of overlapping that have occurred in the past two years, and say how they were dealt with.
- (3) Under what circumstances is monetary assistance granted a client? How many cases during this financial year have been given monetary assistance?
- (4) Over the last two years how many clients have you assisted to get:
- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (a) Poor Relief | (e) Blind Persons Pension..... |
| (b) Disability Grant | (f) Old Age Pension |
| (c) Maintenance Grant | (g) Other |
| (d) Family allowance..... | |
| (h) Sheltered employment | (k) Vocational Training or to |
| (i) Sent to Work Colony | Industrial School |
| (j) Sent to inebriates | (l) Orphanage or place of |
| retreat | safety |
| (m) Any other institutional assistance? | |
- (5) What other services, and for approximately how many clients, does your Organisation offer (Probation, counselling, placement of children, prisoners friend, health propaganda, etc. etc.)
- (6) By what means do your clients become known to the Organisation? Kindly give your principal sources of reference and the approximate number from each.

Form: ACCOMMODATION & BUILDINGS of Institutions & ClubsNAME OF ORGANISATION:

W.O. No. _____

NAME OF INSTITUTION OR CLUB:

- (1) Describe the design and number of buildings that comprise the institution.
- (2) Of what materials are they built?
- (3) How much is the rent/rates?
- (4) On what system of tenure are they held?
- (5) Describe the grounds and state what use is made of them.
- (6) Does the management consider them adequately or suitably designed? What improvements could be suggested?

Form: PAID & HONORARIUM STAFF in Institutions & Clubs.

NAME OF ORGANISATION:

W.O. No. _____

NAME OF INSTITUTION OR CLUB:

(1) What paid or honorarium staff is there in the Institution?

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Full or Part time.</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Salary scale</u>	<u>Educational Qualification</u>	<u>Approx. Age.</u>
--------------------	---------------------------	-------------	------------	-----------------------	---------------------	----------------------------------	---------------------

(2) Vacant Posts for paid or honorarium staff:

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Full or Part time</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Scale</u>	<u>Minimum Educ. Required</u>	<u>Vacant for how long</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
--------------------	--------------------------	-------------	--------------	-------------------------------	----------------------------	----------------

(3) Number of and reasons for resignations, deaths etc. in last two years. (NO names please).

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Full or Part time</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Salary Scale</u>	<u>Reasons</u>
--------------------	--------------------------	-------------	---------------------	----------------

(4) What leave has been granted to persons (identify them by their designation) over the last two years? Is leave granted regularly?

(5) What provision is made for a relief staff during absences on leave?

Form: VOLUNTARY STAFF IN Institutions & Clubs.NAME OF ORGANISATION:NAME OF INSTITUTION OR CLUB:

(1) What work is done by voluntary workers in the affairs of the Institution or club? (Administrative, case work, gifts and comforts, interviewing relatives and friends etc. etc.)

(2) Kindly provide the relevant details of those who give voluntary service: (No names please).

<u>Person</u>	<u>Type of Service</u>	<u>Committee or office held.</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Approx. Age.</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Profession or occupation.</u>
---------------	------------------------	----------------------------------	------------	---------------------	-------------	----------------------------------

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

(3) If mention has not been made of it under (1) above, what use is made of voluntary service in fund raising on behalf of the Institution or club? (As distinct from the Organisation of which it is a part)

Form: FINANCING OF INSTITUTIONS & CLUBS.NAME OF ORGANISATION:

W.O. No. _____

NAME OF INSTITUTION OR CLUB:

- (1) Kindly supply, if available, a balance sheet of the institution for the past financial year (and as many past years as possible. If they are to be returned, kindly mark accordingly.)
- (2) What is the total amount of government (not Province or local authority) assistance, and on what basis is it assessed? Must it be used for any special purpose, if so what?
- (3) What is the total amount of Province assistance, and on what basis is it assessed? Must it be used for any special purpose, if so, what?
- (4) What is the total amount of local authority assistance and on what basis is it assessed. Must it be used for any special purpose, if so, what?
- (5) Quote any other source of financial assistance, and indicate the method by which it is assessed: Also if it must be used for any special purpose.
- (6) When last was the institution inspected by a government inspector? What aspect of its work was inspected? How frequently is this done?
- (7) Kindly quote the dates and amounts of any legacies etc. left to the Institution. How are/were the legacies used.
- (8) How many people, and what is the total amount, of regular annual subscriptions i.e. Bank stop orders etc. to the Institution?

Form: DIFFICULTIES? ASPIRATIONS AND REMARKS.

W.O. No. _____

NAME OF ORGANISATION:

NAME OF INSTITUTION:

NAME & ADDRESS OF INFORMANT:

OFFICE HELD OF INFORMANT:

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

PLACE OF INTERVIEW:

(1) What advantage is derived from the Head Office or Council etc. to which the organisation is affiliated?

(2) REMARKS:

19.

Form: INVESTIGATOR'S IMPRESSIONS both organisation and
Institutions.

W.O. No. _____

NAME OF ORGANISATION:

NAME OF INSTITUTION OR CLUB:

NAME OF INVESTIGATOR:

DATE OF VISIT:

DATE OF WRITING IMPRESSIONS:

Name and office of interviewee:

Place of writing impressions:

REMARKS:

APPENDIX B.

List of Voluntary Welfare Organisations, Institutions and Local Representatives in the Border and Transkei, listed under Magisterial Districts and Towns.

Although every effort has been made to ensure the completeness and accuracy of this list, the author gives no guarantee in either respect. The information refers to the position in 1954, though, when available, developments after that date have been added.

The abbreviations used are as follows:

'Affil.' means Affiliated.

'Assoc.' means Association.

'Aux.' means Auxiliary.

'Benev.' means Benevolent.

'C.W.' means Child Welfare.

'Col.' means Coloured, and refers to an ethnic group.

'Herv.' means the Hervoorde of Gereformeerde Kerk.

'N.G.' refers to the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk.

'Org.' means Organisation.

'Rep.' means Representative.

'Soc.' means Society.

'S.A.' means South Africa or South African.

Under the heading 'N.G. Registration', the title refers to registration under the Welfare Organisations Act, 1947. 'Loc' means local; and the name of the town is added in cases of organisations operating under Letters of Delegation, and indicates the town where the head office is situated.

<u>Names of Organisations etc.</u>	<u>N.O. Registration</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
<u>Magisterial District: Adelaide;</u>		
<u>Towns/s Adelaide.</u>		
Adelaide School Benew. Fund Soc.	443 Loc.	
Col. C.W. & Benev. Soc.	279 Loc.	
African C.W. & Benev. Soc.	1466 Loc.	
Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging (A.C.V.V.)	360 Loc.	Head office Cape Town.
B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux.	233 Johannesburg.	
S.A. Noodhulp Liga	280 Johannesburg.	
S.A. Nurses Trust Fund		Rep only.
Cripple Care Soc.		Bedford Branch
		Rep. only.
C.P.W.A.A.		
Red Cross		Rep. only.
<u>Magisterial District: Albany</u>		
<u>Town/s: Grahamstown.</u>		
Alicedale,		
Riebeek East,		
Salem.		
<u>Grahamstown:</u>		
Rhodes Rag Disposal Committee	1614 Loc.	
Col. Central Sports & Social Centre	1899 Loc.	
Union of Jewish Women	1553 Loc.	Head office Johannesburg.
Bantu Boys Club	908 Loc.	
Location Soup Kitchen	102 Loc.	
Soc. for Care of Cripples	58 Loc.	
St. John Ambulance	327 Loc.	
Red Cross Soc. Branch	700	Port Elizabeth.
Soc. of St Vincent de Paul	90	Cape Town.
Institute of Race Relations	219	Johannesburg.
War Memorial Homes for the Aged	1661 Loc.	
T.B. Care Soc.	19 Loc.	
Toc. H. Mens Section	400	Johannesburg.
Toc. H. Womens Section	50	Johannesburg.
Good Samaritan Assoc.	13 Loc.	
Womens Civilian Blind Soc.	128 Loc.	
C.W. Soc.	189 Loc.	
B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux	233	Johannesburg.
A.C.V.V.	359 Loc.	
Womens League of Help	230 Loc.	
S.A. Library for Blind	126 Loc.	
Ladies Benev Soc.	321 Loc.	
Carols by Candlelight	1769 Loc.	
Round Table No 11	1852 Loc.	
Memorable Order of Tin Hats (M.O.T.H.)		
M.O.T.H. Womens Section	725	Johannesburg.
Woodville Orphanage		Childrens Instit.
St Peters Home (Col.)		"
Westfield Orphanage		"

Cont. over.

<u>Name of Organisations etc.</u>	<u>T.O. Registration</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
<u>Grahamstown Cont.:</u>		
Witchell Linen League		Aux. service to local hospital.
Bantu Womens Home Improvement Assoc.		
Womens Christian Temperance Union.		
Alcoholics Anonymous		
Albany Anti-Waste Assoc.		Fund raising.
Youth Charitable Org.		Seeking registration 1956.
S.A. Nurses Trust Fund	1009 Johannesburg.	
<u>Riebeeck East:</u>		
A.C.V.V.	565 Loc.	
Pict Relief Orphanage.		Childrens Instit
<u>Alicedale:</u>		
Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging (A.T.K.V.)	71 Johannesburg.	
<u>Salem:</u>		
Salem Branch of S.A.M.T.A.	590 Johannesburg.	
<u>Magisterial District: Albert.</u>		
<u>Town/s:</u> Burgersdorp.		
B.E.S.L.	233 Johannesburg.	
E.O.T.H.		
A.C.V.V.	688 Loc.	
Sustersorganisasie Herv.Kerk		
Old Age Home Herv. Kerk		
Hospital Comforts Fund		
<u>Magisterial District: Alexandria</u>		
<u>Town/s:</u> Alexandria		
Boesmansriviermond		
Sandflats.		
<u>Alexandria:</u>		
C.W. & Benev. Soc.	209 Loc.	
A.C.V.V.	690 Loc.	
Alexandria F.B. Assoc.		Possibly defunct.
Red Cross Section	700 Port Elizabeth.	
Diaz Hospital Committee		Registered 1955 under Port Elizabeth.
<u>Boesmansriviermond:</u>		
A.C.V.V.	1833 Loc.	
<u>Sandflats:</u>		
Unknown.		

Magisterial District: Aliwal North
 Towns: Aliwal North
 Jamestown.

Aliwal North:

A.C.V.V.	601 Loc.
C.W. Soc	883 Loc.
St Francis Mission Hospital	1203 Loc.
Col. Welfare Soc.	1442 Loc.
M.C.T.H.	
B.E.S.L.	233 Johannesburg.
B.E.S.L. Col. Legion	983 Cape Town.
Col. Women's Sewing Class	
Sustersorganisasie Herv. Kerk	
Armesorgkomitee N.G. Kerk	
Union of Jewish Women	
Hospital Linen League	
Red Cross Local Centre	415 Cape Town.

Jamestown:

A.C.V.V.	479 Loc.
B.E.S.L.	233 Johannesburg.
Red Cross	Rep. only.
C.P.W.A.A.	

Magisterial District: Barkley East
 Town: Barkley East

C.W. Soc	260 Loc.
A.C.V.V.	623 Loc.
Red Cross	Rep only.
B.E.S.L.	Rep only.

Magisterial District: Bathurst
 Towns/s Bathurst
 Port Alfred.

Bathurst:

Bathurst Welfare Soc.	1971 Loc.	Registered 1956.
Bathurst Entertainment Committee	1334 Loc	
Red Cross	700 P.E.	Rep only.
S.A.N.T.A. Branch	590 Johannesburg.	

Port Alfred:

N.C.W. Benev. Fund	199 Loc.
S.A.N.T.A. Branch	765 Loc.
Mayor's Christmas Cheer Fund	1327 Loc.
Red Cross	700 Port Elizabeth. Rep. only.
B.E.S.L.	233 Johannesburg.
M.C.T.H.	
Memorial Hospital Clinic	Registered 1956.

Magisterial District: Butterworth
 Town/s : Butterworth
 Ndabakazi

Butterworth:

Transkeian Soc. for Civilian Blind	1662 Loc.
Red Cross Local Centre	415 Cape Town
Cripple Care	Rep. only
Hospital Benev. Fund	
District Ambulance Service	
B.E.S.L. & Women's Aux	233 Johannesburg
M.C.T.H.	
C.P.W.A.A.	

Butterworth Cont.
National War Memorial Health Foundation
Local Committee.

Ndabakazi:

Cunningham Clinic 1791 Loc In rural district

Magisterial District: Gathcart.

Town: Gathcart.

Armesorgkomitee N.G. Kerk

C.W. & Benev. Soc.

Under Queenstown.

M.O.T.H.

B.E.S.L.

233 Johannesburg.

J.P.W.A.A.

Red Cross

Rep. only.

Magisterial District: East LondonClassification

Towns: East London

Macleantown.

East London:

Victoria Home for the Aged	46 Loc.		1
Victoria Boys Club	63 Loc.		1
Soc. for Protection of Child			
Life	78 Loc	Including 3 instits.	1
Mental Health Soc.	116 Loc		1
Kaffrarian Rifle Rehab. Fund	160 Loc		1
Soc. for Care of Cripples	208 Loc		1
Missions to Seamen	222 Loc		1
Civilian Blind Soc	250 Loc		1
Col. Blind Soc.	250 East London		1
African Blind Soc.	250 East London		1
Y.W.C.A.	315 Loc		1
St John Ambulance	325 Loc		1
Red Cross Society	415 Cape Town		1
Bantu Relief Committee	334 Loc		1
Carols By Candlelight	1634 Loc	Defunct 1956	5
Torch & Grail Soc.	525 Loc		1
S.A.A.F. Assoc	635 Loc		2
S.A.N.T.A. Branch	653 Loc		1
S.A. Railways Womens Assoc.	711 Loc		2 & 6
S.A. Jewish Ex-Service League	881 Loc		2 & 5
Union of Jewish Women	891 Loc		2 & 5
Navy League of S.A.	889 Loc		1
Relief Soc.	935 Loc		1
Assoc. for Deaf	1222 Loc		1
Nasionale Herv. Susters-			
-vereniging	1243 Loc		5
A.C.V.V. East London	503 Loc		4
A.C.V.V. East London North	517 Loc		4
Round Table No 1	1846 Loc		2 & 3
B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux.	233 Johannesburg.		2
B.E.S.L. Col. Legion & Aux.	983 Cape Town		2
St Dunstons	447 Cape Town		1
Sappers Assoc.	314 Johannesburg		2
Sterling Lodge Housing Utility			
Company (Aged)	1931 Loc		1
S.A. Nurses Trust Fund	1009 Johannesburg		7
Alcoholics Anonymous			7
S.A. War Veterans Assoc.	1458 Loc Defunct 1954		2
Social Services Assoc.	313 Durban		1
Soc. of St Vincent de Paul	900 Cape Town 5 branches		5
Toc H. Mens Section	400 Johannesburg		2 & 3
Toc H. Womens Section	50 Johannesburg		2 & 3
M.O.T.H.			2 & 3
Soc. for Education on Alcoholism	1946 Loc.		6

East London Cont.

Christelike Maatskaplike Raad	1952 Loc	4 & 5
A.T.K.V.	71 Johannesburg.	4 & 7
Christmas Stamp Fund	728 Durban	1
N.W.M.H.F.	338 Johannesburg	1
S.A. Temperance Alliance	231 Cape Town	3
Nursery School Soc.	Possibly defunct	1
Womens Christian Temp. Union.		3
S.A. Commercial Travellers Assoc	275 Cape Town	3 & 7

Macleantown:

Red Cross Rep. only.

Magisterial District: ElliotTown: Elliot

Elliot Health Centre	703 Loc
Red Cross Local Centre	415 Cape Town.
B.E.S.L.	233 Johannesburg
C.P.W.A.A.	
Sustersorganisasie N.G. Kerk	

Magisterial District: ElliotdaleTown: Elliotdale

Red Cross		Rep. only.
B.E.S.L.	233 Johannesburg	
M.O.T.H.		

Magisterial District: EngcoboTown: Engcobo

B.E.S.L.	233 Johannesburg
Red Cross Local Centre	415 Cape Town
M.O.T.H.	

Magisterial District: FlagstaffTown: Flagstaff

B.E.S.L.	233 Johannesburg	
Womens Institute		
Red Cross		Rep. only.
Mount Prospect Clinic		Defunct 1954.
Faku Training Institution	1266 Loc.	In rural district.
Holy Cross Native Hospital	1126 Loc.	In rural district.

Magisterial District: Fort BeaufortTown: Fort Beaufort

C.F.W.A.A.	
Carols By Candlelight	1812 Loc.
C.W. Soc.	89 Loc.
S.A.N.P.A. Branch	590 Johannesburg.
B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux.	233 Johannesburg.
Red Cross Local Centre	415 Cape Town
S.A. Nurses Trust Fund	1009 Johannesburg
M.O.T.U.	
B.E.S.L. Col. Legion	983 Cape Town.
M.O.T.H.	

Magisterial District: Glen GreyTowns: Lady Frere
Invane

Lady Frere:
Cape African Parents Assoc. 656 Loc.

Lady Frere Cont.

Community Chest Fund

Red Cross

B.E.S.L.

Womens Association

Glen Grey Mission Hospital 1320 Loc.

233 Johannesburg.

Under Municipality.

Rep. only.

Formerly C.F.W.A.A.

In rural district.

Invane:

Glen Grey Council of African Women 1570 Loc. In rural district.

Magisterial District: HerschelTowns: Herschel

Stekkspruit

Herschel:

Dutch Reformed Church Clinic Committee 1957 Loc. In rural distri

Stekkspruit:

Native Women's Welfare Soc. 657 Loc.

Umhali Mission Hospital 1187 Loc.

Blikana Methodist Mission Clinic 1284 Loc.

Bensonvale Health Centre Clinic 1328 Loc.

Red Cross

In rural district.

In rural district.

In rural district.

Rep. only.

Magisterial District: IndweTown: Indwe

Indwe Welvaartvereniging

B.E.S.L.

Red Cross

696 Loc.

233 Johannesburg.

Rep. only.

Magisterial District: KeiskammahoekTown: Keiskammahoek

Civilian Blind Soc.

Red Cross

attached to King-

-Williamstown.

Rep. only.

Magisterial District: KentaniTown: Kentani.

Red Cross

B.E.S.L.

Tutura Mission Clinic

233 Johannesburg.

1233 Loc.

Rep. only

In rural district.

Magisterial District: KingwilliamstownTowns: Kingwilliamstown

Berlin

Kei Road

Swelitshe, and others unknown.

Kingwilliamstown:

Ladies Benev. Soc.

Victoria Memorial Home (Aged)

Carols By Candlelight

Union of Jewish Women

Womens Committee Greya Hospital

C.W. Soc.

Soc. for Civilian Blind

T.B. Fund

Dominican Welfare Assoc

Izela Orphanage

Mt Coke Mission Hospital

S.A. Nurses Trust Fund

Toc. H. Mens Section

Toc H. Womens Section

Soc. of St Vincent de Paul

1486 Loc.

1633 Loc.

1497 Loc.

1612 Loc.

137 Loc.

248 Loc.

972 Loc.

1371 Loc.

1766 Loc

1009 Johannesburg

400 Johannesburg.

50 Johannesburg.

900 Cape Town.

Under Ladies Benev.

In rural district.

In rural district.

Kingwilliamstown Cont.

War Memorial Assoc.		
B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux.	233 Johannesburg.	
Cripple Care Soc.	208 East London	
M.O.T.M.		
Round Table No 6		
Col. Welfare Soc.		
C.P.W.A.A.		
Childrens Home		Childrens Institut.
Red Cross Local Centre	415 Cape Town	
M.O.T.M. Womens Aux.	725 Johannesburg.	

Berlin:

Berlin Clinic Soc.	1761 Loc.
African Progressive Society	1884 Loc.

Kei Road:

Health Assoc.		Includes a clinic
Womens Assoc.		Formerly C.P.W.A.A.

Swelitsha:

Home Improvement Club	
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Magisterial District: Komgha.

<u>Town: Komgha</u>		
Hospital Assoc.	879 Loc.	
Christmas Cheer Fund		Under Municipal control.
B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux.	233 Johannesburg.	
Red Cross Local Centre	415 Cape Town.	
C.P.W.A.A.		
S.A.N.T.A. Branch	590 Durban.	

Magisterial District: Lady Grey

<u>Town: Lady Grey</u>		
Non-European Clinics Committee	1896 Loc.	
Lady Grey Verpleeginrigting	1377 Loc.	
A.C.V.V.	563 Loc.	
Red Cross		Local Rep. only.

Magisterial District: Libode

<u>Town: Libode</u>		
Nkanga Clinic of S.A. General Mission	947 Loc.	In rural district
B.E.S.L.	233 Johannesburg.	
Red Cross		Rep. only.

Magisterial District: Lusikisiki

<u>Town: Lusikisiki</u>		
Lukanyisweni Clinic of S.A. General Mission.	1892 Loc.	In rural district.
Holy Cross Mission Hospital		In rural district.
The Good Hope Clinic		In rural district.
Red Cross Local Centre	415 Cape Town	
B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux.	233 Johannesburg.	
Walmerton Clinic		In rural district.
B.E.S.L. Col. Legion	983 Cape Town.	

Magisterial District: Maclear
Towns: Maclear
 Ugie

Maclear:

District Nurses and C.F. Assoc. 286 Loc.
 Red Cross Local Centre 415 Cape Town.
 B.E.S.L. 233 Johannesburg.

Ugie:

Red Cross Rep. only.
 Ugie Orphanages Childrens Institut
 B.E.S.L. 233 Johannesburg.

Magisterial District: Matatiela
Towns: Matatiela
 Cedarville

Matatiela:

Child and Social Welfare Soc. 638 Loc.
 Nursery School Soc. 864 Loc.
 Marialinden Clinic 1756 Loc In rural district.
 Returned Soldiers War Fund Defunct c.1953.
 M.C.T.H.
 B.E.S.L. Rep. only.
 Creche & Clinic of Catholic Institution.
 T.B. Assoc. 1944 Loc
 Womens Institute

Cedarville:

Child Welfare Committee Under Matatiela
 Women's Institute

Magisterial District: MiddelriftTown: Middelrift

Maternity Nursing Home 744 Loc.
 Red Cross Rep. only

Magisterial District: MoltensTown: Moltens

Hospital Womens Board of Aid 742 Loc.
 A.C.V.V. 506 Loc.
 Red Cross Rep. only.
 Armesorgkomitee N.G. Kerk
 Sustersorganisasie Herv. Kerk
 B.E.S.L. 233 Johannesburg
 Returned Soldiers Fund Under B.E.S.L.
 M.C.F.R.
 Union of Jewish Women.

Magisterial District: Mt AyliffTown: Mt Ayliff

Women's Institute
 Red Cross Rep. only.
 B.E.S.L. 233 Johannesburg
 Childrens Christmas Fund

Magisterial District: Mt CurrieTowns: Kokstad

Franklin.

Kokstad:

Col. Child & Welfare Soc 216 Loc.
 C.F. Soc. 278 Loc.
 Diocesan Clinics Managing Committee 1829 Loc.
 (Cont. over)

Kokstad Cont.

Mt Currie Cottages	1872 Loc.	Homes for Aged.
B.E.S.L.	233 Johannesburg.	
Boys Club		Defunct c. 1954.
Mt Currie Anti-T.B. Assoc.	590 Durban.	
Col. Community Centre		Under Roman Catholic Auspices.
Women's Institute.		
Zwartberg Women's Institute		In rural district.
M.O.T.H.		
M.O.T.H. Women's Aux.	725 Johannesburg.	

Franklin:

Women's Institute.

Magisterial District: Mt Fletcher (Information incomplete)

Town: Mt Fletcher.

Segobong Clinic Committee	1819 Loc.	
Red Cross		Rep. only.

Magisterial District: Mt Frere.

Town: Mt Frere.

Marie Terese Hospital Committee	1194 Loc.	
Women's Institute		
B.E.S.L. & Women's Aux.	233 Johannesburg.	
Mkeman District Nursing Service		in rural district.
Red Cross		Rep. only.
M.O.T.H.		attached to Umtata Branch.

Magisterial District: Mqanduli.

Town: Mqanduli

Qokolweni Clinic	1685 Loc.	in rural district.
Red Cross		Rep. only.
Women's Institute		
Filo Clinic		in rural district.
Nenga Clinic		in rural district.
M.O.T.H.		attached to Umtata Branch.

Magisterial District: Ngqeleni

Town: Ngqeleni.

Old Bunting Mission Clinic	1866 Loc.	
Ngqeleni Women's Work Party		Rep. only.
Red Cross		
B.E.S.L.	233 Johannesburg.	
St Barnabas Mission Hospital	878 Loc.	in rural district.
Ngqeleni Clinic Board	936 Loc.	

Magisterial District: Ngamakwe

Town: Ngamakwe.

Blythswok Welfare Org.	1237 Loc.	in rural district.
District Native Charitable Org.	1563 Loc.	3 clinics in rural district.
B.E.S.L.	233 Johannesburg.	
Red Cross		Rep. only.
War Memorial Fund		Under B.E.S.L.
Ngamakwe Women's Club.		

Magisterial District: Pearston

Town: Pearston

Town and District Nursing Soc.	1689 Loc.	
A.C.V.V.	571 Loc.	
		Information incomplete.

x.

Magisterial District: Peddie

Town: Peddie

Peddie Women's Guild 1217 Loc.
M.C.T.H.
B.E.S.L. & Women's Aux. 233 Johannesburg.
Red Cross Local Centre 415 Cape Town.

Magisterial District: Port St Johns.

Town: Port St. Johns.

Rural Health Committee 1667 Loc. In rural district.
B.E.S.L. 233 Johannesburg.
Women's Institute 'in recess' 1954.
Carols By Candlelight 290 Johannesburg.
M.C.T.H.
Mayor's Poor Relief Fund under Municipality
Red Cross Rep. only.

Magisterial District: Queenstown

Towns: Queenstown

Whittlesea.

Queenstown:

Benev. & C.R. Soc. 647 Loc.
Kamastone Health Centre 1281 Loc in rural district.
Carols by Candlelight 1771 Loc.
Madeira Home Housing Utility Co. 1792 Loc.
Tot H. Mens Section 400 Johannesburg.
Tot B. Womens Section 50 Johannesburg.
Round Table No 16
B.E.S.L. & Women's Aux. 233 Johannesburg.
M.C.T.H.
M.C.T.H. Womens Aux. 725 Johannesburg.
Sunshine Home Christmas Stamp Fund 728 Durban. F.B. Preventorium
St Monica's Home Defunct 1955.
S.C.T.V.
A.T.K.V. 71 Johannesburg.
Jewish Burial & Helping Hand Soc.
Women's Board of Aid, Hospital.
Col. Women's Board of Aid Hospital
Armesorgkomitee N.G. Kerk.
C.P.V.A.A.
St John Ambulance Rep. only.
S.A.R. Womens Assoc. Rep. only.
Red Cross
Union of Jewish Women
S.A. Nurses Trust Fund 1009 Johannesburg.

Whittlesea:

Red Cross Local Centre 415 Cape Town.
B.E.S.L. 233 Johannesburg.

Magisterial District: Qumbu

Town Qumbu.

B.E.S.L. & Women's Aux. 233 Johannesburg.
Red Cross Rep. only.
Shawbery Clinic 1834 Loc. in rural district.
Messie Knight Hospital 1197 Loc in rural district.
Women's Institute resuscitated 1955.

Magisterial District: St Marks

Town: Cofimvaba

Christmas Fund under municipality
Red Cross Local Centre 415 Cape Town.
B.E.S.L. Rep. only.
St Marks Health Centre 1832

Magisterial District: Somerset East

Towns: Somerset East,
Cookhouse,
Kommadagga.

Somerset East: (Information incomplete)

Welfare Soc. for Non-European 212 Loc.
A.C.V.V. 579 Loc.
Anti-T.B. Assoc. 931 Loc.
Ladies Board of Aid 1762 Loc.
B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux. 233 Johannesburg
Red Cross Detachment 760 Port Elizabeth.
S.A. Nurses Trust Fund 1009 Johannesburg.
C.P.W.A.A.

Cookhouse:

Nursing Service S.A. Railways.
A.T.K.V. 71 Johannesburg.

Kommadagga:

A.T.K.V. 71 Johannesburg.

Magisterial District: Sterkstroom

Town: Sterkstroom

A.C.V.V. 463 Loc
Red Cross Local Centre 415 Cape Town.
C.P.W.A.A.

Magisterial District: Steynsburg

Town: Steynsburg

Hospital Board 1226 Loc.
A.C.V.V. 567 Loc.
C.P.W.A.A.
sustersorganisasie Herv. Kerk
Armesorgkomitee N.G. Kerk.
Hervin Orphanage for Girls Under N.G. Kerk.
B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux 233 Johannesburg.

Magisterial District: Stockenstr.oom.

Towns: Balfour
Seymour

Balfour:

Red Cross Rep. only.
A.V.F.H.

Seymour:

Red Cross Rep. only.
B.E.S.L. 233 Johannesburg.

Magisterial District: Stutterheim

Towns: Stutterheim.
Upper Kubusie.

Stutterheim:

Women's Social Aid Soc. 1072 Loc.
C.P.W.A.A.
B.E.S.L. 233 Johannesburg.
M.O.T.H.
Tot H. Mens Section 400 Johannesburg.
Red Cross Local Centre 415 Cape Town.

Upper Kubusie:

Womens Association
B.E.S.L. 233 Johannesburg.

Magisterial District: Tabankulu

Town: Tabankulu
Mand. Mission Clinic 1973 Loc in rural district
Red Cross Rep. only.

Magisterial District: TarkaTown: Tarkastad

Martjie Venter Memorial Hospital 704 Loc.

Armesorgkomitee N.G. Kerk

S.O.T.H.

B.E.S.L.

233 Johannesburg.

C.F.W.A.A.

Magisterial District: TsoloTown: Tsolo

St Lucy's Hospital

1193 Loc. in rural district

Mbuto Clinic Assoc.

1978 Loc in rural district

Womens Institute

Red Cross

Rep. only.

Cape African Parents Assoc.

656 Lady Frere Rep. only

B.E.S.L.

233 Johannesburg.

Neambile Clinic Assoc.

1991 Loc. in rural district

Magisterial District: Tsomo.Town: Tsomo

Plumstead African Health Centre

1763 Loc. in rural district.

Red Cross

Rep. only.

Magisterial District: UmtataTown: Umtata.

C.F. Soc

297 Loc.

Sangoni Nursing Clinic

1672 Loc.

Anti-T.B. Assoc.

1611 Loc.

Round Table No 4

1596 Loc.

Red Cross Local Centre

415 Cape Town.

Hospital Amenities fund

Union of Jewish Women

B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux.

233 Johannesburg.

Mayor's Memorial Hall Fund

M.O.T.H.

M.O.T.H. Women's Aux.

725 Johannesburg

S.A. Nurses Trust Fund

1009 Johannesburg.

Magisterial District: Umziakulu (Information incomplete)Town: Umziakulu

St Margaret's Hospital

904 Loc.

B.E.S.L.

233 Johannesburg.

Womens Institute.

Magisterial District: VenterstadTown: Venterstad

A.S.V.V.

355 Loc.

Gustersorganisasie Barv Kerk

Magisterial District: Victoria EastTowns: Alice/Lovedale.

Hobbiton-On-Hogs-Back Childrens Camp 1336 Loc. in rural distri

Health, Social & C.F. Soc.

265 Loc.

S.A.N.T.A. Branch

1220 Loc.

B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux.

233 Johannesburg.

Victoria East Club

controls local hall.

C.F.W.A.A.

Ntselezanzi Creche

childrens institution.

Red Cross Local Centre

415 Cape Town

M.O.T.U.

M.O.T.H.

Institute of Race Relations

219 Johannesburg

S.A. Nurses Trust Fund

1009 Johannesburg.

Lovedale Health, Social Service
Committee

745 Loc.

Magisterial District: WillowvaleTown: Willowvale

Red Cross

Fort Malan Clinic

B.E.S.L. & Womens Aux.

1231 Loc.

Rep. only.

Associated with
Idutywa.Magisterial District: Wodehouse.Town: Dorrecht.

A.G.V.V.

Gedenk Verpleeginrigting

M.H.S.V.

Red Cross Local Centre

577 Loc.

740 Loc.

708 Loc.

415 Cape Town.

Clinic

Herv.Kerk Auspices

Magisterial District: Xalange.Town: Cala.

C.W. Soc.

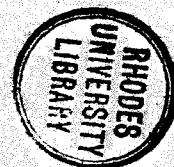
Board of Control, Hospital

B.E.S.L.

650 Loc.

1182 Loc.

223 Johannesburg.

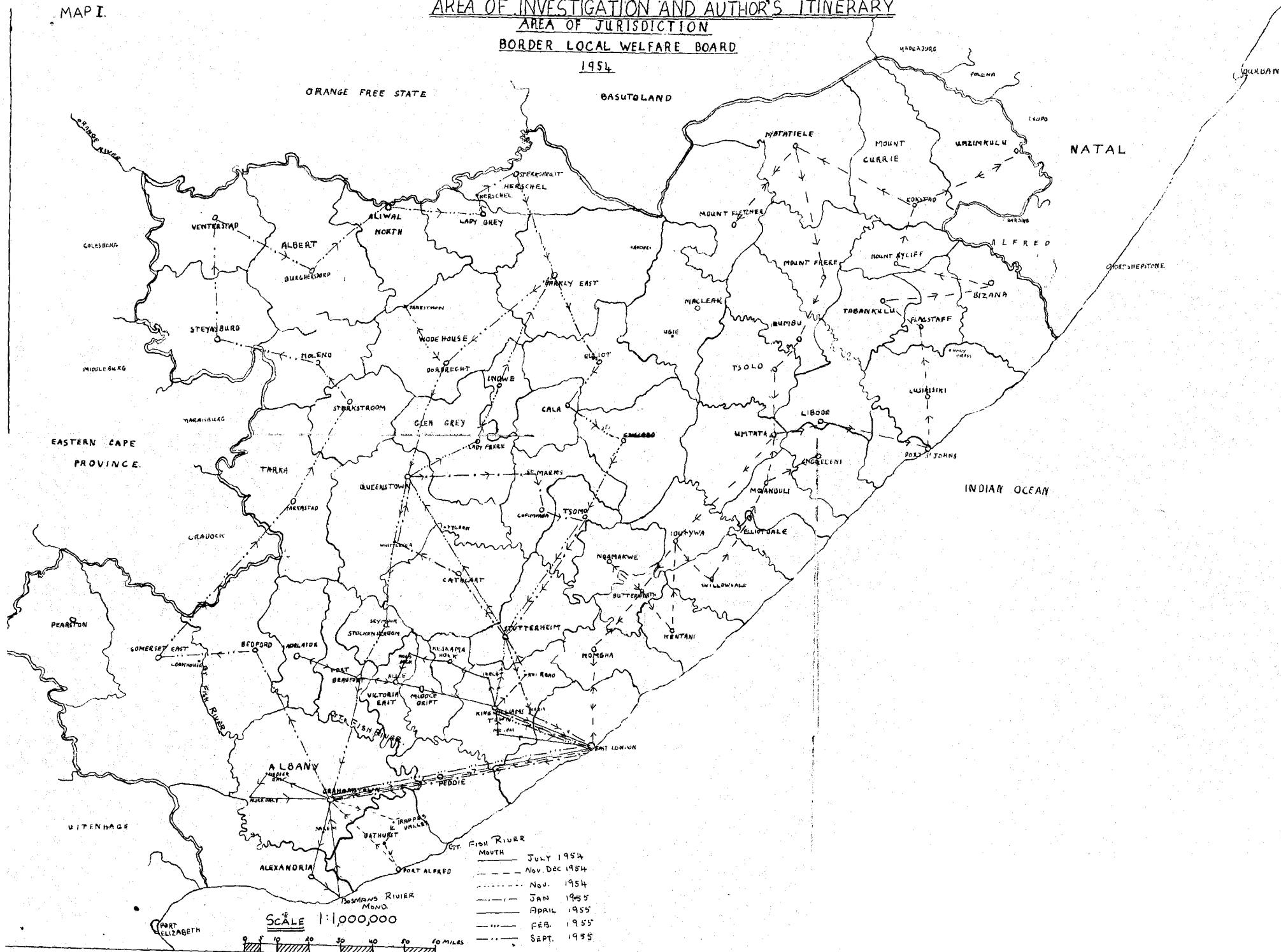
Associated with
Elliot.

MAP I.

AREA OF INVESTIGATION AND AUTHOR'S ITINERARY

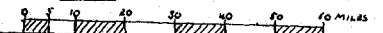
AREA OF JURISDICTION BORDER LOCAL WELFARE BOARD

1954



- JULY 1954
- - - - - NOV. DEC 1954
- · · · · NOV. 1954
- JAN 1955
- - - - - APRIL 1955
- · · · · FEB. 1955
- - - - - SEPT. 1955

SCALE 1:1,000,000

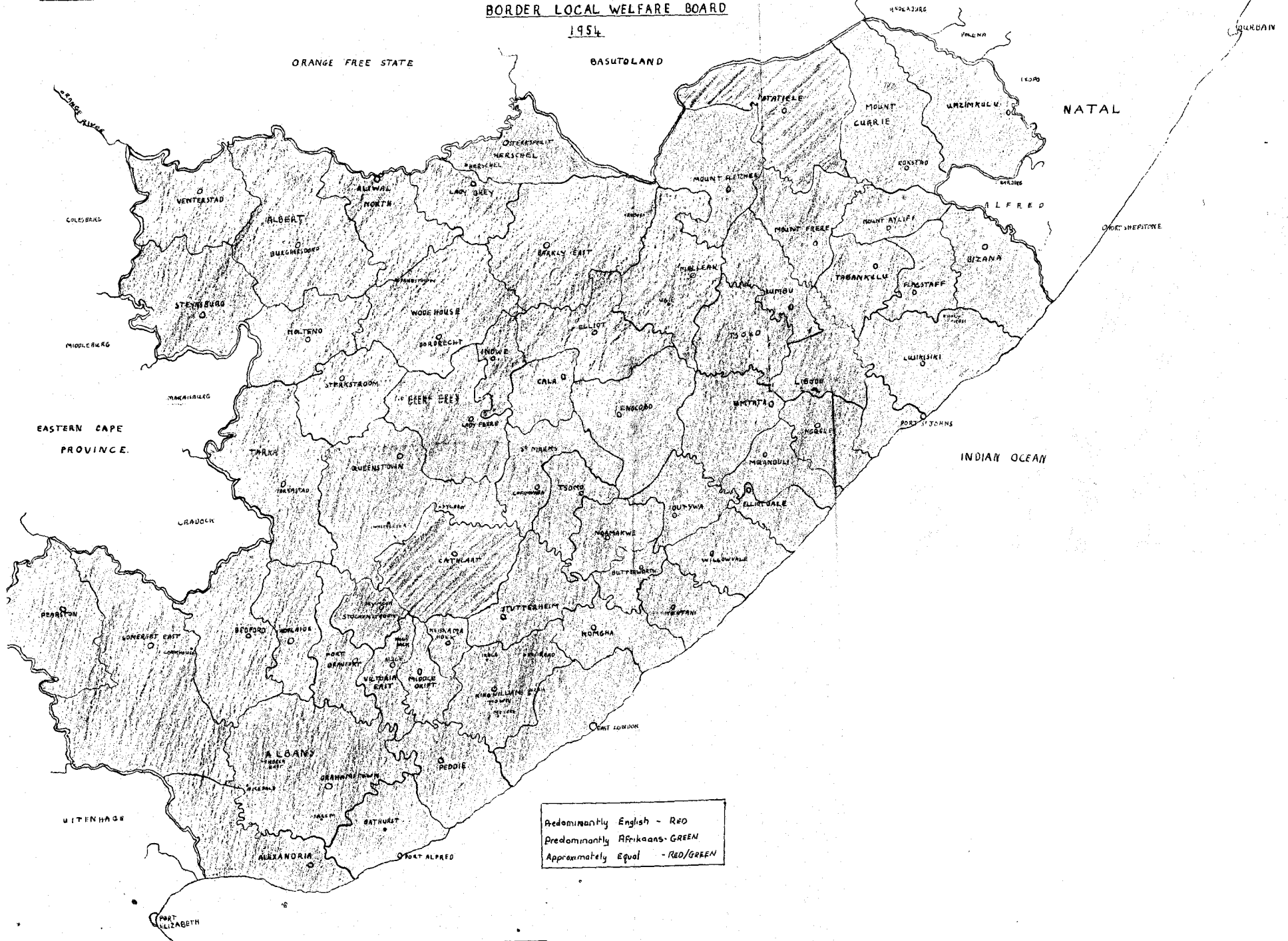


LANGUAGE AFFILIATION OF THE ADULT EUROPEAN POPULATION.

AREA OF JURISDICTION

BORDER LOCAL WELFARE BOARD

1954



Predominantly English - RED
 Predominantly Afrikaans - GREEN
 Approximately Equal - RED/GREEN