Comment

Liberalism *interruptus*: Leo Kuper and the Durban school of oppositional empirical sociology of the 1950s and 1960s

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Its roots lie in nineteenth-century liberal thought generally: in characteristically liberal assumptions about the basic unity of mankind, the dignity of the human personality, the fundamental rights of the individual without respect to race or creed, the benefits of education, the power of reason, and the possibility of reasoned progress. In South Africa liberalism has been particularly marked by its concern with race relations. (Wright 1977:4)

As a consistent indictment of what it saw as the political and social injustice and economic irrationality of segregation and apartheid, in a general sense, liberal … writing may be seen as something of a manifesto for a multiracial capitalist society built on individual rights. (Ross et al 2012:3-4)

There is evidence of a growing interest in documenting details of the oppositional intellectuals and intellectual movements at South Africa’s English-language universities during the apartheid era. Hitherto, however, the focus has been primarily upon those dating from the 1970s and 1980s and espousing a ‘radical’ or ‘marxian’ perspective on South African society (Ally 2005, *Transformation* 72/73 2010, Keniston 2013, Maré 2014, Moss 2014). In the process, it is conceivably possible that the potential significance of the work of an earlier generation of oppositional scholars who generally adopted a ‘liberal’ perspective could be overlooked.

Here I focus on the intellectual endeavours of one such earlier small grouping: the liberal scholars led by Leo Kuper at the University of Natal,
Durban (UND), during the 1950s and 1960s. These scholars produced a series of detailed empirical social studies of Durban which were broadly concerned with ‘race relations’ in the city. In so doing, they followed the classical Chicago sociologist Robert E Park’s dictum of viewing the city as a ‘social laboratory’ (Park 1929/1967). Simultaneously, they implicitly shared the liberal assumption that apartheid as it was then in the process of being implemented at the local level in Durban was an inherently destructive social force.

In the event, this proved to be but a brief flowering of liberal empirical sociology in Durban. Several members of the group, most notably Leo Kuper himself, left the country permanently, in most instances because of increasingly frequent harassment by the apartheid state. As a result, while the group’s synthesis of oppositional liberalism and empirical urban sociology was to be continued by those few of its members who remained, with the disappearance of key figures coupled with the rise of the ‘radical’ socio-political paradigm in local intellectual circles, this rapidly became a case of ‘liberalism interruptus’.

In what follows, first the CVs of the members of the group are outlined; next the group’s specific empirical contributions are explored in greater detail; then the subsequent diaspora of its members is traced; and lastly its potential intellectual legacy is suggested.

The *dramatis personae* of the UND social research initiative

Leo Kuper was appointed professor and head of the UND department of sociology and social work in 1953. He was 45 years of age, had qualified as a lawyer at the University of the Witwatersrand before World War II, served in the South African forces during the war and then studied in both the USA and Britain. He had received an MA in sociology from the University of North Carolina (1947) and his PhD from Birmingham University in Britain in 1952. In Birmingham, he worked with the leading British empirical sociologist, John Madge, and was involved in a large-scale survey of the war-ravaged city of Coventry as a basis for its post-war reconstruction. Simultaneously, his LSE-trained anthropologist wife, Hilda, was appointed a senior lecturer in the then department of Bantu Studies at UND. Together they formed a formidable intellectual couple on campus.

In 1953 the Kupers also became foundation members of the multiracial new South African Liberal Party which included the author Alan Paton and
other leading oppositional intellectuals. The Liberal Party was bitterly opposed to the programme of apartheid policies then being increasingly instituted by the National Party government. In Durban, the Kupers established an informal multiracial salon which regularly gathered at their home. Margo Russell recalled in an obituary for Hilda Kuper (1911-1992):

I first met Hilda Kuper in 1953 when I was a gauche undergraduate at the University of Natal and she … (was) wife to the sociologist Leo Kuper with whom I was privileged to be studying and who would take me, unannounced, home to lunch or tea … The Kuper’s house was open house to the Durban intelligentsia of the liberal left. I hovered on the edge of this charmed circle of Jewish lawyers and doctors, visiting American academics, Black educationalists, and Indians. The talk was all of politics and police raids, of shrinking freedom of speech and association and the tardy complacency of the Natal English. Hilda seemed always at the centre of a bevy of Indian ladies in shimmering saris … (Africa 1994,64:145)

The Kupers were to remain at UND for eight years during which the oppositional liberal empirical social research initiative in Durban reached its peak. However, in 1961 they left to settle in permanent exile in the United States.

Although ostensibly multiracial, the UND oppositional liberal research group nevertheless remained dominated both numerically and organisationally by its white members throughout its existence. Those most closely involved in it were:

- Ronald Davies (a human geographer specialising in urban socio-spatial studies; a graduate of Rhodes University and London University)
- Hamish Dickie-Clark (a sociology graduate of Rhodes University and senior lecturer in sociology at UND)
- Bernard Magubane (a sociology student at UND ‘non-European’/City Buildings campus and research assistant to Leo Kuper)
- Fatima Meer (a sociology student at UND ‘non-European’/City Buildings campus; appointed sociology lecturer at UND in 1956)
- Margo Russell (a sociology student at UND; appointed sociology lecturer at UND in 1956)
- Hilstan Watts (a sociology graduate of Rhodes University specialising in social demography and quantitative research methods; originally a sociology lecturer at Rhodes, he was later to become director of UND’s Institute for Social Research)
It was these scholars who, in association with Leo Kuper over the course of the 1950s and early 1960s, were responsible for producing the series of works which together comprise the substance of the UND empirical research initiative.

The Durban studies
All of the local investigations carried out by the UND research grouping focused on issues of race and race relations. The group’s members were further united by all being heavily influenced by the intellectual paradigm associated with the Chicago school of sociology as enunciated by Robert E Park and his followers (Park, Burgess and McKenzie 1925/1968). By the early 1950s, the ‘Chicago approach’ had developed into a multifaceted sociological perspective emphasising a focus on cities. It involved a commitment to empirical research which included macroscopic quantitative studies and micro-level ethnographic community studies, as well as specific interests in race relations, social marginality and social pathologies in urban contexts. Theoretically, conceptually and methodologically, the work of the UND grouping consistently reflects this Chicago influence.

Appropriately, the group’s first and most ambitious study was led by Leo Kuper himself. He undertook it in collaboration with the urban geographer Ron Davies and the social demographer Hilstan Watts. It was an investigation of what, following in the Chicago school tradition, they termed the ‘racial ecology’ of Durban.

The Kuper, Watts and Davies ‘racial ecology’ study
By the time the Kupers arrived in Durban in the early 1950s, an apartheid blueprint had been proposed for a fundamental reorganisation of the socio-spatial order of the city on strictly racially segregated lines. The new city plan had been devised by a technical sub-committee of the exclusively white city council. This sub-committee had been instructed to adhere to the principles embodied in the central government’s Group Areas Act of 1950. In terms of this, the envisaged utopian apartheid city of the future would be one in which contact between people of different racial backgrounds would be reduced to an absolute minimum. Its different racial categories would live separately, travel separately and interracial contact between them would be confined exclusively to workplace situations.

At the time, Durban had a racially heterogeneous population of some 420,000. It was composed of roughly equal proportions of people of African,
Indian and European (white) origin as well as a minority of coloured people (See Table 1).

Table 1. 1951 Census: Racial Composition of Durban’s Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites (‘Europeans’)</td>
<td>131,293</td>
<td>30.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloureds</td>
<td>16,489</td>
<td>3.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>146,183</td>
<td>33.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>136,279</td>
<td>31.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>420,244</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kuper, Watts and Davies (1958:51)

Historically in South Africa, a person’s racial background had been the key determinant of what Max Weber termed his or her ‘life chances’ – ‘The chances an individual has of sharing in the economic and cultural goods of a society’ (Abercrombie et al 1984:120). White people had long enjoyed the best life chances, coloured and Indian people substantially lesser ones and black African people the least life chances of all. The policies introduced by the apartheid state, including the Group Areas Act, sought to not only entrench but to extend this situation. This was reflected in the proposed blueprint for turning Durban into an ideal apartheid city. Broadly stated, its proposals were for white people to retain their existing privileged locales while virtually all African, Indian and coloured inhabitants of the city were to be removed to new designated purpose-built ‘group areas’ on the urban periphery (See Figure 1). Not surprisingly, this plan generated considerable local concern and debate, particularly amongst those who were most likely to be affected by it.

Given both his liberal convictions and his previous professional involvement in urban social reconstruction projects in post-war Britain (Kuper 1953), these proposals immediately attracted Leo Kuper’s attention. A major justification offered by proponents of the new Durban blueprint was that racial segregation was rapidly breaking down in the city, particularly in residential areas. This had resulted in various official commissions in the 1940s which had sought to halt this process. In addition, there was concern over the proliferation of informal settlements and associated slum conditions in areas such as Cato Manor. It was against this background that Kuper initiated the study which was ultimately published under the title, Durban: a study in racial ecology (Kuper et al 1958).
Figure 1: Durban Group Areas Proposals 1952

Source: Cambridge History of South Africa Vol 2 (2012:375)
The study’s primary aim was to empirically test the claim that racial segregation, especially residential segregation, was breaking down in Durban. For methodological inspiration, the three researchers turned to the quantitative urban ‘ecological’ tradition of the Chicago school as exemplified by studies of the socio-demographic geography of US cities. This approach was undergoing rapid development in the US at that time, leading to the emergence first of ‘social area analysis’ (Shevky and Bell 1955) and then of ‘factorial ecology’ (Berry and Kasarda 1977). As was standard in the US studies, the Durban researchers chose to utilise official census data as collected and collated at the neighbourhood level in small ‘census enumerators’ districts’ for the 1951 official South African census and covering the entire Durban area. On the basis of this data, they calculated segregation indexes for each of the city’s myriad of census enumeration districts, with absolute integration being 0.00 and absolute segregation 1.00.

The results of this analysis led the researchers to the conclusion that, in all but a few locales in the city, the existing levels of racial segregation remained consistently high throughout. They further concluded that, taken as a whole, Durban (with, for instance, a segregation index of 0.91 between white and Indian residents) had higher racial segregation indexes than most US cities. As a result, they criticised the official blueprint for proposing that the large-scale relocation of the city’s inhabitants of colour was necessary for it to become a model segregated ‘apartheid city’. They maintained that the apartheid city ideal had already been realised to all intents and purposes in Durban. These conclusions were not well received by either the Durban city council or the apartheid state.

Leo Kuper had attracted the increasing attention of agents of the apartheid state for his outspoken liberal political opinions and determinedly non-racial private life. The scholarly report on Durban’s racial ecology served only to intensify the state’s pressure on him and also on his research associates. Nevertheless, he continued to encourage his colleagues and students to investigate race issues and race relations in the city. This resulted in a series of further empirical studies of various facets of these phenomena.

*Studies of local communities in Durban*

In a manner reminiscent of Park’s Chicago students before World War II, some of Kuper’s associates turned their attention to studying small neighbourhood communities within Durban itself. They did so using a combination of intensive ethnographic fieldwork and survey methodology.
Specifically, Margo Russell focused on the Botanic Gardens neighbourhood while Hamish Dickie-Clark concentrated on Sparks Estate.

Botanic Gardens was an established residential neighbourhood close to the city centre. It had originally been an exclusively white suburb but, beginning in the late 1930s, it had become racially mixed with both Indian and coloured families settling in homes there. By the 1950s, in terms of the new Group Areas plan it was scheduled to become a white neighbourhood once more. Sparks Estate, on the other hand, was a new residential area developed exclusively for coloured people on what was then the city’s western outskirts. The two locales thus represented the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ Durban – the pre-apartheid and the apartheid eras.

_A study of a South African interracial neighbourhood_ (Russell 1961)

Botanic Gardens contains a population of approximately 800 people of which roughly half is White, half non-White ... although non-Whites constitute slightly more than half the population, they are housed in slightly more than a third of the dwellings, and are consequently limited to less than their proportionate space in the area. While each White-occupied dwelling has an average of 4.2 occupants, each Indian dwelling has an average of 6.6 occupants, and each Coloured dwelling an average of 7.8 occupants. (Russell 1961:49)

Apartheid ideologues of the period maintained that the Group Areas Act was entirely necessary because ‘interracial contact inevitably leads to interracial conflict’. This contradicted the contemporary claim made in the United States where it was believed that racial integration in both public and private housing promoted greater interracial harmony. In the US, sociologists were busy empirically testing this assertion. Which view was the more accurate? It was this question which Russell sought to answer by studying race relations in Durban’s Botanic Gardens suburb in the 1950s.

Her three central research questions were:

- Did proximity to neighbours of a different racial background lead to greater contact between them or to deliberate avoidance?
- Did contact between neighbours of different racial backgrounds lead to friendly relations developing between them or the opposite?
- Did friendly relations between neighbours of different racial backgrounds lead to a breakdown of prejudiced racial stereotyping and attitudes or not?
Figure 2. Residential racial profile of Botanic Gardens at the time of the study

Source: Russell (1961:3)
In Figure 2, the darkest-shaded dwellings indicate Indian residents; lighter shaded dwellings indicate coloured residents; unshaded dwellings indicate white residents and residents dubbed ‘playwhites’ – a racial category existing in the neighbourhood and applied to people who ‘passed for white’ in many situations but were regarded by locals as being ‘really coloureds’.

According to Russell (1961:92-93):

In time it became clear that the people of the neighbourhood recognised two categories of Coloured people, the ‘Coloureds’ who were generally dark … and the light-skinned group on the fringe of acceptance into White society, and were called ‘playwhites’ by the non-Whites of the neighbourhood … usually in derision or scorn.

Russell pursued answers to her three research questions by residing in the neighbourhood herself, enabling her to gather qualitative data by means of participant observation. In addition, she undertook a racially stratified sample survey of households in the neighbourhood and interviewed a total of 166 residents (79 Indian; 60 white; 27 coloured) using a structured interview schedule. Her conclusions with regard to the three research questions based on her findings were that:

- Proximity to neighbours of a different racial background did generally lead to greater contact.
- The extent to which friendly relations developed due to contact between neighbours of different racial backgrounds varied considerably with age and gender – children formed friendships across the ‘colour bar’ but from adolescence onwards Whites increasingly avoided such contacts.
- Friendly relations between neighbours of different racial backgrounds did not serve to undermine existing general racial stereotypes or attitudes.

Russell’s overall conclusion was that the consequences for race relations of residential propinquity cannot be reduced to simple formulas such as either ‘interracial contact leads to interracial conflict’ or its opposite. Rather, in the light of her findings in Botanic Gardens, she advanced the theory that race relations in multiracial residential neighbourhoods are shaped by a combination of both the economic, educational and occupational characteristics of the residents and the attitudes towards multiracialism prevailing in the wider society.
Figure 3. Homes in Botanic Gardens

**INDIAN HOUSE IN FOREGROUND WITH WHITE NEIGHBOURS ON THE RIGHT**

**OLD BUILDINGS IN FOREGROUND ARE OCCUPIED BY WHITES. COLOURED AND INDIANS OCCUPY BUILDINGS ON EXTREME LEFT.**

Source: Russell (1961:78)
Figure 4. House types in Sparks Estate

A typical house in the Sparks Estate sub-economic scheme.

Sparks Estate economic selling scheme. The purchaser of this home 'graduated' from a Melbourne Road sub-economic flat.

Source: Natal Regional Survey/Durban Housing Survey (1952:240)
The Marginal Situation: a sociological study of a Coloured group
(Dickie-Clark 1966)

For more than 30 years, students of certain aspects of race and culture contact have drawn upon a set of theoretical propositions which may be called ‘the theory of the marginal man’ … (According to Stonequist) … ‘the most obvious type of marginal man is the person of mixed racial ancestry … who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) worlds’ … (Dickie-Clark 1966:7-8)

In Durban at that time, people identified as being ‘coloured’ because of their mixed racial ancestry formed a minority who were distinct from the three main local racial communities: African, Indian and white. In short, Durban’s coloured inhabitants occupied a marginal situation ‘… between two (or more) worlds’.

Commencing in the mid-1950s, Dickie-Clark embarked on a study of the coloured community in the Sparks Estate Coloured Group Area. While the UND psychologist Jack Mann (1957) focused on the psychological dimensions of marginality in the community, Dickie-Clark took as his central research interest the implications of the community’s marginal situation for its internal social organisation. In particular, he sought to determine the effects of the marginal situation on political affiliations, participation in voluntary associations, relations with people of other races and interpersonal relations within the community. He used a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods, combining a measure of participant observation with a sample survey of 184 households followed by a series of sub-samples of various types of residents.

The study was a protracted one which took several years to complete. Dickie-Clark’s main findings were that:

- On the issue of political participation and affiliation, community members were generally both inactive and apathetic:
  ‘Not a single person (surveyed) claimed to be a member of any political party whose membership was open to Coloureds.’ (Dickie-Clark 1966:113)

  Community members were extremely reluctant to become involved in active politics.

- Participation in voluntary associations was limited despite the identification of 70 associations of various types within the community. Many, however, proved to be short-lived or had long dormant periods
and were poorly organised. Nevertheless, they did afford opportunities for individuals to express themselves.

- Members of the coloured community had very limited social relations with people of other racial backgrounds:
  
  ‘Excluded from the White stratum by the action of the Whites, Coloureds refuse to become integrated in any way with the African and Indian strata. This they do because of their marginal situation.’ (Dickie-Clark 1966:155)

- In interpersonal relations, coloured people were highly judgmental:
  
  ‘… the Coloureds’ own view that only those who have some White blood and maintain a decent, White standard of living really belong in the Coloured stratum, is widely accepted by them.’ (Dickie-Clark 1966:166).

These findings led Dickie-Clark to advance the theory that the social organisation of communities of people in marginal situations will exhibit these same characteristics.

**Pioneering black oppositional empirical sociology at UND**

… there were dark clouds which often dimmed the bright vision that many of us had. The most serious of them came from the interference by the Nationalist Government in its application of apartheid in the university sphere. These efforts on the part of the Government very nearly wrecked the non-European section and our Medical School during the 1950s. By 1958 the number of non-White students attending university in Durban had risen to 600 of whom about 200 were studying in the Medical School. Natal at that time had the largest number of non-Whites attending at any South African university. In protest against the ‘Separate Universities Education Bill’ (1957) …members of the Medical Faculty … decided to resign if the Bill was implemented … and (this) resulted in our finally winning the battle for retaining the Medical School as well as the non-White section of the University of Natal. (Malherbe 1981:311-12. [Malherbe was the principal of the University of Natal in the period 1944-1965])

During the 1950s, UND operated on three separate campuses: Howard College on the Berea ridge, the Medical School, and downtown at City Buildings/Marian Buildings. The latter was the base for an assortment of disciplines, including law and commerce, and catered primarily to part-time students by providing evening lectures. Most who attended these classes were African, coloured and Indian students and the downtown campus was in effect the ‘non-European section’ of UND.
Leo Kuper’s liberal-inspired response to the apartheid state’s efforts to enforce increasing racial segregation at UND was to refuse to hold sociology lectures at Howard College. Instead, he made sociology courses available only at City Buildings/Marian Buildings. The result was that white students of sociology were obliged to attend evening lectures together with African, coloured and Indian part-time students at the downtown campus. Emerging from this situation were two black sociologists who were to pioneer black liberal oppositional empirical sociology at UND. The two were Fatima Meer and Bernard (Ben) Magubane.

Fatima Meer was a young member of a leading local activist Muslim extended family while Ben Magubane, from Durban’s Chesterville African township, was a qualified schoolteacher. Both were students at City Building who served as research assistants to Leo Kuper as part of their scholarly training as sociologists. Meer also assisted Russell in her Botanic Gardens study, conducting interviews with Indian residents. Magubane undertook extensive interviewing of African professionals for Kuper in a study which ultimately resulted in the publication of *An African Bourgeoisie* (Kuper 1965). After both had completed honours degrees in sociology they proceeded to register for research masters degrees with Leo Kuper as their supervisor.

In her masters research, Meer (1964) focused on the incidence of suicide amongst people of different racial backgrounds in Durban. Drawing upon the classic sociological study of suicide by Durkheim (1897/1951), she sought to determine whether there were significant racial differences in suicide rates in Durban. Her main findings were that racial differences did indeed exist in the suicide rates and that suicide was consistently highest amongst the city’s Indian inhabitants. This, she suggested, was due primarily to the personal frustrations resulting from their subordinate collective status in the local race-based social hierarchy. This dated from colonial times and had increased in the apartheid era. Meer thus concluded that her Durban study supported Durkheim’s contention that the causes of suicide lie ultimately in prevailing social conditions.

Magubane (1963) chose to research African voluntary associations in Durban, paying particular attention to football (‘soccer’) and especially to soccer teams and their leagues. In contrast to Meer’s study which relied on official statistics, Magubane adopted a qualitative methodology based largely on ethnographic interviews and observations. His report:

- Identifies African soccer in Durban as having originated at American Board Mission stations in the city’s immediate hinterland. (In the early
1900s, for instance, the ‘Shooting Stars’ team was formed at Adams Mission and regularly played matches against teams from Ifafa, Umbumbulu and Inanda).

- Traces the twentieth century evolution of African soccer associations in Durban.
- Documents how many Africans who first served in the administration of these leagues and associations subsequently became leading anti-apartheid political activists.
- Details how the local authorities constantly harassed the sport by deterring the development and use of both formal and informal grounds in the city for African soccer matches.
- Charts how the names of African soccer teams changed over time, with names inspired by eastern European bloc teams like ‘Dynamos’ (Dynamo Kiev), ‘Red Stars’ (Red Star Belgrade) and ‘Spartak’ (Spartak Moscow) becoming increasingly popular in the 1950s.

Magubane concludes in the light of these findings that African soccer as it developed in Durban became increasingly a part of the wider political struggle against apartheid.

As matters transpired, Fatima Meer and Ben Magubane proved to be the last UND sociology students whose research would be supervised by Leo Kuper.

The UND liberal diaspora
With the departure of Leo Kuper for the United States in 1961, the UND liberal oppositional empirical sociology initiative lost its primary driving force. Several other members of the group were to follow suit and pursue their academic careers elsewhere, far from the constraints increasingly placed on their intellectual endeavours by the apartheid state.

Ben Magubane joined Leo Kuper at UCLA on a fellowship in 1961, later settling in Zambia and only returning to South Africa in 1994. Margo Russell fled the country in 1964 together with her artist husband, Martin, and their children. At the time they were being sought by the state’s security police for their alleged involvement in sabotage attempts. They settled in England and then in Swaziland but returned from exile in the mid-1990s. In 1971, Hamish Dickie-Clark left first for Northern Ireland and thence for Canada where he linked up with the South African analyst, Heribert Adam (1971), at Simon Fraser University. Ron Davies left UND to assume the chair of geography at the University of Cape Town in the early 1970s.
Only Fatima Meer and Hilstan Watts remained at UND but they did not collaborate in their subsequent research endeavours. Meer established the Institute for Black Research in Durban in 1972 and continued to publish widely despite being continuously harassed and then banned and detained at various times. As director of the UND Institute for Social Research, Watts organised a multidisciplinary international conference entitled, ‘Focus on Cities’, in 1968 (Watts 1970). He subsequently became UND professor of sociology and then an emeritus professor on his retirement from this post in the early 1990s. At the time of writing, Ron Davies, who is an emeritus professor at the University of Cape Town, is the only surviving member of the group.

As the UND Leo Kuper-inspired oppositional liberal empirical urban sociology grouping disintegrated over the course of the 1960s and early 1970s, so its intellectual influence at UND ebbed away.

**The UND liberal group’s intellectual legacy**

‘I know that I shall die without intellectual heirs – and that is as it should be. My legacy will be, as it were in cash, distributed to many heirs’.

(Georg Simmel, 1858-1918. Quoted in Coser 1965:24)

It is now more than 50 years since Kuper and his associates undertook their investigations of race issues and race relations in Durban. But it is also 20 years since apartheid was officially scrapped in South Africa. Do the intellectual concerns of the UND liberal group’s members back in the 1950s and 1960s thus no longer have any relevance in the ‘new’ Durban of the ‘rainbow nation’ era? In short, have post-apartheid social changes made the group’s work redundant? Specifically:

- Does Durban no longer have a ‘racial ecology’?
- Does the city now have interracial residential neighbourhoods which are models of racial harmony and integration?
- Are distinctive racial and ethnic groupings no longer marginalised in the wider Durban community?
- Have racial differences in suicide rates all but ceased to exist in Durban?
- Is there no longer any connection between local sport and political activities?

These questions constitute the primary intellectual legacy left by the Durban school of oppositional empirical sociology of the 1950s and 1960s. Potential heirs are at liberty to become its beneficiaries.
Acknowledgement
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Judith is responsible for digitally archiving an extensive body of historically significant social scientific materials from both the former Institute for Social Research and the former Centre for Applied Social Sciences in Durban. This is being done in partnership with the British Library of Development Studies, IDS, University of Sussex under their OpenDocs programme. These materials can be freely accessed and downloaded online at http://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/handle/123456789/1662

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