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CASS/22.PRE

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BETWEEN TWO WORLDS : A STUDY OF THE
WORKING LIFE, SOCIAL TIES AND INTER-PERSONAL
RELATIONSHIPS OF AFRICAN WOMEN MIGRANTS IN
DOMESTIC SERVICE IN DURBAN

Volume I

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

This study of African women in domestic service in Durban was carried out in the Department of African Studies at the University of Natal under the direct supervision of Dr. E.J. Krige, Professor of Social Anthropology. The National Council for Social Research of the Department of Education, Arts and Science provided the financial support for the project through the Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal. The views expressed in this work are, however, those of the author alone, and should in no way be construed as representing those of either the Council or of the Institute.

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I N T R O D U C T I O NAIMS AND OUTLINE OF THE STUDY:

The fieldwork upon which this study of African women in domestic employment in Durban is based was begun in March 1962 and completed in July 1966. In all, 25 months of full-time and 26 months of part-time fieldwork went into the investigation.

The aim of this study is to provide a composite picture of the life of African women in domestic service in Durban. Consideration is directed to the different conditions under which African women are employed as servants, to the backgrounds and social characteristics of these women, to the relationship between the servant and her employer and to the possible effects of employment upon the servant. In addition to this, the leisure time activities, contacts in town and total social round of the women's lives will be considered. Throughout, interconnections between the work situation and the private experience of the women will be noted for possible repercussions the one may have on the other.

Data were collected from the intensive investigation of five neighbourhood areas chosen from within contrasting residential areas of Durban and from a sample survey of one of the larger African townships¹ serving the city. These two sources reflect the two polar types of domestic employment available, resident and non-resident service. In the case of the former, where the female servant lives on the premises of the employer, she is in close and continual contact not only with the family of the employer but also with any other servants employed on a similar basis in the immediate neighbourhood. On the other hand she can seldom, if ever, hope to have her husband, children or other kin living with her, and is largely cut off from the core of African community life which now centres on the townships. In contrast non-resident servants usually live in one of the townships not only within the African community but also under relatively normal family conditions. Although the resident type

of domestic service predominates, the number of women seeking non-resident positions is increasing and since it would appear to be the pattern of employment planned for the future, it is felt to be imperative that this type of service be considered.

PROGRAMME OF STUDY:

At the time when this study was initiated there was no compulsory registration of African females in Durban. It was not possible, therefore, to sample from the total universe of female African domestic servants working in the city. As an intensive investigation of the differing conditions of work and more especially the social relations of the servants was planned, it was decided to conduct the major part of the investigation on a neighbourhood basis. Five neighbourhood units were chosen in which residents could be expected to employ servants and to accommodate them on their premises. These were situated in the suburbs of Morningside, Durban North, Stamford Hill, in Wills' Road and at Mariannhill (Figure 1) and full-scale community studies were made of each unit. In addition a random sample was drawn of households in Kwa Mashu, one of the African townships. These sample households were investigated in order to gain some idea of the numbers of township women in domestic employment and also to facilitate the investigation of non-resident service.

1. The Investigation of Domestic Employment in Five Contrasting Neighbourhoods of Durban:

Guided by Kuper, Watts and Davies' (1958) study of the racial and social ecology of Durban, four of the Neighbourhood units were chosen from contrasting residential areas of the city. These differed as to the racial group, cultural background, income and family structure of their residents. In the Morningside and Durban North units all householders were Europeans. In the Stamford Hill unit the majority were European and a minority were Indian.

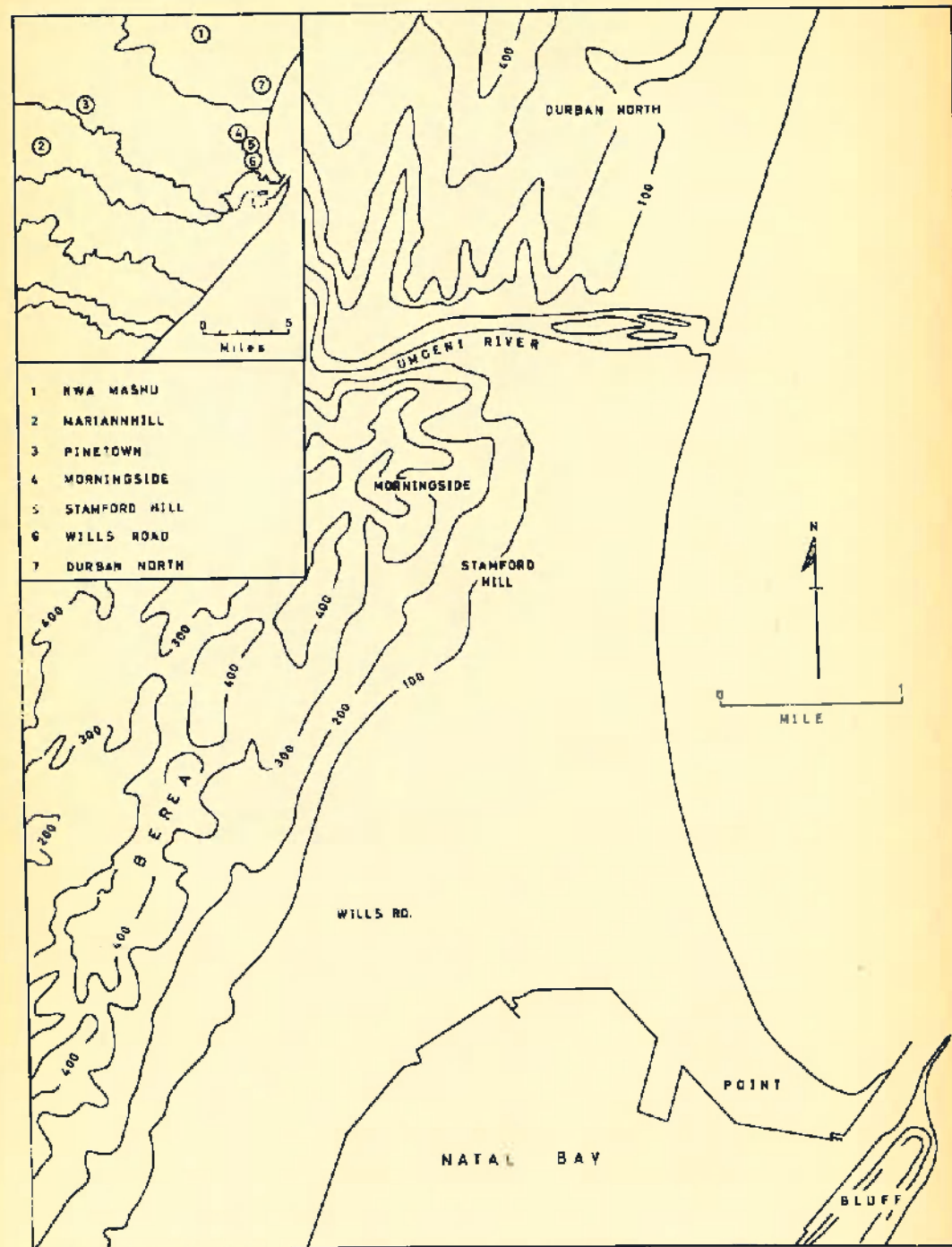


Fig. 1. Location of study areas

and Coloured. The Europeans of the three units differed in economic standing, they belonged to both English and Afrikaans and to immigrant sections of the South African community and they represented families at different stages of development. In the fourth neighbourhood unit, that situated in Wills' Road, Indian householders predominated but there were also Coloured families present

The fifth neighbourhood unit investigated was planned to cover the study of domestic employment in the homes of African families. The location of this unit presented certain difficulties. Since it is now illegal for Africans to own or rent homes within the borough of Durban it had to be chosen from outside this area. Only a small section of the African community as yet employ servants. These are largely the families of business and professional men and those in which the wife works as well as the husband. In the townships, houses are allocated by the administration and not chosen by prospective occupants. This has resulted in extremely heterogeneous settlement patterns in which the well-off and the poor live cheek by jowl and neighbours seldom compare with each other in occupation and social class. It would have been difficult in view of this diversity to have isolated a neighbourhood in which all householders were both in a financial position to employ servants and in which their domestic arrangements also necessitated the employment of domestic help. The unit studied was therefore chosen from amongst a group of teachers and professional men and women living at Mariannhill Roman Catholic Mission situated some 16 miles inland from Durban. The majority of the housewives were teachers at the Mission School and were known to employ servants.

The actual size of the neighbourhood units varied but in all cases was limited by the necessity of investigating each in depth and by the desire that each should represent a unit in itself. All consisted of two or three residential blocks, which were to some extent isolated from the rest of their neighbourhoods by such physical features as parks, vacant lots or large busy highways. The total

number of households investigated in each unit depended upon the number of houses and apartments in the flats in each of the residential blocks. Table I sets out the number of households in each unit and also shows the number of households of each racial group in the various neighbourhood units.

TABLE I
Number of Households of Each Racial Group Investigated in Each Neighbourhood Unit

Neighbourhood Unit	European	Indian	Coloured	African	Total
Morningside	60	-	-	-	60
Durban North	11	-	-	-	11
Stamford Hill	83	7	3	-	93
Wills Road	-	26	10	-	36
Mariamhill	-	-	1	10	11
Total Number of households of each race investigated	154	33	14	10	211

2. The Sample Survey of Kwa Mashu African Township:

African females are to be found working on a non-resident basis all over Durban. Although there tends to be a concentration of such workers in the blocks of flats which dominate the beach front and centre of the city, non-resident employees are also to be found working interspersed with and in addition to resident servants in houses in the suburban areas. Some employers prefer not to have servants living on their premises and many African women with homes and families in Durban do not wish to be accommodated by their employers. The arrangement may thus suit both employer and employee.

The majority of non-resident employees live in the townships and it was therefore decided to take a sample of households from one of the townships and to concentrate the investigation of non-resident employment upon the servants contacted in this way. The choice fell on Kwa Mashu since it was the largest township open at the time. A stratified random sample of 250 households was taken and each household investigated in some detail.

3. Additional Cases Investigated:

During the course of the investigation of the social relations of domestic servants encountered in the neighbourhood units and in Kwa Mashu, between 30 and 35 other African female domestic servants and some 10 to 15 female non-servants were contacted. These women were largely the kin and close friends of the original subjects of the investigation. In this way considerable valuable information was gained on the employment of African women both in domestic service in other areas of the city and in other occupational fields. These additional cases also helped to gain information on the activities of African women who are not in employment.

TOTAL FIELD OF STUDY AND THE NUMBER OF CASES INVESTIGATED:

The complete study is based upon observation in the five neighbourhood units, upon information gained from the Kwa Mashu survey and upon the analysis of the case histories of the individual African women. These totalled over 400 cases of which 300 were studied in detail. The remainder were not completed due either to unco-operativeness on the part of the servant or the employer or to the departure of the servant from the area in which she lived and worked before the completion of the study. Table II indicates the number of case histories investigated in each neighbourhood unit, the number studied from Kwa Mashu, and those taken from amongst kin, friends and acquaintances of the servants.

TABLE II
 Number of Case Histories
 Collected in Each Study Area

Study Area	Number of Case Histories Collected
Morningside Neighbourhood Unit	83
Durban North Neighbourhood Unit	18
Stamford Hill Neighbourhood Unit	105
Wills Road Neighbourhood Unit	44
Mariannhill Neighbourhood Unit	12
Kwa Mashu Survey	107
Additional Cases	50
TOTAL	419

FIELDWORK METHODS:

The principal methods used in fieldwork were the interview and participant observation. These techniques were, however, supplemented by the arrangement of group discussions and by the use of diaries, records of income and expenditure and the personal documentation of life histories by informants. Questionnaires were administered to both employers and servants but the use of this technique was limited. Censuses were taken at the beginning of research in each neighbourhood unit, and from these much of the comparative data as to number, sex and race of servants and family structure of employers was gained.

An African research assistant, Miss M. Gumede, was employed throughout the fieldwork. A teacher with experience in the fields of social medicine and welfare work, she was ideally suited to the position. She acted as an interpreter when necessary, but worked largely in

the building up of contacts with African women. In the later stages of the study she attended ceremonies and activities debarred to the author who was not permitted to remain in the African townships overnight.

Interviews:

Interviews with both employers and servants were held throughout the period of fieldwork. In the initial stages of work in the neighbourhood units and in the Kwa Mashu survey they were the predominant method of gaining information. They served to introduce the study to subjects and accounted for the accumulation of much of the factual data such as that relating to the employment framework and backgrounds of servants. The very nature of the study meant that a good deal of interest was focussed on the homes and family life of the employers. In most cases actual observation of the conduct of domestic life was precluded and information had to be built up by means of discussions with both mistress and servant. It is true that a minority of housewives welcomed the investigator into their homes for long periods during the day and so facilitated the observation of their routine. It was possible also, in a few instances, for the African research assistant to remain on the premises helping the servant with her work. Where interviews were held in the kitchen or in other rooms in the house rather than in the servant's quarters or off the premises, good opportunities arose for observing the demeanour of servant and employer while together. These valuable insights were however, strictly limited and recourse to interviews had to be made in the investigation of most households.

The interviews were for the most part open-ended and unstructured. The informants interests and pre-occupations often guided the discussions, particularly where close rapport had developed between interviewer and subject. Two questionnaires were however administered (see Appendix I and II). Questionnaire 'A' was used in the introductory interviews with employers, but

often served rather as a guide to the interview than as a strict control. In the Kwa Mashu sample however, Questionnaire 'C' was administered to all housewives under similar conditions and the answers were standardised.

The organisation of interviews presented certain difficulties. Those with employers were fairly easy to arrange, and were held during the day unless the employers, both husband and wife, were out a good deal. In these cases, interviews were held in the evening. However, this was not popular with the subjects as they regarded them as an intrusion into their family life. The number of interviews held with these employers was less than the number held with employers who were at home all day.

Interviews with servants were often difficult to arrange. The greatest problem was that of time. Servants are for the most part kept busy during week-days and have only a few hours to spare, those in which they have their meals. Although they may be free over week-ends and have a day off during the week, this time must often be devoted to kin, friends, shopping, churchgoing or other personal business. Since free time is seldom spent on the premises, it was found more valuable to use these free days, where possible, for participating in family and religious gatherings rather than for routine interviews. Servants who were running lucrative and often illegal adjuncts to their domestic employment had even less free time than their fellows to spare for interviews. Evening interviews were unpopular with the servants. They were tired and moreover often expected visits from lovers and male friends at this time. In any case, employers were, on the whole, against such interviews and disliked having the responsibility of a European investigator in their servant's quarters after dark.

The majority of interviews were held during the day when the servants were 'off' for breakfast or lunch. This period lasted between one and two hours. In many cases the subjects could not leave the premises at such times and even welcomed the interviews as a pleasant distraction from the monotony of their daily routine. Too

frequent interviews, however, tended to bore the women and to raise the suspicions of intolerant employers. Despite these difficulties, however, a sufficient number of interviews were held with co-operative servants during the fieldwork period in each unit.

The venue of the interviews also proved problematical. These were usually held on the employers premises. Unfortunately a number of housewives insisted on being present at all such interviews. Even if they did not, in cases where interviews were held in the kitchen or elsewhere about the house employers and their families could overhear the discussion. This tended to create tension and to inhibit confidences on the part of the servant. Where possible, interviews were held in the servants' rooms or in the back gardens of houses out of earshot of employers. The latter's young children, especially where the servant acted as a nursemaid, were often drawn by curiosity, but their presence seldom distressed servants and the possibility of observing the demeanour of the children and the servants when together proved instructive. In cases where employers were totally unco-operative, interviews had to be held away from the premises. Parks and vacant lots proved useful for this purpose. Unfortunately such gatherings tended to raise comment from other residents of the area, both European and non-European. The former often reacted violently to the sight of the European investigator and the subjects sitting together in public. Neighbouring premises were the answer to this problem. Where employers permitted visitors or where they were absent a good deal, interviews could be held on their premises with neighbouring servants.

The difficulties which arose were, for the most part, countered in one way or another and where servants themselves were co-operative, interviews were managed and were successful.

Participant Observation:

Attempts were made on all possible occasions to observe at first hand the servants' activities both at work and in their leisure time. Perhaps the greatest problem in this connection was that the author could not live within the community she was studying and could not become an accepted and normal part of its daily life. However, over long months of fieldwork she developed close rapport with servants and the possibility of spending whole days with some of them in their township homes mitigated against the strangeness of her position. In one sense this very strangeness had its assets. The entertainment and treatment of the author by the servant and her family was a clear indication of their view of European expectations and a mirror of how they felt important guests should be treated.

In most of the homes of employers the presence of the investigators altered or affected the demeanour of mistress and servant when together. In the few cases where housewives were willing to have the author or her assistant in the home for long periods of time, informality became the keynote of the visits and as far as could be judged their presence ceased to affect the relationship of the subjects. Unfortunately these cases were restricted to the two multi-racial areas and to the homes of the less affluent residents. These housewives were at home all day and longed for company. They were flattered by attention and most important, were tolerant of their servants' visitors. The easy-going atmosphere of the households soon absorbed the investigators completely. Similar conditions arose in the purely European areas in homes in which servants were employed as nursemaids. The mothers were at home a good deal and welcomed callers as a diversion to their normal routine. The presence of children eased any tension that might have arisen from the unnatural situation. Nursemaids, when not in the presence of employers, were completely normal in their treatment of their charges and vice-versa.

Participant observation was most successful when attempted during the leisure time of the servants. Both investigator and her assistant accompanied the former on their days off. Visits were made to friends and kin elsewhere in Durban, to homes where these existed in the townships, on shopping expeditions during which the women's tastes and values were clearly demonstrated, and to functions such as religious meetings and church services. These trips provided clues to the preoccupations, problems, and interests of the women. Visits to friends and kin were particularly valuable in that they helped to build up a clear picture of the women's contacts and to give correct weighting to the importance of each member of the women's social circle. Attendance at formal functions, even those stemming from the traditional beliefs, was extremely successful. The women, and indeed all concerned, were usually delighted to receive guests. The range of functions attended was wide. Although most were religious in nature, ordinary birthday parties, money-raising functions, and entertainments such as singing contests and choir recitals were also included. During the course of fieldwork the investigator visited at least 50 religious sects and denominations as the women's religious needs and allegiances were wide flung. In addition to this she attended some six celebrations of a traditional and semi-traditional nature.

The greatest problem in the attendance of all formal gatherings was their venue. Small sects and prayer groups meet in turn in the servants' quarters of tolerant employers. The European investigator could be present at these meetings if given permission by the employers or if she could attend undetected. Larger groups and most established churches have, however, been moved, or are in the process of being moved to the townships²¹. Apart from the difficulties imposed by the distance of these areas from town, the author could not always gain permits from the Bantu authorities to visit the townships over weekends at short notice. Sect meetings often continue all night and under no circumstances was the European investigator allowed to remain in the townships after dark. Where

such meetings occurred in the peri-urban and in White residential areas, however, it was possible for her to attend. In cases where the author could not attend ceremonies, her African assistant attended and made a full and complete report on happenings. Ceremonies of a traditional nature were often held perforce at the rural homes of the women. It was again impossible for the European investigator to attend all these. She did, however, attend some three sacrifices, two within a day's journey from Durban and one in the interior of Zululand.

On occasions both field workers joined groups of women who had collected on the pavements and in parks to relax during their lunch intervals. These were in the nature of group discussions. During these sessions the servants lost their self-consciousness and in the excitement of conversation forgot the presence of 'outsiders'. Many of these discussions were thus informal, the women being deep in conversation when the field workers approached them. Their discussions were indicative of their problems and preoccupations. Perhaps the most useful were those reported by the African field assistant, since the presence of a European tended at first to curtail discussions of things illegal, magical, or of a nature usually kept private from Europeans. Where these topics were intentionally introduced by the European investigator, the discussion often proved stilted.

Written Records:

(a) Life histories and diaries indicating leisure-time activities, income and expenditure:

Women who could write with ease were asked to compile their life histories themselves. Although completely successful in only five cases, these few were invaluable as they were written without any guidance or outside suggestion. Where women found difficulty in writing, life histories were dictated or gained during interviews.

All women were asked to keep diaries. These recorded leisure-time activities, income and expenditure. This experiment was successful in cases where women were par-

ticularly co-operative or where they attached some personal value to the keeping of these records. However, in at least half of the cases, such records proved burdensome and were not kept conscientiously. For many servants the necessity of writing, even in Zulu, imposed a heavy strain. In these cases the author or her research assistant visited the women each week and listed their activities. The records of income and expenditure were useful mainly in that they provided a clue to the ambitions and goods valued by the women. Actual accounts seldom reflected all economic transactions made by the servants as gifts to and from male friends and illegal income and expenditure tended to be suppressed. The written records of life histories as well as day to day experiences revealed the interests and pre-occupations of the servants and added sidelights to their characters often missed where life histories were elicited verbally.

(b) The use of diaries in the study of the social network of each individual:

The value of written records was considerable in that it proved the only way in which a systematic picture could be gained of the personal lives and activities of the servants. Not only were activities recorded but those persons playing important rôles in the lives of the women soon became apparent. From the diaries it was possible to work out the composition of the so-called network of relationships^{3]} which enmeshed each woman. This data provided the basis for the analysis of the personal lives of the servants which makes up the final part of the study.

MAIN DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE COURSE OF THE INVESTIGATION:

Non or Partial Co-operation:

Lack of understanding, suspicion and mistrust of the motives of the study were rife. This led many of the Europeans employers and in particular the Indian and African employers to be unco-operative or at least reserved in the help given investigators. Others resented the intrusion

into their domestic affairs. Certain of the European employers feared official repercussions due to the low wages which they were paying servants. Initial interviews were gained in most cases, but the majority of employers resented the continual visits of the investigators. A number refused to allow these, while some warned their servants not to co-operate further. In many cases, especially among the Europeans, the employers who refused to co-operate were those who had a reputation amongst the servants for being 'bad employers'. They were rumoured to be over-strict, to pay low wages and to give little free time or food to their employees. Others were involved in illegal businesses and any investigation, regardless of its nature, was suspect and objected to in case it uncovered these illegalities.

When working with the non-European employers it was found invaluable to secure the trust and championship of one favoured member of the community. Introductions were then made by the latter and the process of investigation facilitated.

The servants themselves found it even more difficult than their employers to appreciate the significance and reasons for the study. Many feared that it was 'a government' or 'an administration' project and that any information they gave would be used to their detriment. At the time when fieldwork was being done there were rumours about the compulsory registration of all women and their possible endorsement out of town if they failed to fulfil certain requirements. One of these for instance, was length of stay in Durban. This became a contentious question and was often incorrectly answered. This was particularly obvious in the Kwa Mashu sample where home privileges were also dependent on this fact. Raids were also being made on backyards by Municipal Police in search of liquor and more particularly illegal visitors. In one unfortunate instance such a raid occurred immediately after a phase of fieldwork in one area and made any further work there very difficult for a long time. Even where suspicion was absent, it was extremely difficult to explain to the servants the

reason for the questions asked. Books of an anthropological nature were shown to them but these were so far from their fields of experience that few really appreciated what was afoot. In most cases initial co-operation was offered out of good nature, politeness, avarice or curiosity. Later it was consolidated where rapport was established between investigator and subject. There were many ways in which the investigator could assist the women and these were greatly appreciated. Over a period of fieldwork remarkably close relationships developed between the subjects of the study and the two field workers.

Women who consistently refused to be interviewed were found to fall into certain categories which should be mentioned here.

(a) Those servants who were kept so busy at work they had little free time, except on their half-holidays. This time had to be devoted to their friends and kin and to church, shopping, and other personal necessities.

(b) Servants who were involved in illicit activities such as the brewing and sale of liquor.

(c) Those women of a naturally suspicious nature who were known in the neighbourhood for these traits. This suspicion was, however, broken down with time in many cases.

Mobility of Servant Population:

Finally, many of the servants originally contacted left their employment and moved out of the areas before completion of the investigation. Attempts were made, some successful, to trace their movements, and to investigate their subsequent employment. However, where they first visited the rural areas for a time this proved difficult.

P A R T O N E

BACKGROUND TO DOMESTIC SERVICE

PLATE ONE : ASPECTS OF DOMESTIC SERVICE IN DURBAN



a. An African Woman in her uniform as a domestic servant.



b. The Servants' Quarters at the rear of two typical Durban homes.

CHAPTER ONEDOMESTIC SERVICE VERSUS OTHER OCCUPATIONS
OPEN TO AFRICAN WOMEN IN DURBAN

The employment of domestic servants is an accepted part of South African life. In all sections of the European community, amongst the rich and the poor, in urban and rural areas and in both English and in Afrikaans-speaking homes, servants form an integral part of the domestic unit and it is only in a very few cases that households are run entirely without their aid. Non-European families also employ domestic servants but this practice is largely restricted to Indian households and to the wealthier sections of the Coloured and African communities.

The wage paid for domestic labour is, on the whole, low. In Durban the monthly salary paid to servants ranges from as little as two rand to five rand for part-time work and from ten rand to twenty rand for full-time employment. In addition to this, however, the majority of servants are given meals during their working hours, clothing in which to work and many are also provided with accommodation on their employer's premises. These benefits, particularly the accommodation, are often rated almost as highly as the actual wage received.

Most of the South African homes in which servants are employed are situated in fair-sized gardens. A feature of these properties is the servants' quarters or the kia (see Plate 1). This consists of one or two rooms and is usually built at some distance from the main house. It may be attached to other outhouses such as garages, store-rooms and laundries. It is accompanied by its own latrine and its entrance is often screened from the rest of the garden by a low wall. In blocks of flats the servants' quarters are often situated on the roofs^{1]} or with the garages beneath the apartments. In many cases in Durban this accommodation takes the form of dormitories rather than single rooms.

The prevalence and size of gardens which surround most houses in this country has in itself perpetuated the employment of servants. They are required to keep the property neat, tend the flowers and shrubs and cut the often extensive lawns. Males are usually employed for these purposes but it is not unusual to see female servants watering and weeding in the afternoons.

The large gardens also offer space in which to hang washing. Even householders who do not employ full-time servants usually engage a washer-woman to do this chore each week. This practice of doing laundry at home has carried over to flats. Laundry facilities are a common convenience set on the roofs of most city sky-scrapers. Many African women earn their living by doing washing each day for the different tenants of one or two blocks of flats. In some cases washerwomen take the laundry away, wash and iron it at home or in some other suitable place and return it the next day. Public laundries are, thus, not a feature of the urban scene in this country and self-service laundrettes are exceptional. Durban is to some extent atypical in this respect; the Indian sections of the community own a number of laundries. In Durban these cater largely for the tourists and holiday-makers and for institutions such as hospitals and hostels. The majority of private householders and permanent flat-dwellers employ African women to do their laundry. Apart from being the custom, it is far cheaper than patronising even the Indian laundries.

The majority of servants are African - Indians and Coloureds do enter this field but less frequently and are seldom accommodated on their employer's premises^{2]}. Male servants predominated until a decade or so ago. They were responsible for all housework, laundry and gardening. Now, however, with an increase in the demand for labour from industry and commerce an increasing number of men are being drawn into these higher paid fields. Their place is being taken by women for whom few other fields are open. Of the 44,746 African domestic servants in Durban in 1960 (Republic of South Africa, Bureau of Census and

Statistics Population Census, 1960, Sample Tabulation No. 5), 25,003 or over half were female³¹.

African women in themselves form a not insignificant part of the urban African working community. According to the 1960 Population Census they make up approximately 26 per cent of the total African labour force in greater Durban. Forty per cent of the African women living in the city at the time were either in wage employment or private enterprise and of these 74 per cent were employed as domestic servants in the homes of city residents.

THE NATURE OF DOMESTIC SERVICE:

Domestic service is not the uniform occupation it may, at first, be taken to be. There are tremendous variations in conditions of employment and in the demands made upon servants by the various sections of the employing community. Corresponding roughly to the distinction between resident and non-resident service is the full-time/part-time dichotomy. The most prevalent form of service is that which is on a full-time basis in which the servant is accommodated on the premises of the employer. In this case the hours of work are long - from approximately 6.00 or 6.30 a.m. to 7.30 or 8.00 p.m. - with between one and two hours free-time during the day. Even when off duty, however, servants are expected to be within call of their employers and any schedule is flexible in that the servant may be expected to work longer or shorter hours in response to the vagaries of the employer's requests. Part-time work seldom involves residence on the premises. In this case the servant works one or more times a week or for part of each weekday only. After this he or she is free to return home or to engage in an additional job. It is largely women who seek this type of work, although males may be employed as gardeners on this basis. Part-time service is encountered mainly in blocks of flats in which little or no accommodation is provided for females and in the homes of employers unable or unwilling to pay the wages demanded by full-time servants. It may,

however, also supplement full-time employment; for example, a woman may be employed as a laundry help to assist regular servants, or garden work may be done on a weekly or daily basis. On the whole part-time servants receive few of the advantages and benefits accruing to the full-time servant in terms of food, clothing and free accommodation. Its advantages lie, however, in its short hours and in the personal freedom which it allows the employees. These are factors which are highly valued.

Although the framework of employment differs it is in the actual nature of the demands made upon the servants that the greatest variation in the types of domestic jobs available are to be found. While one employer may expect her servant to assist with only the simplest of cleaning work, another may require of her the most intimate, personal and complex of household services. Domestic work stretches, therefore, from the completely unskilled type of position where little or no domestic knowledge is needed and no responsibility is delegated to the servant, to the most highly complex and responsible job, where great skill and efficiency in the domestic field is required.

The high demand for servants and the differences in the framework and in the nature of work demanded in the various domestic jobs make it possible for most African women to find positions which suit both their personal requirements and their capabilities. On the whole it is women with homes in the townships and so with family ties and responsibilities in town who seek part-time work. This leaves them free in the evenings to attend to their families. Single or unattached women with no home base in town usually seek full-time employment because it pays better and, most important, may provide them with accommodation. This is at a premium in Durban where there is only one hostel for single or unattached African women. This houses only 560 women and is always overcrowded. Those women who have no claim to a township home, and who cannot get a room in the hostel must rent accommodation in the

houses of township dwellers. This is expensive and often insecure and in any case illegal in the newest Government controlled township of Umlaas. Resident service offers women with accommodation problems a welcome if not the only feasible alternative to renting rooms.

It is sophisticated women who have had a good deal of experience in dealing with Europeans or in domestic work who fill the more demanding and highly skilled positions. Those women who have had little experience either of working, or of the cultural requirements of their employers, manage to hold down jobs where little is required beyond a willingness to knuckle down to heavy routine cleaning and laundry. Although the easier jobs pay but a pittance, they provide a living for the less sophisticated and for the newcomers to town.

Despite its ready availability and wide scope, domestic service is not regarded as an attractive job by the majority of Africans. Amongst townspeople in particular^{4]}, it carries little or no prestige. In a community where schooling and wealth are the two main indices of social importance, (Hellman, 1967, p. 19), any job which makes no educational demands on the one hand and which is poorly paid on the other, is unlikely to be regarded with favour. All domestic work is associated with unskilled manual labour and contrasted unfavourably with the so-called 'clean' occupations. The latter, such as clerical or professional jobs, involve the use of 'pen, ink and brainwork' rather than muscle - or in this case perhaps, elbowgrease - and so declare their incumbents to have acquired a relatively high degree of schooling. Even those domestic workers who have attained secondary school educations or who are employed in the most demanding of jobs, are still classed derogatively as 'kitchen girls' and lumped together with the mass of the uneducated. No woman furthermore, is likely to be able to cut a dash in the townships on the low wages she earns as a domestic servant. Even the side benefits in terms of free accommodation and second-hand clothing and furniture cannot altogether make up for the lack of ready cash.

There are other reasons deriving from the nature of the work itself which makes domestic service unpopular. For women it is probably in physical terms the most demanding of all jobs and the routine work proves very boring to many of the more sophisticated town dwellers. The long hours are taxing. For resident servants the feeling that they have no time, even when off duty, during which they cannot be summoned by employers, rankles. Complaints are also heard about the lack of choice in food and clothing. Perhaps, however, the greatest drawback to domestic service lies in the continued and potentially irksome contact with the employers. Mistress and servant usually work at close quarters all day and their relationship is characterised by intense personal interaction. Not only may the servant's work be continually under the surveillance of the housewife but the servant's personal demeanour must always be one which pleases her employer. In most other occupations some degree of impersonality is achieved and the intensity of the personal relationship avoided.

THE MAIN TYPES OF OCCUPATION OPEN
TO AFRICAN WOMEN IN DURBAN:

Table III sets out the occupational distribution of African women in Durban in 1960. The majority of working women are shown to be domestic servants. The reasons for this distribution despite the unpopularity of domestic service is not hard to find. Alternative jobs are as yet severely limited and those which do exist demand high qualifications in terms both of formal education and of general sophistication and efficiency. The majority of women do not have the capabilities to hold down many of these jobs. A short resume of the main types of work other than domestic service in which women are found and of the requirements of their jobs will make this clear.

TABLE III

Occupational Distribution of African Females According to Industry Divisions of Population Census, 1960 Durban/Pinetown Economic Region^{5]}

Industry Divisions	Numbers	Percentage
Domestic Servants	25,003	74
Professional and Technical Workers	1,738	5
Factory and Production Workers	850	3
Service Workers	731	2
Sales Workers	178	1
Farmers	138	1
Clerical Workers	59	0.17
No Occupation Stated	5,174	15
Total Economically Active	33,871	
Total Not Economically Active	47,854	
TOTAL	81,725	

Adapted from the Republic of South Africa Bureau of Census and Statistics Population Census, 1960, Sample Tabulation No. 5. page 17.

Professional, Technical and Clerical Services^{6]}

The majority of professional and technical positions require some post-school training and candidates are accepted only after the completion of Standard seven, Junior or Senior Certificate. Women unable, either through lack of financial backing or personal scholastic ability, to achieve these standards are thus automatically debarred from these occupations. Where financial and educational difficulties are surmounted, the course itself must be adequately fulfilled. There is a tremendous drop-out from failures in most of these courses. Professional status, though it carries high rewards in terms of salary^{7]} and prestige is not easily won. Nursing and teaching have for some time provided the highest number of openings in this field. Latterly welfare work has offered some scope but this is limited.

(a) Nursing:

Nursing is probably the most popular professional career. The salary is good and women can continue to work after marriage. Teachers and social workers, as Government employees may not do so or else must accept positions at a much lower wage than that paid to single women. Apart from being a qualified nurse women can train as auxiliary nurse-aides. The educational requirements and the salaries paid in these positions are lower than for nursing, but the prestige attached to them is still high. An asset of all forms of nursing is that since students are provided with accommodation and earn a small salary, they are no burden to their parents or guardians during their training period. There are, however, a limited number of training hospitals. Their waiting lists are long and the competition for admission is keen.

(b) Teaching and Welfare Work:

Teachers' training courses vary in length according to their standard. Quite apart from tuition fees the student must be supported throughout this period. This may place a severe burden on the shoulders of her family. The same drawback is encountered with any other occupation which requires a college or university training. Social work is a good example and even where the requisite qualifications have been attained there is no guarantee that a job will be available. There are few openings for social workers as yet and a number of African women in Durban who have completed social science degrees or diplomas have been forced to accept clerical positions.

(c) Clerical Work:

Clerical work is offered by both European and non-European enterprises as well as by the various authorities dealing with African affairs. The occupation potential in this field is growing. Training for office and clerical work is given in many schools but there are also a number of business colleges which specialise in providing instruction for non-Europeans, and which may subsequently help to place them in jobs. Salaries vary but are in the region of R30 - R50 per month.

Occupations Requiring no Specific Training:

In the majority of occupations which have no specific educational requirements nevertheless demand some degree of sophistication and are only held by women who can speak either English or Afrikaans fluently, and who can interact easily with Europeans on their own ground. Most of these jobs involve service work of some kind.

(a) Service work in hospitals:nurse-aides and hospital maids:

Jobs which involve cleaning and other menial tasks are offered by both European and non-European hospitals, and by a number of European and non-European medical consulting rooms. Although the work is strenuous and, particularly in the case of hospital maids, not far removed from that expected of the unskilled domestic servant, either of the positions is universally preferred to domestic work. There is a carry-over of the prestige associated with orthodox nursing which raises any job connected with hospitals to a level above that of even the most skilled and highly paid domestic position. In addition to this, although the actual work may be similar, many of the pinpricks implicit within the framework of domestic service are absent. One nurse-aide made this point: 'In my job there is no madam chasing and criticising me - I am on my own'. In hospitals, moreover, a maid does not have the intimate and often irritating contact with the sister-in-charge that the domestic servant has with the housewife who keeps her work under constant surveillance. Thus much of the potential tension which underlies the personal relationship between mistress and domestic servant is absent. A further point in favour of these jobs is that the hospital work schedule is divided into clearly defined shifts leaving the women opportunity for planned recreation. In contrast, the free time in domestic service is limited and not always specified, and where domestic servants are resident on the employer's premises, a woman's personal interests and pursuits are often curtailed and her social interaction is hampered by the ban on friends visiting her on her employer's property. Finally, nurses and maids employed in European hospitals are

given much the same food as that received by patients. It does not consist of the usual 'rations' offered to the majority of servants. 'In domestic work I would have to prepare nice food for my madam and master, but eat only mealie meal myself' remarked the same nurse-aide quoted above. It is clear that she and most of her fellows are sophisticated in their tastes which approximate closely to the Western pattern. The type of food usually offered to domestic servants, samp, beans, mealie meal and bread, is thus far from agreeable to this type of woman.

It is not surprising that there is tremendous competition for these jobs, and since there are a limited number of hospitals in the city, selection is based largely on educational standard and personal demeanour.

(b) General service work:

The demand for general service work is high in hotels, boarding houses, offices and shops. Few African women are employed in these positions however. Coloured labour is preferred although there appears to be a trend towards the employment of African women, particularly in non-European enterprises. This type of work has the reputation of being lighter than domestic service since the heavy cleaning and polishing is usually done by males and only the less strenuous work such as dusting, tidying and bed making (where necessary) is left to females. The hours of service work are long but clearly defined, unlike those of domestic service which entail women being 'always on call'. As in the case of hospital work the irksome relationship with an ever-present 'madam' is absent.

Hotels and boarding houses employ a small staff of women to do sewing and mending. Shops selling clothing may also require this type of service for alterations to clothes. The majority of these positions go to Coloured women but a number of African women are being employed for these purposes in non-European shops. One point may be noted about this work which seems to increase its popularity with some women. It is said to provide good opportunities for pilfering. Food and linen are the main items involved.

The latter can be sold at high prices to customers in the townships who do not enquire into the source of the goods. Domestic service also offers opportunities for pilfering but there is seldom the variety or number of goods to choose from as there is in an institution. It is reputed, also, to be easier to pilfer in large organisations where there is no mistress who knows her goods intimately and checks up on each article regularly.

The wages paid for all forms of service work are higher than those paid for domestic work. In Durban, salaries range between four rand and eight rand per week. Payment on a weekly basis is preferred since it makes budgeting easier.

(c) Factory work:

A noteworthy development of the last few years has been the growing use made of African female labour by factories. A number of these factories are situated near the townships. A toy factory, for instance, borders on Lamontville township and draws the greater part of its staff from this area. The advantages for the workers are many. Transport costs are low, in some cases completely absent, since the factory is within walking distance of the township. Shift work provides free time during the day when housewives and mothers can supervise household matters. Pay, drawn weekly, is relatively high, averaging eight rand per week. One serious drawback however, is that only a core of workers are permanently employed. The remainder are taken on over busy periods, such as the preparation for Christmas in the case of the toy factory.

(d) Work in the field of commerce:

Sales houses and shops catering largely for non-Europeans employ African women either as counter hands, sales ladies or to stand outside the shops displaying and advertising merchandise to the passers-by. These positions do not appear to be highly paid, fetching between eight rand and fifteen rand per month, but they are favoured since they do not involve strenuous work. They require some ability to handle money and therefore presuppose some

education and sophistication. They have prestige attached to them for these reasons.

Allied to counter jobs, yet more favoured, are the positions of sales representatives. Working largely on a commission basis, these women visit houses both in the townships and in the European suburbs displaying their wares to a wholly non-European market. Customers run up accounts and pay for goods on hire purchase, and it is the responsibility of the representative to collect instalments each month. Goods offered range from cosmetics and clothing to sewing machines and furniture. Since there is a ready market for these goods, particularly where hire purchase facilities are offered, women with initiative and personality can earn a fairly large income in this way. The outstanding asset of the job is that the hours are flexible and the representative is her own mistress. Women with heavy family responsibilities look to this form of employment since their selling can be confined to hours when they can be away from home.

Private Enterprise:

The occupations listed above by no means cover all the jobs filled by African women. The discussion has however, highlighted the main fields involved, and the sophistication which all non-domestic employment demands. Women who cannot find and keep these jobs have the alternative of making money via private enterprise such as trading or through illegal practices like liquor brewing and selling, gambling or black market dealings of various kinds. These activities are not reflected on the census returns because so high a proportion of them are illegal and most are far from regular or organised. The majority serve the needs of the African community which are not yet met in a more organised manner.

(a) Hawking:

Women may buy meat and vegetables in bulk at the central market in Durban and then hawk these from door to door hoping to make a profit on their sales. Those who

live in the nearby reserve areas may also sell produce which they have grown themselves. Although some of these hawkers move around to the European suburbs, their main custom appears to come from the townships which are situated so far from the market that African housewives often find it difficult to market regularly themselves.

Secondhand clothing is another item for which there is a ready sale, not only in the African, but also in the Coloured community as well. Women may buy old clothes from individuals or in bulk, for instance at auction sales, and if necessary mend them and then sell at a good profit. Others make small items of clothing from remnants or cheap material, while a number actually take orders for sewn or knitted garments. Domestic servants were found to be able to combine this sort of activity with their jobs and often augmented their income in this way.

Not all hawkers visit their customers personally. The more organised of these business women have stalls in the African market or merely station themselves and their wares at strategic points such as crossroads or outside beerhalls and factories. They are then certain to catch the eye of potential buyers and can spend their time sewing and knitting. Since the sale of Bantu beer on the open market is now legal women buy as much of this as they can from the bottle stores and then wait outside firms which engage a large African male staff. At tea and lunch breaks they are inundated with custom. Many make small vetkoek and sour porridge which are also in demand.

(b) Illicit liquor selling:

Liquor selling is probably the most paying of businesses. Shebeens are scattered all over the townships, and are even to be found in the European residential areas on employer's premises. Each is known by its clientele, and by the type of liquor served. Some, for instance, provide the whole gamut of European spirits, others only the home-made alcoholic drinks. They serve thus the needs of the various classes of men who live cheek by jowl in the townships. They act largely as men's clubs and serve to

provide them with a meeting place where they can talk business, entertain male friends, or just relax. Drink is served on an account arrangement to well-known customers so that temporary pecuniary embarrassments need not debar a man from entertaining his friends. So-called 'Shebeen Queens' hire other women to serve drinks and while prostitution may be involved in some of the city shebeens catering for racially mixed clientele, it is not characteristic of purely African or township ones. Certain women brew and make liquor for wholesale purchase. Servants were found to buy gavini from such brewers and to sell this together with spirits and shimeyana. Gavini must be distilled and so is difficult to make on employers' premises. It can, however, be easily carried into servants rooms hidden by vegetables, in waterbottles, or in the capacious bags carried by most women. Where liquor is sold on a large scale women have been known to make enough money to purchase houses, cars, and to finance other businesses, such as municipally rented cafes or shops.

(c) The sale of herbs, charms and traditional medicine:

Women with a talent for herbalism make enormous profits through selling charms, medicines or telling fortunes. Some of these are Izangoma while others merely claim to have a knowledge of European drugs. This is the one field in which women from traditional backgrounds shine. Many can be observed with the signs of their trade such as mirrors or inflated gall-bladders peeping out of their European-style dress.

(d) The sale of beadwork and basketware:

The money-making activities mentioned so far all serve the African or non-European community. A small number of women are involved also in trading with Europeans. Basketware and beadwork are hawked round the White residential areas and the Durban beachfront. Housewives and tourists are the main objects of attention, and there is a ready market amongst them for these indigenous crafts^{8]}. Here again it is largely rural dwellers and even traditionalists who make money in this way. Townswomen would regard

it as degrading and in any case would not have the access to the raw materials.

Many of these enterprises are illegal and the women run risks in pursuing them. Licences can be obtained for hawking but certainly not for brewing liquor and selling it at black market prices. Even where the activities could be legalised few women take out licences as these are expensive and difficult to get without adequate knowledge of the procedures involved. Furthermore, much of the hawking is of such an informal nature that the women feel the trouble involved would be unjustified. In any case profits are often so high that it is felt that the occasional conviction and the loss incurred by fines can be easily borne.

(e) Gambling rackets and traffic in stolen goods:

On the whole possible prosecution seems to hold little terror for women wanting to make money. Many township women often help to organise large scale gambling rackets such as fah-fee while others act as go-betweens in the thriving market of stolen goods. These activities require nerve and skill. The actual excitement involved seems to attract sophisticated and bored young women who can find no other outlet for their talents. The image of the female gangster or beautiful mistress of a ringleader of a gang of so-called 'crooks' is very much admired. American style comic strips pander to this desire for adventure, and the general lack of public approbrium (Hellman, 1967, p. 15) for convicted criminals, makes it appear that women involved in shady and black market dealings are to be envied and copied. Young girls leaving school and unable to find other jobs are easily lured into this type of life as it seems an attractive alternative to the rigours and small rewards of domestic service.

THE TYPE OF AFRICAN WOMEN
INVOLVED IN THE VARIOUS KINDS
OF OCCUPATION OPEN TO THEM IN DURBAN:

In the light of what has been said so far in this chapter, it is suggested that the occupations in which African women in Durban are found can be classified into three categories - domestic work, other forms of employment and private enterprise. Since the demands made by each of these types of occupation differ and their advantages and drawbacks contrast, women with different backgrounds and in different social circumstances tend to be drawn to one rather than to the others.

Domestic service, because it is so unpopular draws to its ranks firstly those women who cannot aspire to or find other jobs and secondly, those who are unable or do not wish to indulge in private money-making. These are women who, on the one hand, lack secondary school education or sophistication and who, on the other hand, have no permanent and secure home in town. While education enables women to fill the demanding non-domestic jobs adequately, accommodation is an equally essential prerequisite since few non-domestic positions carry with them free board as do most full-time domestic jobs. Women who cannot find or afford a place to live cannot hope to keep the non-domestic jobs⁹¹ and lack a base from which to operate their own businesses.

New-comers to town are particularly vulnerable on both these counts. Unused to town ways and unable easily to find a place to live, domestic service offers them the only opportunity of security. Wilson has suggested that rural migrants with a secondary school education or post-school training step easily into the urban milieu and mix with townspeople of their own class (Wilson and Mafeje, 1961). This is true of such professionals as nurses and teachers, but educated women who must find jobs which are not so clearly demarcated suffer from the prevalent difficulty of locating non-domestic jobs to suit them. These are seldom advertised and are usually filled on personal recommendation. Country people with no contacts or friends

in town who might notify them of such jobs find it almost impossible to hear of them. Even they, therefore, may seek domestic work for a while until they have found their feet and made contacts in town.

Women who have been in town for many years but who have not been able to get accommodation in the African Woman's Hostel, or in the townships due to the absence of male support and the expense, may also find domestic service the answer to accommodation problems. Some, if they are fortunate enough to have unobservant or tolerant employers may even add to their wages by means of liquor selling or petty trading. They use then, the employer's premises as a base for such activities and so compensate for the lack of a township home.

African women with homes and families in the townships or peri-urban areas of greater Durban fill part-time or non-resident jobs which leave them free in the evenings and, depending on the type and requirements of the particular position, for greater or lesser periods during the day. The advantage of this type of employment lies chiefly in the security it provides. Although the amount of money earned by the women is not high, it provides a steady and secure income as long as the servant remains in the job. The more irregular ways of earning a living, though their profits may be high, are never sure. Incomes fluctuate from week to week and there is the continual threat of arrest and possible imprisonment. For women with no male support and no other help in the home, these risks are often felt to be too high. Domestic work on a part-time basis can, moreover, be lucrative if the servant engages in more than one job simultaneously. It is, on the whole, older women with heavy family responsibilities in town who seek this type of domestic work. They have lived in Durban for many years and regard themselves as townspeople. Their knowledge of the city helps them to find jobs which are convenient to their homes and, if they hold more than one job, positions which are near to each other.

It must not be thought that all these female domestic servants are dissatisfied with domestic jobs. Despite what

has been said about the low standing of domestic service on the general prestige scale of jobs open to African women, many women have no ambition to find other jobs. Domestic service suits them well, either for personal reasons such as those connected with having a safe haven in town, or because they gain, through it, an insight into the ways of Europeans, and also because they have, when working as domestic servants, contact with all the assets of Western life otherwise denied them. A large proportion of country women, furthermore, are extremely critical of the type of women who fill the other types of jobs available. Factory workers and clerks, for instance, have the reputation for loose morals and general instability. Older women, even those who have been in town for years, may be horrified at the idea of making a living via illegalities such as Fah-fee running or selling stolen goods. They would therefore never contemplate 'lowering' themselves to enter these fields. For them, a job as a domestic servant is a badge of respectability and opportunity. Their ambitions lie in acquiring more skilled and better paid domestic jobs.

Townbred women who have secure homes in the townships tend to shun domestic positions. Those with the necessary education and with parents able and willing to support them attempt to enter training schools for nursing, teaching, and other professions. Women who cannot aspire to these heights and who fail during the training courses, seek the few non-domestic jobs available in town. If they are unsuccessful they may, however, be forced into domestic work. In these cases they tend to seek part-time and non-resident jobs because of the relatively high degree of free time these positions allow their incumbents. This time is spent wandering around town often in dalliance with lovers. Employment in flats is also popular since the squads of male flat cleaners do all the heavy cleaning and polishing work and many flat dwellers do not have young children to add to the servant's load of work.

Women who are forced into domestic work usually feel resentful of their 'bad luck' in not securing 'better' jobs. They seldom remain in one position for long as they soon

become bored with the monotony of the work and in themselves make unsatisfactory employees.

A few young townswomen seek domestic work hoping that it will lead to other positions or opportunities. Jobs in flats in town, on the beach front or at the Point^{10]} make it easy to solicit in these areas and give the women an excuse to be around these parts of town. Prostitution thus is the main attraction of these domestic jobs. Employment by young unattached European men may also lead to the possibility of earning extra money through the granting of sexual favours. These women do not regard themselves as domestic servants, rather they look upon their employment as a temporary stopgap or as 'a stepping stone to higher things'.

In addition to regular employment, the whole field of self-employment is open to townswomen and to those whom they can find accommodation. Their stake in the townships is their one great asset. It gives them not only a secure home but in many cases a place to make the goods which they sell and one which can act as a base from which to sell these goods. Older women have been known to develop large and successful businesses such as those involving the sale of medicines while some make their living through the various illegalities such as gambling or the passing of stolen goods. The most popular and lucrative of businesses are the shebeens. The 'Queens' either brew and sell liquor on their own premises, or supply gavini and shimeyana to resident domestic servants in town who then resell it to neighbouring servants and messengers. All these activities require a certain degree of business acumen. Many of the most successful business women have received no education at all, but are past masters at assessing the requirements of their neighbours. This facility is often developed over years of town-living, but is also the result of the necessity of earning money which faces so many African women who cannot find well paying employment in the city, and who have no other means of support.

CHAPTER TWOREASONS FOR COMING TO TOWN

The majority of African women in domestic employment in Durban have been born and reared in the rural areas, either in Bantu reserves, on mission stations, or on White-owned farms. Only six per cent of the women interviewed in the course of this study were city bred, although another nine per cent had been brought to town by parents or guardians early in life and had thus spent the greater part of their childhood in an urban environment. The 85 per cent who had come to Durban after adulthood were found to share certain basic attributes and to have come from certain clearly defined geographical areas. These attributes or characteristics are, firstly, a Christian home background or familiarity with Christianity; secondly, at least some school education; and thirdly, experience of, or contact with, European culture. These factors, while not directly responsible for the decision to go to town, operate towards predisposing women to seek work in town. They are also prerequisites of such a venture, providing as they do the necessary experience of Western demands to enable the women to find domestic jobs. Let us examine them in greater detail.

FACTORS PREDISPOSING AFRICAN WOMEN TO
SEEK WORK IN TOWN:1. Christianity or Contact with Christians:

Eighty-three per cent of all the women interviewed came from Christian homes, or in the case of older women, had been converted to Christianity at a fairly early age. Recent studies amongst both Xhosa (Mayer 1961) and Zulu (Vilakazi 1962; Mbatha unpublished thesis) have emphasised the gulf which lies between the pagan and Christian sections of the Nguni community. Amongst the Xhosa the so-called Red/School division dominates both rural and urban life, and although not

couched in those terms the distinction between Christian and pagan is present also amongst Zulu. Indeed, Vilakazi links rural and urban Christians and opposes them as a single cultural group to traditionalists. '.... I found', he writes, '.... a close similarity between the ways of living of rural Christians and those of urbanised Africans The difference may be in the degree of sophistication but certainly not in the general world view. Ideologically, these groups are one' (Vilakazi 1962, p. 138). The world view of the Christian, he argues, is inevitably Western since tied inextricably to the Christian faith are the values of Western civilisation. The convert or the child reared in a Christian home must needs absorb these values along with his or her religious beliefs. The Western outlook does not exclude, indeed it may be said to act as an encouragement to the employment of women outside their own homes. In traditional Zulu society this was unheard of^{1]}, and is even today frowned upon by pagans^{2]} who fear their daughters will be adversely influenced by contact with Western life. Christians have no moral objection to working for Europeans for, far from fearing the influence of Western life, they welcome it.

In addition to this, Christianity, by upsetting the balance of traditional arrangements and customs, is often one of the contributory factors in forcing women to work because they lack other means of support. Above all it is Christians who have had contact with Europeans and Christians who send their children to school. Pagans, on the other hand, fear the influence of this carrier of Western tradition, and on the whole prevent their children, particularly their daughters, from going to school.

2. School Education:

Eighty-nine per cent of the servants interviewed claimed to have attended school at some time during their childhood^{3]}. The general implications of school education are tremendous, but as far as prospective domestic servants are concerned, its greatest advantage lies in the experience of Western expectations which it provides and in the smattering of English and perhaps Afrikaans which children may gain from their lessons.

School routine and organisation are Western in origin and stress the values held to be fundamental to a Western way of life. Until recently, African education was largely under the control of the Missions. Their aim was to eradicate as much as possible of the traditional from the minds of their pupils, and to substitute the Western values necessary to a Christian outlook. Members of staff were often Europeans who took a personal interest in their pupils' home and spiritual lives, as well as in their education. Personal contact with Europeans provided an invaluable background for girls who later sought domestic work. This contact also added greatly to their confidence in dealing with Europeans generally. African education is today in the hands of the Bantu Education Department, and almost all personnel are African. Nevertheless, to a lesser degree education still provides useful experience and insight into Western life which the dweller in a rural reserve might never otherwise acquire. In addition, instruction in both official languages of the country is given at the schools. Some knowledge of one or the other is often a prerequisite of working for Europeans in a large town where few of them speak an African language.

Not all children who go to school are Christians. Although pagans do not as a rule allow their children to go to school, there are exceptions and the children of men who have or who are working in town may be permitted to attend local schools for short periods 'just to learn to read street-names so they won't get lost in town'⁴. While this applies largely to males who are expected to need this skill, females may accompany their brothers. In pagan homes where one member, often one of the wives, is converted to Christianity, all the children may be allowed to go to school. In cases where pagan families live on European farms, they often attend farm schools along with the children of Christian farm labourers. Of the pagan women contacted when working as domestic servants, at least half had had some schooling and it is probable that in pagan homes, it is likely to be those women who have had some education rather than those who have not, who eventually become recruits to town.

Just as there are pagans who go to school, there are Christian women who have had no schooling. Rural Christians, particularly of the older generation often fear, like pagans, that education will lead to their daughters becoming 'too clever' - that is, sophisticated and therefore supercilious, despising rural life and conservative norms. Thus, although they may allow sons to attend school, they forbid their daughters to do so. Few of the uneducated rural Christian women from the rural areas appear to come to town. Only a quarter of the Christian women with no education contacted in the course of this study had been reared in the country. All were exceptional in that they had had some prior contact with Europeans which had prepared them for town living and for domestic employment. They had been reared near to small towns, trading stores or on European farms and most had worked for Europeans either as farm labourers or as nurse-maids. Two had helped in the trading stores. It is noteworthy that all, when in Durban, had been unable to hold their own with their educated sisters and were found to be working in undemanding jobs.

In contrast, the uneducated Christian women who have grown up in town are not at a disadvantage in finding work. Their lack of schooling is due to their parents' inability to pay school fees, or to a lack of facilities near their homes. Most of these women have spent their lives on the premises of a succession of employers' and have started domestic work at a very early age. They are often amongst the most sophisticated of townswomen, and the most skilled of domestic workers. An urban environment and, most important, the experience of numerous domestic positions, provides them with all the assets of their educated fellows. In fact, such an upbringing often puts them one jump ahead of girls with the highest schooling. They have the actual domestic experience - cooking, baking etc., which the latter must learn after leaving school. They have also an intimate knowledge of the residential suburbs of the city, of job potential and how to manage their employers to the best advantage.

A significant fact about the educational level achieved by the servants was that while a high proportion had attended school, few had passed beyond primary school. By far the majority of women - 64 per cent - had received education varying between standards one and six. Only nine per cent had not passed beyond the kindergarten stage and only two per cent had had any training after leaving school. Those with post-school training had begun nursing courses but had failed their examinations and not been re-admitted to the course.

TABLE IV
Educational Achievements of
Domestic Servants Interviewed

School Level	Standard Reached at School	Per Cent of Women Investigated
	No Education	11
	Some Education	8
Infant School	Class 1 - 2	8
Lower Primary School	Standards 1 - 3	28
Upper Primary School	Standards 4 - 6	36
Secondary School level	Form 1 - 3 (J.C.)	6
	Form 4 - 5 (Matriculation)	1
	Post School	2
	TOTAL	100

It appears to be those women who have achieved what may be described as a middle-range education who tend to enter domestic service. Less than two years at school leaves women with little in terms of background or understanding of Western expectations. More than two years but less than six years provides them, on the other hand, with the basic experience to gain employment and more importantly with the

potential to learn from the experiences they gain while working. An education of beyond Standard six gives women the degree of literacy and often the sophistication required to gain the few non-domestic jobs available. Those, for instance, with Standard seven or even Junior Certificate may attempt to enter the professional fields of nursing and teaching and those with matriculation may seek to attend university or college. If not accepted for these courses, they are seldom satisfied to seek domestic jobs since they tend to regard such work as beneath them. If they cannot find alternative occupations many resort to making money by illegal means, such as black market activities or prostitution. If they do accept domestic work, this is often regarded as a temporary measure only, and they are continually on the look-out for alternative employment. This is true particularly of women with a high school education and those who have grown up in town. These women have both the sophistication and the experience of the urban milieu to enable them to find other occupations or to live by their wits.

3. Contact with Europeans on farms or in towns:

Clearly Christianity and a school education are not the only factors making for a Western outlook and values or a speaking knowledge of English and Afrikaans. Life on a European farm or any prolonged contact with Europeans in the smaller towns or in Durban itself may, in fact, give an uneducated pagan more practical experience of Western ways than contact with Christians or a high standard of education in one of today's isolated African schools.

Most of the domestic servants from traditional homes who had received no education had their first extensive contacts with Europeans when visiting male kin working in urban areas or when coming for medical treatment or confinements at city hospitals. Under these conditions they remained for fairly long periods in the urban milieu and so gained considerable experience of it. A few had done simple agricultural work in the fields and gardens of farms before

coming to town, while some had worked in farmhouses and so gained experience of simple housework. This enabled them to make the most of their new experiences in the city and gave them the background which enabled them to pick up the rudiments of domestic service in the city.

While previous contact with Europeans makes it possible for women to make a living in town, it is not necessarily sufficient, in the absence of school education or church membership, to enable them to become highly sophisticated in townways or to develop into highly competent and skilled servants. All the traditionalist uneducated women contacted were found to be working in undemanding and relatively low paid jobs. Most of their employers were Indians or Africans who expected them to do only the heavy cleaning work and who supervised their every action. All worked for employers who spoke Zulu fluently as none of the women were proficient in English. These women, furthermore, appeared to be unable and, more important, unwilling to learn English or to acquire the new skills which would net for them better paid positions. All claimed to be perfectly satisfied with this type of job.

The reasons for their lack of ambition lay in the fact that they were traditionally oriented and not anxious to become identified with a Western way of life. The majority were widows and of these three-quarters were Khosa amongst whom the Levirate has never operated. All retained close ties with the homes of their deceased husbands where their children were living. Their jobs enabled them to earn a minimum wage when they required money, but left them a good deal of time to themselves. In some cases tolerant employers allowed them to go home for week-ends when they wished to check up on their families. If not given this permission, the women simply left their jobs, well aware that they could easily get others on their return to town. There is a high demand for the temporary services of women willing to do heavy cleaning work. Positions which pay better make more demands and are not so lightly abandoned. These women, therefore, not wanting any ties with employers or with town, remained content with low-paid undemanding positions. Their

ambitions did not lie in carving a niche for themselves in town and so working their way into highly paid and satisfactory positions. Instead, with their eyes on the country, they saw town and domestic work merely as a means to an end - that of keeping their country homes alive. In this sense they and, in fact all traditional women, were true migrants, and as has been said of male traditionalists, were 'raiding' the economy of the town in order to keep their rural homes intact (Mayer, 1960).

TRIBAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL
DISTRIBUTION OF THE AREAS FROM
WHICH THE DOMESTIC SERVANTS CAME:

The majority of the female domestic servants working in Durban belong to the Nguni-speaking group of the Southern Bantu complex. Eighty-five per cent of the women investigated in the course of the present study were Zulu; seven per cent were Xhosa; five per cent Bhaca, and two per cent Pondo. The remaining minority were Sotho-speaking.

The home areas of the domestic servants interviewed have been plotted according to magisterial district (see Figure 2)^{6]}. Eighty-six per cent came from within the borders of Natal and Zululand. The homes of the majority of the remainder clustered around the borders of Natal, a preponderance coming from those areas of the Transkei which abut the southern boundary of the province. For women situated within a hundred mile radius of the city, (Figure 3), Durban is the largest and one of the most attractive and easily accessible work centres. Transport routes within this area focus on the city which draws a large male labour force. Tales are rife of the high wages paid and of the excitements of the city. For women living within these limits it is thus the logical place in which to seek work unless personal factors draw them to smaller towns and villages. In most cases they have, in addition, either kin or friends already working in the city upon whom they can count to give them temporary shelter and who will help them

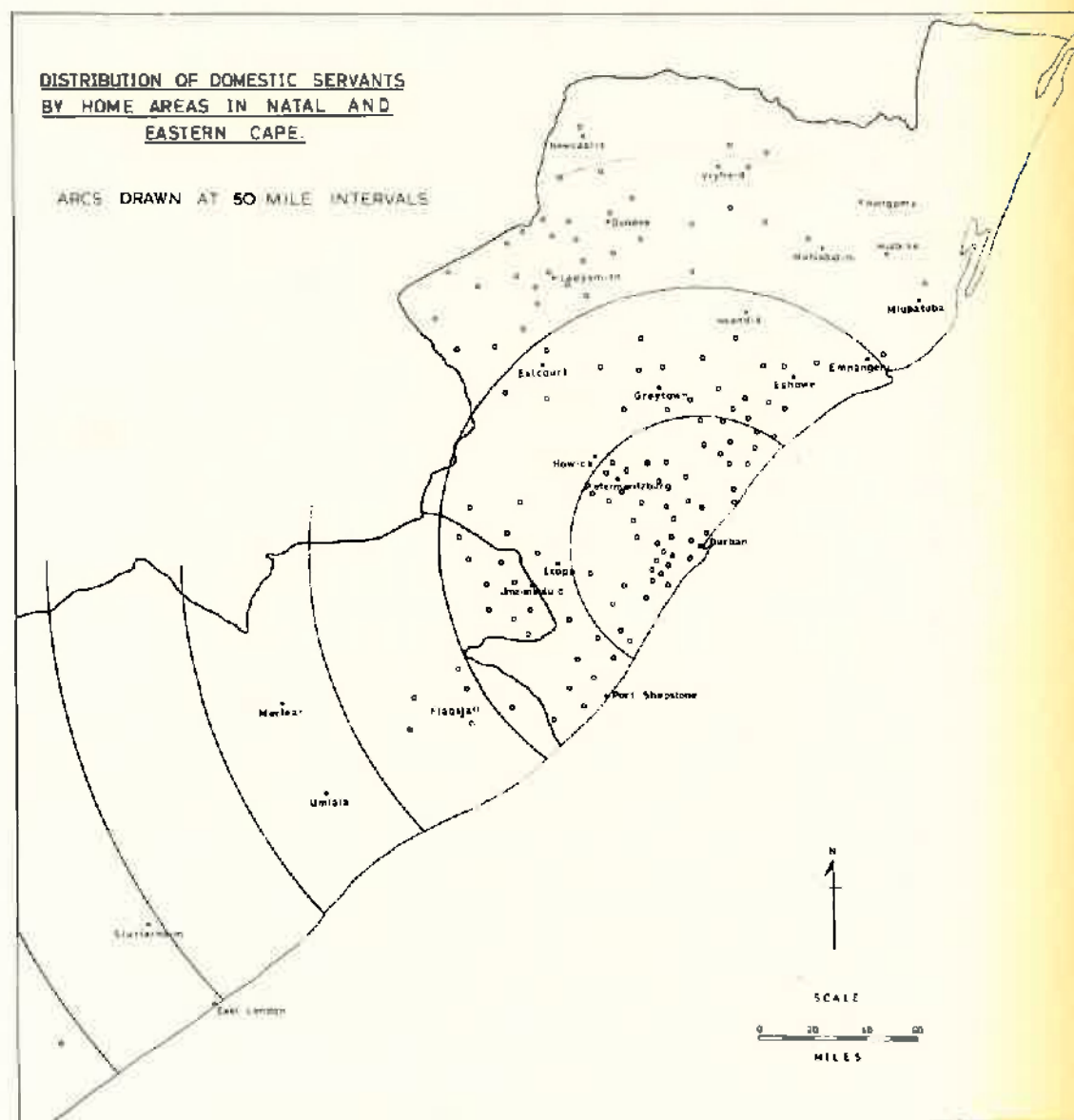


Fig 3

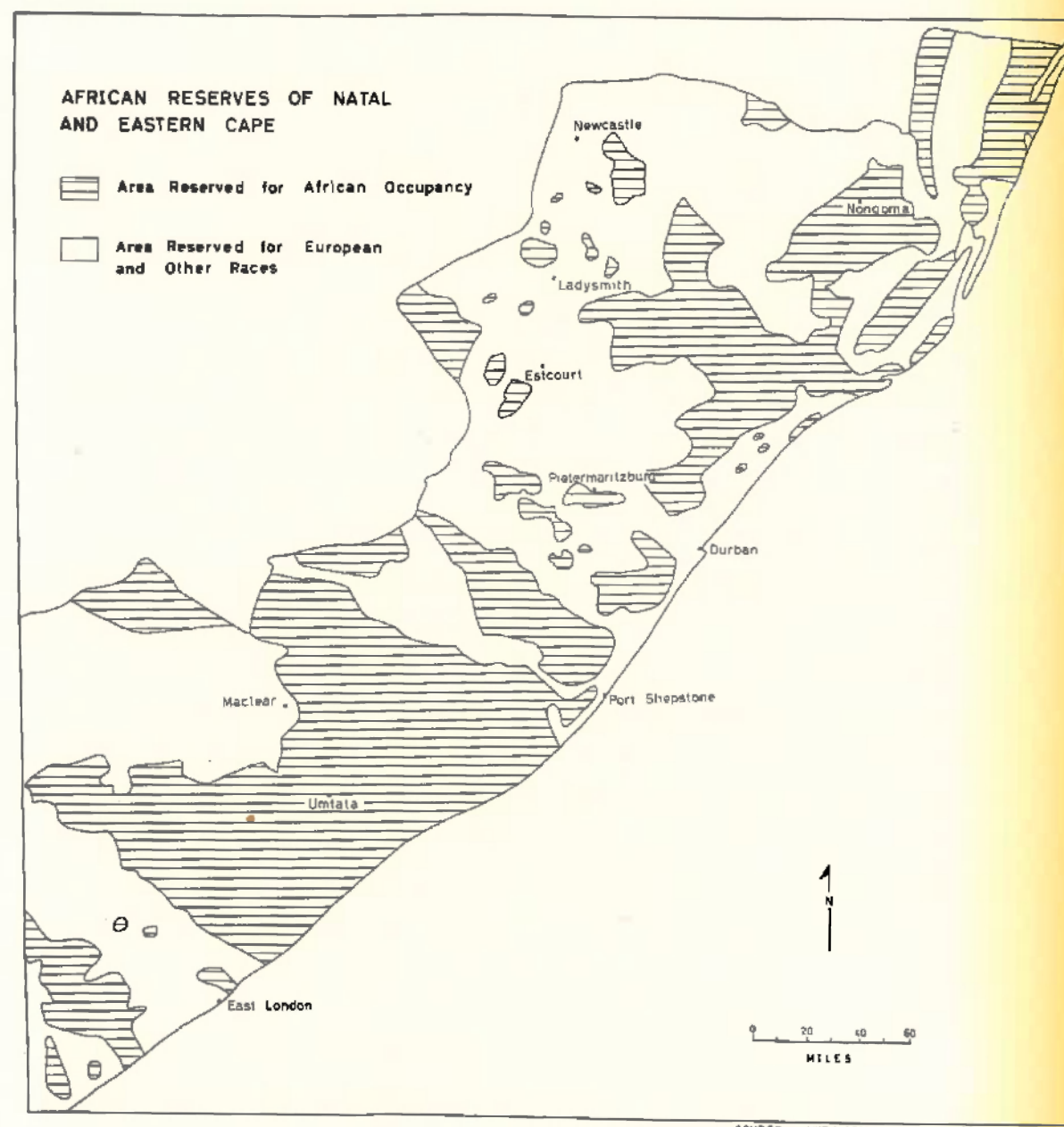


Fig. 4

find employment. Many have husbands, lovers or even parents working and living in Durban and these close ties provide a strong personal incentive for the women to come to Durban. Migrants who come from further afield, that is from more than a hundred miles from the city, are invariably drawn to Durban by personal and usually kin ties. A few are, however, brought to the city by employers from farms and smaller towns.

As Figure 3 shows, the female servants investigated came from homes which were surprisingly evenly distributed^{7]} over the areas of Natal and the Transkei, which fall within the 100 mile limit of Durban. Beyond this limit however, two distinct patterns of migration are observable to the north-east of the city. While a large number of women came from the inland White dominated areas of the province, only a very few had migrated to Durban from the reserves of Zululand. Comparison of Figure 3 and Figure 4 which details the areas of Natal given over to African reserves makes this clear.

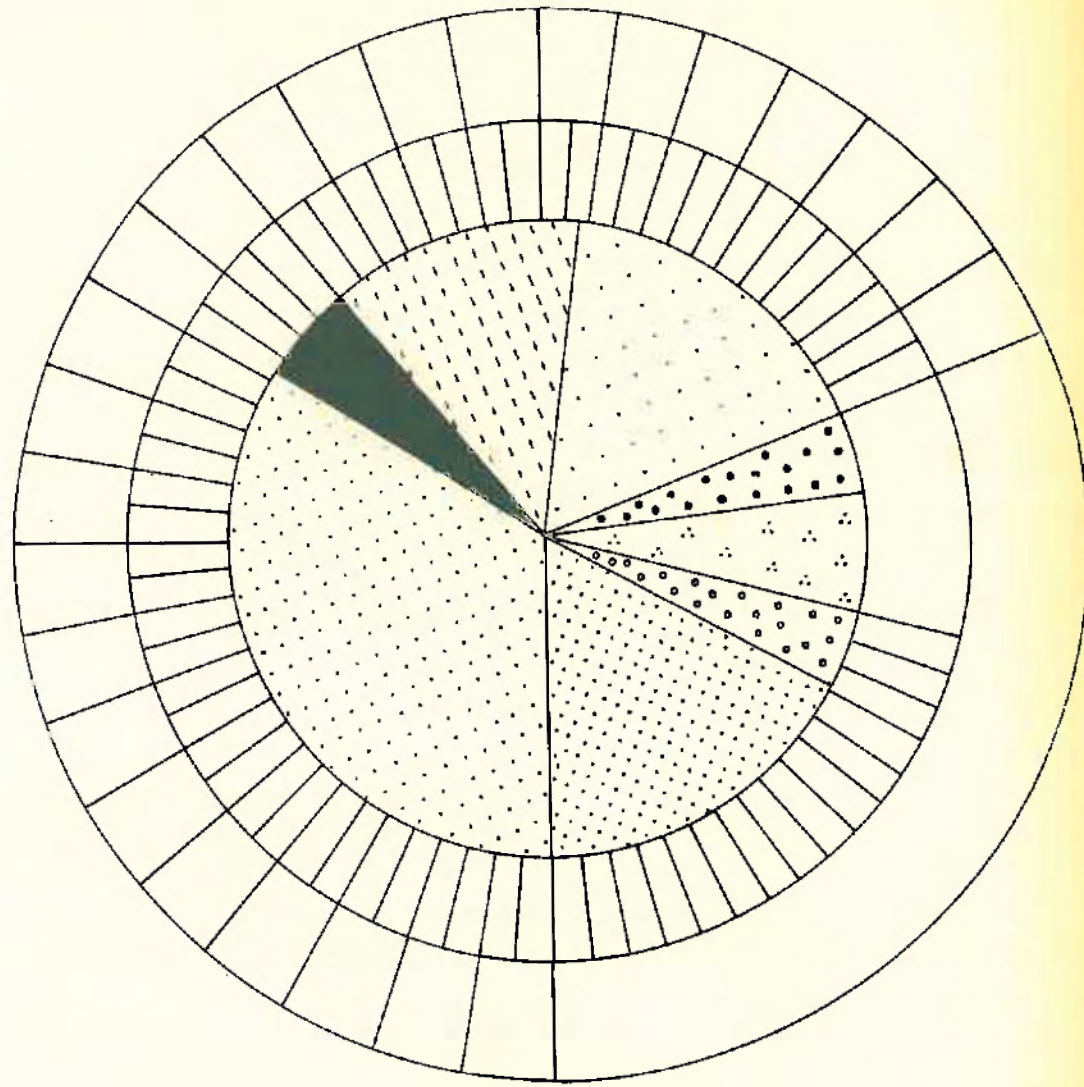
In the light of what has already been said in this chapter of the effects of Christianity and contact with Europeans the explanation for these divergent patterns is not hard to find. It is in the former areas that Africans have had the greater contacts with Europeans. In Zululand itself, apart from near trading stores and the smaller towns and missions, this contact has been restricted. It is also true that in Zululand itself large areas are still pagan and conservative. In addition, of course, the transport facilities from Zululand are not as good as from the inland areas which serve the main train route to the Witwatersrand.

REASONS GIVEN BY THE WOMEN
INVESTIGATED FOR COMING TO TOWN:

Since 85 per cent of the domestic servants interviewed were found to be of rural origin, it is of considerable interest to examine the reasons which they claim made them leave their country homes and move to town. This movement is, of course, not an isolated phenomenon but part of the

general migration of Africans, both male and female, to the larger towns in South Africa. It must be examined against the background of poverty and the lack of welfare facilities which characterise the life of Africans in rural areas. None of the reserves are self-sufficient. Not enough food is produced to tide the family over the whole year, let alone to enable the sale of produce which would accumulate money for such necessities as taxes, school fees and clothing. Money must be gained from migrant labour. As a rule it is men who leave home in search of work. In families in which there are no adult males or in which these men are incapable or unwilling to provide support for their families, women must take over their roles as money earners. Sixty-nine per cent of the women included in this study were, or had been in this position. It is not, however, only necessity which drives women to town. In many cases they choose to go to town even if the men of the family are sending money home. Once male migration is entrenched it is natural for women to join the men in town. They follow lovers and husbands, particularly those who do not visit home frequently or who are not sending money home regularly; they see in town the hope of escape from a strict family or go in search of excitement and sophistication. Personal quests of this nature had brought 27 per cent of the women investigated to Durban and the remaining four per cent had accompanied employers when the latter migrated to the city.

The main reasons given by the women investigated for coming to Durban are analysed in Figure 5. Thirty-four per cent had been forced to earn money on the death or illness of their fathers or husbands, 17 per cent had been deserted by husbands or came from families in which the father had absconded. These crises had resulted in a halt to the normal income brought into the family by the male breadwinner, and had made it necessary for some other member of the family to go to work. Quarrels with husbands or with relatives-in-law had caused the break-up of the marriages of five per cent of the women, and had led to the necessity for them to earn their own living. The birth of an illegitimate child had caused



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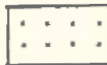
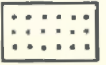
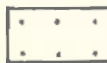


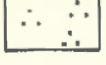
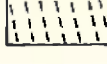



- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | Death or Inability of the Breadwinner to support Family. |  | In search of or to join Migrant Husbands or Lovers. |
|  | Desertion of the Family by the Breadwinner. |  | Medical Attention or Confinements. |
|  | Quarrels with In-laws and Husbands leading to Separations or Divorce. |  | Attractions of Town Life. |
|  | Response to the Problems created by the Birth of Illegitimate Children. |  | Brought by Employers. |
|  | Domestic and Personal Crises. |  | Economic Necessity. |

FIGURE 5: REASONS FOR COMING TO TOWN.

embarrassment to 13 per cent of the women and had imposed a heavy financial burden on the shoulders of their parents which the women had hoped to alleviate by working. Another 17 per cent of the servants interviewed had been drawn to town in search of or to join husbands and lovers already in Durban, while four per cent had come to consult doctors and hospitals in the city. It is significant that all these women, 91 per cent of the total investigated, were forced to town by some domestic or personal crisis. The remainder came either with employers or in search of freedom and excitement. Even they, however, it is suggested, would not have been easily lured to town unless they found the conditions at home either difficult, restrictive or in some other way unsatisfactory.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS UNDERLYING
THE MOVEMENT OF WOMEN TO TOWN:

The individual reasons which bring women to town have their roots not only in the economic, but in the general social conditions and crisis which face African women in the reserves and on European owned farms and which may be observed in certain trends towards change which now dominate the structure of African life in the Republic. Probably the most important force for change and certainly the major cause of female migration is the effect which conversion to Christianity has on the position and security of women and on the attitudes and values which Christian women now hold. The ready availability of employment in town is, however, also a vital factor since it not only makes migration possible, but encourages it also. It means that there is an easy alternative not only to poverty and necessity, but to any unpleasant and restrictive social situations as well. The demand for labour affects women in two ways. Indirectly, insofar as it induces fathers, husbands, and guardians to go to town and so increases the likelihood that these men will desert their womenfolk. More directly, it encourages the migration to town of women themselves.

The Acceptance of Western Values:

The reasons why Christian women are more likely than pagan women to go to town have already been touched upon. First is the moral objection which pagans feel towards town life. For them it is synonymous with Christianity and Westernisation - two influences from which they wish to protect their womenfolk. Work of an agricultural nature on local farms is felt to be permissible but where this does not raise sufficient money, it is men who go to town in search of higher wages. Only in dire straits and under abnormal conditions are pagan women permitted to venture into urban areas. Since most traditional women are still under the strict control of either fathers or husbands, this ban holds good. Secondly, pagan women lack experience of urban life, of European demands and of a European language. This means that they are debarred from any but the least demanding jobs. Weeding and other agricultural labour is more suited to their capabilities than is sophisticated urban domestic work. While they might be employed in farmhouses and small villages, they are aware of their limitations where urban work is concerned.

Apart from cultural orientation and lack of experience, however, the most important reason why few pagan women are found working in town is that they do not need to do so. Under a traditional system women are not expected to have to fend for themselves. Regardless of the eventualities of life, they are the responsibility of some male, or of a group headed by males. Christian women are in a completely different position. The morality and outlook which Christianity preaches is opposed to many of the pagan customs which ensured and which still provide security for women living under a pagan regime. Conversion disrupts the traditional balances which protected women and the result is that they are often thrown on their own resources for support. Women must then go out to work and earn money to provide for themselves and often for their children as well. The only possible response is a Western one since the situations giving rise to the crises are a result of Christianity and

Westernisation. These situations themselves must now be discussed in some detail.

Failure of the Individual Christian
Family to Provide Security for African Women:

Christianity has fostered amongst its converts Western concepts of personal responsibility and individualism. These run counter to the traditional emphasis on kin obligations and communal living which found their expression in the extended family. This unit, linked by the ties of patrilineal kinship, lived and worked together and absorbed as a whole any blows to its members or component units. Its existence was sanctioned by the belief in ancestors who were merely kin in another and more powerful form and who, as when alive, demanded loyalty to kin. Where belief in the ancestors wanes and the rituals of their cult are no longer observed, one of the greatest forces making for the unity of the patrilineal extended family living as a corporate and local group falls away. A Christian finds it possible, and even preferable, to dissociate himself from his kin and set up a separate establishment with only his wife and children. Under normal conditions this ensures that his total income can be used to the benefit of his individual family and their standard of living may be correspondingly high. It is however, in times of crisis and difficulty that the drawbacks of such a system become apparent. Loss of employment, illness, or the final crisis, death, leave the family of such a man destitute. There are no forms of state help or welfare organisation for widows and their children in the reserves. Unless the family have extensive fields (which is seldom the case) the wife or older children must seek work if they are not to starve.

In cases where both parents die and a brother has inherited the homestead a woman may appear to be assured of a home. The position of a parentless unmarried Christian girl, even if she is the sister of the kraal head, can however, be an unhappy one. Her brother's wife, in the absence of the control of a mother-in-law, may make her feel unwanted since she

resents her sister-in-law's claims on her husband's affections and income. Town offers women slighted in this way by their sisters-in-law, both an escape from a potentially strained home atmosphere and also the opportunity to earn money to buy clothes and other goods which their brothers either cannot afford or refuse to buy for them.

The death of parents may result in the dispersal of the parental home if there are no male heirs. In cases of this nature, daughters must either join more distant kin in the rural neighbourhood or go to town. If they are young children at the time of their parents' death, nearby kin normally accept responsibility for them. If however, they are approaching adulthood and can seek work, they usually go to town on their own and may join relatives already living there.

The death of a father or husband often has more serious results for women who are living on White farms than those living in reserve areas. Africans living on farms are granted land in return for their labour. If the male family head dies and there is no one to replace him, his widow and children may not be permitted to remain. In some instances the women's work in the farmhouse is accepted in lieu of men's labour, but widows and daughters may decide to venture to town instead. This they are particularly prone to do if unhappy on the farm itself. The fact that farm servants are paid poorly rankles and tales of the higher wages and supposed better working conditions in town lure both single and widowed women to leave the farm. Most have received some training in domestic requirements through working in the farmhouse and this gives them the background to find work in town.

It is clear, therefore, that today's nuclear family is inadequate to offer security to African women in times of crisis. There are no means to enable them to live other than selling their labour. The best opportunities for this are in town.

Breakdown of the Levirate:

Under the traditional system marriage provided almost certain lifelong security for a woman and for her minor children. The traditional response to the death of a husband was for the widow to be accepted into a leviritic union with a brother of her deceased spouse. She and her children were, therefore, still provided for and were the responsibility of the kin group which had paid her lobola. They were not faced with destitution. This custom often involved widows and levirs in polygamous unions but since these were accepted by the society, no conflict arose. Christianity, on the other hand, with its commitment to monogamy prohibits leviritic marriages if the levir is already married. If he is not, he himself may not subsequently marry in his own right. Since any children of a leviritic union should be considered the heirs of their mother's first husband, a levir in these circumstances, cannot in the social and legal sense, reproduce and continue his own line. A Christian union of this nature is thus fraught with tension and difficulties, and is most unattractive. Apart from these complications the very idea of such a union is contrary to the Western ideal of romantic love and individual choice of a marriage partner. Thus even where a levir is able and willing to marry his brother's widow, the Christian community tends to frown on the union. Christian widows, when asked why such arrangements had not been made, were quick to point out that these marriages were 'cheap' and regarded as degrading to themselves. The mere suggestion that such a union might have been considered was often taken as an insult to the women concerned. Town with its opportunities of employment is, therefore, the logical and in fact, the only response to situations where the levirate is impossible or unattractive. It appears, furthermore, that widows, who might merely have remained in or joined the extended families of deceased husbands, hesitated to do so in case they might have been presumed to have entered into leviritic unions or to be angling after such an arrangement. Therefore, even where a widow is on good terms with her husband's family she may choose to support herself and her children alone in town rather than accept their hospitality.

Stresses and Strains in Modern Marriage:

Christianity and Westernisation have wrought drastic changes in a young Christian bride's attitude to and expectations of married life. The concept of marriage as involving an individual relationship between husband and wife and not an intimate linking of two bodies of kin (Radcliffe-Brown, 1962, pp. 43-54), means that a bride prefers her husband to set up a home for her away from or at least entirely separate from that of his parents. In cases where this is not possible, and the wife must live with her family-in-law, she is seldom willing to accept the traditional status of a young bride which entails her complete subservience to her mother-in-law. If the family of her husband still expect and demand this behaviour and try to enforce it, tension and mutual dissatisfaction are the inevitable results. This may eventually lead to the wife's decision to leave the family and her husband thus breaking the marriage completely.

The wife who manages to persuade her husband to erect a separate home for her seldom realises the hardships that this independence may cause her. In the first place the effects of her husband's absence for long periods at a distant work centre are far more serious for a woman alone in a homestead than for one living as a member of a large extended household. Not only is she probably in the home alone with only young children for company, but if she falls ill, there is no close kinswoman to help her or to care for her children. Secondly, if the husband absconds or fails to send money home regularly she is entirely on her own. The pattern of abandonment in these cases usually follows similar lines. The migrant, for a short period after marriage, visits his wife and family regularly and sends money home frequently. After some years, however, both visits and money begin to grow more infrequent until both cease altogether. The wives, unable to subsist without financial aid, finally decide to seek work themselves and decide on going to Durban to do this. Not all go to the same work centre as that in which their husbands disappeared. Those who do, however, have lingering hopes of finding their menfolk. All women who come to town for this reason are

Christians. The majority take their children to their own mothers since they feel they cannot leave them in the care of their husbands' families. A few take the children to town with them or later bring them to Durban from their own homes.

Of course it is not only the wife who is living on her own who is forced to work by being abandoned by her husband. Christian women living in extended families who are neglected by their husbands, are, on occasions, also forced into town. This occurs because the rest of the family unit regards them and their children as a burden and are seldom willing to finance such apparent luxuries as school fees and clothing for the children of absentee males, even if they will help to provide extra food for them. The Christian extended family do not close their ranks to protect the abandoned wife and her children as a pagan family might do. Christian families seem to be particularly liable to abandonment as there is no moral objection to town life which serves as a barrier to prevent the individual pagan migrant from absconding and enjoying town living. Christian males do not, moreover, join the close-knit and encapsulating home boy group^{8]} which largely prevents traditionalists from absconding in town. Christian wives are thus far more likely to be forced into town in search of work to support themselves than are pagan wives.

Women whose husbands show signs of abandoning them often follow them to town either to pay extended visits, in order to get money, or to set up home for them in urban areas. Many of these women remain on in town for long periods and if their husbands cannot support them, look to domestic service to supplement their earnings.

Divorce and legal separation has much the same results as abandonment except that it causes a final and irrevocable break with the husband and his family. Most women must rely on their own earning power after the failure of their marriage since their own families can seldom support them.

The Disruptive Effects of a New Sex Morality:

The results of the Church's attitude to polygamous leviritic unions are clearly evident as being detrimental to women. Another situation in which Church preachings may have unfortunate results for them may be mentioned. Ideally the Christian's attitude to premarital sex is one of complete abstention. Discussions of all matters of a sexual nature are furthermore tabooed with great ferocity. The traditional attitude is different in that the subject is not avoided and intercourse, while permitted, is strictly controlled. The effect of the Christian attitude to sex has been that, behind the veil of secrecy, sex relations often continue. Now full intercourse occurs whereas before the practice of ukusoma ensured that while satisfaction resulted, pregnancy did not. Christians are never taught these safeguards and frequently fall pregnant as a result of clandestine relations.

The full burden of responsibility for the rearing of an illegitimate child invariably falls on the shoulders of the parents of the mother. If she does not marry her lover, they must care for her and the baby, and even if she marries another man later, they may be left with the child. The mother who goes to town leaving her baby with her mother does so on the understanding that she will send money home regularly to help her parents to clothe and feed the child.

The decision to move to town may have personal motives more pressing than those purely economical behind it. All the women interviewed who had been in this position admitted that Durban provided them with a means of escape from the continual recriminations of their disappointed parents and the taunts of age-mates. The attitude of Christians to premarital pregnancy is one of condemnation and blame. A girl can seldom, in her home area, escape the shame it brings. If she does marry she may not be permitted to have a white wedding, a ceremony highly valued as an index of Westernisation and sophistication. Her lobola is probably slightly less than it would otherwise have been and her choice of husband severely restricted. In town her lapse can be

hidden and the possibilities of marriage seem rosy. All in all, it appears a much better proposition to the dull and restrictive home atmosphere.

Although none of the traditional women contacted had come to town for similar reasons, it must not be thought that pagan girls never have children before marriage (Mbatha, unpublished thesis). In their case, however, the extended family is more able to bear the burden of an extra mouth to feed. Furthermore, the pagan girl can still look forward to a reasonable marriage, often to a polygamist. Although unlikely to become the chief wife she still assumes the status and benefits of a wife and mother. Often, she is already bespoken for and the marriage to her lover awaits only the payment of the full lobola.

Employment in town can provide a ready alternative to all situations of tension and strain. At the slightest hint of unpleasantness Christian women immediately think of going to town. In traditional times there was no hope of escape since a woman's only livelihood lay with either her own family or with the husband's kin.

The release which town offers today is in itself disruptive. Whereas traditional women had and have to live with their problems and find solutions to them, today's young migrants merely escape their problems for a while or abandon them completely. This often results in the severance of kin ties and leaves in its wake further problems such as broken marriages and often the abandonment of children as well.

The Lure of Town Life:

Recent writers on migration in Africa have repeatedly denied that town and town life in itself exerts any pull on migrants (Gulliver 1957). This may be true of males, few if any, of whom are outcasts with little hope of security in the rural areas. Many women, however, are in a different position since their homes do not inevitably offer them security and town presents them with a possible future. In addition to this most Christian women, particularly the

younger ones, find the lure of town life very strong. It holds for them all the promise of sophistication and glamour which urban centres the world over offer to country dwellers who are not completely satisfied with their way of life. Young Christian girls long to enjoy what they regard as the assets of Western life - freedom, good clothes, adventure and even the possibility of a romantic marriage. They view their future as part of a world wider than the narrow confines of their rural community and, because they are no longer tribally orientated, look to the town as the entrance into a new and rewarding life. This explains why Christian women often choose of their own free will to go to town and why they may deliberately leave home and cut their ties with the rural area.

Girls and young women who come to town of their own accord may be divided into two categories: those who come with the permission of their parents or guardians, and those who run away from home. The former usually join senior kin or friends in town who are held responsible for their conduct and welfare and who assist them in job seeking and finding accommodation. The latter are those who, highly dissatisfied with home for one reason or another, are actively drawn to town by the promise of freedom and excitement it seems to offer. Many run away from home in the company of friends after hearing the latter's tales of the delights of town and often having seen their new clothes and possessions. Some follow lovers to town, both in search of freedom to consort with them and also hoping to force marriages with them. The latter seldom result but the women remain on in town rather than return home and so be forced to admit the loss of their lovers.

Migration of Employers to Town:

Europeans who move from the country or from villages in the rural areas to the cities often wish to take servants with them. Many feel that the latter are more trustworthy than townwomen. If these servants have worked for the family for some time and know the household routine, their continued employment will thus save the housewife having to train new

employees. A number of women investigated came to town in this way and admitted that they might otherwise not have taken the decision to leave home. On the other hand, they would hardly have agreed to accompany employers if either they or their parents or guardians were averse to the idea of the move.

THE NATURE OF FEMALE MIGRATION:

Although the literature on labour migration in Africa is vast, very little attempt has been made to analyse the causes, process and results of female as distinct from male migration. It has been stressed by the majority of writers (for example Gulliver, 1957 and 1960; Apthorpe (ed.) 1958) that the basic cause or motivation for all male labour migration is economic. Clyde Mitchell has stressed (Apthorpe 1958) that while individual migrants give very different reasons for coming to town many of which appear unconnected with any necessity to earn money it is in fact the poverty of the potential migrant's home which lays the foundations for the idea of going to town in order to earn money to alleviate it. This poverty also leads to many tensions and frustrations, one of which may eventually decide the individual migrant to leave his home and seek work. The latter may be termed as Gulliver has suggested (1956) the 'last straw' causes, and are particular to the migrant concerned. 'These are indeed the true causes of labour migration for individuals at certain times, but they are not the root causes for people as a whole or even for those individuals. They are merely factors which go to tip the balance at those times and which determine the actual occasion of departure.' (Gulliver 1957, p.59) These 'last straw' causes need not in themselves be economic. Many, Gulliver notes, involve, for instance, conflicts with elders or an unsuccessful love affair. They deal with the individual in relation to his fellows rather than in relation to the economic situation. It is, however, the two types of cause which operate together in producing the final and actual departure for towns. As Mitchell puts it (Apthorpe 1956) the basic economic cause provides the

necessary but not the sufficient cause for movement. It is the second type of cause, the individual 'last straw' cause which acts as a trigger to send the migrant to town.

The distinction between the two levels of motivation is useful in attempting to understand much of female migration. In the case of the majority of women, just as of all men, the economic poverty of the reserves serves as a background to migration, but the 'last straw' cause is required to send the individual migrant to town. Two examples may be given: that of the neglected wife and that of the aspiring and ambitious young girl. In the first instance, the wife is left with her children in the rural home while the husband works in town to earn money to make livelihood possible. If the husband should die, abandon his wife or be dilatory in sending money home, the latter is in the impossible position of having no means of buying supplementary food, paying school fees or buying clothing. Even if living under extended family conditions she is a burden to the rest of the unit and should some mischance occur such as the death or illness of a child, this crisis may be the stimulus which makes her decide to leave and find work in town. In the second case, that of the young girl who decides to go to town in search of money with which to buy clothing, it is clear that she does so against the background of her father's inability to provide her with these. Non-economic secondary causes arise for women from such situations as the conflicts between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law or the embarrassment over the birth of an illegitimate child.

The distinction between primary and secondary causes of migration explains also why so few pagan women come to town. While the basic necessity is present, the trigger action of the 'last straw' cause seldom operates for them, cushioned as they are in the still functioning extended kinship unit. It is the latter which accepts responsibility for abandoned or widowed women and which thus keeps their outlook home-orientated. The few pagan women who do come to town are thus the exceptional ones for whom the trigger type cause has operated. This may be due to such situations

as personal dislike of or lack of a prospective husband, or of the members of husband's families, or the complete failure of marriage hopes. In the case of Christian women, on the other hand, the trigger cause operates with vigour since it is they who are to open to frustrations and tensions in their personal relations with kin and in-laws. These are the results largely of conflicts in the value systems operating at the present.

Despite its usefulness, it must be remembered that Gulliver and Mitchell's two level analysis was developed in order to facilitate the understanding of male migration and it cannot in the exact form stated above, explain completely the movement of all women to town. In the first place female migration is of a very different nature to male migration and in the second place as this study has shown, there are a fair number of women who come to town for reasons quite unconnected with earning money but which stem instead from their feminine roles as the wives, lovers, mothers and daughters of the men who are already in town.

The majority of women who come to town in search of employment are in a rather different position from most male migrant labourers. The latter are working largely in order to keep their rural homes going by supplementing family income with their wages. For the majority of women, I suggest this is a secondary consideration and their foremost reason for seeking work is to provide themselves with an alternative means of livelihood to that in their rural homes. Despite the fact that they go initially to earn money in order to send home and may even justify their working in terms of keeping the rural home alive, most women, as will be seen in the third part of this study, add very little in the way of finance to the upkeep of their homes. Their greatest contribution lies probably in their own absence which makes one less mouth to feed and body to clothe. The reason for this difference is that it is men who are the heirs to property and land and who inherit the country homes. Older women have no legal stake in the country unless married and living with their husbands. Once the parents of an unmarried woman or of a widow or deserted wife die, she is not

as welcome in her home of orientation as before, and unless she marries or rejoins her husband and so gains rights in an affinal home she may feel that town offers her the best possibilities of a home. For these women, employment in town must be viewed as an end in itself. This is in contrast to the situation of the majority of men for whom it is merely a means to an end - that of the continuation of the rural home which they have or will inherit.

The great difference between male migration and that of females in search of work can be seen to lie therefore in the relative weighting or importance of the two levels of motivation which Mitchell suggests go to make up the final decision to go to town. For the women under discussion the secondary or 'last straw' causes are far more potent than for men and should perhaps be termed the effective causes. The main reason for this is that, at present, unlike men, few of them can look forward to security in the rural areas. Town therefore exerts a tremendous pull on these women who feel that the country offers them little or nothing of a lasting nature. The city offers them an alternative way of life. They look to working there, not as men do as a supplement to rural living, but as a possible permanency.^{9]}

The contention of writers such as Gulliver and Mitchell that all migration in Africa must have an economic basis is not true in the case of all women. Were it as simple as this one would expect pagan women to be working in town in equal proportion to Christian women since poverty strikes Christian and pagan homes alike and certainly pagan men seek work in town. In addition, 21 per cent of the women investigated had come to town for reasons which had little to do with economic necessity; 17 per cent came to seek husbands and lovers and four per cent to attend hospitals. It was only after the arrival of these women in town that they decided to seek employment as a means of supporting themselves when they decided to stay in town or were faced with the inability to live in town without money. It will be remembered also that nine per cent of the total number of women investigated came to town in childhood with parents or guardian. Although

the latter may have come for economic reasons, their daughters came because of their dependence upon their parents.

On coming to town all these women were either fulfilling or attempting to fulfil their roles assigned to them by their sex under the changing conditions of today. The abandoned wives were seeking their husbands and thus the normal status and lives of married women. The women following lovers were doing so in the hopes of forcing a marriage and so attaining the status of the married. The women attending hospitals were seeking not only health but in the majority of cases an aid to fertility which would enable them to fulfil their potential roles as mothers through conception and confinement. The young unmarried girls were accompanying parents and guardians upon whom they were dependent to Durban. The movement to town of all these women stemmed this, in general, from their structural roles as lovers, wives or daughters of men in town, and in particular from the tension and imbalance which modern conditions have caused in the overall structure of African society.

The non-economic reasons for going to town do not, on the whole, operate for men, the majority of who are forced to go to town at an early age to seek work to help support families. In their case also as Schapera (Schapera 1947) noted labour migration has become the norm. All young men automatically go to town rather in the light of a test of manhood which replaces the initiation school. This is not the case with women who are, instead, guarded strictly until marriage and encouraged to remain in the country lest they be 'spoilt in town'. It is only if they cannot both remain at home and fulfil their roles as women that they have to come to town.

Although only one-fifth of domestic servants interviewed had come to town for non-economic reasons, the proportion of the total female immigrant population of Durban or of any town or city in South Africa in the same position, is probably much higher. Not all women who come to town for non-economic reasons find work immediately and if they have husbands or

guardians who can support them, they may never, in fact do so at all. These women form a section of the urban population who have come to town simply because they are women and because of their association with men. Any consideration of future planning with respect to the movements of Africans as a whole must take these women into account. If men are in town, women must be expected to follow.

In conclusion it may be stressed that although African women may be drawn to town initially in search of money and excitement they may remain on in town for completely different reasons. For instance, they may meet, marry or form permanent liaisons with town-rooted men. They then stop working altogether but remain on in town supported by the earnings of these men. It is, thus, not sufficient to identify the initial stimulus to migration and then to presume that this continues to explain the presence of women in town. Their lives and experiences in the urban area must be examined in order to see what, if any changes, have been brought about in their outlook and ambitions by their stay in town. The practical realisation of these aims must also be considered both in relation to the administrative framework and to the women's own capabilities and social positions. This will be attempted in the final section of this study.

PART TWO

VARIOUS TYPES OF DOMESTIC EMPLOYMENT IN DURBAN

CHAPTER THREEDOMESTIC SERVICE IN EUROPEAN HOMESTHE LOCATION OF THE STUDY:

The city of Durban which is situated on the east coast of South Africa grew up about a naturally enclosed bay known as the Bay of Natal. The city spreads outwards from the bay along three routes which extend inland and north and south along the coast. The metropolitan extension of the city is now estimated to reach westwards to Botha's Hill, northwards along the coast to Umhlanga Rocks and southwards to Kingsborough (see Figure 6). This area encompasses intensively developed regions such as the Pinetown/New Germany industrial complex, and ranks as third in importance amongst the industrial, financial and commercial centres of the Republic.

As a port Durban is the country's largest and busiest while as a holiday resort it enjoys the year round attention of between 200,000 and 300,000 tourists. The total population amounts to some 800,000 persons divided roughly into equal proportions of Europeans, Indians and Africans with a small minority of Coloureds.

Much of the city's labour requirements are supplied by migrant workers from surrounding Bantu reserves such as Umlazi to the south, Ndwedwe to the north and the Valley of 1,000 Hills to the west. (See Figure 6). A migrancy system based on weekend commuting to and from these nearby reserves is well developed and there is a constant movement of Africans between reserve and town. Long-term migrancy is also prevalent as migrants from the heart of Zululand and the inland areas of Natal journey to Durban to seek employment.

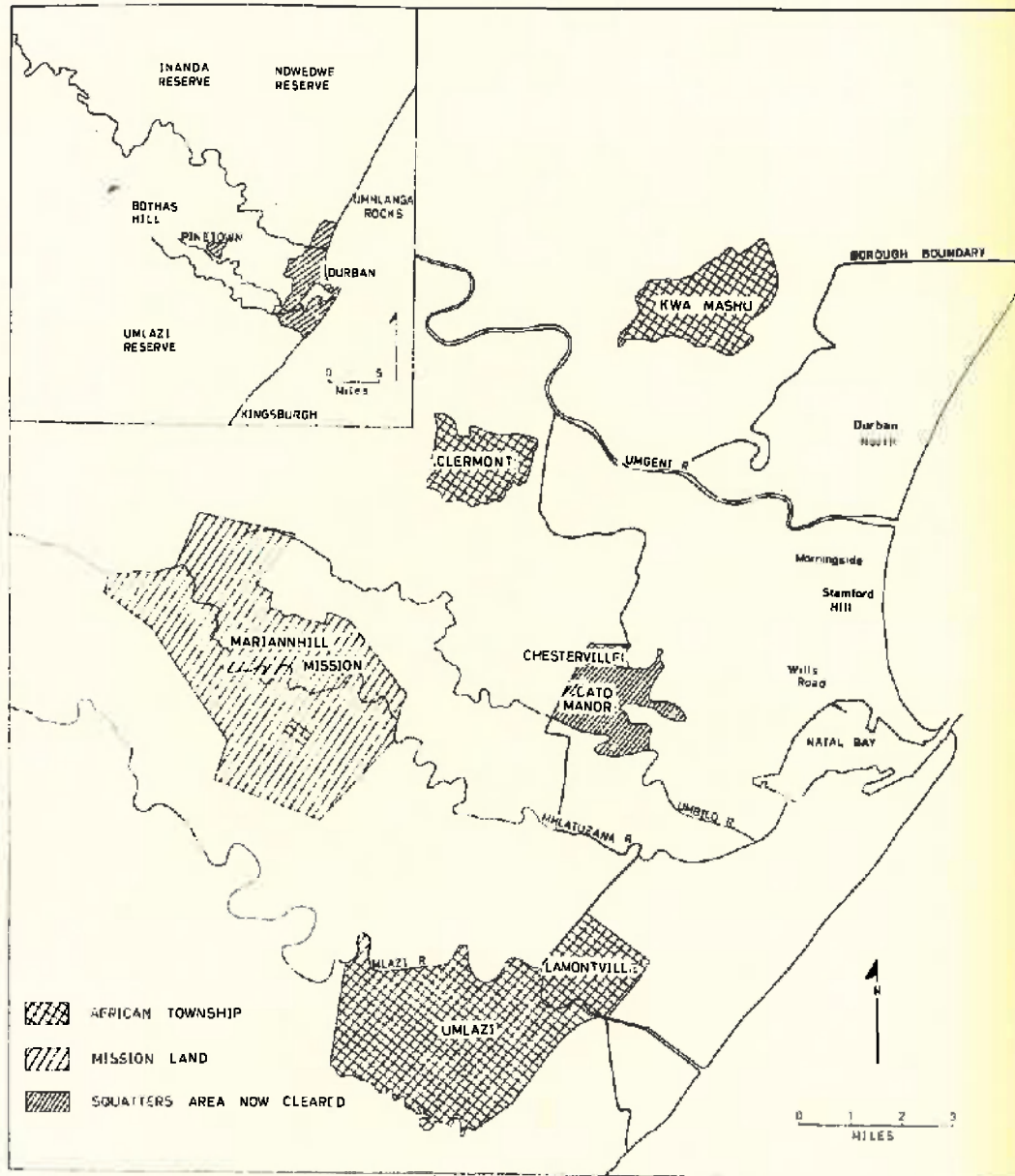


Fig 6 Location of African townships, Mission land and African reserves surrounding Durban

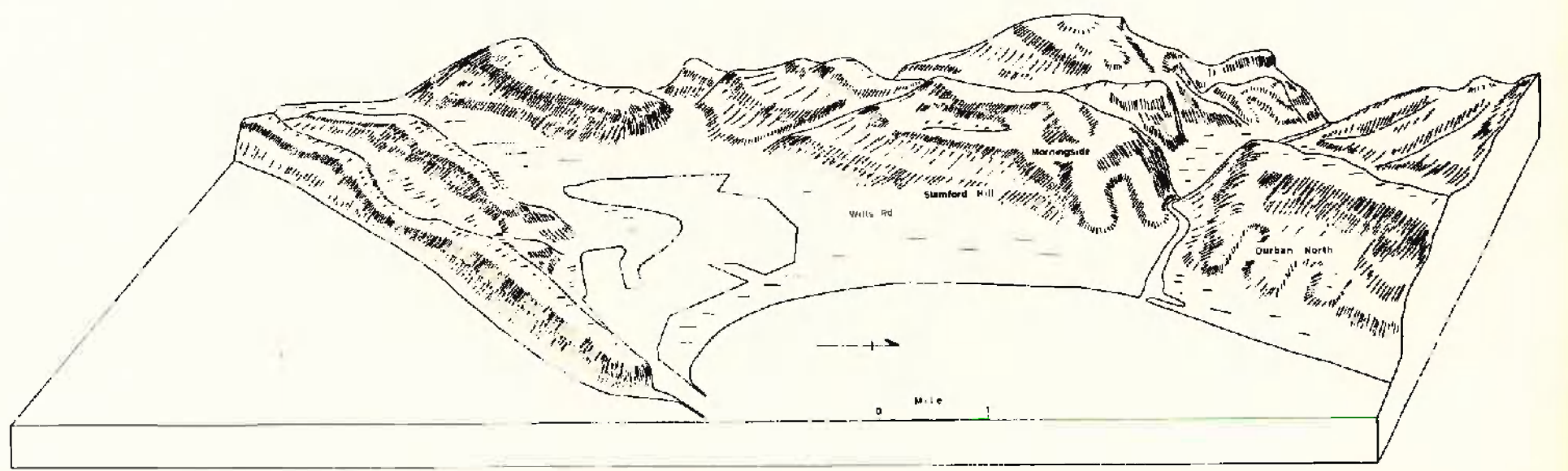


Fig. 7 Physiography of the Durban area

THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF DURBAN:

The city stretches back from the seafront and bay over flat alluvial land towards a ridge known as the Berea which reaches a maximum height of 499 feet above sea level. On the inland facing side of the Berea ridge the land falls away sharply only to rise again over a series of hills which stretch inland (see Figure 7).

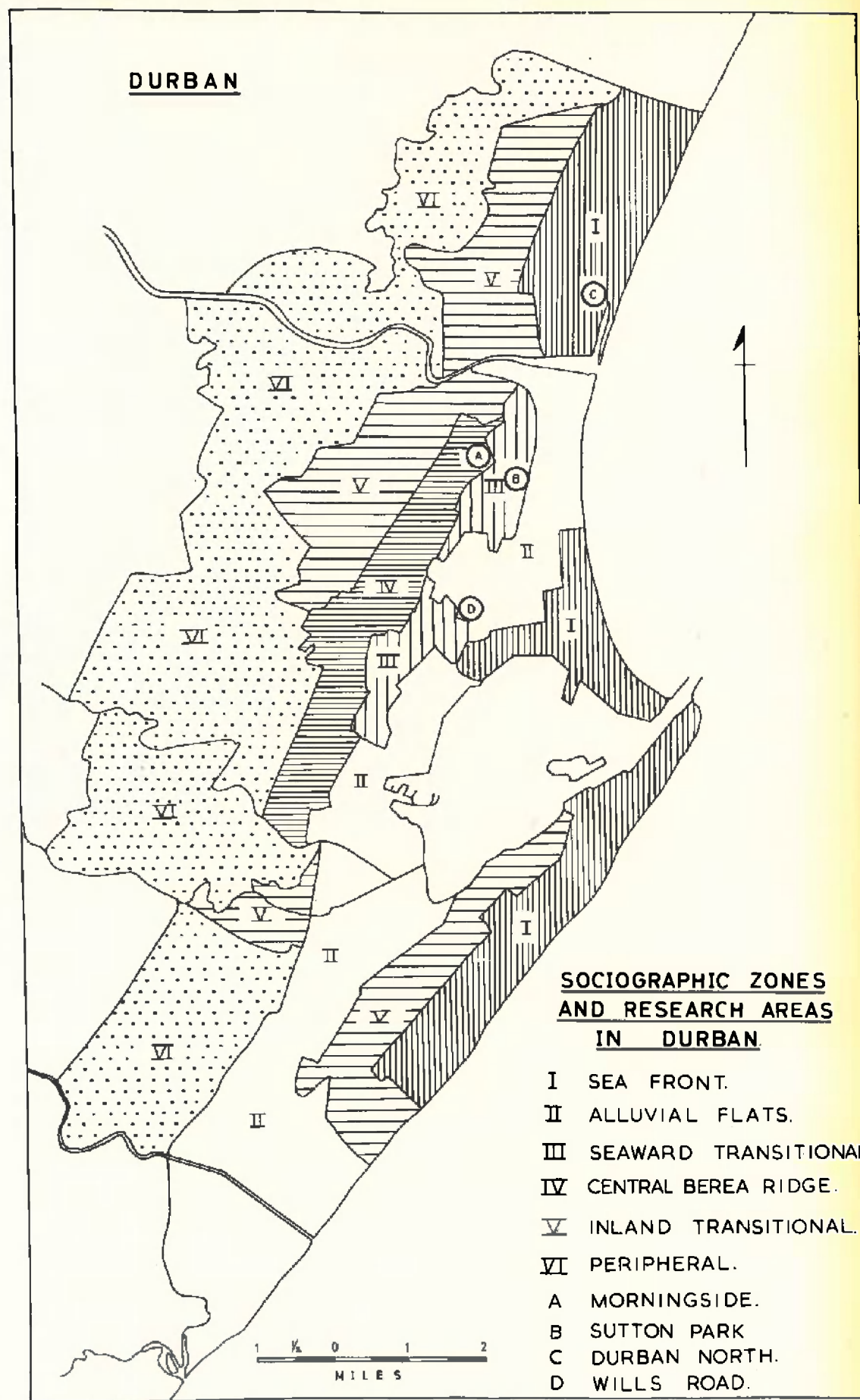
The seafront area is dominated by hotels and blocks of flats while commercial, business and industrial interests predominate on the alluvial flats, which surround the Bay of Natal. There is competition for residential sites which provide a view of the sea and benefit also by the cooling breezes which blow inland from the sea. The seafront area and the heights of the Berea ridge are therefore the most highly prized for residential occupation. They have tended to be monopolised by the more privileged sections of the Durban community. The rest of the population is dispersed over the lower seaward facing slopes and on the inland facing slopes of the ridge in accordance with their ability to compete for the less favourable sites.

Privilege in South Africa is largely a matter, firstly of racial origin and secondly of income. It is not surprising therefore that the residential distribution has had these as its deciding factors. Wealthy European families predominate on the Berea. They live in large houses and employ four to five servants per household. As one descends the ridge towards the alluvial flats so the income of residents, size of homes and number of servants employed, decreases. On the alluvial flats behind the tourist hotels and large blocks of holiday flats which line the beachfront, Coloured and Indian residents predominate living interspersed with and on the premises of small factories and shops. They also dominate the inland facing slopes immediately behind the ridge. Certain of the more wealthy Indian families have competed successfully with the less affluent Europeans for homes on the lower reaches of the seaward facing side of the ridge, while the poorest European families are scattered amongst the non-European residents of the low-lying areas. At one time individual Africans

and small African families lived in barracks on the alluvial flats and rented rooms from the European and non-European property owners of the area¹¹. This situation of multi-racial residence is now undergoing change in response to the demands of strict racial segregation. The majority of the Africans have been moved to the townships. When however, this study was undertaken, few inroads had as yet been made into the pattern of mixed Indian, Coloured and European residence on the alluvial flats and lower sections of the ridge.

THE LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION OF
THE THREE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNITS IN WHICH
EMPLOYMENT FOR EUROPEANS WAS INVESTIGATED:

The geographical and social characteristics of Durban enabled Kuper, Watts and Davies (1957), to divide the city into six well-defined sociographic zones (Figure 8). These provided an invaluable guide to the selection of residential areas from which sample units could be isolated for investigation in the present study of domestic employment in the city. As Table V shows, European residents dominate the Central Berea Ridge, Seafront and Seaward Transitional zones. They differ however, in economic standing (see Table VI). In particular there is a striking contrast between the mean income of Europeans living on the Ridge and those domiciled in the Seaward Transitional zone. The first two neighbourhood units chosen for the study of employment in European homes were situated in two suburbs which are characteristic of these two zones, Morningside and Stamford Hill. The third neighbourhood unit investigated is situated in Durban North. This suburb is located in an extension of the Seafront zone. It is however, dominated by permanent houses and not by holiday flats and hotels. The main reason for the inclusion of this unit in the study was the relative youth of its residents and the high percentage of young children in its homes, features not found in Morningside or Stamford Hill. Since the care of European children by African nursemaids is characteristic of South African child rearing habits, it was felt to be imperative to include such families in the study.



SOURCE - R.J. DAVIES. A STUDY IN RACIAL ECOLOGY.

Fig 8.

TABLE V

Racial Composition of Sociographic Zones (Excluding Non-European Domestic Servants in Private Households): Durban: 1951 Census

Sociographic Zones	P e r c e n t a g e s					
	European	Coloured	Indian	African	Total	All non-European
Alluvial Flats	4.81	4.81	56.59	33.79	100	95.19
Peripheral	12.48	2.75	39.70	45.07	100	87.52
Inland Transitional	23.18	7.16	57.66	12.00	100	76.82
Seaward Transitional	65.91	7.18	17.22	9.69	100	34.09
Seafront*	67.43	0.62	5.83	26.12	100	32.57
Central Berea Ridge	88.59	0.43	1.78	9.20	100	11.41
TOTAL	32.75	4.01	36.28	26.96	100	67.25

* If we subtract the barrack population of Africans on the Point, then the respective percentages for the Seafront zone become 78.27 Europeans, 0.71 Coloureds, 6.76 Indians, 14.26 Africans, and total non-Europeans 21.73.
Adapted from Kuper, Watts and Davies (1958), p.110.

TABLE VI

Mean and Per Capita Income of Europeans by Sociographic Zones: Durban: 1951 Census

Sociographic Zones	Mean Income Per Annum**	Per Capita Income Per Annum**
Central Berea Ridge	1410	736
Seafront	1166	670
Seaward Transitional	862	440
Inland Transitional	958	410
Peripheral	968	408
Alluvial Flats	816	420
TOTAL	552	283

** To the nearest Rand per annum.
Adapted from Kuper, Watts and Davies (1958), p.123.

PLATE TWO : MORNINGSIDE



a. Park and Sportsground with the homes of Morningside rising above.



b. Morningside homes set along the Berea Ridge.



c. A typical Morningside home.

In order to appreciate the contrasts of employment found to exist in Morningside, Durban North and Stamford Hill, it is necessary to have some idea of the general differences between the three areas. Pen pictures of the suburbs follow, and it is against this background that their manner of domestic employment will be discussed.

1. Morningside (See Plate Two):

The suburb of Morningside is situated on the northern extent of the Central Berea Ridge (see Figure 8). It has all the attributes which make for desirable residence in Durban. High elevation on the ridge commands for the majority of its homes the sea views so highly valued in the city, while some sites also have views which stretch inland over the Umgeni River mouth. All benefit from the cooling breezes which blow from the sea and which alleviate the intense heat and humidity of the summer months. The suburb is no more than 15 minutes drive by car from the centre of town, is served by an excellent bus service and is in convenient reach of schools and suburban shopping facilities. Apart from the few sites which provide for the latter and for recreational facilities such as parks and sports clubs to serve local residents, land use is all residential. The parks are well tended, while the vacant lots between some of the houses have been grassed and are a pleasant feature of the area. Some even contain swings for the amusement of the neighbourhood children. Residents pride themselves on the exclusiveness of their suburb and guard the privacy and seclusion provided by their wooded gardens and quiet tree-lined roadways. Apart from the main arterial roads and bus routes there is little traffic and few people not living in the area, either as residents or servants, are to be seen on the streets.

Property is understandably valuable and highly priced. The houses are large and each has been designed to make the most of the site potential in terms of view and coolness. Each home is provided with at least one servants' room and a laundry. Verandahs and balconies are a feature of the pillared

facades, while roofs tend to be high pitched and to dominate the buildings. Windows and often doors are ornamented with bands of mullioned glass. The architecture marks the area as having been developed largely during the 1920's. Despite their age, however, the houses are in excellent repair and the gardens, though seldom over a quarter of an acre, are well tended and showplaces in themselves. The upkeep of these properties is expensive and the standard of living of Morningside residents is high. Kuper, Watts and Davies, (1958, p.123), estimated that in 1950 the mean income of the area was £705.36 (R1,410.72)² per annum. All residents are European.

Neighbourhood unit chosen for study:

These characteristics make Morningside a suitable suburb in which to study domestic service in the homes of Europeans falling into the upper income bracket. The unit finally chosen for study within Morningside consisted of two large irregularly shaped residential blocks containing altogether 60 consecutive houses uninterrupted by shops, flats or business premises of any description. The unit is to some extent spatially isolated from the rest of the suburb since only on one side do other houses face directly onto it. All other sides are bounded by such facilities as sports clubs, a park, a school and finally a grassed but vacant lot. There is a small and limited shopping centre within five minutes of all houses, and a circular bus route running along the northern border of the area provides both European and non-European transport into town every 20 - 25 minutes.

The home owners of the Morningside neighbourhood unit formed a remarkably homogeneous group. Eighty per cent were South African citizens of English descent. Fifteen per cent were of Afrikaans extraction but spoke a good deal of English in their homes. Although most of these residents had been reared on farms, few of the English-speaking residents were not completely urban-bred. The remainder of the householders were immigrants from Britain, but all had been in this country for over seven years. A minority of eight per cent of the families were Jewish. In economic and class background the residents

were also similar, the majority of householders working in the professional and business fields. (See Table VII) There were a number of specialist physicians, lawyers, accountants and members of the higher paid echelons of the educational field. Businessmen owned their businesses or were directors and managers of large companies or corporations. All these occupations can be expected to net high incomes for their incumbents. Finally, it may be noted that 22 per cent of the residents had either retired from business or had independent means which provided for them and their families. None lived solely on or were indeed eligible for old age pensions.

The households were small, each having on the average only 3.3 members. The reason for this lay largely in their composition and in the developmental stage reached by the majority of the families. The households were predominantly of the small nuclear type consisting of parents and children only. In 10 per cent of the cases there were no children in the home since the householders were childless or their children were adult and had left home. In three cases elderly siblings lived together. The majority of the householders were either approaching or had passed middle age. The families of those with children were well established, and in over three-quarters of the cases the children were either at school or already working. In only four per cent of the cases were there young children or babies in the homes. (See Table VIII)

These factors had important repercussions on the demands made of domestic servants in the homes. Few were expected to care for children and in only two cases was a female employed specifically as a nursemaid. On the other hand, the majority of housewives were not tied to their homes by the care of young children. Although only four per cent held employment, the majority of the remainder pursued full social lives. Bridge, sport and even voluntary social work took them away from their homes during the day. In their absence the servants were left to complete their tasks unaided and unsupervised. A good deal of the household responsibility tended therefore to fall onto the shoulders of the servants.

TABLE VII

Percentage Distribution of Occupations of
Householders in Morningside, Durban North
and Stamford Hill

Occupational Categories	%			
	Morning- side	Durban North	Stamford Hill	
			European	Indians & Coloureds
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	37	30	2	-
Businessmen, owning or directing firms and factories	28	30	-	10
Administrators & Officials	-	-	4	-
Salesmen	-	-	-	70
Clerical, Office & Related Workers	13	10	8	-
Workers in Operat- ing & Transport Occupations	-	-	21	-
Craftsmen, Factory Operatives, Manual Workers	-	-	38	10
Farmers	-	10	-	-
Services & Related Workers	-	-	-	10
Retired & Pensioned	22	-	12	-
Other & Unidentifi- able	-	20	12	-
Not gainfully employed	-	-	3	-
TOTALS	100	100	100	100

PLATE THREE: DURBAN NORTH



a. Two typical Durban North houses.



b. African nursemaids and their European charges at a local park.

TABLE VIII

Composition of the European Populations
of Morningside, Durban North
and Stamford Hill

	Morningside		Durban North		Stamford Hill	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Adults	164	84	22	46	153	66
High School Children	15	8	2	4	12	5
Junior School Children	8	4	8	17	46	20
Infant School Children	6	3	12	25	16	7
Babies up to four years of age	2	1	4	8	4	2
TOTAL RESIDENTS	195	100	48	100	231	100

2. Durban North (see Plate Three):

The second neighbourhood unit in which employment for Europeans was studied, is essentially similar to Morningside in its social, economic and cultural make up. The one point of difference - and the very reason for its inclusion in the study - is the relative youth of the residents, and the large proportion of young children found living in it.

Durban North is a newer suburb than Morningside. It has grown up over the last 25 years as residential development has extended northwards over the Umgeni mouth. It lies approximately nine miles from the centre of the city in the northward extension of the Seafront zone (see Figure 8). As a residential suburb it has the reputation of being a prestige area. It is, however, highly differentiated and in fact there are great variations in the class, economic standing and even in the racial affiliation of its residents. In the section in which the investigation was carried out, all homeowners were European and their incomes middling to high. The houses have three or four bedrooms and in the

modern architectural style, are of the long low bungalow type. Outhouses and gardens are adequate by South African standards and the properties and gardens well tended.

Neighbourhood unit chosen for study:

Because of the similarities to Morningside it was felt necessary to investigate only a small number of families in Durban North. The unit chosen consisted of only 11 houses facing each other across a small cul-de-sac. This is situated immediately above the main North Coast road. At one end it is bounded by a junior school and at the other by the playing fields of one of the larger senior schools in the suburb. Since the houses face each other and are cut off from their immediate neighbourhoods by the school grounds, this area is as isolated from the rest of the community as was the Morningside unit. A bus route lies within three minutes walk of all houses, but the bus service is infrequent and the journey to town takes at least 30 minutes. This tends to isolate the servants to some extent since they have no alternative transport. Trips to town or to the townships have to be planned well in advance and can only be made when servants have a considerable amount of free time available. Although there is a shopping centre about half a mile away from the area, this is not much used by the servants since the prices charged are higher than those in the supermarkets of town and Grey Street. The only shops which servants did patronise were the chemist and cafe.

The residents of the unit were predominantly English-speaking, although two families were Afrikaans and another combined French and English as home languages. The latter had been in this country for over ten years, living largely in the rural areas. Two other families had only recently come to South Africa, the one from Britain and the other from Zambia. The former kept no servants while the wife in the latter case confessed her ignorance of employing female servants and of current South African wages and behaviour patterns. She, nonetheless, employed one female servant because she had young children in the house. None of the families were Jewish. The householders were occupied largely in the business and clerical fields (see Table VII).

One resident had a farm and small business connected with it. None were of independent means, had retired or were on pension.

On the whole the households were larger than in Morningside. Though few had over six members, the average number of persons per house was 4.5. All families were of the nuclear type consisting of parents and children, and the age structure of the latter was different to that existing in Morningside. The proportion of babies and small children was high, amounting to 33 per cent of the total population. None of the children in Durban North had left school and the majority of those at school were still at the primary level (see Table VIII).

As a result of these features the housewives in the area were kept much at home by the necessity of caring for babies and small children. Only three worked, those who were mothers of teenagers and even they held part-time positions or jobs such as teaching which allowed them to be at home with their offspring during the afternoons and on Saturday mornings. The presence of housewives at home most of, if not all, the day has repercussions for domestic service. Servants are not expected to take full responsibility for the running of the household. In fact all Durban North housewives kept the reins of home management firmly in their own hands. The presence of young children, however, meant that servants, particularly the females, were expected to help care for the youngsters and even to take responsibility for them in the absence of the housewives from home. 'Baby-sitting' at night was another feature of the work demanded of servants in the area, one not met with frequently in Morningside.

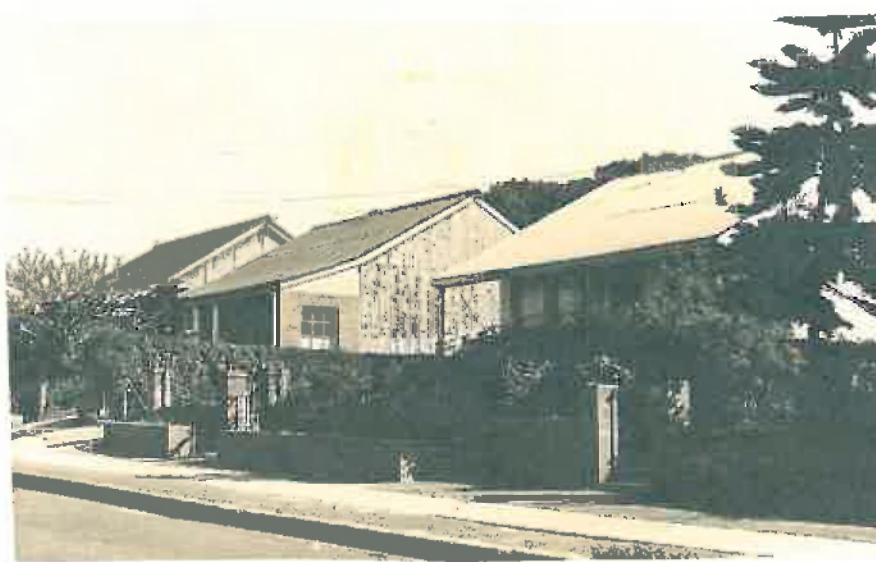
3. Stamford Hill (see Plate Four):

In contrast to Morningside and Durban North, Stamford Hill is one of the least desirable and affluent residential areas of Durban. It is situated on the lower reaches of the ridge in the Sea front Sociographic zone (See Figure 8). It has neither the advantages of cooling breezes from the sea nor panoramic views. The vista is one of cramped neighbouring houses and small blocks of flats, many

PLATE FOUR : STAMFORD HILL



a. A typical Street scene.



b. Wood and Iron homes, one with an enclosed porch.



c. A Resident and her Servant return from a visit to the shop.

in a bad state of repair, of railway shunting yards or the squalid semi-industrial and business districts of Umgeni Road. The area forms part of the fringe development which extends out of the Durban Central Business district along one of the main arterial routes to the North Coast. A fair proportion of the properties are rented or owned by small business concerns, many of which are run by non-European, particularly Indian, enterprise. Residence is also multi-racial. A number of houses are inhabited by Indian and Coloured families, and these are scattered amongst European dwellings. Moves are now afoot to clear the non-European elements from the area, but at the time that this study was made, little headway had been made in this direction.

Houses are small, many dilapidated and a fair number are built of wood and iron. Others are semi-detached or have been sub-divided. Architecturally they are of much the same period as the Morningside houses, but there the resemblance ends. They have been built much more cheaply and although pillared varandahs exist, there is far less ornamentation or elaboration of facades. Gardens are small and for the most part untidy and ill-kept. In all cases outhouses are rudimentary. Many of the properties do not have servants' rooms or garages. 'Lean-to' quarters of wood and iron have been erected in some cases, many using the outer wall of the property as a prop and as one wall. Toilet facilities for servants are not always available, and use must be made of public conveniences if these are near enough. In cases where the premises are far from the conveniences, servants share with neighbours and make what use they can of odd stretches of bush.

The thoroughfares are either wide traffic-laden highways or narrow, inconvenient roads; the latter are often badly tarred and lit. Between these roads are small lanes and alleyways which run between high corrugated iron fences and the outside walls of buildings. These footpaths lack any lighting whatsoever and are filled with litter and garbage.

maisonettes. Five of the houses were unoccupied and in an extremely bad state of repair, while two small adjoining houses were inhabited by one large family. Sixty-seven families were to be found in the houses and some 26 in the flats. Early in the course of fieldwork, however, seven families moved out of the area, five from the houses and two from the flats, leaving 62 permanent dwellers in the houses and 24 in the flats^{3]}.

Unlike the other areas, the unit is not purely residential. There is one cafe, a laundry and plumbers' establishment within it. Apart from this, the immediate neighbourhood abounds in small shops which cater for all the needs of residents. Transport to and from town is no problem since bus routes run along the roads which form the northern and southern boundaries of the unit, the latter boundary in fact forms the main route leading out of town to the North Coast African areas and to Kwa Mashu African township.

The community was a heterogeneous one. Fifteen per cent of the families living in houses were non-European, 10 per cent being Indian and five per cent Coloured. None of the flat dwellers were however, non-European. Cultural differences occurred within the racial groups. Indians were of both Muslim and Hindu origin. At least eight per cent of the European householders were immigrants of recent standing. The majority of these (seven per cent of the total) were of French descent, most having arrived in this country from Malagasy and Mauritius. The remainder of the immigrants were German-speaking, either from Europe or South West Africa. One-half of the immigrants had been in South Africa under five years, and although younger adults and children spoke English fluently - and many Afrikaans also - the older generation were found to have great difficulties with language. Amongst South African citizens in the area, there was a high proportion of Afrikaans-speaking families - 40 per cent of the total. In the case of the majority of these families, and indeed of the English-speaking residents also, either one or other of, and sometimes both husband and wife had been reared on farms or in small villages. Finally, no Jewish families were encoun-

In contrast to both Morningside and Durban North there are always strangers to the area to be seen on the streets in Stamford Hill. The semi-industrial and commercial character of the area is one reason for this. The shops and businesses continually draw a wide variety of persons to the area. It is also common practice for residents to let rooms to lodgers. The latter tend to be transient visitors to the area, leaving when they can no longer pay rentals or when better opportunities occur. The control over servants' visitors is seldom strict and outhouses are often let to non-European, especially to Indian and Coloured tenants. These factors make for a 'cosmopolitan' atmosphere in which new faces do not cause untoward comment. This anonymity provides a cover for many illegalities. Much of the lodging is illegal, but more important, a minority of the residents were found to be themselves involved in illegal transactions and businesses. Neighbours and servants were aware of these activities but never reported them to the authorities. Likewise, there is an acceptance of social abnormalities. Irregular unions occurred amongst the Europeans, and the birth of illegitimate children to the adult daughters of Coloured residents occurred twice during fieldwork.

Neighbourhood unit chosen for study:

As with the other areas studied, that in Stamford Hill was chosen because its two blocks formed a unit to some extent differentiated from the rest of the suburb. On one side of the area lies the large open expanse of a park. This contains a European swimming pool, a sizable bus shelter, and European and non-European cloakrooms and conveniences. On the lower side is a double highway leading out of Durban. This is bordered by flats, business and factory premises. On all other sides of the area the roads are wide and create a barrier to interaction between householders living on either side of them.

At the time of the initial census the unit included 72 houses, four small blocks of flats, and one block of

tered in the Stamford Hill neighbourhood. The existence of cultural differences between the employers of this unit is in contrast to the homogeneity of the other two areas, particularly of Morningside. It has led to contrasts in the pattern of domestic employment and in the treatment of servants within Stamford Hill. It also sets a background for many of the major contrasts which exist between the three areas in these respects.

The Stamford Hill residents did not enjoy so high a standard of living as those in Morningside or Durban North. Although the wages paid to many of the European householders particularly the artisans, were high, there is a good deal of intermittent unemployment and many did not have steady or permanent jobs. Non-European householders were well-off compared with the rest of their community, but Coloureds, in particular, were dogged by the threat of unemployment. In 1950 the mean income of Europeans living in the Seaward Transitional zone was only £430.78 (R861.56), (Kuper, Watts and Davies, 1958, p.123) considerably lower than that of Morningside. The occupations and sources of income of the residents in the neighbourhood studied, supports this figure. (Table VII). None of the European men interviewed were in business or professional fields. Some of the Indian and a few of the Coloured householders were, however, in business. About one-half owned or had a share in a family business, while the other half were employed in minor sales capacities. The remainder of the non-European men were occupied in service work or as builders and craftsmen. European householders were largely artisans employed by the Durban Corporation, by various factories and by the South African Railways. Those having managerial positions, held them in the Government service rather than in business, as did Morningside residents of this category. Such positions were far less responsible or well-paid than those held by their counterparts in the first unit investigated. It will be noted that 12 per cent of the European householders fell into the reserve category of 'other and unidentifiable'. It was the majority of these who were involved in shady or downright illegal activities which were a feature of the area. One resident, for instance, was

reputed to be a receiver of stolen goods. Others lived off their wits and took temporary jobs when necessary. A good number of residents, also, counted on the nearby race course to provide additional income. Finally, 12 per cent of the householders no longer worked, but in contrast to Morningside, with the exception of two, were all drawing pensions. These were meagre, but in all cases the pensioners had adult children living with them and contributing to the household income. The exceptions had small incomes from property, mostly in the immediate vicinity. This is in contrast to Morningside, where the elderly or retired couples were all of independent and substantial means.

The households in Stamford Hill were, on the whole, larger than those in the other areas investigated. There were, on the average five persons per unit in the houses and four per household living in the flats. Few of the families were of the simple nuclear type as there was a tendency to include relatives of both spouses in the household. In one quarter of the cases aged parents of either the husband or wife lived permanently with the family. Siblings and their families visited the Stamford Hill householders and stayed for long periods if destitute. Adult children of the households often settled with the families for short periods after marriage and if divorced returned home with their children. In cases where there were no relatives in the household, rooms were frequently let to lodgers. As a result there was usually more than one adult female in the home and if the housewife were absent, she took over the control of domestic affairs. This obviated the necessity of employing full-time servants in many cases and meant also that little responsibility was left to any of the servants who were employed. In any case, unlike the Morningside housewives, those in Stamford Hill were not found to be drawn away from the area very often. Few worked and even fewer belonged to sports or recreational clubs. Their homes were the centre of their lives and even household shopping was done in the neighbourhood.

In one respect at least Stamford Hill was found to be similar to Morningside but different to Durban North. The average European householders were not young, and their

children were either at school or already working (see Table VIII). In comparison with the 8.3 per cent pre-school children of the Durban North area, only 1.8 per cent of the Stamford Hill youngsters were not yet at school, a position similar to that in Morningside where only one per cent of the group of residents were below school age. Servants were seldom expected to care for babies or young children, though they were on occasions asked to collect older children from school. In one exceptional case a servant was expected to care for three children under six years of age while the mother was out at work.

Finally it may be mentioned that in contrast to Morningside and Durban North, 12 per cent of the families living in Stamford Hill were related to each other. All had lived in the area for many years and in the case of one kin cluster, grandparents had originally owned the majority of the land in the area. Most of this had since been sold but the houses inhabited by the households concerned still belonged to them. The effect of kin ties was to provide for mutual aid and co-operation^{4]}. In housewives' absences or illnesses female relatives from nearby took over household duties. In Morningside and Durban North, servants were expected to step into the breach.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF DOMESTIC EMPLOYMENT
IN THE MORNINGSIDE, DURBAN NORTH AND
STAMFORD HILL NEIGHBOURHOOD UNITS:

The characteristics of employment in Morningside and Durban North were very similar and in complete contrast to the position in Stamford Hill (see Table IX).

TABLE IX

Distribution and Category of Service in the Households
of Morningside, Durban North and Stamford Hill

Category of Service	Number of Households					
	Morningside		Durban North		Stamford Hill	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One full-time servant employed	4	7	2	18	36	38
Two full-time servants employed	28	49	3	27	5	5
Three full-time servants employed	12	21	2	18	0	0
One full-time & one part-time servant employed	5	9	3	27	0	0
One full-time & two part-time servants employed	8	14	0	0	0	0
One part-time servant employed	0	0	0	0	21	22
Casual labour when required	0	0	0	0	5	5
No Servants	3	5	1	10	29	30
Total Households in Each Unit	57	100	11	100	96	100

Number of Servants and Type of Employment:

A census was taken before fieldwork began in each unit. According to these the average number of servants employed per household in Morningside and Durban North was 2.1 and 1.8 respectively. In Stamford Hill not all residents employed servants and the average was only 0.78 per household.

At the start of fieldwork in Morningside there were three households with no servants. These were, however, exceptional cases. In the one the employee had just been dismissed and not yet been replaced while in the others the householders were not permanent residents in the area. One

family was renting the house for a month and the other caring for the property in the absence of the owner. When these families were replaced the permanent householders immediately took on domestic help. Within two months of the commencement of fieldwork all households employed servants. When any of these servants left their jobs they were soon replaced. In Durban North one of the resident families, who were recent immigrants from Britain, did not employ servants when they first moved into the area. The housewife preferred to do her own work. After about six months, however, a female servant was engaged to assist her.

In the first two units therefore, all permanent residents expected to employ domestic help of some description, in fact they relied on their employees and households were seriously disrupted if the servants were away or left their employment.

In contrast to the position in Morningside and Durban North, 30 per cent of the residents in Stamford Hill employed no servants when the initial census was taken and this position remained fairly constant throughout fieldwork. The reasons given by residents for not employing servants ranged from a lack of financial resources to the feeling that the employment of servants was not warranted in the small houses and flats of the area. The housewives who remained at home all day claimed to be able to do their own housework under normal conditions. All however, admitted that they occasionally employed casual labour when there was an exceptionally heavy load of washing or when they wished to springclean their houses. This was drawn from amongst the numerous African women always to be found wandering and loitering around the streets in Stamford Hill or selling goods such as fruit and basketwork to the residents. The wage paid for casual labour varied from 50 cents to 75 cents although in some cases the housewives gave their workers old clothing in lieu of wages. When fieldwork in Stamford Hill was begun there were five casual workers employed in the unit. No examples of this type of employment were encountered in the first two units investigated.

In Morningside and Durban North the tendency amongst residents was to employ more than one servant. In only seven per cent of the Morningside homes was only one servant employed. In 58 per cent of households two servants were employed, either both full-time employees or one a full-time and one a part-time servant. In the remaining 35 per cent of the cases either three full-time servants or two full-time servants and one part-time worker were required to complete the work of the house. In Durban North 72 per cent of the residents employed more than one servant, 27 per cent two full-time workers, 27 per cent one full-time and one part-time servant and 18 per cent three full-time servants.

In Stamford Hill, in cases where servants were employed, the norm was to employ only one servant. This was true of 60 per cent of the households. The five per cent in which more than one servant was employed were exceptional cases. In one case the two servants employed were related, the one assisting the other with an exceptionally heavy load of washing which resulted from the presence of lodgers in the household. In another, both housewife and householder were away at work all day and the extra servant (a male) was felt to ensure the safety of the home. In two cases the official servant was permitted to have her husband living with her on the premises on condition that he did garden work and odd jobs in his free time. In the final case the two servants, both males, helped the householder in his small building firm. When not so occupied they did domestic and garden work.

In all areas part-time servants were employed. The reasons for their employment and their conditions of service differed however. In Morningside and Durban North part-time servants were employed only to give additional help to full-time employees in cases where the latter were faced with exceptionally heavy workloads. In Stamford Hill, however, in 22 per cent of the households part-time servants were the only employees in the homes and in no cases were part-time servants employed in addition to full-time employees.

In Morningside 12 of the 117 or 10 per cent of the servants were part-time workers. Eleven were females who did laundry once a week and one was a male gardener who visited the area over weekends. The majority of the former were employed in households where all other employees were male since it is no longer usual for males to do washing and ironing in Durban. The position in Durban North was similar. Three of the total of 11 of the servants were part-time employees, or 27 per cent. In two cases were workers weekly laundry women and in one case a gardener. The part-time workers in these two units played little part in the community life of the neighbourhoods. They visited the area only once or twice a week and then only for short periods. They were always in a hurry to complete their work and leave the area. To a large extent, therefore, they were regarded as outsiders to the community of full-time resident employees.

Part-time servants in Stamford Hill, as the only employees of the household, were in a different position altogether. They were expected to do all the heavy housework not undertaken by the housewife or some other householder. This involved laundry and housework. Servants might work during the mornings of all weekdays or come only twice or three times a week. This type of employment predominated amongst flat dwellers since the flats were small and did not provide accommodation for servants (see Table X). Since a number of the houses did not have servants' quarters attached or these were used for other purposes, half of the full-time employees in the houses could not be given accommodation and were, therefore, regarded by their employers as part-time employees. Thirty-seven per cent of the servants working in Stamford Hill did not live in the unit. Since, however, they were expected to work more than three times a week and remained on the premises of their employers for longer hours than is usual amongst part-time servants doing only laundry work, they were found to play an important part in the life of the community. Similarly a number of the women were living illegally either in or very near the unit and were effectively residents of the area.

TABLE X

Distribution and Category of Service in the Houses
and Flats in the Stamford Hill Unit

Category of Service	Number of Households					
	In Houses		In Flats		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One full-time servant employed	35	49	1	8	36	38
Two full-time servants employed	5	7	0	0	5	5
One part-time servant employed	10	14	11	92	21	22
Casual workers	5	7	0	0	5	5
No servants	17	23	12	50	29	30
Total Households	67	100	24	100	96	100

Sex of Servants:

Yet another crucial difference appears between the three areas when the sex of servants employed in each area is considered. In Morningside, males predominated, while in Durban North and Stamford Hill female employment was the norm (see Table XI).

TABLE XI

Sex of Servants Employed in Morningside,
Durban North and Stamford Hill

Neighbourhood Area	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Morningside	71	60.7	46	39.3	117	100
Durban North	6	35.3	11	64.7	17	100
Stamford Hill	7	10.4	60	89.6	67	100

The possible reasons for this divergence and the preponderance of males in Morningside appear to be three in number and can be related to the social characteristics of the various areas. In Morningside, where employers fell into the upper income bracket and where they could afford, and indeed felt they required more than one servant, preference was expressed for at least one male servant. He could be expected to help with the heavy cleaning and polishing work inside the house and also be responsible for the garden. A female might then be made responsible for the lighter cleaning tasks and the laundry. This is clearly a logical arrangement and one which works well in situations where great stress is laid on the finer touches of the immaculate upkeep of properties. Where budgets were tighter and only one servant could be employed, as in Stamford Hill, a female was thought to be of far more use to a housewife than a male. Apart from general cleaning work, she could also be expected to do the washing and ironing. Although males may do laundry, they are loth to do this work today. The pattern was for females to do 'washing' and many housewives expressed surprise at the suggestion of any other arrangement. In the Stamford Hill area residents were not so meticulous in the care of their gardens and did not therefore require males to assist in gardening. In this area, then, it was not surprising that female employment was the norm.

Another reason for the predominance of male servants in Morningside can be found in the stage of development of the families. It will be remembered that the majority of the residents were middle-aged and their children beyond babyhood. The majority of school-going children were in fact either at junior or senior school. Housewives had, therefore, little need of female servants to assist in child care. The position in Durban North was the exact opposite. The care of babies and small children was said by all employers to necessitate the employment of at least one female servant. Though it is obviously possible for male servants to help care for children, the practice, at least in urban areas, appears to be for females to be employed to do this. Housewives remarked that women 'knew more about

children' and above all felt that there was something slightly distasteful in leaving young children, particularly girls, in the hands of adult male servants^{5]}. The large gardens in Durban North, however, involved a good deal of work so a compromise was reached with the employment in many cases, of one male and one female servant.

Finally, many Morningside employers, particularly the older, expressed strong objection to employing females because they believed that the latter encouraged 'strings of males on the premises'. In addition to this, these older employers had, in many cases, never employed females. They had grown up and started their own cycle of employment during the time when few female servants were employed in town. They preferred this pattern, therefore, just as much from usage, as anything else. Where there were no other or more pressing reasons to employ female servants, they stuck to male employees.

Racial Affiliation of Servants:

In all areas African servants predominated and the number of Indian and Coloured workers encountered was insignificant when compared with the number of African employees. Where Coloured servants were employed they were treated in all respects as Africans and it is clear that employers made no distinction on this basis. In two cases they were not even aware that their servants were not classified as Africans. As far as the servants themselves were concerned, they expected no difference in treatment, and since the majority of their friends and kin were African, they regarded themselves as belonging to this rather than to the Coloured community^{6]}. All were female (see Table XII).

TABLE XII

Race of Servants Employed in Morningside,
Durban North and Stamford Hill

Neighbourhood Area	African		Indian		Coloured		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Morningside	113	96.6	3	2.5	1	0.9	117	100
Stamford Hill	64	95.5	2	3.0	1	1.5	67	100
Durban North	15	88.2	1	5.9	1	5.9	17	100

In both Morningside and Stamford Hill both male and female Indians were employed as servants. Females were engaged in housework while males were employed as gardeners or general handy-men. In Durban North only one Indian, a male, was employed as a gardener.

Two factors may be suggested in explanation of the small proportion of Indians employed in these units. In the first place, Indians are not willing to live on employers' premises. They reside instead with families or friends on the lower reaches of the ridge or in the Indian areas outside the borough. They cannot therefore be expected to work the long hours demanded of resident African servants. Secondly, the majority of European householders have an unfavourable image of Indians as a race in general, and in particular, as domestic servants. The majority interviewed declared that they would not consider employing Indians because they were 'known for their craftiness, their weakness for stealing and their lack of hygiene'. In Durban North mothers commented that they did not 'like' the child rearing habits of Indians and so would not trust their babies and children to their care. When pressed to be more explicit, none could mention particular traits which they disliked but all averred to a general mistrust of Indians as nannies. As against these attitudes however, a minority of householders, those with Indian employees, claimed that the latter were far more honest, clean and easy to manage than Africans. Many of these householders

had come from Malagasy or Mauritius and had been brought up with and served by Indian servants in these countries. The preference for Indian or African servants would therefore appear to have much to do with the experience of the particular householders. Wages paid to Indians were higher than to Africans, but this difference, of one rand or two rand, was said not to affect the choice in any way. Employers with African servants did not, in fact, know what wages were paid to the Indian counterparts of their servants.

The Indian servants regarded themselves as superior to African servants. Both by race and residence they were separated from the African servant communities. Though they might pass the time of day with African counterparts, friendships did not occur and each racial group looked somewhat askance at the other. In homes in which servants of both racial groups were employed, the Indian servant was invariably treated as the superior by the employers.

REQUIREMENTS OF SERVICE AND LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT
IN THE MORNINGSIDE, DURBAN NORTH AND STAMFORD
HILL NEIGHBOURHOOD UNITS:

It is natural that the type and amount of work expected of any servant will differ according to such factors as the size of the household served, the age distribution of its members and even the kind and size of the house in which the family lives. The presence of other servants, either male or female, is also important since it affects the individual work load of each employee. Other and less tangible factors are also at work however. These are largely cultural and affect the expectations employers have of domestic servants in general. For instance, some housewives are inclined to do a great many of the domestic chores themselves, particularly in such fields as food preparation and child care. Others leave as much as possible to the servants. The actual presence or absence of the housewife or of other adult females in the home all day is a critical determinant of this, while economic and religious circumstances often dictate the division of labour which exists between employer and employed. The length of time that a servant has spent working for her employers must also affect her skill and the amount of

responsibility given to her. These factors will now be considered in an attempt to show the differences in work expectation which existed in the three units investigated.

Morningside:

Morningside employers demand of their servants a good deal of work and a high degree of domestic competence and efficiency. In size the Morningside houses are the largest of those found in the three areas. Since they are built along the crest of the ridge, many are double-storied or at least built on split levels to accommodate them to the slope of the land. Apart from the usual amenities the houses have three and four bedrooms apiece, separate dining and lounge facilities and the majority include also large balconies and verandahs which capitalize on the sea facing vistas of their sites. In a few cases the latter have been enclosed thus adding another room to the house. Gardens and outhouses are extensive and add to the cleaning work of the servants.

The residents of the Morningside unit were scrupulous in the upkeep of their homes and gardens and would not tolerate slacking on the part of the servants whom they employed to ensure this. Apart from routine cleaning and gardening, many of the employers expected their servants to take responsibility for a good deal of, if not most of the cooking and household organisation and the majority of the housewives demanded that their servants have the experience to do their work with a minimum of supervision and instruction. Even those housewives who kept the reins of household management and cooking firmly in their own hands left the servants to do the routine work alone. When at home all of the housewives preferred entertaining friends, sewing or other recreations to the heavy chore of housework. The servants working in Morningside were employed, therefore, on the understanding that they were capable of completing their tasks unaided.

The actual demands made of individual servants naturally differed from one household to another. Within households in which more than one servant was employed there

were also differences in the workload and tasks allotted to each employee.

In the households employing only one servant, this worker was expected merely to take the load of heavy cleaning and other manual work off the shoulders of the housewife. The latter did much of the lighter housework such as dusting, tidying and all the cooking. In these cases the servant, whether male or female was not as highly skilled as many of the other Morningside employees and was not trained to do any of the more complex domestic work. This situation was, however, not typical of the area.

In the majority of the households, where two or more servants were employed, these workers were expected, between them, to complete all the housework, the greater part of the cooking and in a few cases much of the household organisation as well. In cases where two servants were employed there tended to develop a stereotyped division of labour. One inexperienced or unskilled servant, often a male beginning his working career, was given all the heavy cleaning to do while another servant, usually a highly competent female, was expected to complete the more skilled and demanding household tasks. While the former swept the house, polished the floors, washed windows and dishes and worked in the garden, the latter dusted and tidied the house, made the beds, possibly did the laundry and in addition was responsible for a varying amount of household organisation, food preparation and cooking.

In at least a quarter of the homes the more competent employee was completely responsible for the ordering of the groceries and meat and for the purchase of vegetables from itinerant hawkers who called at the houses each week. Some actually planned meals with only the guidance of the housewife's suggestions and a knowledge of the family's tastes. In the Jewish households, the servants who were involved in cooking had to be able to order and prepare food in the Jewish pattern. This was regarded as a definite skill and while housewives were willing to teach new servants, previous experience in Jewish homes was always a recommendation in prospective employees.

The skill of the servants in cooking differed greatly but in all cases housewives hoped to teach their servants the rudiments of this art. The housewives showed the servants how to make the family's favourite dishes and after helping the housewives a number of times, the servants gradually took over more and more of the preparation and finally the actual cooking of the dishes. Many of the servants, after years of this experience, were able therefore to produce not only plain meals on their own but were capable also of preparing more complex dishes, were expert at baking and could prepare both sweets and salads unaided.

Many of the Morningside employers entertained a good deal, some lavishly. Their servants were expected to help prepare the meals expertly with only the minimum of supervision from the housewife. Either she or her adult daughters might put the finishing touches to meals by making sauces or decorating the tables, but the bulk of the work involved in the parties fell on the shoulders of the servants. In all cases they were expected to serve the meals and were given instructions in the intricacies of table etiquette.

In the households employing more than two servants, the third employee had usually been engaged to fulfil some specific task. In half of these cases highly competent male or female cooks did only this side of the household work, while in most of the other cases the additional servant did laundry, often only on a part-time basis. In one case a male was employed as a chauffer while in another two cases young females were employed to help in the care of infants and to do the extra washing created by their presence in the household.

In all cases where more than one servant was employed there was a tacitly recognised hierarchy amongst the employees. This was based on experience and competence and to some degree on age. The more skilled servants were regarded as senior to the other employees and were, to some extent, in control of the latter. They often supervised their work in the absence of the housewives. Since all the more competent servants could speak some English and many of the housewives spoke no Zulu, in cases where the other ser-

vants had difficulty with English, they had to act as interpreters or mouthpieces for the employer. This increased their importance and status in the household.

It is not surprising that the skilled and sophisticated servants in Morningside had remained in their jobs for long periods. When the first census of the area was taken, all of the female servants⁷¹ had worked for their current employers for over one year. Sixty-seven per cent had worked for the same employer for between one and five years, and 35 per cent for between six and 10 years. One had been employed continuously for 14 years. Two had been employed by parents or other relatives of their current employers. Many of the servants who had been long in the service of their employers had accompanied them in moves from other towns, or had moved with them into Morningside from other areas of Durban. One had come to town with the employers from their farm. All servants had therefore had good time to become acquainted with the requirements of their employers and had been trained by them to fulfil their domestic demands.

This situation of stable employment was to a large extent self-perpetuating. The servants who had worked their way into the trust of their employers and who were reasonably satisfied with their employment conditions did not lightly leave their jobs or do things which might endanger their employment. The housewives, for their part, hesitated to dismiss their well-trained employees for minor offences, knowing full well of the difficulties they would encounter in replacing them and in the training of new workers. It is noteworthy that throughout the period of fieldwork only 10 per cent of the competent female servants left their jobs. In the majority of these cases the African women were forced to do this by personal considerations such as the birth of a baby or demands made by rural families.

Durban North:

In many respects the employment requirements and the division of labour between male and female servants in

Durban North are similar to those in Morningside. The presence of so high a proportion of babies and young children in the section studied adds, however, a new dimension to the work of the female servants employed therein.

In terms of actual house cleaning there is slightly less work for Durban North than for Morningside servants. None of the houses are double storied and although all have three bedrooms and some have separate diningrooms as well as lounges, the rooms are smaller, ceilings lower and the general planning has been for labour saving. Parquet flooring, American kitchens, tiled bathrooms and, above all, the absence of nooks and crannies in which dust so readily collects, makes these houses easier to clean than those in Morningside. The absence of large verandahs and staircases which must be polished regularly also lightens the servants' load. Even the gardens are less complex and though of much the same size, if not slightly larger than many of the Morningside gardens, they do not require so much attention.

The servants in the neighbourhood unit investigated were expected to undertake a wide range of domestic jobs. Although young children kept the Durban North housewives at home more than their Morningside counterparts, the housewives in this unit left the vast majority of the housework to their servants. Their presence, however, meant that they tended to keep control of their households and to supervise their servants' work constantly. In this respect the servants needed less experience and skill than did the servants in Morningside. Certainly only two did any cooking or baking on their own. The housewives baked in their leisure moments, but this usually meant that the children were left in the care of the female servant rather than that the latter be expected to watch and learn. On the whole, also, the employers of this area did not entertain to the same extent as those of Morningside and consequently few servants were required to be skilled cooks. Since there were no Jewish families, none of the servants had to be acquainted with the intricacies of Jewish cooking.

If the Durban North servants did less and held less responsibility in the fields of household organisation and cooking than those of Morningside, they made up for it in other ways. The presence of small children and babies involved the female servants in a great deal of washing, tidying up, and also in a certain amount of child care. In eight of the 11 households female servants, although not employed specifically as nursemaids, all cared for the children and babies at some time during the day. They took small children for walks in the park during the afternoon or merely helped to entertain them around the employer's gardens. At times when mothers were away from home, particularly at night, the servants were responsible for the children. Although the mothers might deny that the servants had any control over the children, it was clear that they had a good deal to do with them even if it was under maternal supervision. Male servants, although they had no contact with the children had to do all the heavy cleaning and gardening and in cases where females cared for children, made beds and dusted as well.

The labour turnover in Durban North tended to be higher than in Morningside. While female servants remained in their positions for about one to two years, they seldom stayed in one job for longer than this. One of the reasons for their moves is the fact that having gained experience they sought better paid jobs. As the European families increased in size, many decided to seek jobs which would give them less cleaning and laundry work. The housewives were generally very particular about the women whom they employed and who had such close contact with their youngsters. In those households which included small children, servants tended to come and go frequently until one found favour with the housewife due to her treatment and care of the youngsters. The servants, where they complained of the extra work involved in the care of children, soon accepted this if they found the family and their treatment of them congenial. In certain cases they went so far as to claim that they remained in their jobs 'only because I love the baby'.

Stamford Hill:

The demands made on the servants working in this area are strikingly different from those made on their counterparts in Morningside and Durban North. Although in most cases only one female servant is employed per house, the actual work load falling on her is less than that falling to the servants - even where more than one servant is employed - in the first two neighbourhood units studied.

The housework involved in the cleaning of the houses in the Stamford Hill unit is far less than in the other units since the Stamford Hill houses are far smaller than those in Morningside and Durban North. None of the former are double-storied and a large proportion have only two bedrooms. Where three bedrooms are present this is often at the expense of having a diningroom separate from the lounge, and no houses have the spacious verandahs of Morningside, although in a few cases narrow front verandahs have been converted into extra sleeping space. While in some houses the actual size of rooms is no smaller than in Durban North, the overall impression is one of cramped living and the designers of the houses obviously had utility and inexpensiveness, rather than comfort and luxury as their guiding criteria. Since outhouses and gardens are rudimentary they hardly add to the work load of the servants.

Quite apart from the smallness of the houses, the housewives and other members of the employing household were in the habit of helping with all domestic chores, even those of the heaviest and most dreary nature. Some were found, when the investigator called, to be on hands and knees washing floors or doing the laundry. They helped with bedmaking and also dusting. It was not an unusual sight to see both servant and mistress cleaning and tidying the same room. All housewives did the cooking for their families and kept the control of household ordering and buying in their own hands. Servants might help prepare vegetables and 'watch' pots while they cooked, but certainly were not expected to prepare meals or bake on their own.

The entertainment of guests was not as characteristic of this unit as it was of the Morningside unit. Although visitors were frequently received they tended to be made up of kin or old friends of the family who took 'pot luck' with the household and thus hardly added to the servants workload at all. As in Durban North, there were no Jewish families in Stamford Hill and thus none of the servants had to have any experience of the demands of this cultural group. All tasks allotted to the servants were supervised and little or no responsibility was given to the employees. The majority of the housewives spent the greater part of their time at home. Only three per cent worked outside their homes and in these cases some other adult female relative was at home to replace them. The stay-at-home housewives had few interests which would draw them away from their homes repeatedly each day. It was shopping and paying visits to friends which for the most part took them out, and even these activities did not take them far from their homes. The shops in the area catered for most household needs and either these or the shops in town provided delivery services. The most frequent type of visiting was that between neighbours, so the greater part of the women's social activities tended also to be concentrated within the neighbourhood. Women seldom remained away from home for long periods or for the whole day. Bridge, sport and charity work which so frequently occupied the time of the Morningside housewives had no place in Stamford Hill. Even when housewives were out the servants hardly regarded themselves as responsible for the welfare of the homes. Since the former's whereabouts could usually be guessed with accuracy, the servants could and did merely call or fetch them when any unexpected occurrence took place.

It was not only possible for the Stamford Hill housewives to busy themselves with household chores. They expected to be occupied in this manner and expressed surprise at the suggestion that their servants should be wholly or largely responsible for the housework or that they should be given a great deal of responsibility. The servants employed in this unit, were therefore, much more in keeping with the usual stereotype of a household help or charwoman

than were the skilled and versatile Morningside employees. They required correspondingly far less domestic experience and knowledge to hold their positions than did the Morningside and even the Durban North servants.

It is hardly surprising that the labour turnover in Stamford Hill was very high. The servants did not value their jobs very highly as they were well aware that they could easily secure similar and even better positions. Employers were continually dismissing their inexperienced servants and taking on new employees from the large number of women wanting jobs in the neighbourhood. When field-work began over half of the Stamford Hill servants had been employed during the previous six months. While about 15 per cent remained in the area, the rest had left it some 18 months later.

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE MORNINGSIDE,
DURBAN NORTH AND STAMFORD HILL
NEIGHBOURHOOD UNITS:

Wages:

Wages paid for full-time domestic service reflect the skill required by the position and also the socio-economic conditions of the employers. Table XIII shows that wages in Morningside and Durban North were higher than those paid in Stamford Hill. The difference, however, was not great and the highly competent cooks and housekeepers of the former areas were paid only about R6 more than the Stamford Hill servants who were responsible only for the routine cleaning and the heavier domestic chores.^{8]}

Over half of the Morningside employers paid their female servants between R11 and R15. Those servants who earned less than this were the less competent or unskilled women who worked under the direction of another and more experienced servant or under the constant supervision of the housewife. These women knew little about cooking. Ten Rand was considered an adequate wage for their work. Where even less than this was paid the circumstances were generally unusual. In one instance a young girl was employed as a

'nanny' to care for twin babies and do the extra work occasioned by their birth. In Durban North the majority of women received about R10 per month. This was because the housewives expected to retain responsibility for cooking and household direction. Those who received more than R10 per month were found to do more of the skilled work. The housewives employing these servants spent less time at home as their children were no longer babies and the servants were consequently given more responsibility in the running of the household.

TABLE XIII

Wages Paid to Full-Time Female
Domestic Servants in Morningside,
Durban North & Stamford Hill

Range of Wage	Morningside		Durban North		Stamford Hill	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
R4 - R6	1	3.0	-	-	7	35.0
R7 - R10	10	33.0	7	70.0	5	25.0
R11 - R15	17	57.0	3	30.0	8	40.0
R15+	2	7.0	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	30	100.0	10	100.0	20	100.0

Stamford Hill once again provided the contrast to the other two units. Wages, on the whole, were lower than in Morningside and Durban North. Some full-time servants were paid as little as R4 although the majority received between R6 and R10. Actual domestic skill had little to do with the variations in wages since few of the servants did anything other than routine cleaning. A minority helped with vegetable preparation and might do simple cooking under the direction of employers, but these servants did not necessarily receive higher wages. What affected the variations was the economic standing of the employers, the amount of work the latter felt they gave servants, whether the woman was accommodated on the premises or not, and under what conditions

accommodation was offered. Since servants' rooms are at a premium in the area employers in Stamford Hill do not, as in the other areas discussed, expect to provide accommodation for their full-time African servants. The advantage of accommodation is weighed against low wages. Where husbands or children are permitted to live with servants, actual wages are often very low. This position is recognised and accepted by servants as well as employers.

In cases where accommodation is offered and the servant has a good deal of free time, the employers claimed that the latter were employed only on a part-time basis. These women might and did find other employment in the area in their free time and so supplemented their original wage. The arrangement suited them well, since it gave them a place to live and a good income made up of two salaries.

On the whole payment for part-time work was standard over the three units despite differences in demands. Washerwomen were paid between two rand and six rand per month, depending on the amount of work done. Whereas in Morningside and Durban North part-time work only involved laundry, in Stamford Hill few of the part-time servants did washing and ironing alone. They were often the only employees and so were expected to help with household cleaning and polishing on the days upon which they worked. Under these circumstances the six rand they received per month compared well with wages paid to full-time servants in this area.

The wages paid to women in the three units may be compared with those paid to men in the areas. Male servants in the Morningside and Durban North units were paid higher and lower wages than the average woman's wage. The cooks, drivers and experienced house servants commanded on an average from 12 rand to 16 rand per month. One of the former was paid 20 rand per month. However, young inexperienced boys employed to care for the garden and do heavy work, were paid only between seven rand and eight rand per month. Men in Stamford Hill were not in receipt of high wages, 10 rand being the average. Where males worked as builders they were paid extra depending on the amount of work done by them each month.

Hours of Work, Free Time and Annual Leave:(a) Hours of work:

Just as work demands differed so the schedules and hours worked by the servants in the three units differed. Hours were longest in Morningside where housewives did little of the work and where households dined late and entertained frequently. Although housewives in Durban North did a good deal of the work and did not entertain as much, the demands made by children added to the load of work to be accomplished each day by the servants in this area. Stamford Hill employees had by far the greatest amount of leisure time during the day and even if they were expected to remain on the premises during these periods, they were left much to themselves. The employment of more than one servant per household did not in any way appear to lessen the hours that each servant was expected to work. The daily work schedule controlled their actions, and it was only in their recognised 'free time' that they were free to follow their own pursuits.

In Morningside the servants began work at 6.00 or 6.30 a.m. They prepared tea and began the breakfast while their employers rose and dressed. Housework commenced about 7.30 a.m. or 8.00 a.m., continuing until the servants' 'breakfast time' at about 9.30 or 10.00 a.m. This lasted about half-an-hour to an hour, depending on the demands of the employer. Servants then finished the housework and prepared lunch for the employer's family. Between 1.30 p.m. and 2.00 p.m. they were ready to begin their 'lunch break' which lasted from one to two hours, depending on the employer and their domestic needs. Where the family was small and there were no small children, the servants might remain off-duty until 4.00 p.m. although garden boys had to return to work much earlier. This routine was flexible and depended on the load of work on any day. Wash days, for instance, were particularly busy and the female servants often had only very short breaks in which to eat their food. On days when housewives were away from home, the tea and lunch breaks were often longer than the stipulated time, and in cases where the housewife was habitually absent, the routine was flexible and the servants did their work and had their breaks when

they chose.

The times at which servants were free in the evenings varied a good deal, and depended on the eating habits and punctuality of the employers, not to mention their social commitments. Although most of the servants finished work between 7.30 p.m. and 8.00 p.m. as a rule, they might be kept much later on occasions, and remained on duty until well after 10.00 and 12.00 when the employers were entertaining. The few who 'baby sat' got to bed well after midnight, but were usually remunerated for this⁹¹.

The pattern in Durban North was almost identical although greater demands were made on the servant by way of baby-sitting and fewer for household entertaining. Few female servants remained off duty after three o'clock as housewives expected them to take babies and toddlers for walks to the nearby parks.

In Stamford Hill there was by no means a fixed routine set out for and followed by servants. Full-time servants began work slightly earlier than in the other areas - about 5.30 a.m., but on the whole received much longer periods for 'breakfast' and 'lunch'. These periods also varied from day to day with the vagaries of work demands and the servant's own inclinations. In most cases the cleaning of the house was completed by about 11.00 a.m. when ironing might be done or help given to the employer with preparing lunch. After about 12.30 however, the servants were free until 6.30 or 7.00 p.m. when they returned to wash dishes and tidy the kitchen for the night. This long free afternoon was sometimes interrupted by further ironing or fetching children from school and caring for them, but on the whole it was a period of relaxation, visiting and chatting.

Part-time servants in all areas began work later - about 6.30 or 7.00 a.m. and finished each day as soon as they could. They left after lunch or later if doing ironing, but had all left by 5.00 p.m.

(b) Free days and half-holidays:

All full-time servants expect, and most receive at least one free day or afternoon per week. This may be, but is not necessarily, in addition to the free Sunday afternoons which are traditionally accepted as the servant's right. In Morningside and Durban North the majority of employees received both, although where only one servant was employed, he or she might be required to return to duty in the evening of the free days in order to help prepare and clean up after the evening meal. Where more than one servant was employed, they had different 'off days', thus giving each a full afternoon and evening off duty during the week. Sunday evening duties were alternated between them. During the week servants were released for their 'off days' at either 11.00 a.m. or 12 noon when household cleaning was complete or after lunch if this had to be served to older children. All servants remained on duty until after the mid-day meal on Sundays.

In Stamford Hill the practice was to give servants only one free half-day a week. This was usually on a Sunday when they were free after mid-day until the following Monday morning. Balancing this was the greater free time servants in this area enjoyed during the normal working day. Whenever they wished to leave the premises during the week, employers were found to be amenable and even willing themselves to do housework or ironing in order to allow their servants time off. This was in contrast to Morningside and Durban North where servants were expected to accomplish all their personal commitments during their free half-days. The few Stamford Hill employees who attended religious meetings on Thursday afternoons, were permitted to do so on condition they returned to work at 5.00 p.m. In Morningside and Durban North the majority of women, even if not members of the Manyano's, took Thursdays as their free day. Other servants preferred Friday, while a minority took Wednesday afternoons off.

Within the broad pattern sketched above, the free time enjoyed by individual servants was regulated by the size and demands of the employers' homes and families, and by the number of servants employed. On the whole this free time was severely limited and this is one of the reasons why servants were found to be so restricted in their participation in non-work clubs and other social activities^{10]},

(c) Annual leave:

All employers acknowledged that their servants should have a holiday each year. As to the length of time and under what conditions they were not in agreement. In Morningside and Durban North the majority of employers allowed their servants two weeks paid leave annually. A few employers permitted their servants to take one month's leave but seldom paid them for more than two weeks. In two cases employers did not pay their permanent servants for their leave period. In one case the servant was given one month's leave and paid a double salary.

While their servants were on leave, the employers in these areas all employed leave substitutes. The servants themselves usually brought these so-called 'reliefs'. This arrangement suited both sides. The employers felt that the leave substitutes were responsible to their permanent employees for their good conduct, and the permanent servants felt they could trust the 'relief' not to 'steal' their jobs. It was the constant fear among the servants that an unknown woman would try to insinuate herself into the good books of the employer so that the latter would decide to keep her on a permanent basis. In a few cases, however, the 'relief' was unknown to both permanent servant and employer.

In Stamford Hill those servants who had worked for a year were granted a holiday of two weeks. In three cases one month was permitted. Employers claimed that this leave was fully paid, but servants remarked that they seldom received their full salaries and in some cases were not paid at all. Since few servants remained for more than a year with one employer, leave was not such a feature of their

lives as in the Morningside and Durban North neighbourhood units. The usual pattern seemed to be for a servant to work for a few months and then, when she wished to go home or required an extended period of free time, to leave her employment. Of course where jobs were valued, this did not occur, but in the majority of cases the women felt they could get similar or even better paid jobs fairly easily. When long-standing servants took holidays their employers were found usually to manage alone for that period or to get part-time assistance. In only one case was a replacement put in a job.

Facilities Enjoyed by Servants:

(a) Accommodation provided for full-time servants by employers and the additions made by servants themselves:

All the employers in the Morningside and Durban North neighbourhood units offered their full-time African servants accommodation on the premises. The standard of this accommodation was, in some cases, very high, and in all cases adequate.

Where servants of different sexes were employed they were each given a separate room, although servants of the same sex, especially males, might be required to share a room. The servants' room was usually separate from the main house, and was often connected to a garage. In a few cases females were accommodated in rooms beneath their employers' houses. Toilet facilities were provided which consisted of a floor latrine and usually a shower. The servants had access to the laundries where these existed. Not all the rooms were wired for electricity.

Minimum furnishings were provided in all cases - a bed, mattress, table and some sort of container for clothes. In some rooms employers placed additional furniture such as a chair or comforts like curtains or rugs. On the whole the women's rooms were better furnished than those of the men, although the actual number of extras depended on the individual employers concerned. The type of furniture provided varied. Beds and mattresses were standard - iron frames and coir or jute mattresses. Where employers got

new mattresses for their own homes they might pass the old ones to the servants for their rooms, but more usually sold or gave them to the servants as presents. In these cases they were regarded as private property rather than furnishings and servants took them with them when they left the employment^{11]}. The other furniture reflected the employers' tastes as most was at one time in their own homes.

Carpets or rugs were highly prized. Any employer providing these was much praised. A few of the servants brought grass mats from home, but definitely preferred carpets of European manufacture.

A small minority of the employers felt an obligation to provide their servants with bed clothes or linen. In the cases where these were provided they were more in the nature of private gifts of old household linen than of basic equipment for the servants' rooms.

Primus stoves must be mentioned as an item found in at least three-quarters of the women's rooms. Few of the employers in Morningside or Durban North provided these. They preferred their servants to use the cooking facilities of the kitchen. (In Stamford Hill these stoves were popular with employers because they saved a good deal of electricity). In Morningside the feeling was that they were dangerous and dirty. The women themselves valued these stoves greatly as this enabled them to be independent of their employer's kitchen on their 'off days'. The primus stoves also made it possible for the servants to make tea and other refreshments for visitors in the evening, not to mention facilitating the cooking of odds and ends that they did not wish their employer to see. Besides the stoves, pots and pans, plates, glassware, crockery and cutlery were also to be seen in the rooms. All employers provided their servants with the bare minimum of utensils but again servants added to these with purchases or gifts.

In Stamford Hill not all the properties were equipped with servants' rooms, and in some cases where these existed they were not made available to the servants. The majority of those occupied by the women were obviously later additions to the property and even where the house was of brick,

many of the servants' quarters were of wood and iron. Toilet facilities were of the minimum and in only two of the houses where servants were employed, were latrines provided. Many of the servants were forced, therefore, to walk fairly long distances to make use of the public conveniences in an adjacent park, or to seek shelter in the nearby bush as their European employers did not allow them to make use of their own toilet facilities. Coloured employers allowed the servants to share their latrines and in some cases Indian employers did not seem averse to this. The servants however, preferred not to accept this facility from Indian employers and they also used the public conveniences^{12]}.

The rooms themselves were very small, especially those built of wood and iron. One woman complained that she could not fit her tin bath into the room but had to wait till nightfall to wash herself outside. The employers were not particular about how the rooms were kept and often failed to make any necessary repairs. Consequently the rooms tended to develop leaks, broken windows, and to become generally ramshackled. None had electric light and water had to be fetched from the kitchen or garden taps since there were also no laundries.

Stamford Hill employers provided very little furniture for the rooms, often only a bed and mattress and sometimes only the latter. Old boxes were used as tables and chairs, though occasionally a very dilapidated piece of furniture might be given or sold to the servant. No bedding was provided and where servants had lamps and primus stoves these also were their own possessions. In a few instances, however, an employer provided the paraffin for the primus stove since she felt this to be cheaper than allowing the servant to do all her cooking on the electric stove.

The majority of the female servants attempted to make their rooms more comfortable by adding decorations in the form of embroidered cushions, pillow-cases, bedspreads and table-cloths. Cosmetics were openly displayed on tables and dressers. The most popular items were large tins of talcum powder, and in the case of the younger women, products for lightening the skin. Vaseline and various mixtures for

purifying the blood were also regular features. Transistor radios, gramophones and sewing machines were found in the rooms of a few lucky individuals. The women were extremely proud of these. Many had bought them on hire purchase, while some had borrowed the radios from male friends. These items were given pride of place in the rooms, such as on embroidered doilies on tables or chests. In some cases, however, sewing machines were kept out of sight in case they were borrowed! Photographs of kin and friends and of the women themselves adorned the wall while bright calendars or the odd picture given to the servant by employers were often given pride of place over the women's beds.

Highly religious women set up small shrines in the corners of their rooms. These housed their church uniforms, prayer sticks, Bibles and candles. Some also held religious pictures. On the whole the decoration of the rooms was a good indication of the interests and preoccupations of the women concerned.

In Morningside and Durban North the servants had gone farthest in their attempts to beautify their quarters. The rooms in these areas were nearly all scrupulously clean and tidy¹³¹. The European homes in which the women had worked obviously provided the model for their own rooms. Decorations and additions were all Western in style, even echoing the taste of individual employers, though not necessarily those served at that time. Of particular interest were the embroidered table-cloths and pillow-cases for which no prototype was to be found in the homes of the Morningside or Durban North employers. These probably reflect the training and values given by the mission schools to many of the women. In none of the rooms were such items as clay pots or home-made mats given pride of place, or even obviously used. The standard was Western and it is clear that great time was given and efforts made to realise this aspiration. There were often attempts to partition the rooms in order to disguise their dual sleeping/living character. For instance, curtains, or pieces of cloth were, in a number of cases, suspended from the ceiling to shield beds, and where cupboards were not provided, clothes were

always hidden behind a drape. Primus stoves and cooking utensils were housed in cupboards or in old boxes turned on their sides and draped with newspaper or cloth.

In contrast to the neat and comfortable quarters in Morningside and Durban North, the servant's rooms in Stamford Hill tended to be ill-kept and even dirty. The women appeared to have fewer personal possessions in their rooms, and took little pride in decorating the walls or converting the rooms for comfortable living. In the absence of cupboards, clothing hung against the walls and was seldom covered by curtains, while soiled cooking utensils often lay on the floor or on old boxes. This difference between the units can be linked to the other social difference between them and between the servants employed in each. While the Morningside and Durban North employees were fairly permanently settled in their jobs, many of the Stamford Hill servants regarded their positions as temporary and did not therefore, see the necessity of decorating or improving their surroundings. Few brought many personal belongings to their rooms for this reason, while others remarked that they feared burglaries or felt that the poor accommodation did not warrant an effort to beautify them. Although there were exceptions at both levels, on the whole the general atmosphere of impermanence and lack of interest in neatness in Stamford Hill permeated from the residents' homes to the servants quarters.

(b) Uniforms: (See plate five):

Domestic servants value uniforms very highly since they not only protect and save wear and tear on their own clothes but also provide extra garments for their restricted wardrobe. Employers who do not provide their servants with uniforms were regarded as mean and were severely criticised. The servants felt that uniforms were their due - as if it were part of the unwritten domestic employment contract!

In Morningside and Durban North all employers provided uniforms for their servants. Women received at least two sets of overalls, aprons and caps^{14]}. Employers expected

servants to come on duty wearing these and furthermore to be neatly dressed. Sloppiness in dress, soiled or torn uniforms, were criticised. Personal cleanliness was insisted upon. The majority of employers provided soap for the personal and laundry purposes of their servants, or else the servants were permitted to use kitchen stocks for this purpose.

In Stamford Hill not all employers provided uniforms for their servants. Part-time and casual workers did not expect uniforms but even in the case of full-time servants the housewives seldom bought uniforms unless the servants had been working for them for a fair amount of time and it was apparent that both parties were satisfied with the position. In the face of the rapid labour turnover, this procedure can be understood and a number of housewives mentioned that new servants had made off with overalls when they left their jobs. In a few cases even where servants had been working for a considerable time and were regarded as permanent, employers still did not provide uniforms. These housewives explained that the cost was prohibitive. Some gave their servants old clothes instead of overalls. This, however, was not appreciated by the women since they regarded these clothes as personal gifts and resented having to wear them for work.

In Stamford Hill employers did not, on the whole, insist on a high standard of neatness in their servants. The African women appeared on duty sloppily dressed in torn, often dirty dresses and overalls. Even where uniforms were provided they would be hitched up with odd belts or be pinned at the throat with large safety pins where buttons had come off. A different situation once again, from that obtaining in Morningside and Durban North.

(c) Food:

All servants, full-time and part-time were provided with food of some description. Full-time servants were offered rations in Morningside and Durban North, while in Stamford Hill they were fed largely from the employer's table.

Part-time servants in all units were provided with bread and tea and sometimes porridge and even rations as well.

The provisions offered to the servants in the first two units were mealie meal and mealie rice, samp and beans, sugar (often brown), tea or coffee, peanut butter, jam and perhaps lard or margarine. Some meat was usually provided in all cases but not always regularly. Bread was a daily staple. Fruit and vegetables were given in a minority of cases, although it was expected that servants should use such items as onions and potatoes from household stock for their stews. Provisions were either ordered by the month or week, but in a minority of cases housewives apportioned them each day. On the whole servants were satisfied with the amount of basic foods provided for them, but criticised employers for not providing more meat and sugar. Employers who checked regularly on stores and who watched the use of cooking materials carefully were ridiculed by the servants in private and much of an employer's rating depended on her openhandedness with food.

The female servants in the first two units studied did the cooking for themselves and any other servants if there was not a male cook. This was done primarily on the employer's stove, but additions to the diet might be cooked on primus stoves in their rooms. This occurred in cases where servants were expecting visitors, and did not wish to raise comment from housewives by cooking large amounts of food in the kitchens.

All servants in Morningside and Durban North supplemented the food given them by items which were bought at nearby grocery stores or at the market. Visitors to the servants were always offered food, or at least tea, and when male friends were expected, considerable money might be spent on such items as meat and rice. There was a tendency for friends or kin who worked near each other to eat together. One servant might cook for her friend on the latter's day off, and so save her having to visit her employer's kitchen.

In Stamford Hill where rations were seldom given and servant's food was provided largely from the table of the

employers, there were some additions to make up bulk. These consisted of bread or mealie-meal, but the expensive items such as meat, fruit and vegetables were provided only when some remained from employers' meals. Though servants complained about these deficiencies, they appreciated the bulk provided.

An interesting point noted was that because of this pattern, in many cases the food eaten by servants in Stamford Hill resembled that of their employers far more closely than was the case in Morningside where the more expensive items of diet appeared regularly on the employer's tables only. Housewives in Stamford Hill did the cooking not only for their families, but also largely for the servants as well, though extra mealie-meal might be placed on the stove for the servants, and this left to their care. In this way housewives were able to keep a careful check on the use of groceries and on the servants' consumption. This was impossible in Morningside and Durban North.

Assistance Given to Servants:

All employers gave servants help of various kinds. The amount of help differed with the employers, the servants' needs and the relationship between employers and servants.

Financial aid and medical assistance was the most frequent type of help encountered. All employers had at some time lent money to servants, although few of them made a practice of this. The better or easier the relationship between the parties, the more likely were such loans to be forthcoming. The loans were either of small amounts to tide servants over to pay day or of larger amounts to cover the expenses of personal undertakings, such as funerals. One employer assisted a male servant with his lobola, while another helped a female servant with the expenses of a daughter's marriage.

Medicine in the form of aspirins, cough mixture and other household remedies for mild illnesses were another constant form of assistance given to servants. All employers saw also that illnesses were treated at hospitals although

not all paid their servants' medical expenses. One notable trait of the Stamford Hill employers was their readiness to let the servants' children and babies have extras such as milk and fruit, if the household budget could stretch to this.

A number of employers used their influence to obtain houses in the townships for various servants while others pulled strings in such situations as the gaining of maintenance or old age pensions. There are no legal provisions for pensions for Africans in domestic service, and few women work long enough with one employer to make these feasible. However, three employers, two in Morningside and one in Stamford Hill, mentioned either having paid 'pensions' to previous servants or intended to do so for their present servants. These were servants who had worked for the employers for many years. On the whole, however, domestic service carries with it very few side benefits of a permanent nature.

Personal Freedom Enjoyed by Servants
on the Premises of Employers:

In the first two units studied, employers held strict views concerning the comings and goings of their servants' friends on their premises. Five of the Morningside employers stated that they allowed their servants no visitors at all. Other employers allowed their servants to receive visitors only when the servants were off duty, but objected to visitors who remained all night with their servants. The majority of the employers reacted with annoyance to callers who took the servants away from their household tasks. Without exception the housewives in Morningside and Durban North felt that female servants were more of a nuisance than males since 'they all have hundreds of boyfriends, especially if they are young'.

In view of the attitudes of most Morningside employers female servants had to exercise care in receiving callers. However, the large gardens and the distance of the majority of the servants' rooms from the houses, facilitated their

social activities, and there was constant visiting, particularly under the cover of darkness. This involved not only outsiders to the area, such as husbands, lovers and kinsmen, but also the immediate African community. Distinct cliques were found to exist and women belonging to these met in each other's rooms. Three of the female servants were liquor sellers and they received visitors at all times during the day and at night. Their employers were unaware of their activities and of the continual visitors to the premises.

Visitors often stayed with servants overnight, though in few cases were the Morningside employers aware of this. The husbands or lovers of five of the African women lived with them on the premises while all the other servants might receive night visits from males at least once a week. Female friends and kin also spent the night with the servants and those who were out of work often lived secretly with the servants for weeks or even months. In one typical instance a woman who had worked in the Morningside unit lost her job due to pregnancy. She remained in the neighbourhood, visiting and living with different friends in turn, until the child was born some three months later.

In even the strictest homes, therefore, servants received guests and gave lodging to kin and friends. These visits were, however, held under a good deal of strain since the women ran the risk of losing their jobs if discovered harbouring other Africans. There was also the constant fear of police raids. These increased in number at one stage during fieldwork, and as a result, the nightly visiting decreased for a time.

The children of the employees in Morningside were seldom welcomed on the premises on a permanent or semi-permanent basis. This was not only because of the illegality of this practice, but also because employers felt they made a great deal of noise and hindered the servants in their work. No babies were accommodated in the servants' rooms in Morningside during the period of fieldwork, though a minority of employers claimed to have allowed this practice at some time. School children were found visiting their mothers for short periods during their school holidays, but they seldom

stayed for longer than a few days. In one case a child did remain with her mother for about three months. This was, however, without the knowledge of the employers. She stayed in the servant's room during the day and only ventured out, even to the toilet, which was separate from the room, during the night^{15]}.

On the whole employers in Durban North were not quite as strict about visitors as were those in Morningside. Although the servants' rooms were situated some way from the houses the lay-out of the gardens was such that in all but two cases it was difficult for visitors to enter their friends' rooms unseen. This did not, however, deter visitors since the Durban North employers were far more willing than were those in Morningside to allow the women time off work to chat and entertain callers. None of the servants, however, had children living permanently with them, and nor did the housewives feel they would allow this procedure if asked by servants.

Occasional visitors did live with the servants for a few days with the permission of employers. The point to be stressed here is that the servants asked the employers rather than trying to accommodate these visitors secretly. This is symptomatic of the relationship existing between servant and employers in Durban North. Also, of course, the presence of employers' children who often visited the servants' rooms, made it difficult to hide visitors.

In Stamford Hill one of the characteristics of employment which was most highly valued by the servants was the degree of freedom granted them by their employers. This included both free time to entertain their visitors during working hours, and also the willingness shown by the majority of employers to house their servants' kin, husbands, lovers and children on the premises.

Since it is illegal to accommodate males and children in the female servants' rooms the employers ran the risk of heavy fines when they turned a blind eye to permanent male visitors and openly encouraged servants to have children, particularly babies, living with them. At least half of the

resident servants had husbands or lovers openly living with them and at one time no less than six of the women had babies or small children on the premises. Others accommodated school-children during their holidays each year.

The low wages paid to the women in the area were more than compensated for by the possibility of accommodating their families on the premises. This point was explicitly made by a number of women when asked why they did not try and get better paid jobs elsewhere. It was also recognised by one of the employers who tried to justify the low salaries accepted by servants by reference to the perquisites attached to their jobs.

This situation of tolerance may be compared with the position in Morningside where one of the servants' greatest problems was the accommodation of children during holidays. The case of Anna G- illustrates this point. By one of the freak chances of research, she was originally contacted in Morningside, disappeared from her job there, and was found some months later in employment within the Stamford Hill neighbourhood unit. In her new job Anna was allowed to have her child living with her. The child, Thoko by name, even acted as impromptu nursemaid to the employers' five small children, running after, and with them through the house and garden with impunity. Anna, when questioned, regretted her drop in salary from R11 to R7, but remarked that she was far more satisfied with her second job, and would not change back to the first even if given the chance. As far as the outward conditions of the two employment situations were concerned, there could be no doubt that the first job was superior. Although the Morningside house was larger than that in Stamford Hill, two servants were employed, one being a male who did all the heavy work. In her second job Anna was expected to polish floors, windows, clean and dust the house as well as help care for the children and do the not inconsiderable family washing. In Morningside there had been only two occupants to the house, a middle-aged couple who seldom untidied the house. Although Anna did much of the cooking, this also did not amount to much for the two people. Her room in the first area was fairly large, well furnished,

clean and hygienic; in the second, it was tiny, built of wood and iron, draughty, had a leaking roof, and was virtually unfurnished. No toilet facilities were provided on the premises and water had to be carried from the kitchen, while there was in addition to all the inconveniences, no electric light. On the whole Anna was far busier in her second job since the children were continually worrying her and the housewife expected her to fetch two of them from school in the afternoon. Nevertheless, her whole demeanour, as well as her spoken testimony, showed her greater contentment in the second job. 'Thoko is getting fat here' - she expressed it simply.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE AFRICAN
WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS IN THE MORNINGSIDE, DURBAN
NORTH AND STAMFORD HILL NEIGHBOURHOOD UNITS:

This chapter has dealt largely with the differences to be found in the framework and expectations of domestic employment in European households and may well be concluded with a few remarks about the differences in the type of African women employed in the various neighbourhood units. These differences are not unexpected if the demands of service and the facilities offered to servants are kept in mind.

In keeping with the fact that the greatest demands in terms of skill were made by the Morningside employers it was found that the African women employed in this unit were the most sophisticated of the servants interviewed and were the most conversant with Western manners and expectations. They had remained in their jobs for the longest periods and were on the whole, either older, more experienced in European demands, or had had greater educational opportunities than had the women working in the less demanding positions in Durban North and in Stamford Hill.

TABLE XIV

Age Distribution of the African Female Domestic Servants
Employed in Morningside, Durban North and Stamford Hill

Age of Servants	% Morningside	% Durban North	% Stamford Hill
Under 15 years	-	-	-
15 - 19 years	3	-	7
20 - 29 years	39	72	40
30 - 39 years	30	14	37
40 - 49 years	14	14	11
50+ years	4	-	5
Total	100	100	100

Table XIV sets out the ages of the female servants employed in the various neighbourhood units when fieldwork began. Clearly there were rather more younger women working in Stamford Hill than in the other units. These women were just beginning their careers as domestic servants. Although some had acquired fairly high educational standards, they had taken jobs in this area 'just to learn what to do'. All hoped to move to better paid positions later. In Morningside the few women under 20 years of age were temporary employees engaged by employers either to replace permanent servants who were away on leave, or to undertake specific duties. One such servant was employed for a number of months in order to help with the care and extra work created by the birth of twins in one of the households. None of these women remained for long in the area and all were clearly far less skilled than the permanent employees.

There were a number of women of between 20 and 25 years of age working in Morningside. They were quite the equal of the older employees. All had had previous experience in other domestic jobs before coming to Morningside and all were found to have achieved relatively high educational honours (having got into secondary school) or through having been

brought up in town, to have had a good deal of experience of domestic European expectations. The older servants working in this and in the Durban North unit were all women who had spent over 10 years in domestic service and who had during this time developed a good deal of skill in the domestic field.

The older women who were found working in Stamford Hill were, in contrast to those in Morningside and Durban North, completely unskilled. Many had been forced to seek work only after middle age, in some instances as a result of the death of their spouses or after having been abandoned by their husbands. At least half of these women had come from either pagan or conservative Christian homes. Their initial lack of sophistication appeared to have prevented them from benefiting from the experience gained in domestic work and their lack of skill had limited them to routine jobs in which the housewives gave no thought to teaching their servants further skills. Many of these women, moreover, insisted on returning to their homes in the country for the planting season, and thus had to find new jobs each year when they returned to town. They could not progress with one employer to more responsible tasks or hope to learn enough in one position to get better employment the following year. Their desire to continue their rural roles as wives and mothers who are entitled to fields prevented them from advancing in skill in their urban roles as domestic servants. These older country-orientated women had, also, no real ambition to progress to more responsible and better paid jobs. The increase of perhaps R2 to R4 per month is not sufficient incentive to make women who see their future as lying in the country and not in the sphere of town and domestic employment, strive to learn new skills.

It is significant that of all the women from pagan homes only 10 per cent were working in Morningside and Durban North. The women in question had all served an 'apprenticeship' before entering their current and fairly demanding positions. Most had been reared on European farms and spent a good deal of time working in the homes of their landlords. One woman, though born in a reserve, had worked first at tozt

labour on European farms and then graduated to domestic work in small villages, before taking the plunge and coming to Durban. In all cases the women were less skilled than their neighbours. In Morningside they worked for housewives who could speak some Zulu and who liked to supervise all cooking and to do a good deal of the more skilled housework themselves. In Durban North servants from pagan homes worked for Afrikaans employers. These employers spoke Zulu and appreciated the farm and unsophisticated background of their servants, thinking that because of this they would be more reliable than a more sophisticated town-bred servant. All these women were paid only R10, the minimum full-time salary in both units.

Type of home background is related to education since it is only in the more progressive of Christian homes that education for daughters is allowed or regarded as essential. The part which education may play in preparing women for domestic service has already been discussed¹⁶. Certainly the suggestion that it provides a basis for sophistication and skill is borne out by a comparison of the scholastic achievements of the women contacted in the various areas.

TABLE XV

The Contrasting Educational Achievements of the Female Domestic Servants Employed in Morningside, Durban North and Stamford Hill

School Level	Standard Reached at school	% Morning-side	% Durban North	% Stamford Hill
	No Education	6	-	26
	Some Education	34	-	11
Infant School Level	Class 1 - 2	9	-	4
Lower Primary School Level	Standards 1 - 3	12	14	26
Upper Primary School Level	Standards 4 - 6	24	59	22
Secondary School Level	Form 1 - 3 (J.C.)	6	27	11
	Form 4 - 5 (Matriculation)	6	-	-
	Post School	3	-	-
		100	100	100

Table XV shows that in Morningside only six per cent of the women as against 26 per cent in Stamford Hill had had no education at all. Similarly the Morningside and Durban North neighbourhood units contained the majority of the servants with higher educations. Only in these two units had any of the servants passed their Junior Certificate examinations or gone on to some form of post-school training.

Age, experience, type of home background and education are thus interconnected factors which determine the work potential of any woman. While the sum total of these may limit the type of work she is capable of doing, a servant's final choice of work depends also on more individual and personal factors. Although 60 per cent of the Stamford Hill employees were working in the unit primarily because they could not hope to hold down the skilled jobs in suburbs such as Morningside or Durban North, 40 per cent of the employees could have filled the more demanding positions offered in other areas. Half of these women had actually worked successfully in jobs such as those in Morningside before gravitating to their current positions. The reasons which kept these women either temporarily or permanently in the jobs which, to the outsider seemed far less attractive than those they might have held, varied considerably. In the minority of cases there were temporary practical barriers to their finding more skilled and better paid employment, but on the whole it was personal factors which weighed in the balance and which made the compensations of working in the less skilled and well-paid jobs far outweigh their apparent disadvantages. Table XVI sets out the reasons why the women in Stamford Hill had chosen this area in which to seek work and the proportion who preferred the area for each reason.

About 10 per cent of the Stamford Hill workers had sought jobs in this area because, although fairly competent in the domestic field, they had not previously worked in Durban itself. Most had recently come to the city from farms, villages and small towns. They had no knowledge of the layout of Durban or of the work potential in its far-flung suburbs. Many had no testimonials from previous employers. These are necessary if women are to get the more demanding jobs in areas such as Morningside and Durban North

where employers expect to see recent and traceable 'references' before employing servants. Women in this position were hoping while working in Stamford Hill to earn these. They treated their employment as temporary while they got to know the city and kept a lookout for better jobs. In a somewhat similar position were the two per cent of Stamford Hill workers who had been forced to accept their jobs due to the difficulties of getting better ones. Employment opportunities, in this and similar areas are vast and women who are stranded often take these jobs to tide them over while they search for or wait for better jobs. All these servants stated clearly that they were only in this area on a temporary basis and few remained longer than a month or two.

TABLE XVI

Reasons Given by Stamford Hill Employees
For Working in the Unit

Reason for Working in the Unit	Percentage
Lack of experience or inability to fulfil the requirements made in more skilled employment	60
Tolerance of employers to babies and husbands of servants living on the premises	20
Lack of any knowledge of Durban, or of employment opportunities, or the lack of a reference	10
Large amount of free time facilitating illegal money-making such as brewing or prostitution	5
Network of kin and friends in the neighbourhood or geographical nearness to reserve homes	3
Temporary inability to find an alternative job	2
TOTAL:	100

Over half of the more competent servants found to be working in the undemanding and ill-paid jobs in Stamford Hill remained in them for reasons which stemmed from the tolerance of their employers to visitors and the relative freedom which they experienced within the framework of employment. Twenty per cent of the Stamford Hill employees valued their jobs because the employers allowed them to have husbands, babies and small children living with them on the premises. Table XVII sets out the marital status of the women who were working for Europeans in all units. It is clear that the majority of those who were living under normal married conditions were employed in Stamford Hill. Their husbands lived with them, not as in Morningside, under constant fear of detection and eviction, but quite openly. In addition the Stamford Hill employers, by welcoming children made it possible for their servants to rear their offspring themselves and yet also earn a fair wage with which to support them. All the women concerned remarked that they would not have considered changing their jobs for better paid ones in which they could no longer have their husbands and children openly living with them.

TABLE XVII

Marital Status of the African Female Domestic Servants Employed in Morningside, Durban North and Stamford Hill

Marital Status	Morningside	Durban North	Stamford Hill
Single.....	62	48	75
Married, but abandoned by or separated from husband	12	11	25
Divorced	14	-	-
Widowed	6	26	-
Married, living with or supported by husband	6	15	-
TOTAL:	100	100	100

Many of these women, together with five per cent of the other employees who lived alone on the premises of their employers, remained in Stamford Hill because of the large amount of free time allowed them and by the tolerance of employers to illegal money-making. Apart from the few women who were married and living with their husbands, all the servants investigated must be regarded as effectively single and as having no secure male support in town. Despite the prevalent practice of having permanent and semi-permanent lovers, these women had, in the last resort, to provide for themselves and for any children, virtually unaided. Although lovers did give gifts and many paid substantial amounts towards their children's keep, they could not be relied upon for permanent security. Even husbands who wished to escape their marital and parental responsibility could easily just 'disappear' in town. The full burden of earning enough money to survive was thus thrown on to the woman's shoulders. It is not surprising that with wages for domestic service being so low many turned their hand to private money-making. These activities stretched from knitting and sewing to the illegal brewing and selling of liquor and to prostitution. It was largely the older women who were found to be involved in extra-work money-making since it was they who had the heaviest monetary demands from growing children. They, in particular, were the liquor sellers while younger women often entered into prostitution 'for kicks'.

Finally, three per cent of the women remained in Stamford Hill because of its convenience either to their homes in the nearby reserves or to kin and friends living and working in the neighbourhood. A number of these women were working in the unit only because of its geographical situation on the main bus route to the North Coast, and its convenience to their homes in the Ndwedwe and Inanda reserves. They had been brought by chance to the area in the first place. While on their way into town by bus they had looked out of the windows of the bus and seen the crowded development of flats and houses in the area and had surmised that it would offer good work opportunities. Once working, they found the situation of Stamford Hill near to the bus route and the employers' tolerance of their desire to return home

over week-ends convenient. Frequent home visiting made it possible for these women to keep in touch with, and often in control of their rural homes. Other women had grown up in the neighbourhood when Africans could live there legally. They knew it well and clung to life there with tenacity. If they lost their jobs they soon secured others nearby and did not seek for employment in other areas of the city.

CHAPTER FOURHUMAN RELATIONSHIPS RESULTING FROM THE
EMPLOYMENT OF DOMESTIC SERVANTS IN
EUROPEAN HOMES

The employment situation in the Morningside, Durban North and Stamford Hill neighbourhood units brought the African women employed as servants into contact both with the European householders for whom they worked and also with the other servants employed in the neighbourhoods. The resulting patterns of interaction differed from unit to unit and provide, once again, examples of the contrasts between the three fields of investigation.

INTERACTION BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND
SERVANTS :

It is largely employers who set the pattern and tenor of the interaction which exists between themselves and their servants. The exact nature of this interaction must differ according to the needs and expectations of the individual employer concerned, but it is also affected by the personality, skill and sophistication of the servant and the length of association between the two parties. Common features do, however, recur, and clusters of these typify the master/servant relationship amongst certain identifiable sections of the employing community.

Within the three areas under discussion, a firm framework of inequality is imposed upon the interaction, not only by the role-expectations of master and servant, but also by the fact that the incumbents of these roles belong to different racial groups which are themselves ranked as superior and inferior. Within this framework surprisingly wide variations occurred in the actual treatment of servants,

and in the relationship between employer and employee. A study of the content of these variations and their contrasts provides interesting, and even crucial comment upon race relations as they exist in South Africa. This is particularly true since the domestic employment situation is one of the few in which European and non-European interact without undue control or interference from official sources and where, despite segregatory legislation, the race groups are in continual and intimate contact.

In Morningside, the master/servant relationship was characterised by formality and rigidity. Servants were treated with extreme reserve and personal interaction between them and the members of their employers' families was limited largely to the work situation. In Stamford Hill, on the other hand, informality and flexibility appeared to be the key-notes of the relationship. Interaction covered many aspects of the lives of both servants and employers, and was seldom, if ever, confined to the work situation. In Morningside great value was attached to keeping up a strict and distant relationship with servants. Stress was laid on what was termed 'keeping servants in their place and not becoming too familiar with them'. In Stamford Hill relations were seldom so strict and many housewives remarked that they treated their servants 'like one of the family'. Durban North provided an interesting combination of both patterns, although, on the whole, the relationship expected between employers and servants approximated to that of Morningside rather than to that of Stamford Hill. Each of these patterns will now be discussed in detail.

1. Interaction Within the Work Situation:

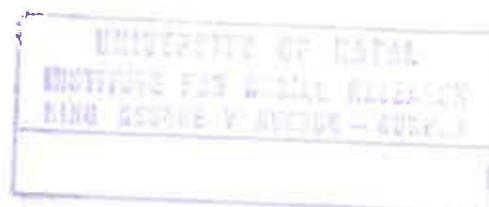
In Morningside the day to day interaction between employer and servant was limited and typically distant. Since the housewives tended to be absent from their homes a great deal, particularly during the mid-morning when the bulk of the household cleaning was done, face to face contacts between mistress and servant were limited to short periods during the

early morning when daily instructions were given, and to the late afternoons when the housewife might supervise the preparation of the evening meal. Even in homes in which the housewife did more of the cooking and baking than was usual in the area, the servants seldom had overmuch contact with the housewife since tasks such as ironing and gardening usually took them away from the kitchen when the housewife was using it. The only occasions when the presence of the housewife was vital for longer periods was when new servants were being trained and given instruction in the household routine. Since the labour turnover in Morningside was low, even these occasions occurred infrequently.

The discussions which took place between mistress and servant seldom touched on matters not directly connected with the running of the home. One of the greatest barriers to broader conversations lay in language difficulties typical of this area. Although the few Afrikaans-speaking employers spoke Zulu, only a minority of the English-speaking housewives had any knowledge of the language, let alone any fluency in it. The majority knew some 'kitchen kaffir' but even this was too limited to ensure domestic efficiency. All the servants, or at least one in each household, were expected to speak reasonable English. While many of the more skilled African women spoke sufficient English to enable them to complete their domestic duties, few had the command of the language to enable them to chat fluently on topics unconnected with domestic matters. They found difficulty in putting ideas and abstract concepts across to their employers and this naturally limited the nature of any discussions between them. In addition to this few of the housewives showed any inclination to encourage intimacy of any sort. Although they often commented to their servants on unusual happenings in the neighbourhood, or informed and questioned them about newspaper reports involving Africans, these discussions tended to be one-sided and to lack any spontaneity on the part of the servants. For the most part the housewives admitted that they had little interest in the private lives of their servants and in fact preferred to remain uninvolved in the latter's

personal affairs. They knew, as a result, very little about their employees and were found either to have no knowledge of or to have erroneous impressions of the Africans' backgrounds, families and present circumstances. It occurred to few of the housewives that the servants had families and friends who required their attention. For them the most important role of a servant was that of a domestic aid. Where employers gained brief insights into the personal lives of their servants, this was due to the fact that these had impinged onto the domestic field. Thus, a death or illness in the servant's immediate circle might impair her concentration on work or necessitate her absence for a time. While the employer saw this as an inconvenience she learnt something of the family of the servant that she might otherwise not have known, or about which she would not have sought information.

The servants working in Morningside were for their part reticent about their personal affairs and had no desire to divulge these to employers. It was a common complaint of housewives that when they showed any interest in their servants' families or affairs, the latter were untruthful. The servants resented too obvious probing into questions they regarded as private in nature. Just as they would not divulge these readily to casual friends, so they refused to describe them openly to employers. One factor which caused a good deal of their reticence was fear of consequences resulting from the admission of illegalities. Employers were closely identified with the European administration, and greatly feared for this reason. Points likely to be at variance with European law were carefully pruned from the revelations made to employers. Another important factor is the complete lack of comprehension on the part of most of the Morningside employers of the background from which the servants came and of the world in which they moved. Housewives often misinterpreted servants' remarks and the latter - from experience - realised that their employers would be unable to appreciate certain nuances of their lives. These, they thought, were best avoided in discussion. Often, these



gaps, however, served as the basis for eventual conflict and misunderstanding. A common cause of trouble was the servants' subsequent forgetfulness of past stories. Obvious inconsistencies infuriated and exasperated even the most well-meaning of employers.

On occasions when the servants were in serious trouble they did go to the housewife for assistance. This usually involved financial loans to tide the women over such crises as illnesses or death in the family. The longer the servant had been working for her employers, the more willing were the employers to give what aid they could. However, frequent requests and disruptions to their domestic routine soon exasperated the housewives and endangered the servants' jobs.

The Morningside servants had even more limited contact with the other members of the household than with housewives. Since few were employed as nursemaids and most of the older children were approaching their 'teens', there was little to bring the servants into contact with the children of the families they served. Older sons tended to ignore the servants and as the daughters did little, if any, of the housework they too had only fleeting association with even the female servants. In cases where the servant had worked for the family for some years, particularly where she had acted as a nursemaid to the children, both she and the children spoke to each other frequently and were often on a basis of casual joking and inquiry. These female servants took great interest in the affairs of the growing youngsters but most of their information came from observation rather than from contact. Husbands and adult sons seldom talked to servants, particularly to female servants, although the former might be associated with male servants in connection with garden work. Even here, however, it was housewives who superintended gardening during the week when their husbands were at work. No instances of sex relations between African servants and their employers, sons of employers or other men in the neighbourhood were encountered.

The relationship between employers and servants in Durban North was similar, in many respects, to that found in Morningside. Few contacts occurred between servants and male members of the household but the presence of young children in the homes had significant repercussions both on the amount and type of contact between the housewives and their female servants and on the tenor of their interaction.

The Durban North housewives had far more contact with their servants, particularly with the female employees than did the Morningside mistresses. Not only were they thrown together for longer periods during the day but the care of the children which they shared, naturally involved them in constant discussions. The European women did more of their own housework, baking and cooking than did their counterparts in Morningside and this meant that they frequented the kitchen with servants and were often found sharing work in the bedrooms or livingrooms.

While the actual interaction was warmer, in the final analysis it seldom had any greater depth to it than was the case in Morningside. Servants discussed certain of their problems with housewives but did not actually ask advice and were always loth to ask for aid of a material nature. They avoided discussing any activities which impinged on the illegal or which they knew their employers would not understand. In many respects, in actual warmth the relationship of Morningside mistresses and servants who had been together for many years was greater than that between the younger women of Durban North and their servants. The important point to note is that the presence of children creates the opportunity for interaction and warmth which may, with the passage of years, develop into strong affection on both sides. Employees in Morningside who had worked for their employers for years had close and meaningful relationships with them especially if they, themselves, had been nursemaids to children at one time.

In Durban North it was the response of the children of the households in which the servants acted as nursemaids which was most valued by the African women. The obvious love which the children had for their nursemaids was spoken of with pride by the servants who themselves watched the children's development with as much interest as that of the latter's parents.

The situation prevailing in Stamford Hill could hardly have been in greater contrast to that in Morningside and Durban North. The interaction of employers and servants, while clearly that of unequals, was marked by familiarity and by warmth, tolerance and understanding, on both sides. The housewives claimed to regard their servants in the light of companions rather than as mere employees and it was obvious that both women derived a good deal in terms of emotional satisfaction from their relationship. All members of the employing family talked to servants regularly, joked with them and knew a fair amount about their personal lives.

There was continual contact and very little formality between housewife and servant. The burden of domestic tasks was shared between the two women since the housewives were seldom out of their homes for long periods. When the European women stopped work for tea or food, the employee often accompanied them, the one perhaps sitting at the kitchen table and the other possibly standing at the draining board. Since the majority of the housewives, both English and Afrikaans-speaking, spoke Zulu fluently or were making efforts to learn the language, mistress and servant chatted to each other continuously. They discussed the doings of the neighbourhood, both European and non-European, and commented upon the actions of both employers and servants. The problems or topics uppermost in their minds were aired freely, particularly by employers who seemed to have little reticence, even in intimate personal matters, in front of their servants. It was found, therefore, that the latter had a clear idea of many of their employers' domestic and marital problems. In Morningside, servants were just as interested in employers' doings and families, as in Stamford Hill, but they had to build up their picture of these from observation.

The European housewives in Stamford Hill encouraged their servants to discuss their families and problems with them. They appeared to be genuinely interested in the welfare of their servants and this sentiment communicated

itself to the African women who discussed their day to day activities openly with their mistresses and, when in difficulties, sought the advice of employers as well as their aid. Only the latter was sought in the units of Morningside and Durban North. As a result of this the housewives in Stamford Hill knew much more about their servants than did those in the other two areas. Naturally those cases where the servants had only recently been employed were exceptions to this type of relationship, but on the whole the employers gave fairly detailed and essentially correct information about their servants. Most had met and knew relatives and male friends well. They were particularly well informed as to the current problems of the servants and as to the free time activities, and even in some cases, expenditure on such things as hire purchase and insurances.

There were, of course, occasions on which employers misinterpreted their servants' remarks or, through lack of experience of the life and traditions of Africans, failed to understand their difficulties. These situations did not, however, appear to occur so frequently as in Morningside and Durban North. Employers were not so removed from their servants' lives. At least half had country rather than town 'backgrounds' and for years had lived at close quarters with Africans in the Stamford Hill/Greyville area. Above all, Stamford Hill housewives were prepared to be tolerant and by dint of continual contact with the servants, soon learned to appreciate many of their problems. They were even willing to turn a blind eye to illegalities.

Those Stamford Hill employers who had lived with Africans on farms, especially those of Afrikaans descent, claimed to 'understand the Native customs'. The extent of this claim is difficult to assess, but one interesting example may be cited. One of the very old inhabitants of this area was observed to be on extremely familiar terms with her servant and the other Africans in the neighbourhood. She regaled the European investigator (and incidentally her African assistant also, at a later date), with tales of her

youth in Swaziland and visits made to the Swazi King. Of her own accord she mentioned witchcraft which she claimed not to credit. However, she went on to tell tales of its use 'on the farm', and mentioned that her servants suspected the male servant employed next door of practising witchcraft. There was no sign of ridicule in her remarks. The servant working for the family later confided that the old woman had been so worried about the next door servant's activities that she had asked her to bring an inyanga to the house 'to protect it'! This had been done to the satisfaction of all concerned. The same old woman was rumoured among the neighbouring servants to have killed her previous servant through the use of poisons. This was technically regarded as witchcraft in the area, and the old lady was greatly feared for her reputed understanding and use of African techniques of killing. Any servant who worked for the family was said to have need of medicines to protect herself. This type of situation was not exceptional in Stamford Hill. While only two other cases were found in which employers, both Afrikaans-speaking, were believed to have tampered or trafficked in African medicines, at least one-quarter of the residents, both Afrikaans and English-speaking, confessed to a belief in or at least a fear of African witchcraft. In Morningside and Durban North only two employers, both English-speaking, confessed to some awe and the rest openly scoffed at any idea of supernatural powers of this sort affecting their servants.

In Stamford Hill, thus, the intellectual climate was clearly one of tolerance and sympathy with the servants' views. To some extent European and non-European can be said to have shared a similar cultural outlook in this respect at least. In Morningside and Durban North the position was of two completely different world views existing side by side, but never touching in any but the most superficial manner. In Morningside, it is true, a small minority of housewives claimed to be interested in 'Native customs and beliefs'. They had asked their servants about these and tried to discuss them. They remarked however, that they had not got very far as the servants were extremely reticent on these

points. 'They don't like to tell us' said one housewife. In many cases this was true since the women feared the ridicule of their employers, or perhaps only anticipated their lack of understanding. In corroboration of this, it may be said that the majority of housewives regaled the investigator with tales of their servants' foolish beliefs, such as those in witchcraft. They took this as clear proof of the inferiority of African mentality.

The contacts which the members of the Stamford Hill European households had with servants are interesting. Children up to the age of about 10 years were often seen in the company of the servants as the latter sat eating their meals or knitting in the sun. Even if not strictly their nursemaids, the African women took great interest in their welfare and often played games with them. The European children also played with the children of servants who, it will be remembered, were often allowed to live on the premises. The European parents of small children were delighted to leave their offspring with the young Africans, feeling that the latter would act as 'nannies'. Elder children, particularly daughters, helped in the housework and were therefore brought into close contact with the servants. Even teenage sons and lodgers of both sexes played their part in the domestic routine and because of the smallness of the houses, and the desire to keep the livingrooms tidy, the whole household had a tendency to congregate in the kitchen. This brought them into continual touch with the servant, a situation which seldom arose in Morningside, where members of the European household only spent time in kitchens if and when servants were off-duty. In Stamford Hill there was evidence also of sexual relationships between European males, both residents and lodgers, and the female servants. This practice was striking since it was not encountered at all in Morningside or in Durban North¹.

2. Interaction Outside the Limits of
the Work Situation:

It was not only in respect of the relationship within

the work situation that the three areas investigated differed. While in Morningside and Durban North employers and servants seldom had any contact with servants outside this field, in Stamford Hill the work situation formed only part of the total round of contacts and intercourse which linked employers and employees together. The freedom given to servants on the premises of employers was largely responsible for this, but in a few cases the Europeans actually sought extra-work contacts with the Africans.

One of the greatest attractions to employees of the Stamford Hill area was that employers allowed their servants to receive visitors and even to house them for short periods. Casual visitors were seldom turned away from the door with the answer 'Elizabeth is busy - come back later' as was most likely to be the case in Morningside. Husbands and lovers, though not actually encouraged to sleep on the premises, did so with the knowledge and tacit permission of employers. Children, especially babies, were no barrier to employment or the continuation of a job after a confinement. Thus employers were in continual contact not only with their servants themselves, but also with their kin and visitors who either lived on, or visited the premises frequently. Mistresses took an interest in their servants' families. The husbands, kin and the permanent lovers of servants were wellknown to the housewives who stopped and talked to these persons if they met them in the street. Children and babies were fondled by the mistresses, two of whom showed them to the European investigator with great pride. They took a very real interest in the children. One woman, for example, supervised the feeding of her servant's baby. The servant remarked 'My madam is teaching me how to feed my baby properly. She makes sure I feed the baby at the right times, and suggests what kinds of food the baby must have, and sees that the pumpkin, orange juice and such things are ready'. All housewives would go to the servants children if they cried, and even cared for them while their servants were at the shops or very busy with housework. These children were allowed all over the employers' houses and babies even slept on the beds while their

mothers polished and dusted the bedrooms. In Morningside and Durban North this would never have been tolerated.

In cases in which the Stamford Hill employers did have young children, the latter played with the servants' offspring and older African girls often played 'nanny' to the younger children of the employers. One of the most enlightening scenes witnessed in Stamford Hill was one in which the child of a servant was found playing hide and seek with the employers' toddlers. The children were hiding inside the house and running through the house and garden continuously. Both mothers watched indulgently from the bedroom, where they were making beds and putting clothes away, and discussed the foibles of their various children. The servant later remarked that she liked having her daughter with her in town, especially as in this job she could learn English from the employers' children, and Afrikaans from neighbouring children.

In Stamford Hill the African children, and in particular, the babies, served as a medium to bridge the gap between servant and mistress. There were relatively few European babies in the area, and their mothers did most of the child-care. It was the African babies which drew the two women together in a common interest. This tolerance of the employers in allowing children on the premises seldom occurred in Morningside or Durban North. Employers in these areas remarked that babies tended to hinder servants in their work, were destructive in the house, quite apart from the fact that their stay on the premises was illegal. In Stamford Hill African children tended to deepen an already potentially sympathetic relationship between the two women - mistress and servant.

Sympathy between employers and servants was found to exist also in other fields in Stamford Hill but not in the other two areas. In brushes with police Stamford Hill employers often took the part of the servants. They were, on various occasions, loud in their criticisms of official treatment of their servants, and in one instance an Afrikaans housewife actually shielded a servant from police detection. The servant was a wellknown and extremely successful liquor

seller. She brewed on the premises using the employer's kitchen and utensils. She claimed that this was done without the employer's knowledge although this seems unlikely^{2]}. A neighbouring servant, jealous of her success both with selling liquor and with men reported her to the police. When they arrived to search her room, however, the housewife hid the large containers of gavini in her bathroom and denied all knowledge of such affairs. The police retreated, baffled.

There was an overall tolerance on the part of employers in the Stamford Hill area to the selling of liquor. Several servants brewed, but the majority bought stocks from township women who brought these around under cover of baskets of fruit, babies or washing. Most employers knew of this, but few attempted to put a stop to it^{3]}. Servants were allowed on duty while under the influence of liquor, and in at least two cases employers drank with their servants, the former providing small quantities of brandy, cane spirit or gin while the latter added gavini. Situations such as these were never encountered in Morningside or Durban North where liquor selling was forbidden by the employer. One Morningside housewife did buy gavini from a neighbouring servant. She was, however, an alcoholic and drank alone.

A final striking feature of the interaction between European employers and African servants in Stamford Hill was the occurrence of sex relations between the European men and the African women. In a few cases the men living in the unit sought sexual relations with their own employees. These meetings had to be arranged when the rest of the household were away from home. Although no instances were encountered from within the unit studied, at least two cases were reported of African women working for single men in the nearby blocks of flats of whom sexual favours were demanded along with their normal domestic workload. Women holding these jobs could easily receive outside men for the same purposes during their employers' absence. It was most usual, in fact, for men requiring this satisfaction to seek out women employed in homes other than their own. In the few households in which the housewife worked outside her home, this practice was a

possibility, and servants who wished to earn money from prostitution sought this type of job. In addition to the men from the immediate neighbourhood, it was a common occurrence for men from outside the area to visit it in search of sexual pleasure. The names and places of employment of the African women willing to accommodate them were well known. The nature of the neighbourhood with its continual movement of people of all races lent cover to these activities. Many of the men who sought sexual intercourse with the African women were either unemployed or held employment which left them free for long periods during the day. Very little of the prostitution of this nature occurred after dark. The African women received their own lovers at these times and the men were expected to be with their families at home.

It is, of course, difficult to assess the exact prevalence of practices of this nature. All that can be claimed is that prostitution did occur with some frequency in the Stamford Hill unit itself and that the suburb as a whole was recognised by servants working in other parts of the city as one of the areas in which African women who wished to earn money in this way should seek employment.

By no means all the women employed in the unit were party to prostitution. Some were known to have left their positions rather than allow European men to have sexual relations with them. On the other hand a number of the younger servants regarded prostitution as an easy method of adding to their domestic wages. In no cases, it must be stressed, did it appear that either the European men or the African women gained anything other than pure sexual satisfaction or monetary gain from their meetings. Each sought emotional satisfaction in relationships with members of their own race.

3. Variations in the Interaction of Master and Servant within each of the Three Neighbourhood Units:

While the patterns of interaction sketched above hold

good on the level of generality, there were individual employment situations which diverged widely from the norm.

A most important difference was observed to occur in the general treatment of servants in English and in Afrikaans-speaking homes. This cut across the differences between neighbourhood units and linked employers on the basis of language and cultural affinity in contrast to the obvious economic and class differences highlighted by the areas in which they lived. On the whole Afrikaans-speaking employers tended to be less formal and rigid and more warmly personal in their relationships with employees than were English-speaking employers. One of the important factors which contributed towards this was the ability of many Afrikaners in all income groups to speak Zulu. Though the ability to communicate with Africans in their own language does not necessarily promote understanding in all situations, in the field of domestic employment it certainly appears to increase the possibility of freer and more natural interaction between employer and servant. This is particularly the case where the knowledge of Zulu has been gained during childhood on farms and in the rural areas. The influence of such a background should not, however, be over-emphasised, since even in cases where English-speaking employers could speak Zulu they nonetheless remained more formal and impersonal in their interaction with their servants than were Afrikaans-speaking employers.

The servants themselves distinguished clearly between English and Afrikaans-speaking employers. The stereotype of the latter is that while they expect a great deal of work from their servants and pay very little for this work, they nevertheless feed their servants well and are willing to help them in times of crisis. Servants remarked that Afrikaners 'understand' Africans and 'one always knows where one is with them'. On the other hand, English-speaking employers are reputed to be sly and often out to trick their employees. Though they are thought to pay more in wages, they have the reputation of being tight-fisted with food and unwilling to help the servants whatever their plight. It is often said

that English housewives 'like to go out and are not very fond of hard work' and that they expect their servants to do most of the housework. They are, however, said to be more willing to employ more than one servant to do their housework.

In all the areas, immigrants differed slightly in their relationships with servants from South Africans. In the case of recent immigrants, language presented a great problem, especially where the employers could speak little English let alone Zulu. In this situation interaction was stilted and hardly intimate, and approximated to the Morningside pattern. In Morningside and Durban North it was stated by servants that the housewives in immigrant households accorded them unexpected dignity and tended to give them fairly light duties and a good deal of free time. In Stamford Hill, on the other hand, positions in immigrant households were reputed to carry heavy work loads and the housewives were feared for their unpredictability. The latter stemmed largely from language difficulties. On the whole immigrant housewives in Stamford Hill tended to employ Indian rather than African servants since the latter were more fluent in English and, as previously noted, many of the housewives had employed Indian help in their country of origin.

INTERACTION BETWEEN SERVANTS WITHIN THE
VARIOUS NEIGHBOURHOOD UNITS:

Morningside:

The picture of Morningside which has been built up over the previous chapters is one of an exclusive suburb housing affluent home owners in well established comfortable homes. Not a small measure of their comfort is due to the existence of sophisticated and well-trained servants. From the point of view of the employees themselves Morningside is a stable and settled community. Though younger servants, and males in particular, did not remain long in their jobs, there existed a core of older men and women who had worked in the area for years and regarded its precincts as their town homes. The

women for their part had, over the years, built up a close network of friendships and ties within the area and in the surrounding neighbourhood. Even where they left their jobs, the majority found new ones nearby or after a spell at home sought work in the vicinity once more. A feature of the unit was the number of kinswomen working in it. At least eight servants were connected by blood or affinal ties. Where jobs fell vacant there was always rivalry to insert a relative in them. Leave substitutes were easily found amongst kinswomen or friends and it was seldom^{4]} that a completely strange servant moved into the area. This occurred only when new residents brought their servants into Morningside with them, and when employers found servants through friends or via such agencies as the Bantu Administration.

Although male and female servants were constantly in each other's company at work, they had relatively little to do with each other on a friendship basis. In only one case during the whole period of fieldwork did two co-workers have long standing sexual interests in each other. Fleeting sex relations did occur between a male and a female servant who worked near each other, but these involved the passing of money rather than any binding emotion. The female servants regarded their male counterparts, on the whole, as below their own social standing. Many of the male servants were younger than the women and worked under their control. They were therefore not considered within the circle of the women's personal friendships. The older males were clearly migrants who were traditionally orientated and who disapproved of town life and the values of most of the female servants. With these views the latter were not interested in the female servants in terms of marriage or as long-standing partners, while the women spurned them as lovers or prospective spouses because of their 'out of date' outlook. On the whole, the interests of males and females differed widely and while they might meet at shebeens or even at prayer meetings, none of the servants developed close ties with members of the other sex. It was to neighbours of their own sex that they looked for companionship and friendship.

Of course, not all female servants got on well with each other. Quarrels and feuds flared up constantly and divided not only individuals but the female servant community as a whole. Interpersonal relations were often tense. The lack of outside contacts during the week and regular daily trips to stores and parks threw the women into each other's company continuously, and so added to the strain. There were, furthermore, tremendous divergencies in outlook, ambitions and interest between the women and these often led to misunderstandings. On the other hand these very divisions led to the linking together of women with common interests and to the formation of a number of cliques. The membership of these hardly overlapped and the members of each regarded the others with some reserve. The closest friendships developed within cliques though acquaintances and casual friendships bridged them. Where kinswomen belonged to different groups the kinship tie superseded the tie of interest and kinswomen interacted frequently despite divergent interests and ideals.

The community was split along religious lines. Those women who were regular churchgoers all seemed to prefer the company of other churchwomen to that of their non-religious neighbours. Although not of the same denomination, these women nevertheless recognised a common tie. They met nearly every evening in each other's rooms and these meetings often turned into full blown prayer sessions. A group of keenly religious women formed a neighbourhood sect which was known in the area to pray at least once or twice a week. It visited the rooms of indisposed neighbours who, despite their normal indifference to religion, valued the company it provided and believed firmly in the efficacy of prayers offered by its members.

Apart from religious differences the servants in the area divided up into two groups, those interested in drinking and 'the gay life'^{5]}, and those who preferred quieter and more stable pursuits and who were enthusiastic about knitting and sewing. The former, largely those not interested in religion, not only indulged in drinking themselves but also sold liquor in the area. They brewed shimyane and bought gavini and

European liquor from township women and from bottle stores. This they sold at a handsome profit. Their rooms were focal points in the area. There were continual comings and goings because their sales continued throughout the day and most of the night. Male servants were the most numerous customers, although delivery boys and any males employed on building sites nearby also knew where liquor could be purchased. It must be stressed that these women were popular characters in the neighbourhood and offered relaxation and conviviality to their customers as well as liquor. There were usually two or three customers in their rooms talking amicably at any time of the day. Even if men and women could not afford to buy drink they might visit the 'Queens' rooms, in search of convivial company. Often the latter allowed them to have a drink on hire purchase or 'tick'.

In contrast to the 'drinkers', the more industrious sewers and knitters form an interesting group since they also made money by their craft. Neighbours and friends paid them to make alterations to clothing bought from or given by employers and even commissioned them to make new garments. These women met each afternoon and helped one another with intricate patterns and discussed their common interests. One of these was frequently religion about which controversy raged.

Finally there was in Morningside a small clique which consisted of young sophisticated women whose main interests lay with dress and men. All were smart, spoke English fluently and most had aspirations which would take them out of the field of domestic service. Two eventually left their jobs to live with lovers in the townships while one gained a nursing post in one of the rural hospitals. They visited town together frequently, belonged to associations such as choirs for short periods and prided themselves on their sophistication and knowledge of town life. They had little time for the religious women, for the 'dull knitters'^{6]}, or even for the liquor sellers. Their horizons which lay beyond that of their employment cut them off from most of their fellows.

The type of bonds which drew women together and incidentally the activities taking place within the area have been described. There were also women who did not seem to have strong ties with others in the area, who did not have particular friends whom they visited regularly and who held aloof from gatherings of all sorts. These women were, in the first place, the newcomers to the area. It took these servants some time to become integrated into the domestic servant community in the area in which they found a new job. Where there were previous ties, such as those of kinship, common church attendance or prior friendship, matters were, of course, eased. For some time, newcomers tended to revisit their former areas of work and friends. Only later were they drawn into the milieu around them, and so lost touch with their old friends due to lack of contact and need.

Secondly there were women whose main interests were outside the area. Some, despite living on employer's premises, had homes or rented rooms elsewhere in town. Here they kept their children, perhaps with an aged mother or some other relative. Some had kinsmen living in the town whom they visited whenever they were free while yet others were completely dominated by religious activities and meetings outside their area of work. Since they did not get to know the women in the area, or seek their company, they were often branded as 'proud'. They were accused of being behind unfortunate occurrences in the area^{7]}. They worked in the area but were not 'of it'. There were remarkably few women of both sorts in the Morningside area - six at the most when fieldwork began, of whom two were newcomers and could be observed moving through the pangs of integration in later stages of fieldwork.

Durban North:

Durban North resembles Morningside in the structure and interaction of its domestic servant community. The area studied was much smaller than in the case of the first area, so it is only to be expected that fewer cliques were encountered. On the whole, however, the same range of

interests and activities were noted and the common characteristics of the servants themselves; skill in domestic matters, and relative sophistication bound them together. This is in contrast to the situation of heterogeneity to be encountered in the other areas.

In Durban North, two of the servants belonged to a neighbourhood Zionist sect which had a membership of about twelve. The other women working in the area looked askance at this sect and held aloof from its activities. Four met occasionally and had knitting and sewing in common, but the remaining servants, relative newcomers to the area, all had strong ties outside Durban North and spent their free time away from the area. At one time a woman who brewed shimyane entered the area but soon lost her job. Her female neighbours were critical of her activities and to a large extent ignored her presence. Her clientele was made up of the males in the area and of servants from farther afield. Deliverymen and messengers from the nearby shopping centre were drawn to the area by her liquor selling, however, and met and conversed with the other young women working there.

Stamford Hill:

The interaction between servants in Stamford Hill was of a very different nature to that found in the former areas. The characteristic clique development was almost totally absent and the atmosphere of living in a small select community did not exist. Stamford Hill had what may be described as a cosmopolitan flavour about it.

The reasons for this contrast are not difficult to find. The continual changes in both the domestic servant and the employer populations, together with the large proportion of part-time employees not living in the area and therefore not linked to it by ties of interest as well as work, tended to produce an air of transience. The servants did not make up a homogeneous group as did the skilled and sophisticated women of Morningside. Townswomen and country women, the educated and uneducated, the sophisticated and those unversed

in town ways all worked here. Tsotsis and respectable people rubbed shoulders while churchgoers and brewers could not avoid meeting each other on the street, at the public conveniences, and in the shops. Large numbers of servants were involved in illegal activities - prostitution, brewing, drug peddling or the passing of stolen goods, to mention only a few. While in Morningside brewing had flourished it was the only illegality encountered and its practice was restricted to a few well-known 'Queens'. In Stamford Hill some employers were involved with their servants in these dealings, in others they ran illegal businesses of their own. Secrecy was the keynote of these people's lives and it tainted the whole area.

Since a large proportion of the servants were continually moving, few opportunities arose for the development of deep friendships. Those few women who did remain for long periods did not necessarily share common interests and were not, therefore, drawn together. The only clique encountered was that consisting of about four devout Roman Catholics who had gathered about a certain woman who had worked in the area for over three years. The membership of this group changed as the others left the area⁸, but over the period of fieldwork it did exist as a recognisable entity. All members attended the same parish church, visited each other for religious instruction and attended church functions together. They also formed a savings club to which each donated a certain sum of money each month. This was lent at interest to persons known to club members and the capital and interest divided at the end of each year.

Other women in the area belonged to churches but none linked up with each in a systematic way. They attended as individuals if at all, and there were no prayer groups, as found in Morningside, in this area at the time of fieldwork. The character of the religious life of the area was one of individuality rather than that of a close-knit community.

Another important factor which mitigated against the development of groups and associations based on common interest, was that Stamford Hill was not as isolated, both

geographically and socially from the rest of Durban as were the other areas. It was near enough to the city to enable women to go shopping, to visit the cinema or Bantu Social Centre in Beatrice Street with ease. It was also in the centre of the multi-racial section of Durban where numbers of Africans lived illegally in rented rooms. The servants were not, therefore, thrown together in order to provide themselves with companionship and amusements during most of the week. In addition to this, they were allowed to have their children and lovers living with them and this took up a great deal of their leisure time. Finally servants gained a good deal of companionship from their employers. This intimacy between mistress and servant was lacking in Morning-side where servants were forced together as a unit with respect to the inflexible barrier between them and their employers. In Stamford Hill employers and servants tended to form part of the same community.

Few of the women working in the area were linked by ties of kinship. In only one case were two servants who had worked for over six months in the area noted to be related to each other. Women seldom bothered to find jobs for kin near to themselves as they did not rate these positions highly. Those who were, moreover, involved in illegalities remarked that it was better not to have kinswomen nearby to 'spy' on them. An obvious side to this objection to having kin working nearby is that the latter would be certain to wish to share in the profits even while moralizing on the activities involved!

All in all, there was neither the desire nor the necessity for close contact between the majority of servants working in Stamford Hill. Amongst those who remained in the area for long periods and who had few ties outside, certain common interests developed. These cases, were, however, the exception rather than the rule.

CHAPTER FIVEDOMESTIC SERVICE IN NON-EUROPEAN HOMES :
THE EMPLOYMENT OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN
INDIAN AND COLOURED HOUSEHOLDS

Domestic servants make a clear distinction between working for Europeans and working for non-Europeans. Employment in the homes of the latter is held in low regard and is felt by many Africans to be degrading. Women contacted in European employment were loth to admit to having previously worked for non-Europeans. Those interviewed while in the employ of Indian, Coloured or African families were sensitive on this score and most were at great pains to explain that they regarded their jobs as merely a temporary stop-gap until they could find a position in a European home.

The low prestige rating of non-European employment has, no doubt, much to do with the hierarchical and almost castelike grading of the various racial groups in this country. It is natural that to work for the dominant group is felt to be preferable to working for the other groups. Added to this is the recognition that work in a European home provides a servant with a close-up view of the Western way of life. As Mitchell (1956, p.11) has pointed out, this is the scale against which the African community measures its members. Though in a purely material sense, employment in Indian and Coloured, and even in many African homes brings servants into contact with just as wide a range of Western goods as does work in European homes, it is the interaction with Europeans which is valued. Employment for even the poorest European family at the minimum wage is thus preferred to that in affluent^{1]} non-European homes at a high wage.

An interesting myth prevalent amongst African servants reveals the gap felt to exist between employment for Europeans

and for non-Europeans. It is firmly held that Europeans will not employ servants who have previously worked for non-Europeans, particularly Indians. Servants working in Indian homes were found to be reluctant to allow their employers to register them with the Bantu Administration, as this entailed the latter's signature appearing in their reference books. In cases where employers tried to insist, the servants pretended to have lost their books. Few Coloured or African employers sought to register their servants voluntarily, but in the first case if the names were of English or Afrikaans extraction, the servants did not object, although African names raised a storm of objection. When compulsory registration was mooted, servants claimed that they would leave the employ of Indians or Africans rather than have their employers' sign their own names in their reference books.

The stereotype of work for non-Europeans is that it involves long hours, a great burden of heavy chores and is yet ill-paid. Non-European families are said to be large, to include all manner of kin in addition to the elementary family and to very seldom employ more than one servant to do all the work. Non-Europeans are reputed to be stingy with their goods and are said to seldom give away old clothes or furniture. The last point is felt to be particularly important since second-hand goods have a ready sale in the townships and many servants' wardrobes are built up largely from their employers' cast offs, and their homes furnished from the gifts of a series of past employers.

Although the attitude to work for non-Europeans is not favourable, many women are found in the service of Indians, Coloureds and even Africans. While one of the reasons for this is the scarcity of alternative positions, it must be stressed that work for non-Europeans has certain advantages, which in many cases outweigh its apparent disadvantages. In the first place it seldom involves the need for a highly skilled knowledge of the domestic arts, such as cooking or baking, as no such responsibilities are left to servants by either Indian or Coloured employers. Women with little sophistication and domestic experience can easily hold down

these jobs. In the case of employment in African homes, cultural differences between employer and servant are at a minimum, and servants require no previous training other than that gained in their own homes. Secondly, there is seldom the language problem as there often is between African servants and their European employers. By far the majority of Indian and Coloured housewives speak Zulu fluently. Women who are not proficient in a European language can usually find work for employers of one of these groups. Perhaps, however, the most important advantage in working for non-Europeans is that it can provide a training ground for later more demanding service for Europeans. Women who have never worked before or have just come from the country with little background in sophisticated demands, often spend some months, or years, in the relatively undemanding service of non-Europeans. Domestic work in African homes does not give the same practice that work in Indian or even Coloured homes does. It has, however, other attractions. In most cases it does not involve the servant in leaving the townships and provides work for the more unsophisticated and timid of African women.

Employment in the homes of non-Europeans will be described and analysed in this and in the following chapter. The investigation of domestic service in Indian and Coloured households was begun amongst the few families of these racial groups living in the Stamford Hill neighbourhood unit. The Indian householders were on the whole, unco-operative particularly in supplying statistical information regarding the numbers of families and individuals living in each house. They were living under the threat of eviction and removal to group areas set aside for the Indian community and were suspicious of any type of investigation. The greater part of the research amongst Indians was carried out therefore in a unit chosen specifically for this purpose, namely Wills' Road. Before fieldwork began the co-operation of an influential member of the community was gained and both he and his wife introduced the investigators to kin and friends in the unit². Domestic employment in the homes of Africans was studied at Mariannhill Mission and a similar method of introduction used

PLATE FIVE: WILLS' ROAD.



Two views of Wills' Road.

to facilitate research²¹.

LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE WILLS' ROAD NEIGHBOURHOOD (See Plate Five):

Situated on the alluvial flats (See Figure 8) Wills' Road runs through an area of Durban which is largely occupied by non-European businesses and homes. It adjoins the huge market complex and provides an easy access route to these areas from the northern suburbs. Although by no means a main thoroughfare, Wills' Road carries a good deal of traffic, particularly on market days and during rush hours. The neighbourhood surrounding the road is similar to Stamford Hill in many respects. This is immediately obvious from its multi-racial character, and the fact that land use is both commercial and residential. The type of house, general architectural style, upkeep of buildings and gardens and the presence of flats amongst the single-storey dwellings is also reminiscent of Stamford Hill. In Wills' Road, however, non-European, particularly Indian, interests are dominant and a higher proportion of the area is given over to small businesses and blocks of flats than is the case in Stamford Hill. The practice of renting rooms and outhouses to lodgers is even more frequent than in Stamford Hill and one of the residential sites has been used for the erection of a compound in which families and individuals hire single rooms all of which open onto a central courtyard. All the tenants in the area are non-European and some are African and in these cases illegal residents in town.

As in Stamford Hill there are always strangers to be seen on Wills' Road. The shops and small businesses ensure this while the nearby market is responsible for numerous comings and goings. Loiterers can be seen at any time of the day, standing around street corners or sitting on the pavements and steps of the blocks of flats.

From the point of view of African women working in Wills' Road, the neighbourhood provides a known and familiar environment far less alien than the European dominated

residential suburbs. The African market, bus rank, non-European shops and cinemas, and the only hostel in which African women can find accommodation, are situated in this area. Until recently also, many African individuals and families rented rooms from Coloured and Indian residents and so women who have been in Durban for some time have often visited or even lived in the vicinity.

Neighbourhood unit chosen for study:

In all, the section of Wills' Road investigated contained 12 houses, two blocks of flats (one containing four and the other 20 apartments) and one compound. In between the houses are two small general dealers and at the corners of the road two motor firms dominate the scene with their continual traffic in petrol and second-hand car sales.

To the newcomer the unit presents a picture of crowded and unplanned development. Although Wills' Road itself is wide, the buildings on either side are huddled together and the majority of the facades of the houses and blocks of flats open directly onto the pavement. The houses are old and even though the flats were built only 10 to 15 years ago they too appear far from new. Three of the houses are semi-detached and six constructed of wood and iron. While the brick buildings are in a good state of repair the wood and iron buildings are dilapidated in the extreme. One of the latter was condemned and pulled down during fieldwork and the threat of similar treatment hung over the rest of these homes. Their owners were unwilling to spend money on repairs since the replanning of the area for White occupation stultifies any desire to improve or neaten the properties.

Most of the houses are surrounded by small gardens. These tend to be covered by geometric garden beds between paving stones. High walls or hedges hide the whole of the properties from view and so deprive the neighbourhood of any beauty the gardens may possess. In many of the back-yards lean-to and shanty-like rooms have been built. The majority of these house lodgers or even members of the large families

living in the houses rather than servants. Few of the latter are, therefore, accommodated on their employers' premises. As in the case of Stamford Hill, toilet facilities for African servants are non-existent. Servants must use either their employers' facilities or visit the communal toilets of the blocks of flats.

When the initial census of the area was taken seven of the 12 houses and 19 of the 24 flats were either owned or rented by Indian families. Rooms in the compound were rented mainly to Indian tenants and the shops and garages were either owned or staffed by Indian interests. Thus approximately 75 per cent of the area was Indian dominated. The remainder of the properties were either rented or owned by Coloureds.

Social divisions amongst the residents were sharp. Coloured and Indian residents seldom interacted on a social level and the Indian community was itself split along religious lines. The majority of the Indian families were Muslims but there were four Hindu families and one Christian family. The Muslims and Hindus formed two distinct cliques. Within each clique the members visited each other continuously but were seldom to be seen in the homes of members of the opposing group. Kinship ties ramified within the cliques and served to strengthen the bonds created by common religion and neighbourhood. The housewives in each clique shared their problems with each other, their children played and even stayed for short periods with related families and in times of crises they gave each other unstinted aid. If a housewife fell ill or had to be away from home for a time a kinswoman or neighbour of the same religion would step into the breach, not only caring for the children but ordering food and preparing meals as well. For this reason little reliance had to be placed on servants either in the normal run of events or at times of crisis.

The Christian Indian family was completely cut off from both the Hindu and Muslim cliques. They had, in fact, closer contact with their Coloured neighbours than with the other Indian residents of the neighbourhood. The Coloured families

were in no way related to each other and even friendship ties between them were weak. Both the Christian Indian housewife and her Coloured counterparts had to depend far more on the assistance of their servants than did the Hindu and Muslim housewives of the unit. The Christian Indian housewife, in fact, left her small children in the care of the African servant each day while she was at work and the Coloured housewives relied on their servants not only for aid in housework but also for companionship.

The size of the Wills' Road households, both Indian and Coloured, was larger than those of the European households in the other units investigated. The smallness of many of the flats limited the number of persons accommodated therein but even so the majority of the flats held families of more than three persons. The houses, many of which had as many as four and five bedrooms, accommodated families of an average size of seven persons although four of the households had over 13 members.

The family units were of two types, the individual or nuclear families, consisting of parents and children only and extended families in which other kin members were included. Nuclear families predominated in the flats and were the rule amongst the Coloured residents. All the Indian families occupying the houses were of the joint family type. They consisted of a patriarch, his wife and children and the wives and children of any married sons. In two of the families married daughters were at home for the birth of their first child in accordance with Muslim custom. The existence of joint families tends as much as do kin and friendship ties, to make for a lessening of the need to rely on servants in times of crisis since there are usually a number of competent women to help with the cooking and child care of the household.

The proportion of children in both types of family and amongst both sections of the community was high. Fifty-four per cent of the total number of persons accommodated in the

flats and houses had not yet left school. If the houses alone are considered the proportion is even higher - 65 per cent. The servants were not, however, expected to care for these children to any extent. None of the Muslim or Hindu and only two of the Coloured housewives were employed outside their homes. The adult daughters in the majority of the Indian homes were also at home since their families did not approve of their working. They were expected to continue their education or to help their mothers around the house and so learn the rudiments of household and child care while waiting for early marriages. Their aid was invaluable in the homes and once again obviated the necessity of servants doing any more than the most menial and heavy of domestic tasks. Although the adult daughters in Coloured homes were all employed or in search of employment, they helped in the homes where they could.

The income of both the Indian and Coloured residents of Wills' Road was difficult to assess. Kuper, Watts and Davies (1958) estimated that in 1950 the mean income of the Indian residents of the alluvial flats as a whole was 185.58 Rand per annum. This must be taken as an indication of the approximate income of all the Wills' Road families although the Coloured households appeared to have a rather low standard of living compared with that of the majority of the Indian households.

The occupations of the household heads in the Indian families were strikingly similar. The majority were engaged in business while the remainder held positions in the field of education. Many of the older men had their own businesses, predominantly in the commercial or trading field. The younger men worked in similar concerns which were run by older kinsmen. They filled the positions of cashiers, salesmen or departmental managers. Only the Christian householder worked for a firm unconnected with his family or kin. There were two teachers, the one also a notable poet, and they were held in high esteem by the community. Finally, one of the working daughters was a teacher and the other was a factory

worker. In both cases the families were progressive, the one being the Christian household, the other a Muslim family under the control of a widowed mother. The Coloured residents worked either in small businesses and factories or as artisans. Of the adult daughters who worked, one was a teacher and the other six were sales hands. These positions are not very well paid. The low incomes of Coloured residents were supplemented by the letting of rooms and outhouses to tenants.

I. DOMESTIC WORK FOR INDIANS:

Of domestic service for non-European groups, that for Indians is regarded with the least favour by Africans. It raises a distinct distaste which is absent in the case of employment by Coloured, and even African employers. The general racial tension between the Indian and African must be taken into account here. The stereotype Africans have of Indians as a whole is not favourable and must affect the tenor of the employment relationships. 'Indians are dirty, they will take food out of a rubbish bin ... they will cheat you and get you in their power'. These are typical of the remarks informants made of the Indian group as a whole. Those who had worked for Indians complained of their toilet habits, which they regarded as unhygienic. They spoke of close contact^{4]} with them with superstitious horror. A myth was rife in the Wills' Road area which explained why African women remained in the employ of Indians. The latter were thought to introduce breast milk into their servants' food in order to 'make them unable to leave'. A number of women refused to eat food cooked by Indians for this very reason. Muslims were feared in particular for the powers which their religion was thought to give them. One informant explained as follows: 'They (the Muslim employers) are like Catholics, they go to church a lot and their religion is powerful. They can curse you at the Mosque so you will never have any luck again'. Many a tale was told of hapless servants who had incurred the wrath of the Muslim employers and upon whom such a curse had fallen. 'They lose their reason and run mad'

was the explanation of the effects of this curse. Two informants gave this as the reason why they would never steal from their employers^{5]}.

Yet another objection to Indian employers was that they were miserly with wages yet expected a great deal of work from their servants. Typical comments in this connection were 'Indians make you work hard but don't pay ... An Indian will make you sweep the same place over and over again and wash walls just to keep you busy'. A remark made by one informant in another connection brings home the same point. She was commenting on her neighbours in the townships who took in washing and said: 'Their garden looks like an Indian yard with all the washing everywhere'. The amount of work demanded of servants by Indians was always commented upon and said to be far greater than was the case with any other racial group. The extent to which this stereotype is justified by the findings of this study will be considered later.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF DOMESTIC EMPLOYMENT

IN THE WILLS' ROAD AND STAMFORD HILL

INDIAN HOMES:

The following discussion is based on information gained during the investigation of the Indian households in both Stamford Hill and Wills' Road. Most of the research work done amongst the households in the former unit was from the point of view of the servants who, in contrast to their employers, were co-operative and even eager to help the field-workers. As the majority of the families in Stamford Hill were Hindu, the material gained in this unit provides comparative data to that gained from the predominantly Muslim Wills' Road unit.

Number of servants and type of employment:

There is a good deal of fluctuation in the number of servants employed by Indian families over one year. In both Wills' Road and Stamford Hill, annual religious ceremonies and

family rituals often involved additional household work and casual labour was sought to help the housewife and permanent employees at these times. Generally, however, those families resident in the houses of the units employed at least one and often more than one permanent servant. Flat dwellers for the most part limited their domestic aid to one full-time or one part-time servant and in a number of cases did not employ a permanent servant at all. They engaged casual labour when necessary.

TABLE XVIII

Distribution and Category of Service in
the Indian Households of the Wills'
Road Neighbourhood Unit

Category of Service	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	Houses	Flats	Total	%
One Full-time Servant employed	5	4	9	34.6
Two Full-time Servants employed	0	0	0	
Three Full-time Servants employed	2	0	2	7.7
One Full-time and One Part-time Servant employed	4	2	6	23.1
One Full-time and Two Part-time Servants employed	0	0	0	
One Part-time Servant employed	0	2	2	7.7
Casual Labour when required	0	0	0	
No Servants	0	7	7	26.9
Total Households in Unit	11	15	26	100.0

The position as it existed in the Wills' Road unit at the time of the initial census illustrates the pattern at any one time. (See Table XVIII) There were 29 servants employed in all - an average of 1.3 servant per household. Eight of the total were part-time employees. The actual

distribution of servants over the different types of household was as follows. The seven families which did not employ servants all lived in the flats. All the house dwellers employed at least one full-time servant and in four of the nine cases in which one full-time servant was employed, the housewife employed a part-time servant to do the laundry once a week as well. In the remaining two cases, three full-time servants made up the domestic staff of the households. This was found necessary in the one case due to the size of the household, which consisted of 17 members in all, seven family members and five lodgers. In the other case one of the servants cared for the young grandchild of the housewife whose parents were temporarily away from the city.

In the flats the housewives who employed servants had engaged either one full-time or one part-time employee depending on domestic requirements. In only two of the eight cases was a full-time and a part-time servant employed together and in both cases the circumstances were exceptional and the situation merely temporary. In the one case the prolonged illness of one of the household members had necessitated extra work connected with the care and in particular, the moving and cleaning of the invalid. In the other case, one of the two employees, the full-time worker, served in the family shop during the day and only worked in the flat in the evenings and over week-ends.

In Stamford Hill, where it will be remembered that all the Indian families lived in houses, all households employed at least one servant. In addition in two cases temporary part-time employees were engaged to help with the laundry when necessary.

Sex of servants:

All domestic servants employed by Indian families in Wills' Road and Stamford Hill were females. One male was employed by the owners of the larger block of flats in order to clean the hall and stairways, and empty dustbins. He had however little or no personal contact with the individual

Indian flat dwellers.

The Indian women reacted in a stereotyped fashion when asked why they did not employ men as domestic servants. 'We always have women' 'We don't like male servants' 'They are no company for us', were the various replies. On the whole the question was greeted with astonishment and even amusement. One young woman remarked that she had never considered having a male working for her. She admitted however, that her own parents and parents-in-law employed African male servants. It is clear therefore, that it is not characteristic of all Indian employers to shun male domestic labour. How can the position in the Wills' Road and Stamford Hill units be explained?

From a practical point of view female servants are of more use to the Wills' Road and Stamford Hill employers than are male servants. Although not expected to care for the children to any extent, the female servants are kept constantly busy with household chores, particularly laundry. In Durban, few males do laundry work. In addition to this, there are no large gardens to be tended in the two units and males are therefore not necessary for this task. In most cases no accommodation can be provided for servants, particularly for males. The latter, particularly in the case of African males, usually demand this facility since most are migrants who have no alternative accommodation in town. Finally, wages paid for domestic work in the area are so low as not to attract males who had still to provide their own accommodation and much of their food. In all cases from outside the Wills' Road and Stamford Hill areas where male servants were reported to be employed in Indian homes, they were accommodated on the premises and were largely responsible for gardening and other heavy work.

It is suggested that another factor may be involved in the preference for female servants in Wills' Road. Not all families were of the extended type, and there were only one, two or at the most three adult females in each house. In the majority of cases, particularly in the flats, the housewife

was alone at home for most of the day. This being so, she was thrown into close contact with her servant. If a male were to be employed, not only would he be, to quote the housewife above, no company for her, but the intimate contact necessary between mistress and servant would not be approved by the formers' husbands, or by the Indian community in general. This would be true just as much for African as for Indian males. The line which divides Indian and African is not so strongly drawn as that between European and African. The sex of the servant could not be ignored as it can where the two racial groups are divided by the wide European/non-European gulf characteristic of South African society. In this situation it might be feared that the possibilities of sex interest would predominate both the employment and racial framework. In households where there are numerous women at home and in particular where there exists the watchful eye of the senior women, mother, or mother-in-law, possibilities of this nature are limited. Male employees, therefore, may be tolerated and even welcomed in cases where there is a heavy load of physical work to be done.

Racial Affiliations of Servants:

Although the majority of servants employed in Wills' Road were Africans, six were Indian. Employers in both this area and in Stamford Hill, where only one servant was employed, said they preferred to employ African servants, and where an Indian servant was employed, an African woman was always on the staff as well.

The reasons why Africans are preferred as servants range from a greater capacity or willingness on the part of African women to do heavy work, to a belief that they do not interest themselves in the lives of their employers. As one housewife expressed it, 'Indian servants can't do so much hard work and they will always listen to the family'. African women are thought not to be interested in the lives of their employers and are seen as inhabiting quite a different sphere to that of the latter. Employers feel at liberty to speak openly in front of African servants, and to act as if they were

not present. Indian housewives were well aware that many of the African servants could understand Gujarati or Urdu, but this made little difference to the image of an African servant as an anonymous entity unaffected or disinterested in her surroundings. African women are thought also to be less likely to steal or pilfer than are Indian servants. The main items that housewives feared Indian Servants would steal were clothing and jewellery. 'An Indian servant will always look for your wedding jewellery', one remarked. She felt that African servants would not know of its existence.

The relative status of employer and employee must be taken into account as well. It would appear to be easier for an Indian housewife to impose strict control and dominance on an African woman than on another Indian woman. This holds despite the difference in the social and economic status of mistress and Indian servant. All of the Indian servants were Hindu women from Tamil-speaking homes. They were regarded as inferior by the Muslim women in Wills' Road, and also by the Hindi-speaking housewives in both of the units. They were thus seen as natural servants. On the whole it may be said that the African servant is fitted more easily into the category of 'the maid' - an automaton of inferior nature to the employer - than is the Indian servant in Indian households.

Where an Indian and an African servant were employed in the same household, the heavy cleaning tasks fell to the latter, while the former was responsible for the laundry and dusting, and perhaps some of the kitchen work.

REQUIREMENTS OF SERVICE AND LENGTH
OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE WILLS' ROAD
AND STAMFORD HILL INDIAN HOMES:

African servants working for Indians in both Wills' Road and Stamford Hill were required to do only the heavy cleaning tasks such as scrubbing and polishing floors, washing up, window cleaning and laundry. Housewives and adult daughters, both of whom were at home for most of the day, remained responsible for all other work, and also for

the control and actual running of their households. Servants were seldom, if ever, given any responsibility and their work was constantly under supervision. This situation contrasts with that found in domestic work for Europeans. Even, as in Stamford Hill, where housewives were also at home a good deal and retained most of the more skilled tasks for themselves, servants were expected to be able to do some routine work on their own, and if necessary to help with such tasks as food preparation.

Indian housewives never allowed their servants to have any hand in cooking. This amounted to a religious taboo but it was backed up by the belief that servants would squander, waste or steal food, and in any case were not wholly hygienic in their habits. When housewives felt ill or had to be away from home, kin and neighbours helped them by bringing cooked food, or even doing the cooking for them in their kitchens. The objection to allowing servants to cook and use cooking utensils was carried so far that the Indian housewives cooked the greater part, if not all, of their servants' food themselves. With housewives or some substitute female always on hand, servants were never expected to take over the running of homes or the ordering of produce and groceries, as in many European homes.

Indian servants were treated rather differently to African servants and were given more responsibility but even they were seldom expected to do any cooking.

The laundry was considered perhaps, the most onerous of all the duties falling to servants employed by Indians. In a household of some eight to twelve people this amounts to a good deal. It was the constant complaint of servants that 'everyday is wash day'! If lodgers were included in the household, their laundry had also to be done by the family servant, at no extra cost to the employers or to their lodgers. Where more than one servant was employed it was usually to cope with the washing that had to be done each day or week.

Child care was another facet of domestic work which the Indian housewives of both Wills' Road and Stamford Hill seldom left solely to servants. In the Wills' Road unit, in only one case was an African woman employed to care for a child. Even in this instance she was never expected to feed or take complete responsibility for the child. Her task was merely to ensure that he did not hurt himself while playing. She also did his washing each day. In all other cases mothers cared completely for their children. When they were busy or out, close female kin took small children to visit them. 'We do not like to leave our children with the girl', said one Indian housewife. This, however, did not seem so much a moral or racial objection as a matter of lack of necessity, due to the constant presence of kin and friends. Servants were noted, in many instances, to handle children. In the case of the one nursemaid employed in the unit, the mother of the child was away, and the grandmother was not on very good terms with her neighbours, many of whom were younger than herself. Had this not been the case, the neighbours would probably have helped with the care of the child.

Despite the lack of responsibility or more skilled tasks delegated to servants, their work load was heavy. None of the flats were serviced, and in no cases were male servants employed to do the heavy work, as was the case in many of the European households investigated. Indian housewives were not observed to do any of the manual work such as scrubbing or polishing. They might assist the servants in the lighter tasks of dusting and tidying, however, but on the whole left even this to the servants.

The type of work outlined above may be heavy, but it cannot be said to be demanding in terms of domestic experience and skill. All that a prospective servant requires in order to find a job in an Indian home in either Wills' Road or Stamford Hill is a rudimentary knowledge of cleaning and the ability to sustain heavy work for long periods of time. Even the former is not absolutely crucial as housewives are prepared, and even expect, to instruct their servants in all their tasks.

While such work may be undemanding in terms of skill, it can easily be appreciated how unrewarding it must be. In cases in which African servants complain of the heavy drudgery and excessive work loads imposed upon them by Indian employers, it is suggested that the factor of boredom and lack of interest in the job has much to do with their assessment. When the hours of work of Indian employees be compared with those of the servants working for the European employers of Morningside, Durban North and Stamford Hill, it will be seen that the former have much more free time than their fellows, and are more^{6]} frequently given any additional time off for which they ask. It is the lack of variation in their routine, and above all, the lack of excitement, challenge and personal satisfaction which Morningside and Durban North in particular, and to some extent Stamford Hill servants working for Europeans, receive from their more skilled and responsible duties, that leaves servants working for Indians dissatisfied with their jobs. This, however, is not all. The relationship existing between employers and servants and the interest which the latter take in their employers' doings must also be taken into account. Since this will be discussed in detail in the next section, it is sufficient to note here that the relationship between Indian employers and African servants is for the most part characterised by tension and mistrust and lack of interest on both sides. Few, if any, African servants identify themselves with their Indian employers as they do with the members of the European households in which they have served for some time. The Indian employees, therefore, receive little above monetary recompense for their work. Even in terms of prestige, they fall below women working for Europeans.

It is not surprising, in the light of all that has been said that the labour turnover in Indian homes is high. As Table XIX demonstrates, only four or 20 per cent of the servants working in the Wills' Road area had been employed for more than one year. This contrasts with the position in European households^{7]}. In Indian households, therefore, lack of skill and unsatisfactory working conditions work towards a situation in which servants change their jobs frequently.

TABLE XIX

Length of Service of African Servants
working for Indian Employers in the
Wills' Road Neighbourhood Unit

Length of Service	Number	Percentage
Employed previous day	1	5
1 week	2	10
1 month	3	15
2 - 5 months	7	35
7 - 11 months	3	15
1 year	1	5
4 years	1	5
9 years	1	5
10 years	1	5
Total	20 ⁸	100

Employers dismiss women they regard as quite hopeless as servants, and servants leave jobs which offer them no interest except the wage which they do not consider to be adequate. Hand in hand with these conditions goes the high demand for workers in areas such as Wills' Road and Stamford Hill. Servants know they can easily find similar and probably better jobs, and thus do not cling to those they have as closely as do women in better paid and happier employment.

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE WILLS'
ROAD AND STAMFORD HILL INDIAN HOMES:

Wages:

As Table XX shows, wages paid to African servants for full-time work by Indian employers ranged from four rand to 13 rand per month, with the highest percentage of employers paying six rand per month. Indian servants received on the average 50 cents or one rand more than their African counterparts

for similar work.

The differences in wages paid to African servants did not, as in the other areas, reflect skill or the type of work done by them. The amount of work was the determining factor. Servants who worked in the Wills' Road and Stamford Hill houses which accommodated large extended families, were paid slightly more than those who served individual families and flat dwellers. Whether the employment was resident or non-resident did not appear to affect the wage rate in any systematic way.

TABLE XX

Wages Paid to Full-time African Female
Servants working in Wills' Road

Wage	Number of Indian Employees	Percentage
R 4-00	2	10
R 5-00	3*	15
R 6-00	12	60
R 7-00	1	5
R 8-00	1	5
R13-00	1	5
Number of Cases	20	100

*One servant claimed to be paid five rand, while her employers gave seven rand as her wage.

When compared with wages paid by European employers, those paid by Indians can be seen to be, on the whole, slightly lower. There is a noticeable difference between the wages of Morningside and Durban North servants, and those in Wills' Road, but between the latter and those of Stamford Hill, the gap is far less. There were perhaps more full-time servants paid in the vicinity of six rand by the Indians than in the

European households studied, but when demands in terms of skill and responsibility are taken into account, this appears only to be expected. The stereotype of Indian employers paying far less for domestic work than European employers is thus not wholly justified. Wages for part-time work, particularly laundry work were also standard, about two rand, although Indian servants were paid more by Indian employers for this type of service - possibly three rand or even three rand fifty cents per month.

Hours of work, Free Time and Annual Leave:

(a) Hours of work:

The work schedules of servants employed in Indian and European homes appear to differ considerably. Full-time resident servants in the Indian homes of Wills' Road and Stamford Hill began work between 5.00 and 6.00 in the morning, and worked steadily, with perhaps a quarter of an hour break for tea, until 12.00 or 2.00 p.m., depending on the demands of the employers. Although servants did not cook or serve the midday meal they had to clear the table after the meal. Since male householders all returned for this meal, a good deal of work was involved. Washing and ironing was usually done in the morning after the housework and this might also engage servants during the latter part of the afternoon. All employers claimed to give their servants free time from after their lunch until 6.00 or 6.30 p.m., when they expected their employees to wash the dinner plates and pots. Servants claimed to work longer hours than this, particularly when ironing had to be done. There is no doubt, however, that while servants experienced busy mornings, most of their work was done before lunch-time. In Morningside and Durban North female servants returned to duty at 3.30 or 4.00 p.m., either to clean silver, iron, care for children, or prepare meals. In European homes in Stamford Hill although servants returned to work later, they were expected to help housewives with preparations for the evening meal and so returned to duty at about 5.00 p.m. On the whole, therefore, the servants

employed by Indians enjoyed greater free time especially in the afternoon and evening than did many of the servants in European employment.

Part-time workers started the day early, about 5.30 or 6.00 in the morning and officially completed their day's schedule after lunch, though many claimed to work until 4.00 in the afternoon. In contrast to full-time service, part-time service for Indian employers seemed to involve longer hours and more work than did similar work for Europeans.

(b) Free days and half-holidays:

The full-time servants in Indian homes did not receive regular 'off' days during the week. As in Stamford Hill European homes, their only completely free afternoon and evening was usually on Sunday. Even this was not absolutely inviolate if they lived on the premises. Their relative freedom during weekday afternoons made it possible for them to visit friends, travel fairly long distances and visit town without the facility of an 'afternoon off'. Servants who lived away from their employers' premises worked on Sunday mornings until about 11.00 p.m. as did resident servants.

(c) Annual leave:

Annual leave arrangements hardly featured at all in the experience of Indian employers and African servants in both Stamford Hill and Wills' Road. Few African servants remained in employment for as long as a year. 'They work for a bit and then when they want to go home they just leave the job' commented an Indian housewife. Where servants had worked for over a year, and both they and employers were satisfied with each other, the latter 'let them off' for a few weeks on request. Nothing was formalised, however, and there was no idea amongst housewives that servants were entitled to annual leave. Few paid their servants when they were away, unless the period was so short as to make little difference to either party. In the absence of servants, housewives either managed the housework themselves or, more usually, employed casual labour.

Facilities enjoyed by Servants:(a) Accommodation:

Accommodation facilities offered to servants by Indian employers were poor. As in the case of Stamford Hill European employers, the Indians could not always supply their servants with rooms and were even more loth to furnish them. The Wills' Road pattern will serve as an illustration of the position, as it is essentially similar to that of Stamford Hill.

Only nine of the 29 African servants employed by Indians in Wills' Road were accommodated by their employers. The majority of employers who lived in flats could not offer their servants accommodation as the flats had no servants rooms. There were two exceptions to this. In one case a close kinswoman of the owner of one of the blocks of flats lost her servants continuously when they found jobs which provided quarters, so she managed to have one of the outhouses of the flats converted into a room for her servant. In the other case the servant who lived at [nanda⁹] was allowed to sleep in the kitchen of the employer's flat during the week. The flats were provided with toilet facilities for servants, which were used by all the female 'dailies', and the one permanent male flat attendant and the two 'resident' servants.

Of those houses which had outhouses of some sort only four employers offered this convenience to their servants. All were of wood and iron and not provided with electricity. The rooms tended to be draughty and damp. In one case two servants shared the one room attached to the house of one of their employers. In another case where three servants were employed by one employer, all three shared one room.

The furnishings of the rooms differed tremendously. In some cases a bed, mattress and table were provided and in other cases a cupboard or chair as well. In the majority of cases however, no furniture was given to the servants, who were expected to sleep on the floor. None of the employers provided primus stoves, though the servants themselves owned these.

Since few of the servants had been employed for a long period few of the rooms were furnished with personal possessions. The majority of servants regarded their jobs in this area as temporary and so did not wish to bring their possessions to their rooms. They were also afraid of theft in this area where strangers were always about. Blankets were not provided for the servants by their employers but old ones were sometimes given to the employees. Separate toilet facilities were not provided in most cases, and the servants had to share those of the employers or make use of public or flat facilities.

(b) Uniforms:

In only eight cases in both Stamford Hill and Wills' Road were uniforms provided by Indian employers for their servants. These were given to those employees who had remained for some time with one employer. For the rest servants wore their own clothes. The employers were not particular about the dress and neatness of their servants and did not demand that they be scrupulously tidy and clean when on duty. Employers did, however, appreciate this quality and at least two remarked that they made their servants wash before beginning work. The more contact that the servant had with the family, the more insistence was found to be placed on hygiene. Thus the employers were not so strict over appearances of the servants who merely did heavy cleaning as they were over those who did a wide range of tasks or cared for children.

(c) Food:

The food provided for the servants in Indian households differed little from that eaten by their employers. Additions such as mealie-meal might be included to make up bulk but rations similar to those given in Morningside and Durban North were not found in this area. In this respect the position was similar to that in the European homes of Stamford Hill.

A typical day's food provided for a full-time servant in Wills' Road consisted of bread and jam with tea for breakfast, curry, rice and bread for lunch, and the same for supper -

perhaps supplemented by mealie-meal or even samp. Since housewives did all the cooking for their servants they were in complete control of the amount of food provided for each meal. Servants for the most part, disliked this arrangement. Not only did it give little recognition to the state of their appetites, or number of visitors, but they also mistrusted the motives of the Indian women in insisting on this practice. A few refused to eat food cooked by the Indian women and took only bread and tea from their employers^{10]}. Servants who did not live on the premises received far less food than their counterparts, as employers did not feel obliged to feed them.

On the whole, food supplied to the servants by Indian housewives was felt to be sufficient and stinginess in this sphere was not one of the complaints held against the Indian employers. One servant remarked 'Indians give us a lot of food - they realise that we must eat'. The employers all complained of the amount that the servants ate, estimating that it cost them between six rand and eight rand per month to feed each servant.

(d) Other facilities offered to servants:

Here the distinction was clear between servants employed for fairly long periods, over a year or more, and transient workers. The former all remarked that their employers were 'good' to them. They paid their medical expenses and often 'helped' them when they were in financial difficulties. No help was given to the latter.

In all aspects of the employment situation there was greater understanding between employers and servants who had been together for long periods than between those who were new to each other. In the case of the former there was a willingness to help and understand the problems of their servants and to make concessions to their requirements.

(e) Personal Freedom enjoyed by servants
on the premises of employers:

On the whole servants working for Indians were offered

a fair amount of freedom on the premises of their employers. Those who were resident employees were permitted to entertain what friends they liked in their rooms. At least half had husbands, lovers or children living permanently with them. One non-resident servant who lived at Kwa Mashu was permitted to bring her eight year old daughter to work with her as she had no one with whom to leave the child in the township.

The Indian housewives did not, however, permit odd callers to disturb the servants while on duty. They did not like their employees to chat with other servants or with visitors during the morning work periods in particular, and discouraged any visitors who continually took their servant away from the work at these times. They took a very real interest in all their employees' visitors, not so much out of concern for the African women but out of mistrust of their contacts. The servants complained bitterly that they had no privacy while on the premises of their employers. The housewives always asked who visitors were and what they wanted with the servant. Many of the African women chose to meet friends off the premises rather than have their meetings investigated and overheard by the Indian housewives. The latter were seldom away from their homes and spoke Zulu fluently enough to understand all conversations which were held between the African women and their visitors.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF
THE AFRICAN WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS IN
THE WILLS' ROAD AND STAMFORD HILL INDIAN
HOMES:

A most unfavourable picture has been painted of the working conditions of African women employed in many Indian households. The question arises of what type of woman seeks this employment and why some, at least, remain with their Indian employers for many years?

A comparison of Table XXI with Table XIV^{11]} will show that a good proportion of the African women working in Wills'

Road tended to be younger than their counterparts working for Europeans. Many of these women were engaged in their first jobs and were gaining their initial experience of domestic demands. As Table XXII shows, the majority, in addition, had had little education, certainly less than had the women working in Morningside and Durban North. The Wills' Road servants were on the whole far less skilled and competent than the servants contacted in the earlier parts of the study and many had been forced by this fact to accept employment in Indian homes. At least half of them were newcomers to town who knew no part of the city other than that in the immediate neighbourhood of the non-European market complex. They had also no personal contacts with women employed elsewhere in Durban and were unable to find employment in other suburbs.

TABLE XXI

Age Distribution of Female Servants
employed by Indian Employers in the
Wills' Road Neighbourhood Unit

Age Category	%
Under 15 years	-
15 - 19 years	28
20 - 29 years	33
30 - 39 years	22
40 - 49 years	11
50 years +	6
Total	100

Apart from the inability of the less skilled women to find employment elsewhere in Durban, servants are often drawn to areas such as Wills' Road, as they are to Stamford Hill^{12]}, by the willingness of employers both European and Indian to house their children on the premises. As Table XXIII shows, none of the Wills' Road employees who had been married were

TABLE XXII

The Educational Achievements of Female Servants working for Indian Employers in the Wills' Road Neighbourhood Unit

School Level	Standard Reached at School	%
	No education	28
	Some education	5
Infant school	Class 1 - 2	50
Lower Primary school	Standards 1 - 3	17
Upper Primary school	Standards 4 - 6	-
Secondary school	Form 1 - 3 (J.C.)	-
	Form 4 - 5 (Matric)	-
	Post school	-
Total		100

TABLE XXIII

Marital Distribution of Female Servants Working for Indian Employers in the Wills' Road Neighbourhood Unit

Marital Status	%
Single	67
Married, but abandoned by or separated from husband	17
Divorced	5
Widowed	11
Married - living with husband	-
Total	100

living with husbands and those who did not have accommodation elsewhere valued that given to them by employers who were tolerant of children. The case of Mary M- makes this clear.

When contacted this servant had been working for the same employers for over 16 years. Of semi-traditional background, she worked first in Pietermaritzburg for Indian employers there. Her sister, who was employed in Will's Road, 'fetched' her to help with arrangements for a particularly large celebration. Mary was later employed permanently when her sister left her job. Since then she has borne three children, who together with one born before she came to Durban, live with her on the premises. Her lover is also welcomed on the premises. The children are of much the same age as those of the employers' family with whom they play, and from whom they have learnt Gujarati. Mary herself, though she speaks no English or Afrikaans, has a fair command of the language of her employers. They, of course, speak Zulu fluently. Mary claims not to like living in Durban, and clearly knows very little about the city apart from the area immediately surrounding Wills' Road. When asked to name places she had visited she could only think of McCord's Hospital where she had had her babies, and of Cato Manor to which she had been a few times. Not only is she ignorant of the city but also afraid of what lies beyond the limits of her experience. Mary is thus held to her job by her lack of knowledge of a European language and of experience for working for any but Indian employers, by the fact that her three children can be accommodated on the premises of her employers and by her lack of contacts anywhere else in the city.

Not all servants in the area fall into the same mould as Mary, however. Ida G- is totally different in background, outlook and in her attitude to and reasons for working for Indians. She is 26 years old but already a widow of some years standing. She was orphaned at an early age and brought up by an elder brother who rented rooms in Wills' Road. She attended school for a short period but only reached Standard 3. From the age of nine she worked as a nanny or did casual daily work to earn money in order to assist her brother. Most of her jobs were of short duration and all in the neighbourhood of Wills' Road. She met and married a townsman who had also been reared in the area. They lived together in rented rooms in Warwick Avenue until he died. Since then she has worked in

Wills' Road to support herself.

Ida speaks English fluently and is among the most sophisticated of the African women working in the area and indeed in any of the areas studied. She knows Durban intimately and has friends working in some of the most exclusive of its suburbs. She has remained in her present job for nine years, however, and is quite satisfied. She is the only woman to claim that she would not want to find a job with Europeans in order to earn higher wages. The reason for this is that, as she admits, she likes a lot of time to herself, and this her employers are willing to grant. She has the whole afternoon off and often leaves work at 12.00 p.m., not returning until 6.00 or 6.30 p.m. She is free again after 7.00 p.m. It is during her free periods that she supplements her wages through prostitution. She attends shebeens in the area where Coloured men and European sailors go in search of drink and women, frequents the beach and Point Road areas where men of all races pay highly for fleeting sex relations and also drinks and smokes dagga. All in all, she is only too aware that she would never be able to pursue this sort of life if working for 'fussy' employers - namely for Europeans. She makes far more money out of prostitution than out of domestic work and all that her job provides her with is a room and security within reach of the sites of her money-making activities. Her employers are very good to her, she admits, pay her medical expenses, feed her sufficiently - although she does not like Indian curry - and above all give her as much free time as she wants. Nor are they likely to dismiss her if she is drunk or has been smoking dagga. Finally, she claims that she knows the area in which she works and regards it as 'home'. There is no reason for her to want to move away. Although Ida was the only woman interviewed who expressed quite these views, she explained that she was only one of a number of women in the immediate vicinity who felt as she did, and who were quite satisfied with their employment situations because they facilitated their extra work interests. Other of the more sophisticated women in the area, as will be seen, made money also from sex relations involving the Indian men

of the area.

It appears that servants working for Indians fall roughly into two distinct categories. Firstly, there are the unskilled and inexperienced women who cannot expect to hold down better paying jobs, particularly those in many European homes. They have come direct from the rural areas or from pagan homes and have little experience of town, Western sophistication or the demands of skilled work. Secondly, there are the sophisticated women, many of whom who have been reared in town and in the very area in which they work, and who are not so much interested in their jobs as in the money-making activities which the location and hours of work of the employment situation facilitate.

INTERACTION BETWEEN MASTER AND SERVANT IN INDIAN HOUSEHOLDS:

The relationship between Indian employers and their African servants is naturally as subject to variation as that between Europeans and their servants. What is striking about its general pattern, however, is the high degree of tension and strain between many of the parties concerned, a feature almost completely lacking in the European homes investigated.

The stereotype held by Indian employers of African servants is bad. Housewives claimed that all servants would pilfer if they had the opportunity, would skimp on work unless constantly watched and were generally unsatisfactory as employees. Whereas European housewives felt that many servants would steal food, clothing, and liquor, all admitted that this was not invariably the case, and few were continuously on the look-out for such misdemeanours. They might lock cupboards as a precaution, and perhaps check on their stocks once or twice a month, but this was as far as it went. Indian housewives were noted on occasions to go so far as to lock all rooms in the house or flat with the exception of the kitchen in which the servant was left when they went out. One housewife even went so far as to take her servant with her to the shops rather than leave her alone in the flat. All checked food and clothing regularly and minutely. The servants



themselves complained of the continual surveillance of their mistresses who watched all their activities with eagle eyes. They agreed that the Indian housewives are far more on the alert for misdemeanours and slackness in work than are the majority of European women.

One of the major and possibly the underlying cause of the frequent tension between Indian housewives and their African female servants is the fear of the former that their employees will seduce their husbands and growing sons. This appeared to be an almost pathological preoccupation and the Indian women in both Wills' Road and Stamford Hill read guilt into the slightest familiarity between the African women and the males of their households. In this the contrast between them and the vast majority of European housewives is striking. As one servant accurately observed, the very idea of sex relations between African employees and European men seldom occurs to European women. Even when their husbands or sons, as in the Stamford Hill area, were having extended affairs with African women, their womenfolk were not suspicious enough to note the signs. A number of Indian housewives, on the other hand, were noted to have given servants notice on the mere suspicion of such intimacies. In Indian homes, therefore, it was striking that the males of the household had the minimum of public contact with African employees. They seldom addressed any conversation to them except the occasional order and, in fact, were seldom alone in the same room with the African women, at least when their wives were in the home. In contrast in the Stamford Hill European homes, and even in Morningside and Durban North, men normally greeted their servants and even passed the time of day with them. In Stamford Hill they often sat in the kitchens while servants worked there. At all events they did not avoid the women as appeared to be the case in the Indian homes.

The Indian women's fear of sex relations between Indian males and the female servants was no idle one. Although no such relations were found to be in progress between Indian men and their servants in the Wills' Road unit at the time of

fieldwork, various men were known or suspected by the servants to be having regular sex relations with African servants elsewhere. The servants employed in houses in both this area and in the Stamford Hill Indian homes, particularly those living on the premises, admitted to frequent affairs with Indian men of the neighbourhood. 'I look out for boys whose parents are away', one remarked. She had also worked for men who, when their wives were away, had made the most of this opportunity to have sex relations with her.

Not only were the majority of servants treated by Indian housewives with reserve and the utmost distrust, but the Indian women took little interest in their servants as individuals. The majority did not even know their Christian names. 'We just call her "Annie"', was the repeated response to the attempts of the fieldworker to identify the servant. Questions about the background of the servants were treated with an impatient shrug or a shouted question to the servant concerned. Although Morningside employers were vague as to their servants' private lives, they were never so uninformed! One Indian housewife remarked that it was 'a waste of time' to find out about her servants as 'they always tell lies and anyway leave so soon'. It is, of course, not unnatural that the initial tenseness of the relationship between mistress and servant should preclude any discussion other than that of work. From the servants' point of view, their stereotype of the Indian employers made them loth to venture any personal information voluntarily. It may be said in this respect that the social distance between Indian housewives and servants recently employed was greater even than that which existed in the most rigid of Morningside homes.

In contrast to the dominant pattern of mistrust and lack of interest on both sides, a few servants who had been employed in Indian homes for over a year or so were found to have become closely integrated into their employers' households. The interaction between them and their employers, with the exception of the men, was often remarkably free and easy. Housewives and servants chatted during their work and the

female relatives and frequent female visitors to the Indian women passed the time of day with the latter's servants. The African women enjoyed a high degree of freedom in their employers' homes. They brought their children to work, or if resident, had husbands, lovers and families living with them. Indian and African children were observed to play together and the former even cared for the latter if they were younger than themselves. The Africans attended family celebrations and received gifts along with the rest of the family. They could understand the language of their employers, and children grew up speaking a mixture of Zulu, Gujarati and English. Indian children, in their turn, all spoke Zulu well. The absence of a language barrier naturally facilitated interaction between employers and servants. This pattern was, however, not typical of the homes investigated. Only 20 per cent of the servants had been employed for one year in their current jobs and of these familiarity had developed in only about half of the cases.

This familiarity, where it existed, did not appear to involve Indian housewives in making servants their confidantes, as in so many of the Stamford Hill European homes. Relations within the Indian family were not aired to servants, and, as in Morningside, the Africans' knowledge of employers' lives and problems were gleaned from observation rather than discussion. The characteristic pattern of European housewives and their servants swapping personal grievances, as noted in Stamford Hill, did not arise. One of the reasons for this is no doubt that the Indian women had so many persons other than servants to keep them company. Even those who did not live in extended families, were all found in both the Wills' Road and Stamford Hill neighbourhood areas to have numerous kin members living nearby whom they visited and entertained constantly. These kin and other friends provided companionship and a ready ear for domestic complaints and troubles. It is true that one employer remarked that female rather than male servants provided company for their employers, but company not so much of an intimate type as someone with whom to pass casual remarks and perhaps discuss uncommon occurrences

in the area. Employers were all found to show interest in any spectacular happening and discuss it with the servants, but to reserve personal matters for their kin and possibly friends.

Although there was a high proportion of young children and babies in the area, children certainly did not appear to unite mothers and servants, in the same way as they did in European homes. One of the main reasons again must be sought in the presence of numerous kin who cared for children when their mothers were busy or simply tired of them. Where African children were brought up on Indian premises the employers did not appear to take as much indulgent interest in them as the European mistresses of Stamford Hill. Indian housewives were too taken up with kin and friends, and above all, with their own numerous progeny. European employers in Stamford Hill who took such an interest in their servants' children had either none of their own, or if they had, the children had grown beyond babyhood.

In summary it may be said that the pervading tenor of the interaction of the majority of housewives and servants was one of mistrust and watchfulness. This induced a sense of strain into most of the households investigated. It was dissipated somewhat with time, but as will be remembered, few servants remained in one position for over eight months to a year, and many changed jobs after as little as one or two months. Under these conditions employers and employees seldom got the chance to develop closer ties with each other. Where, however, a servant did remain in her job for a long time, the familiarity which developed between her and the housewife tended to exceed that existing in any of the Stamford Hill European households. With time the Indian women seemed to lose their fear of sex relations occurring between their husbands and the servants and with this barrier removed, the path was open to familiarity. Two distinct patterns of interaction between employers and servants were thus discernible in Indian households. As in the case of Morningside and in the Stamford Hill European homes, the relationship swung from one of intense formality to one of great familiarity.

II. A NOTE ON DOMESTIC WORK FOR COLOURED EMPLOYERS:

Relatively little attention was paid in the course of this investigation to the employment of servants in the homes of Coloured families. Due to lack of time and funds, it was not possible to include a neighbourhood area which would provide information solely on this score. During the course of the fieldwork in the five neighbourhood units, however, fourteen Coloured households were investigated. (One in Mariannhill, three in Stamford Hill and ten in Wills' Road.) It is on the basis of these cases that the following remarks are made. Due, however, to the paucity of material, it cannot be claimed that they are to any extent representative of the employment of servants amongst all Coloured families in Durban.

Of the 14 Coloured households investigated only eight employed servants. (See Table XXIV) This low employment rate can be explained by the fact that the majority of Coloured families encountered were not well-off economically. Those living in the Wills' Road flats were the most affluent but because of the smallness of their flats only two of the three families required domestic help. Although the eight houses inhabited by Coloured families in both Wills' Road and Stamford Hill were the same size as those of their neighbours and the households consisted of between four and six persons, only three of the families employed one full-time servant. Of the remainder, three had part-time employees who worked on two or three days of the week. For the rest, the housewives and their adult daughters did all the housework and laundry. In contrast to these families the one Coloured household living at Mariannhill was in a good financial position and, correspondingly employed one full-time and two part-time servants¹³].

Domestic employment in the homes of many Coloured employers is a good deal less demanding than for either Europeans or Indians. Where little differentiates the standard of living of the employer and employee, the African servant can easily learn what is required of her in a Coloured household. The presence of housewives at home means that little responsibility must be shouldered by the servant. In any case, the

TABLE XXIV

Distribution and Category of Service
in the Coloured Households of Wills'
Road, Stamford Hill and Mariannhill

Category of Service	Wills' Road		Stamford Hill	Mariann-Hill	Total
	Flats	Houses			
One Full-time servant employed	2	2	1	0	5
Two Full-time servants employed	0	0	0	0	0
One Full-time and one Part-time servant employed	0	0	0	0	0
One Full-time and two Part-time servants employed	0	0	0	1	1
One Part-time servant employed	0	1	2	0	3
Casual labour when required	0	0	0	0	0
No servants	3	2	0	0	5
Total Coloured Households investigated in each unit	5	5	3	1	14

work is seldom of a complicated order, and the two women tend to share all tasks. In this respect domestic work in Coloured homes differed from that in the homes of all other races, even African. Coloured housewives were observed doing a good deal of the heavy cleaning work along with their servants. The latter appeared, therefore, not to be regarded merely in the light of household drudges. Rather they were valued as assistants and even helpmates.

All the Coloured housewives spoke Zulu fluently. While doing the housework they and their servants chatted continuously, swapping gossip and personal intimacies. In only one

case was such a relationship not encountered. Here the servant had only recently been employed and she was, in any case, employed only to do laundry. She and her employer saw little of each other.

No racial barrier seemed to operate as a gulf between Coloured employers and their servants. There are, however, so many nuances within the Coloured community that it would be foolish and highly dangerous to generalise from the above observations. The African women themselves held an extremely low opinion of Coloureds in general 'They drink too much, and never have any money'. As employers they carried no prestige. Servants working for Europeans declared that they would not accept jobs with Coloureds except as a last resort. Those, however, who were encountered in these positions were satisfied with their jobs.

All servants employed by Coloureds were African and were female. In only three cases were they accommodated on the premises of their employers. Their hours of work were similar to those of servants employed by Indian families. They had the long afternoons free and some were not required to wash the dishes from the evening meal until the next morning. The wages paid to these servants and their general conditions of work appear to compare unfavourably with those of servants employed by other races. Six rand was the average wage for part-time and eight rand for full-time employment. No uniforms were provided and leave and free time were ill-defined. On the other hand, the servants involved appeared completely satisfied with their situation. They acknowledged that their employers helped them in numerous other ways. Some received gifts of old clothes, all were fed with the family while at least two recounted how employers had helped them with money in times of stress.

The majority of Coloured housewives appeared thus to be on extremely good terms with their servants, to have the latter's welfare at heart and to make genuine efforts to aid their servants whenever they could. Their employees appreciated this and the majority had been working for one

employer for some years. In two cases servants had been employed on and off by one Coloured family for three years. One servant had left her employ twice in search of higher wages but on both occasions had not been satisfied with the conditions of work and had given notice to her European employers and returned to the Coloured housewife. The Coloured family had, at one time been beset by financial difficulties and had had to suggest to the servant that she leave their employ. The African woman had found another part-time job and continued to 'help' the Coloured housewife on the understanding that she would be paid when the husband recovered from illness and returned to work. This example gives something of the flavour of the relationship which existed in many of the employment situations investigated.

INTERACTION BETWEEN SERVANTS WITHIN THE
WILLS' ROAD NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT:

The social character of the Wills' Road neighbourhood unit was complex and contradictory. Although the residents, particularly the Indians, formed a settled and stable community with enduring and meaningful ties between neighbours, the domestic servant community was characterised by its extreme heterogeneity and lack of unity. No cliques were encountered amongst the servants during fieldwork, the Indian and African employees seldom spoke to each other about matters outside the framework of their employment and even the relations between the individual African women were tenuous and often short-lived. Much of this amorphousness can be understood in the light of the employment conditions offered to servants by Indian and Coloured employers and by the geographical situation of the area close to town and within easy reach of the dock area.

In both Stamford Hill and in Wills' Road the racial affiliation of employers made no difference to the personal friendships between servants. The actual face to face contacts between them were, however, affected in various ways. In the first place the frequency, length and nature of the meetings

between servants was affected by the slightly different demands made of servants and the domestic expectations held by Indian, European and Coloured housewives. The Indian and Coloured housewives kept their servants fully occupied in the mornings and expected them to take their very short 'tea' breaks while in the kitchen. This prevented the frequent gossiping which occurred between the servants of European employers over their 'breakfasts' which lasted at least half an hour. Furthermore, the women working for Indian and Coloured employers seldom had time during the mornings to wander about the streets and gossip over fences. Those servants working for flat-dwellers were expected to hurry with the laundry which was washed in communal tubs behind the blocks of flats. In many instances the Indian employers preferred their employees to do the washing in their own bath tubs rather than to consort with the other servants while using the communal facilities. The housewives commented on the time servants wasted if they could meet and talk to each other. Some feared, also, that their employees would become dissatisfied with their working conditions and wages after having discussed them with neighbouring servants.

During the afternoons, in contrast, the employees in Indian and Coloured homes were off duty for longer periods than are women employed by European employers. Since few of the former full-time servants had to return to work before 6.00 p.m. or 6.30 p.m. in the evening, they could easily leave the immediate neighbourhood. For women working in Wills' Road, town was easily accessible by either bus or foot. Few of the servants remained in their rooms in the afternoons unless feeling tired, ill or unless they were sleeping off the effects of alcohol! They visited the nearby shops, met male friends in town and patronised the non-European cinemas. A few visited the dock area for the purposes of prostitution. Over three-quarters, furthermore, did not live on the premises of their employers and tended therefore to hurry to their houses and rooms in between and after periods of work. Because women working in the unit spent, on the whole, very little of their free time in the vicinity of their employment they did not congregate in each other's rooms. The long prayer and

chatting sessions which were so much a feature of the lives of the women working in Morningside, Durban North and even of those employed by Europeans in Stamford Hill, did not occur in Wills' Road at all.

The high labour turnover in the Wills' Road unit must not be neglected in assessing the reasons for lack of clique formation in the unit and also in explaining the lack of enduring personal friendships between the African women. Only a small core of employees remained with their employers or repeatedly sought employment in the same vicinity. These women certainly got to know each other, but in the particular unit studied did not share common interests to any extent. Their contacts with each other were superficial. In one instance two servants were linked by classificatory kinship and shared a room on the premises of one of their employers. Their interests, however, were divergent and they saw little of each other. The one spent most of her evenings in her lover's room elsewhere in the city and the other was often away soliciting at the docks.

The attitude of the Coloured and the Indian housewives to their servants affected the personal interaction of the African women in a surprising and significant way. The Indian women's continual mistrust of their servants which made them watchful of the employee's every move, meant that they organised the domestic tasks in such a way as to keep the servants continually under surveillance. This inhibited the latter in their interaction with fellow Africans. Any visitors which non-resident servants received while at work had to be spoken to either in the kitchens of the employers or at the entrance to the flat or house. The Indian women invariably eavesdropped on these conversations. Since they all spoke Zulu they could easily follow any of the Africans' discussions. Even in the cases in which servants did live on the premises and so could take their visitors to their rooms, their conversations were not inviolate. The tin walls of many of the rooms provided little protection against eavesdroppers. The servants were well aware of this and preferred

to meet friends in town or at least out of the vicinity of their employment. While this was possible and practicable in the case of friends from outside the area, it certainly served to inhibit casual friendships between co-workers. In the case of women working for Coloured employers the problem of privacy was also felt to some extent, since all the housewives understood Zulu and were interested in the affairs of their servants. It is true that they were not concerned with these matters as were the Indian women, in order to check on the activities of their employees, but rather more in the nature of friends and well-wishers. They allowed their servants' friends to enter their houses and in some cases gave them tea and food. The African women seemed far less on their guard with their Coloured mistresses but still left discussions with friends which were of a private nature to times when they could meet off the premises of their employment. In this way potential interaction with neighbours was stultified since the women seldom had any other meeting ground.

While all these features of employment in Wills' Road mitigated against the development of close ties between neighbouring servants it must not be forgotten that, because of the relationship existing between employer and employee, there was, in many instances no great need for the African women to seek contacts with other servants. Certainly in the case of African women working for Coloured employers and those of the employees in Indian homes who had remained with their employers for some years, the servant gained a good deal in terms of companionship from her relationship with her mistress and in some cases from her relationship with the whole family. As in Stamford Hill many of the Wills' Road employees required less, in terms of emotional security from neighbours than was the case with employees in homes such as those in Morningside and Durban North. In addition, many had either their children living with them on the premises or if not given accommodation by their employers, rented rooms near to their employment where kin, lovers or children lived with them. The situation of Wills' Road so near to the few remaining amusements for Africans in town and on the direct bus

route to the townships also meant that the servants were not as isolated from the rest of the African community as were those employed in Morningside and Durban North. On close analysis, their leisure time was fully occupied without the necessity of seeking out neighbours as companions. A similar trend has been noted in the case of the Stamford Hill employees in the homes of all racial groups¹⁴. In Wills' Road it was exaggerated to the extent of dominating the entire social situation in the unit.

C H A P T E R S I XDOMESTIC SERVICE IN NON-EUROPEAN HOMES :
THE EMPLOYMENT OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN
AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS

The employment of servants is rare in African homes in and around Durban^{1]}. Not only is the general standard of living so low that few families can afford the luxury but the practice of employing help of a domestic nature is, in itself, foreign to Zulu culture. If an extra hand is required in the running of the home the usual practice is to call upon some kinswoman to step into the breach.

In some instances, particularly in cases in which the African wife is employed outside her home, it may be difficult or impossible to arrange for a kinswoman to live permanently with the family. Resort must then be made to the engagement of domestic help. It is largely in the homes of women who are active in the professional and commercial fields that the employment of servants is encountered. Nurses, teachers, shop assistants and women running businesses find that they must rely on servants to care for their homes and children if they are to continue or even to begin to work after their marriages. A very few domestic servants and service workers also employ servants but as a rule their salaries hardly warrant the expense. There are few creches in the townships to cater for the children of the growing number of working mothers and the fees of those which do exist are high in proportion to the mother's earnings. It is often less expensive to hire one servant than to keep two or three children in creches and nursery schools. In addition, a servant can also be expected to do the housework and to care for and provide meals for older school-going children.

On the whole, the practice of employing servants is not popular amongst Africans. The costs involved in this practice

are thought to be greater than its rewards. Although wages paid by African employers may not exceed two rand to four rand per month, this is high when compared with the ceiling which limits the income of the majority of African householders. In addition to this the servant must be fed and clothed. As one male informant remarked 'A servant costs such a lot. She is fed like the family - eating chicken when the family eats chicken. She demands similar food in fact. She will not be satisfied with "servants meat"², or second grade chops. And then she wants uniforms and wages on top of this!' Another informant, a woman this time, voiced the common opinion that all the outlay was 'not worthwhile'. 'Mothers', she said, 'who employ servants soon find that their children have malnutrition despite the eggs and milk they have bought for them the servant has eaten all the good food and given your child only scraps. If you ask about this, she says the child won't eat eggs, for instance, but when you try, the child loves them'.

The fact that the employee is unknown and under no obligation to the family is felt to be the greatest drawback to the employment of servants. Housewives interviewed remarked that they could not expect an unknown woman to treat their children 'like a mother' or to feel any loyalty to the family. This situation, they felt, left the way wide open for the servant to make the most of her time alone in the home for pilfering or even 'catching the eye of men' in the family.

The alternative to employing an unknown woman as a servant is to find someone known to the family who requires either a home or some extra money and who is willing to live in the household and take on many of the domestic chores. This arrangement is far more popular and prevalent amongst Africans than is the employment of a strange woman as a servant. The person in question may be direct or indirect kin or have had some previous link with the family which forms the basis for the arrangement. Such a woman is seldom actually paid wages. She is given a home, food and clothing in return for her help. She may also receive 'pocket money', but this need not be a

regular and specified amount each month. In gratitude and as a result of blood or friendship ties, she is felt more likely to take a real interest in the welfare of the household, work hard and not skimp on important matters. 'A kinswoman will love your children like her own and so look after them well. She is also not so likely to look at your husband!' remarked one African housewife who had made such an arrangement.

In cases where unknown servants must be employed African housewives have clear ideas as to the type of servant they would prefer. Males are never employed for housework although they may be engaged to do garden work. Older women are thought to be more reliable than young girls. 'An old woman will not have so many men around her and won't bring her boyfriends into your house! She won't be tempted to neglect your children for other interests and won't try on all your best dresses!'

On the whole, African housewives who are at home all day prefer to do their own housework. None of the women interviewed expressed a great desire to be able to employ servants. Although in the townships some prestige appears to be attached to families who do employ servants, it is difficult to isolate this as its only cause. It is more probable that the general economic well-being of the family accounts for the greater part of the neighbours' envy. Housewives are often criticised for employing servants if they stay at home all day. 'She must be too lazy to do her own work I am sorry for her husband, he has not got a good wife', is a typical comment on housewives who employ servants. It would appear to be based on more than an attitude of 'sour grapes'. The African image of a good wife is still that of one who is competent in her housewifely tasks. The employment of servants hits at this ideal. Even professional and business women who are envied and admired for their jobs and independence are expected, when at home, to do their share of housework and, in any case, must always supervise their servants minutely. The equivalent of the Morningside housewives who leave the running of their homes to their servants would be greatly disapproved of in the African community.

If few African women desire to employ servants, even fewer appear to wish to work as servants in the homes of other Africans. These jobs are, for the most part, regarded with contempt. The majority of women interviewed remarked that they would rather not work than work for other Africans. They claimed that the reason was that they would be made to work 'very hard for no money'. Clearly there lies behind this objection the fact that a job in an African home carries little prestige and can seldom be said to give the servant any new experience in terms of the culture and norms of a superior group. It may be asked under what conditions African women do accept this type of employment?

It is largely African women who are completely unskilled in domestic work or unable to speak any English or Afrikaans who accept jobs in African homes. They cannot hope to find any better employment. Thus, where urban areas and African townships border on reserve or farm areas, young inexperienced and often pagan women from the latter may seek work in wealthy African households. In addition to this, girls from very strict homes may be allowed to take up employment in African families whereas they would not be allowed to enter the open labour market. This is the case with many Mission-trained Christian girls such as the Mariannhill employees, to be discussed below. The parents of these women feel they will be safer working for African families than with other racial groups. Their employers then take a personal responsibility for the young women and do not leave them free to 'run wild and go after men'.

Older women may seek work in African families also. Such a job can relieve a woman of the necessity of spending long hours and much energy travelling into town to work in a European, Coloured or Indian household. Women who have their own homes and families in the townships can easily combine the care of these with a nearby job in a neighbour's home. The difficulty, of course, lies in the length of the hours demanded. If these are too long or involve night work, the calls of such a servant's home and the lack of safety in the townships at

night, mitigate against the advantages of the employment. Finally, personal crises often make an African woman temporarily loth to leave the townships. In one such case a recently widowed servant felt herself forced to leave her European employment in town and sought work for Africans in the townships because she did not feel it was dignified for her to travel too far and too much while still in mourning. Although her salary was half that which she had been receiving, she chose her new job rather than violate her code of behaviour. Employment in African homes, therefore, can have many advantages and may, in fact, suit a number of African women more than does work in the homes of other racial groups.

In cases in which an African woman is employed as a servant in the home of an African family her position is completely different from the one she would have as a servant in the home of a family of any other racial group. The interaction between servant and employer may be one which, given the accepted social difference between persons of different sex and age in the African community, mirrors a relationship of equality. The servant may be treated as a kinswoman or friend who is living with and keeping the household for a short period rather than as a typical employee in the Western sense. The servant is fed, clothed and housed as other members of the family and may not be paid a regular wage. This is a pattern which will be seen to have existed in Mariannhill. It must not be thought, however, that this is a situation which is universal or indeed one which will necessarily continue indefinitely. There are indications that a different pattern of interaction between master and servant is developing in African households in which there is a wide gap in the social class or cultural outlook of master and servant. Thus in wealthy township households members of the growing African elite have been found to treat their servants with extreme reserve. They provide them with the major indication of servant's lot, uniforms, separate food, and clearly defined wages. Even if the servants live in the houses of their employers, they are treated with formality. This type of pattern often occurs in Christian households, in which the servants are pagan or uneducated or in situations in which there

PLATE SIX : MARIANHILL



a. Mission Building rising behind the Teachers' cottages.



b. A typical house at Mariannahill.



c. St. Francis' College, Mariannahill.

servants are working for Africans of royal lineage. In these cases the principle of rank creates a barrier between master and servant which is something of the same order as that of the difference between racial groups. Social distance may then be demonstrated by formality in demeanour and by rigid separation of all personal functions outside the limits of the demands of service.

The general nature and implication of work in African homes can be judged from the following description of its occurrence on Mariannhill Mission Station. It must be stressed, however, that the neighbourhood is highly selective and many forces operating within it are not typical of the townships where most African employment occurs. The most obvious difference between the Mariannhill neighbourhood unit and a township is the homogeneity of its occupants in terms of education, social class, and occupation. This has led to the uncharacteristic situation in which servants are employed by the majority of residents.

LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION OF MARIANHILL

MISSION (See Plate Six):

Mariannhill is a large Roman Catholic Mission situated some 30 minutes drive inland from Durban. (See Figures 1 and 6) It is centred around a convent and monastery, and includes junior, high and industrial schools for African girls and boys, a hospital serving largely African patients and a printing press and carpentry section attached to the schools. It is, and has been for many years, a centre of strong missionary and educational activity, and has become wellknown for its high standards in these fields, and the contributions it has made to African education in general. The core of the staff are European, largely immigrant nuns and fathers from Germany, but an increasing number of Africans are filling important teaching and religious posts in its hierarchy.

Neighbourhood unit chosen for study:

The Mission provides accommodation for a number of its

senior non-European staff. The investigation of domestic service in the homes of Africans was concentrated upon a small unit of these which included nine houses and two apartments. Although the dwellings are not geographically contiguous, their occupants were felt to form a group by virtue of their similar accommodation circumstances, and by the fact that most were colleagues in the upper strata of the lay mission community. Ten of the 11 households were, at the time of fieldwork, African, the remaining one being Coloured. In what follows only the former will be considered.

Seven of the houses inhabited by Africans are situated alongside each other in a small lane leading off the main road which divides the Mission. They are near to the local store but their residents must walk about a quarter of a mile to the school and other Mission buildings. The other three houses are built immediately opposite the school buildings and the two apartments actually adjoin the school complex. The latter occupy an old science block which has only recently been converted into living quarters. Both houses and apartments are small. While the former have between three to five rooms which include the kitchens and livingrooms, the latter have only one and two rooms apiece. The actual buildings are old but in a fairly good state of repair. Gardens, where these exist are small, but on the whole neat and planted with edible as well as decorative plants and shrubs. The striking characteristic of the homes is their individuality. They are far removed from the long lines of identical houses found in the municipal townships. The rural atmosphere at Mariannhill is also completely different from that encountered in any township. Another aspect in which this area is pleasant, is that because the residents are, for the most part homogeneous in religion and social class, they have none of the problems of tsotgi neighbours and their growing children are not open to these anti-social influences so dreaded by township parents.

The households investigated varied in size. The average number of persons per unit was 5.8, higher than in the European homes investigated but lower than in Indian joint

families. In no cases were extended families encountered in Mariannhill although siblings^{3]} of either spouse might live temporarily with the household, and in one case the aged mother of the householder lived with her son. The ages of householders differed although the majority were young enough to have small children in the house. Table XXV sets out the age distribution of the families studied, and it is clear that, not only were families with young children a feature of the area, but there was also a high proportion of infants amongst the children themselves. Servants were therefore, expected to do a good deal of the child and baby care.

TABLE XXV

Composition of the African Population
of the Mariannhill Neighbourhood Unit

	Number of Residents	%
Adults	28	47
High School Children	5	8
Junior School Children	11	19
Infant School Children	4	7
Babies up to Four Years of Age	11	19
Total Residents	59	100

A striking feature of the community was its connections with education in general and with professional status in particular. In only one of the households had neither the husband nor the wife undergone some post-school training or been connected at some time with the teaching profession. At the time of fieldwork six of the 10 householders and five of the nine housewives were teachers at the various Mission Schools. (See Tables XXVI and XXVII) The employment of eight of the nine housewives outside their homes was the dominant if not the only reason why servants were employed by the families of this unit. In this respect the unit is to be

TABLE XXVIOccupations of African Household Heads
in the Mariannhill Neighbourhood Unit

Occupations	No.	%
Teacher at Mission School	6	60
Sub-editor of Catholic newspaper	1	10
Handy-man on Mission	1	10
Lecturer at University	1	10
Journalist	1	10
Total	10	100

TABLE XXVIIOccupations of African Housewives
in the Mariannhill Neighbourhood Unit

Occupation	No.	%
Teacher in Mission School	5	56
Factory worker in Pinetown	1	11
Staff nurse in Pinetown	2	22
Housewife	1	11
Total	9 ⁴	100

contrasted with the other four units investigated in which the majority of the housewives were not employed outside their homes but in which servants were nonetheless felt to be a necessary part of domestic life. The housewives of Mariannhill, without exception felt that they would not employ servants were it not for the fact that they had to be away from home for such long periods during the day. They did not value the employment of servants in itself but resorted to this practice only because they wished to continue with their careers. As Table XXVII

has shown all held well paid and responsible positions which carried with them a good deal of prestige. Five of the women were teachers, two nurses and one a factory worker. Both they and their husbands felt it more important for them to continue to work than to remain at home.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF DOMESTIC EMPLOYMENT
IN THE MARIANHILL NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT:

Number, racial affiliation and sex of servants:

Eleven servants were employed in the 10 African households investigated^{5]}. The average per unit was All were full-time workers, although in one case a servant was accommodated elsewhere and not on her employer's premises. The exact distribution of the servants can be seen from Table XXVIII.

TABLE XXVIII

Distribution of Servants in the
Mariannahill Neighbourhood Unit

Number of Servants per House	Number of Houses	%
No servants	1	10
1 full-time servant	7	70
2 full-time servants	2	20
Total	10	100

The predominant pattern of employment was to have only one full-time servant. The two cases where two servants were employed were exceptional. In the one case, the housewife was working towards a degree as well as teaching, and required extra help with her family of six children^{6]}. In the other, the servants were sisters and, working together, kept each other company. Their parents had only allowed them to go to work as a pair.

All permanent servants were African females, although male gardeners might be employed, when householders felt this to be necessary. There is no idea amongst Africans in Mariannhill that males should be employed in the house.

Recruitment of Servants:

To say that there were 11 domestic employees in the Mariannhill neighbourhood unit is to give the erroneous impression that the African residents entered into formal contracts with women about whom they knew nothing, and with whom they had no ties. In fact four of the servants were kin of their employers and in all but one of the cases where there was no kin tie between employer and servant, there was, however, some other link between them. In most cases, in fact, the tie was between the employers and the servant's family, and the arrangements had been made by the servant's parents and not by the workers themselves. Common home area was the most frequent tie, though common church membership was the basis of the association in one case. In an exceptional situation the housewife employing the servant had herself worked for some time in the vicinity of the servant's home. She knew the family and had requested their permission to bring the daughter to work for her for a spell when she returned to Mariannhill. In the one case where the employers did not know their servant's family and background, she had worked on the Mission station previously and been recommended by the Mission authorities for the job.

Employers set great store by their personal contact with and knowledge of their servants' antecedents. They felt that this link to some extent, at least, mitigated against the pitfalls of employing servants. As will be seen, the relationships with their servants and their treatment of them were affected in no small measure by these ties.

REQUIREMENTS OF SERVICE AND LENGTH OF
EMPLOYMENT IN THE MARIANNHILL NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT:

The servants were expected to assist with all household

duties. Although housewives organised, bought food and planned meals, servants helped in all these matters. Their position was much that of an elder daughter who does housework under the eye of her mother. They were observed cleaning, polishing, bed-making and dusting as well as washing, cooking and caring for young children. They might do all the cooking if the housewife was out and certainly fed the younger children during the day. Child and baby care was however, their real prerogative, and while they went about their household chores, they often had infants on their hips or toddlers playing around their skirts. At night many slept with the younger children and tended them if they woke and needed attention.

It might be thought that the work load of these servants was heavy. This did not, however, appear to be the case. It must be remembered that housewives and older girls took their share of the work when at home and even young children were soon trained to play their part in the domestic routine. Since the houses at Mariannhill are small, their upkeep required little effort compared with that involved in the care of the large houses occupied by Indian and European employers in Durban. The size of families fluctuated from three members to about seven, but in cases where families were large, they consisted of a high proportion of children, who unlike European and Indian children, were looked upon as potential domestic aides rather than as the providers of extra work.

The African women working in Mariannhill did not remain in their jobs for long periods. In only one case in the unit had a servant been working for her employers for as long as three years. All the others had been in their jobs for under one year, with the majority having started work during the previous six months. The women commented that they did not like to remain away from their homes for long periods and the majority did not regard themselves as permanent domestic servants. Their periods of work were rather in the nature of extended visits to their employer's homes. Only two of the women were largely or wholly dependent on the employment for a livelihood and they had, in fact, been employed for the longest periods.

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE MARIANNHILLNEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT:Wages:

Wages paid to female servants in this unit ranged from two rand to eight rand with the most usual wage being in the vicinity of four rand to six rand per month. In cases in which the servants were relatives of the family, actual monetary remuneration might be waived although the householder would give the woman or girl some pocket money and a 'present' when she went home. In three cases wages were sent directly home to the servant's family, and in two other cases her food and clothing was taken as her payment. The wage aspect of the employment situation was far less dominant than was the case in all other units where the contractual aspects of domestic service were more important than the personal.

Hours of work, free time and annual leave:

There was no fixed time-table for the servants. They did the work, ate their food and pursued their interests just as any family members might do. They were not given rigid times for lunch or breakfast, and were not expected to conform to any set routine other than that of the family. In addition to this flexibility, servants at Mariannhill were not given 'days off' except perhaps for Sundays when they attended church or visited their homes if these were nearby. Annual leave, again, did not feature. The servants of African employers went home or were sent home when their families wanted them or when they were tired of working.

Facilities provided for servants by their employers:

All female servants and kinswomen were given accommodation by the families for which they worked. Not only did they sleep in their employers' homes, but all the facilities of the houses were open to them and in these respects they were treated as guests and relatives rather than as servants. Their meals were similar to those of their employers' and while some even ate with the families concerned, others might be required to have their meals in the kitchen. This was often a matter of convenience rather than segregation, as the servants helped to

feed infants and younger children. In at least two cases males ate separately from females and the housewife and her servant thus ate together as a matter of course.

Living at such close quarters with their employers, servants naturally spent most of their free time with them. In this the contrast between African employment and that for the other groups is most pronounced. The women did not leave the families they served after the evening meal. They might remain in the kitchen but then would play with and talk to the children and even the housewife. In addition to this, any visitors they received would be welcomed and entertained by the whole family. Naturally this served as a check on the persons with whom the servants had contact and with whom they were friendly or at least from whom they received visits. One householder remarked that he would only accept his servants' guests 'if they are of sober habits'. The women, in their turn, respected the opinion of the families they served and admitted that they would never have thought of allowing persons of whom they knew their employers would disapprove to visit them.

The pattern is thus very like that of a strict family and perhaps it is even stricter, for in many other ways the servants' lives were found to be circumscribed by their employment. Apart from occasional visits to the nearby shop and the weekly trip to church, servants seldom left the premises of their employers. Even when they did it was usually to visit another part of the Mission station. Their contacts were largely with Mission dwellers and in so small and intimate a community any of their doings soon came to the ears of their employers.

INTERACTION BETWEEN SERVANTS EMPLOYED
IN THE MARIANNHILL NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT:

It is significant but, under the circumstances, not surprising that little or no neighbourly or community feeling developed between servants as occurred in the other neighbourhood units studied. They might meet at the shops or in the

lanes when taking babies for walks, but apart from a cursory passing of the time of day, showed little interest in each other. Their interests were focussed on the families which they served. Above all, their evenings were not free to pursue outside friendships with other servants. This is the time when most servants build up ties with their neighbours. Since the Mariannahill women did not receive recognised 'days off' either, they could not congregate on these days or plan common trips. In many ways they can be seen as being 'encapsulated' - to borrow a term much in vogue in another context (Mayer 1960) - by their employers and employment situations.

Much of this 'encapsulation' was intentional. The employers regarded themselves as being responsible for their servants to the latter's parents. Where servants and employers were kin, this was natural, but one of the most characteristic facts of domestic service in this area was that all employers tended to assume family responsibility for their servants. In many cases, servants' parents had specifically handed over their guardianship to the employers and counted them responsible for their daughters. This included not only physical safety but religious and moral safety as well. One employer commented that he had taught his servant 'domestic work and religion'. The servants, when asked about 'boy friends', remarked that they dared not have affairs with men as their employers were as strict as parents. One even stated that she would be examined when she returned home, to be sure she was still a virgin. If not, it would be not only her parents who would chastise her, but her employers also.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE
AFRICAN WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS IN THE
MARIANNHILL NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT:

The women working in Mariannahill, both servants proper and kinswomen who helped their relatives with housework, were remarkably alike in their social characteristics, backgrounds and approaches to domestic employment in general. Their youth, and high standard of education are their distinguishing features. (See Tables XXIX and XXX.)

All the women were below the age of 26 and seven of the 11 were under 20 years of age. In none of the other units investigated were servants below the age of 15, but in this case two sisters employed together by one family were only 13 years of age. Only one of the servants had been married. She was, however, separated, her father having fetched her from her husband's home when he failed to complete Lobola payments. She was only 22 years old and had one child. The rest of the women had either just left school or had as yet not married. All of the 11 were Roman Catholics.

All of the servants retained strong ties with their families, and in the majority of cases had had to receive the express permission of parents or guardians to take up their positions. They were not, therefore, drawn from the ranks of rebels who wish to escape home restrictions and who long for the freedom of working life. Their parents had only given their permission to work because they knew the employers or because the girls were to be living on the Mission station under the strict control of their employers, and finally the Mission authorities as well. At least half of the girls remarked that they would never have left home or thought of working had the employers not begged their parents to spare them for a short time. The remainder had chosen to come to Mariannhill because it was a Catholic institution and they felt they would be 'safe' there. They disliked the idea of town life intensely and none showed any desire to find employment off the Mission station. Indeed, most admitted that they would find such jobs very hard and irksome. Only one woman had worked for Europeans and she had not been successful. She preferred her relatively easy life with her African employers despite the low wages.

If the Mariannhill servants lacked the sophistication of townways, they were by no means uneducated. As Table XXX shows all had received some education while the majority had spent a fairly lengthy period at school. Their dislike of town and of work on the open labour market stemmed not from any basic educational inability or lack of experience of the

TABLE XXIX

Age Distribution of the African Female Domestic Servants employed in the Mariannhill Neighbourhood Unit

Age Category in Years	Number	Percentage
10 - 14	2	18
15 - 19	5	46
20 - 25	3	27
26 - 29	1	9
Total	11	100

TABLE XXX

Educational Achievements of the African Female Domestic Servants employed in the Mariannhill Neighbourhood Unit

Educational Standard Attained	Number	Percentage
Never attended	0	0
Some education	2	18
Class 1 - 2	4	37
Standard 1 - 3	1	9
Standard 4 - 6	3	27
Standard 7 - 8	1	9
Total	11	100

Western outlook but rather from mere youth and lack of contact with Europeans and townliving as such. The majority of these women, in addition, did not regard themselves as permanent domestic servants. At least three hoped to continue their education and two were planning to take professional qualifications if their families could afford to keep them. Their spell of work on the Mission station was one way of earning money and a step nearer their goal.

INTERACTION BETWEEN MASTER AND SERVANT IN THE
MARIANNHILL NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT:

It is clear from what has already been said that the relationship between employers and employees in the Mariannhill African households is striking for its informality. The parties involved do not however, stand on a basis of equality to each other. Their interaction mirrors instead the parent/child relationship and is compounded on the one hand of warmth and personal interest, and on the other of a good deal of discipline and respect. This pattern is crystallised in the use by servants of kinship terms for their employers, even in cases in which they are in no way related to them. The testimony of one servant that 'working here is just like being at home. I am never chased as I would be in a real job' (i.e. a job for Europeans or other races), sums the position up very neatly.

Servants knew much about the family affairs of their employers. It is true that they had little contact with the adult male householders and that their view was limited by the sex and age divisions still operative in most homes. Nevertheless these limitations are the result of the norms of family life amongst the African employers rather than of their treatment of and relationship with their servants.

One of the dominant elements of the relationship was the dependence of the servants on their employers. This, as has been seen, extended not only to their working life but went much further and dominated their whole private lives as well. The responsibility which employers felt for their servants is unique in domestic service. By no stretch of the imagination can the employment association be looked upon as an impersonal contract between employer and employee. It is, above all, a personal interaction. Perhaps it should be regarded as a combination of the traditional system of reciprocal help and the Western pattern of paid labour. The former pattern predominates since the wages paid to servants are low and even non-existent. Monetary remuneration is only the least of the reparations made to the servant by her employer for her assistance and the time spent in the house-

holder's home.

In almost all respects domestic work in the homes of Mariannhill Africans is in contrast to that in the homes of other groups. Its framework and connotations are, in fact, far more reminiscent of the au pair arrangements overseas than of the typical South African domestic service situation. As in the case of the former, the so-called 'servant' lives for a period in the home of her employers. She is, however, treated as one of the family and fed and clothed as they are. While one of the major assets of the au pair worker's position is that it facilitates her learning the language of her employers, it also provides her with the opportunity of observing at first hand, the life, norms and manners of the family in which she is living. In the case of the African women working in Mariannhill it is the possibility of gaining new insights into the ways of members of the African Elite (Mitchell 1956) which is of vital importance. All the women working in the unit were aware of this advantage and valued their period of employment far above the mere monetary remuneration which it brought them.

CHAPTER SEVENTHE NON-RESIDENT DOMESTIC SERVANTTHE GENERAL FEATURES OF NON-RESIDENT
SERVICE IN DURBAN:

Resident domestic service is the tradition in South Africa and is greatly preferred to non-resident service by the majority of employers who engage their servants with the expectation that they will thereby acquire full-time workers who can begin work early in the morning and go off duty only after the evening meal has been served at night. Since the majority of African servants who are not resident on their employers' premises live in one of the African townships or outside the municipal area of the city, they must spend at the very least an hour and more usually over an hour in travelling to and from work (See Figure 6). Full-time servants can seldom be expected to arrive on duty before 7.00 a.m. and must leave the premises by at least 4.00 or 5.00 p.m. in order to reach their homes before nightfall.

Not only do employers tend to prefer to employ resident servants, but without their aid it is hardly likely that housewives such as those in Morningside could achieve so high a standard of domestic efficiency as they do without the sacrifice of many of their social activities. Even the stay-at-home mothers of Durban North would have relatively little free time but for the aid of 'nannies' who take the children off their hands for part of the day and who do all the heavy work. Working wives and mothers could not adequately fulfil their domestic roles without the aid of resident servants. South African society as it exists at present is based largely on the availability of a cheap labour force and on domestic labour which is, for the most part, resident on the premises of the employers.

The Incidence of Non-Resident Domestic Service:

There are, unfortunately, no accurate figures available of the number of non-resident as opposed to resident female domestic servants in Durban. Compulsory registration of females has only been recently introduced and many employers are still lax in registering their female servants. Since, moreover, employers are not required to pay a monthly fee for all female employees as they are for each male employee, they are not scrupulous about notifying the authorities when female servants leave their employ. The existing records in the administration offices do not, therefore reflect the employment position at any one time. Some estimate of the number of non-resident servants has, however, been attempted in order to lay the foundation for a discussion of this type of service.

In 1966 it was estimated by L. Schlemmer (1968) in a report on the spatial distribution of the present and future working population of metropolitan Durban, that there were some 25,282 African female servants employed in the city. Unfortunately, he did not distinguish resident from non-resident employees. In the same year, however, the officials of the Bantu Administration Department calculated that there were approximately 31,500 African male and female resident servants in the city and that there was amongst them a 10 per cent preponderance of females. This suggests that there must have been in the region of 18,900 female resident workers. If this number is subtracted from Schlemmer's estimate, a figure of 6,382 remains as representing an approximate figure for the number of female non-resident workers at the time, i.e. one-third of the total number of female servants employed.

Officials at the Bantu Administration Department believe that this is a fair estimate of the present situation. They are, however, of the opinion that the number of non-resident as opposed to resident female servants will increase in the near future. According to an official directive

from the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, as from January 6th 1969 no additional Bantu females from outside the townships serving Durban may be accepted as workers in the urban areas. Those not qualifying for Durban residence who were registered before this date may remain on in town only as long as they have recognised employment. Once they loose their jobs and fail to find others they must return to their homes. The effects of this decision will be to keep the number of single African females whose homes are not in Durban at least static and probably to diminish the number over time. In the future, therefore, more and more of the domestic servants employed in the city should be drawn from the ranks of women with homes in the townships, the majority of whom will, presumably require non-resident rather than resident service. Greater control of the African visitors to employers' premises is also envisaged. Officials of the Bantu Affairs Department have suggested that the fines imposed on employers when trespassers are found in their servant quarters may in itself incline more employers to choose non-resident rather than resident employees.

Full-time and Part-time Non-Resident

Domestic Service:

Non-resident domestic workers are employed either on a full-time or on a part-time basis. They may be expected to do all the domestic work in the employer's household or may be employed merely as a charwomen or as washerwomen. The demands made by these jobs in terms of skill naturally differ as does their remuneration and their hours of work.

(a) Full-time work:

The employers of a full-time non-resident domestic servant expect their employee to work as nearly as possible the same hours as those served by a resident worker. The servant must begin work by at least 7.00 a.m. and only leave the premises at 4.00 or 5.00 p.m. after she has prepared the evening meal. She is on duty on all week days

although she is usually free on Saturdays and Sundays after serving the midday meal. In some cases the employee does not work on Sundays. Her wage is similar to that paid to a full-time resident servant and averages between R10 and R15 per month. Transport costs are seldom paid in addition to the monthly wage, but in a minority of cases, employers do pay these if the servant has far to travel. The servant usually receives food while on duty and, as a rule is provided with rations similar, if slightly less in quantity, than those given to resident employees.

The advantages of this type of employment for the servant are many. She can both work 'full-time' and thus earn a fairly high wage and also run a home for her husband and children. Much of the food that she is given at work can be taken home and, by means of this and the left-overs from her employers' meals, the size and variety of diet of her family may be considerably increased. On the other hand if her employers are demanding she is left with very little time during the day in which to do her own household chores and shopping. The hours of work are long and travelling from the more distant township may take up much of her time. On the whole, full-time, non-resident service is strenuous and women who take up these jobs try to find employment as near to their homes as possible. Those living in Chesterville and Lamontville (See Figure 6) are the best situated in this respect. Women living in the Kwa Mashu or Umlazi Townships find their work and journeys very strenuous indeed (See page 228).

(b) Part-time work:

Women working on a part-time non-resident basis visit their employers, as a rule, once, twice or perhaps three times a week. They seldom work on Saturdays or Sundays. The hours of work vary considerably in each case and even from day to day. The servant generally arrives at about 8.00 or 8.30 a.m. and leaves again in the early afternoon. She is paid between R4 and R10 per month, but in some cases may be given a daily wage. This ranges from 50c to R1.25

and in many cases nothing extra is given to cover bus fares.

The work-demands made of these employees tend to be limited. Laundry, polishing floors, and windows is their usual day's work. Few do cooking or baking. Their position is thus that of a charwoman who takes the load of heavy cleaning work off the shoulders of the housewife.

Part-time domestic servants often hold more than one job at a time. In effect, therefore, they work on most of the week days. By this means the total amount earned per month may be equal to or higher than that earned by full-time resident servants, or by full-time non-resident servants working for only one employer. For example, a woman may be paid R8 and R10 per month in two jobs giving her a total of R18 per month.

A distinction must be made between part-time servants who act regularly as charwomen and those who do only the washing and ironing. The majority of the latter visit the premises of their employers only once a week in order to do the washing and ironing. In some cases they have more than one job in the same vicinity and while the washing is drying at one house they do the ironing at the other. Some may do washing one day at a number of homes and return the next to do the ironing. Their schedules tend to be well-organised and they may so organise their jobs that they need only be in town for two or three of the days of the week. The wages paid for laundry work range from R1 to R2.00 per week.

This type of employment can be the most lucrative of all non-resident work, since a woman may hold as many as four or five jobs and the wages of all amount to over R20 per month. Transport costs are minimised if more than one job is done each day. If only one of the employers per day pays the servant's transport expenses, she need not take her bus or train fare out of her other wages.

Conditions Under Which Non-Resident Service Occurs:

Non-resident servants are employed firstly and very largely by families living in blocks of flats and furnished

PLATE SEVEN : KWA MASHU AFRICAN TOWNSHIP



a. A View of a section of the Township.



b. A recently opened Neighbourhood Unit.



c. A housewife standing outside a typical Township house.

apartments. The majority of these buildings are serviced by African males employed by the owners of the flats. Part-time employees are thus needed to do only laundry and possibly bed-making. In some cases full-time female servants may also be employed in flats if there is cooking to be done or if there are children to be cared for. The place of employment of a large majority of non-resident workers tends to centre, therefore, in those areas of the city in which blocks of flats predominate - on the beach-front, in the centre of the city and around the suburban shopping centres in the residential areas.

Non-resident servants are, as has been shown, often employed in addition to resident full-time employees, as laundry women who do either both the washing and ironing or merely the latter, if the housewife does the washing in a washing machine. Some homeowners prefer to employ only non-resident servants. In many cases such employers cannot offer their employees accommodation due to lack of servants quarters or because they wish to use these rooms as storerooms or as accommodation for family members or because they let these rooms to lodgers. Other employers do not wish to have Africans living on their premises because they believe that they will bring many visitors to the premises and possibly introduce undesirable elements of the African population into the vicinity. Still others find the feeding of resident servants a financial burden. The vast majority of part-time employees are non-resident.

NON-RESIDENT DOMESTIC SERVANTS LIVING IN AN
AFRICAN TOWNSHIP IN DURBAN:

Kwa Mashu, the Area Chosen for Study (See Plate Seven):

Non-resident domestic servants have to find accommodation either in the Grey Street women's hostel in town or in one of the six large African townships surrounding Durban. To gain some idea of the proportion of township dwellers engaged in domestic service and of the conditions under which they work, a survey was made of one of these townships.

It would have been preferable to have sampled equally from within each of the townships but this would have been impracticable within the limits of time and money available for this section of the study. The choice fell upon Kwa Mashu which at the time of fieldwork was the largest of the Durban townships, housing as it did a population of some 80,000 (See Figure 6).

Although Kwa Mashu was only opened in 1958, a large proportion of the families to whom houses in the township were allocated had come from the old Cato Manor shack area^{1]}. The majority of these families had thus lived under urban conditions for a number of years. In addition, there was a fair number of families who had come to town much more recently. Men who before had been unable to find accommodation for their wives and families in Durban were allocated houses in the township, and so many women with children who had previously only visited the city for short periods, came to settle with their husbands in Kwa Mashu. In the township it was therefore possible to find both seasoned urban dwellers and newcomers to town.

Kwa Mashu itself comprised 10 neighbourhood units in which houses of varying size were built by the Durban Municipality. Accommodation for single males was provided in a special area of the township. Each neighbourhood unit had been planned to be more or less self-contained, with its own shopping centre, schools, playgrounds, recreational facilities and churches. Although the township was not old or well-established, each neighbourhood unit had a distinctive character stemming from the size of houses and type of families living in them. In certain of the neighbourhood areas, houses were small and the rentals were subsidised. The lower income group was living in these. Old Cato Manor residents predominated in some areas, while in others, the background of families was more diverse. Those neighbourhoods which had been open a long time had developed more community feeling than the newer units and were wellknown for certain social characteristics, either good or bad. On the whole, therefore, Kwa Mashu presented a heterogeneity typical of urban African life in Durban.

The Sample:

A random sample of 250 households stratified on a neighbourhood basis was taken from the total number of houses occupied in April 1965^{2]}. Each of these households was visited and the householders asked for their co-operation in completing a questionnaire, (See Appendix II), which was designed to gain basic information about the background of husband and wife, family structure and the evidence of domestic employment of the women. Households in which women were employed as domestic servants were visited a number of times in order to gain further information on this score.

Results of the Kwa Mashu Investigation:(a) Number of domestic servants:

Two hundred and thirty-eight of the 250 householders gave their full co-operation to the investigation. In the households of these families there proved to be a total of 107 individuals employed as domestic servants^{3]}. Of these only three were males, in all cases young sons of the householders who lived on the premises of their employers and only visited the township on their free days. Fifteen of the female domestic servants were also accommodated on the premises of their employers. These women visited Kwa Mashu once or twice a week and usually slept there over the weekends. All were women who had no responsibility for the running of the home - that is they were either daughters, female relatives or lodgers of the householders, or were women who had adult daughters at home to care for the household. Many were young women who claimed to prefer resident to non-resident work because it offered them a good deal of freedom from the restrictions of parents and guardians, and relative anonymity. All, however, stated that they might change to non-resident jobs if they felt like it at some time. The remaining 89 domestic servants were all living permanently in the township and commuting to Durban each day in order to work.

(b) Status of the non-resident servant in the Kwa Mashu households:

In Table XXXI the position of non-resident domestic servants in Kwa Mashu households is set out.

TABLE XXXI

Position of the Non-Resident Domestic Servants in the Kwa Mashu Households

Position in Household	No.	%
Housewife	59	57
Daughter	24	23
Non-Member of Nuclear Family	31	20
Total	104	100

Fifty-nine of these servants may be described as the housewives of the households in which they lived^h. Upon their shoulders fell the full duties of running the home and of caring, in the majority of cases, for young children. Despite these heavy and time consuming responsibilities, these women had been forced to seek work because the income brought into the household by the household heads and any adult children was not sufficient to meet the families' expenses.

Twenty-four of the non-resident servants were daughters of families who had left school and sought work in order to earn money both to help their families and also to provide themselves with clothing and pocket money. In six per cent of the households both mother and daughter were in domestic employment.

The remaining 21 servants, although not part of the nuclear family of the householder all lived either permanently or semi-permanently with the family. Nineteen of these women had some kinship tie with either the housewife of the householder and this provided the explanation of their presence in the household. Table XXXII sets out the exact relationship of the non-family members to the householder or

TABLE XXXII

Relationship of Non-Members of the Nuclear Family who are in Domestic Service to the Households in which they Live

How Related	Number	%
Kin of Wife (Housewife):		
(a) Mother	3	} 12
(b) Sister	4	
(c) Sister's daughter	5	
Kin of Husband/Householder:		
(a) Sister	2	} 4
(b) Brother's Wife	1	
(c) Brother's daughter	1	
Distant Kin (Same clan name only)	3	14
No Kinship tie:		
(a) Church friendship	1	} 2
(b) Work friendship	1	
Total	21	100

to his wife. Clearly ties with the housewife predominated. In the majority of instances the kin tie was a close one and, while the women concerned were all expected to contribute to the family income, they ate with the families and, on the whole, the housewives in the households concerned considered them as part of their households. In the few cases in which the kin tie was distant, often that of common clan name only, the women concerned paid a regular monthly amount of about R1 - R3 for their accommodation and, in most cases, ate separately from the household. These women can hardly be distinguished from the lodgers proper who had no actual or classificatory tie with the family and who were not regarded as part of the family at all. In the two cases encountered, however, lodgers had been friendly with either the housewife or householder through church or employment before being accepted into the household. Their rental amounted to about R2 - R4 per month.

The total number of 107 female and male servants were distributed over 72 of the households investigated. In a further 15 households the housewife claimed to be a domestic servant temporarily out of work and in another two a daughter of the household made the same plea. It is clear therefore that in 37 per cent of the total number of households investigated in the course of the survey one or more female members expected in the normal course of events to be employed as a domestic servant. Except in the case of the lodgers and distant kin, the women who worked as servants formed an integral part of the household in which they lived.

(c) Type of work done by the Kwa Mashu non-resident servants:

The type of employment engaged in by the Kaw Mashu non-resident employees is shown in Table XXXIII below.

TABLE XXXIII

Type of Non-Resident Domestic Service done by Women in the Households of the Kwa Mashu Sample Survey

Type of Domestic Employment	%
Full-time non-resident domestic work	65
Part-time non-resident domestic work for one or more employers:	35
Part-time Laundry	26%
Other	9%
Total	100

Sixty-five per cent were employed on a full-time basis, nine per cent on a part-time basis for one or more employer and 26 per cent did only laundry work on one or two days of the week. There was a correlation between the type of non-resident domestic work entered into by the Kwa Mashu women and their social role in the household in which they lived (See Table XXXIV).

TABLE XXXIV

Type of Work done by Housewives and
Non-Housewives Respectively

Type of Work	Housewives	Non-Housewives
	%	%
Full-time Work	67	81
Part-time Work:	33 (Laundry 26 Other 9)	19 (Laundry 12 Other 7)
Total	100	100

A greater proportion of housewives, that is those women with the responsibility of running the homes and caring for the children, held down part-time and laundry positions than did the non-housewives (33 per cent as compared with 19 per cent as given by the table above). All of the women who did laundry work worked for more than one employer and the majority were on the lookout for additional jobs. The non-housewives employed in part-time positions all stated that they would be willing to work full-time if the opportunity arose.

(d) Range of income of non-resident female servants living at Kwa Mashu:

The monthly income derived from non-resident service by the women living at Kwa Mashu is set out in Table XXXV.

In cases in which the women held two or more positions their wages for each job have been added together in order to get their total income. This accounts for the relatively high proportion of women who can be seen to have earned between R10 and R20 per month. Correspondingly, the majority of the women earning under R10 per month and even R5 per month were those who worked on a part-time basis only. On the whole the individual wages paid for non-resident service differed little from those paid for resident work. The actual income derived from non-resident work was, however, higher in many cases since more than one job was held at one time.

TABLE XXXV^{5]}Range of Income Derived from Non-Resident
Domestic Service

Range of Income per Month	Cases	
	No.	%
R 1 - 4	8	9
R 5 - 9	36	40
R10 - 19	39	44
R20+	2	2.5
No information	4	4.5
Total	89	100

(e) Number of housewives who had had
experience of domestic employment:

Seventy-nine per cent of the housewives in the households investigated at Kwa Mashu had at one time or other been employed as domestic servants either for Europeans or Indians. This is significant since, although only 32 per cent were at the time of interview either employed or seeking domestic jobs, the vast majority of the women had experience of Western demands in this field and all had experienced life in the households of racial groups other than her own.

(f) Major problems facing non-resident
domestic servants living at Kwa Mashu:(i) Transport:

One of the major difficulties facing non-resident domestic servants is that of transport to and from their place of employment. Kwa Mashu, for instance, is situated some 10 miles from the centre of Durban. Although public transport between the city and the township is fairly regular during weekdays, it is hardly adequate over weekends and is very crowded particularly at rush hours. A rail service operates which takes passengers to and from the township in about 20 - 30 minutes at a cost of 14 cents return.

The bus service takes far longer - up to an hour and costs 17 cents return. Taxis are available day and night but cost in the region of 30c per one way trip^{6]}. Since few of the residents have their own cars, they must make use of one of these facilities. Certainly few women in domestic service have connections with the monied elite who own their own transport.

While the majority of domestic servants rely on the bus and train services operating between town and Kwa Mashu, this forms only part of their journey. Their major difficulties are encountered in getting from their homes to the bus kiosks and railway stations in the township and in getting to their places of employment in the far flung city suburbs from the nearest railway station or bus terminus in town. Kwa Mashu itself covers some 3734 acres and although there are feeder buses operating within the township, the majority of residents have to walk considerable distances to and from their homes to the bus stops. These trips are fraught with danger particularly for unaccompanied women. There are no street-lights in most areas and even the houses themselves have no electric light which might illuminate the road. Under the cover of darkness, the sidewalks are the haunt of tsotsis and thieves. Attacks on pedestrians are common and many householders, if they hear shouts for help in the night, are afraid to open their doors. The railway station and bus rank both in Kwa Mashu and in Durban, are also notorious as the centre of criminal activity. Fridays and month-ends are particularly dangerous since most workers can be supposed to have their wages on them at these times.

Female domestic servants who wish to avoid the danger of attacks and theft must plan to reach their homes before dusk. This means that they have to leave the centre of Durban by at least 5.00 or 5.30 p.m. in summer and 4.30 p.m. in winter. Those working in the suburbs to the south and east of town must leave their places of employment at 4.00 or 4.30 p.m. in order to be assured of a place in the long queues in the city waiting for the bus or train transport to the townships. At the time when fieldwork was done

non-Europeans were allowed to ride on the municipal buses serving the European residential areas. Since 1967, however, this practice has been discontinued. Special buses are now run along these bus routes for non-Europeans. These buses are, however, infrequent. As a rule they run at most three times a day. If non-resident servants miss their buses they have to take taxis or walk to work or back to town. It is certainly no easy matter, when a woman must rely on a feeder bus in the township, a train or bus between the township and city centre, for her to catch the special non-European buses to the suburbs each day. In addition in the majority of cases the bus route does not run directly past the premises of the employer and she may have to walk long distances from the bus stop to her work.

(ii) Long hours involved in travel and work:

It is hardly surprising that women often spend an hour or even two hours on their journeys to and from work. In order to be on duty by 7.00 in the morning they have to leave their homes in the township before 5.00 a.m. Even those women who do washing and ironing only are usually expected to begin work by 8.00 or 8.30 a.m. and must leave the townships by at least 6.30 a.m. Since full-time resident workers may only reach home again after 6.30 p.m. they are left with very little time to devote to their own families. Laundry workers and part-time employees may reach home considerably earlier than this - possibly as early as 3.30 p.m. or 4.30 p.m.

It is clear that while non-resident domestic service may entail shorter actual working hours for servants, the time involved in travelling to and from work may make their working day as long as that of resident employees. It is natural that women who have homes to run find part-time work more suitable than full-time employment if this does not mean an overwhelming difference in the income gained from their work. In the case of the households investigated in the course of the Kwa Mashu survey it was found that housewives who could rely on the wages of other members of the family to

provide the greater part of the household income tended to hold the less lucrative part-time and laundry jobs. Those, however, whose wages provided the only or major income of the family, held full-time employment or else worked part-time for more than one employer. Thus the widows, deserted or single women household heads were found to hold the better paid and correspondingly the most time consuming positions. The problems which they encountered over the running of their homes were correspondingly greater also.

(iii) Responsibilities in the home:

All working housewives are faced with problems in connection with the organisation and running of their homes and in the care of their children during their absences at work. Non-resident domestic servants who rent rooms in the townships in which to house children must also make arrangements for the feeding and care of these children while they are in town working.

The housewives are forced to fit all their household duties into their meagre spare time. Major tasks such as laundry can often be done only over weekends. One of the greatest problems appears to be in the purchase of food for the household. The shops in the townships are limited in range and extremely expensive. Many of Kwa Mashu's working housewives were forced to leave their homes an hour or two early on one or two days of the week in order to do marketing before they arrived at work. Others relied on hawkers or neighbours to assist them in this respect. In some cases two or three working women were found to have formed a marketing club. Each member did the marketing for the whole group in one week and was thereby freed of this task for the following two or three weeks. These mutual aid clubs were, however, the exception rather than the rule. Their success depends on both the proximity of the member's homes and also on the possibility of mutual trust between members. Since township dwellers cannot choose their neighbours it is but seldom that this co-operation can be gained from women living near enough to make the plan a feasible one.

(iv) The moral welfare of children:

The problems which most frequently exercised the minds of working mothers in Kwa Mashu were those connected with the care of and the rearing of their children. The long absences of housewives at work means that their children are left very much to themselves during the day. It is not only a matter of physical care in the sense of feeding and protection from accidents. The moral care of their children was also a constant worry of the women interviewed. They were well aware that the growing boys and girls spend a good deal of their time when not at school with neighbouring children on the streets. These children ran the risk of joining gangs of tstotsis, of being led into bad habits such as drinking and dagga smoking, and in the case of daughters, of having love affairs and falling pregnant. Many felt that their children would be 'better off' living with relatives in the country. A number had, in fact, made arrangements of this nature⁷. An alternative is to persuade some older kinswoman to live with the family. This is however, not wholly satisfactory, for while such a woman can feed and care adequately for younger children, older headstrong teenagers will seldom be controlled by her. In addition, this arrangement merely means one more mouth to feed and the expenses of the family may rise correspondingly.

On the whole, while many African women value the possibility of non-resident work because it allows them to live with their families in the townships and yet earn money, it imposes great demands upon them and over a long period, the strain of both working and coping with severe household and family problems must take its toll.

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT SERVICE COMPARED:

While many non-resident servants are faced with formidable problems in the pursuance of their employment there is little doubt that, in theory at least, the majority of African women feel that this type of job is preferable to full-time resident service. They point to the possibility

of shorter hours of work and also to the personal freedom experienced by non-resident employees who live off the premises of employers and who are, therefore able to pursue their personal lives without interference. While many employers such as those in Stamford Hill and Wills' Road are acknowledged to be tolerant and 'easy to get on with', life in a residential area set aside for other racial groups imposes many difficulties in terms of transport and communication with friends and kin. Restrictions on visitors, particularly on those of the opposite sex impose strain upon both married and single women. Even in cases in which particular employers turn a blind eye to their servants' visitors any untoward noise or activity may be noted by neighbours who may complain either to the employers or to the police. Gatherings of over six or seven people are virtually impossible on premises and even prayer sessions may disturb the residents of the neighbourhood. Against these advantages, however, must be weighed the many positive benefits which resident service brings with it.

Resident servants experience a degree of comfort and security in their accommodation which many single non-resident servants do not. The former, by virtue of living on the premises of the wealthier sections of the Durban community have at their disposal facilities such as electricity, and hot water which are not provided in most township homes. Those working in areas such as Morningside and Durban North are housed in clean and fairly spacious rooms which they usually have to themselves. In the women's hostel or township many unattached women have to share small and often crowded rooms with uncongenial or unknown room-mates. For this they have to pay high rentals to often unscrupulous and demanding landlords. In many cases they may be renting their accommodation illegally and so are always under the threat of discovery, eviction and fines. For so long as resident servants keep their jobs they are assured of a place to live and if they do not receive too many visitors, of freedom from police inspection. The vast majority are provided also with sufficient of the basic foods necessary for health and may enjoy the added attractions of many

left-overs from their employer's meals. Non-resident servants have not only to feed themselves but have in the majority of cases, to provide meals for their families also. Their rentals, food expenses and also their transport costs soon add up and, on a purely financial basis, make the economic gains of non-resident servants far less than those of resident servants.

Non-resident servants, particularly part-time workers seldom develop very close ties with the housewife or with the family for which they work. Not only do they spend little time on their employer's premises but many do their work in the outhouses away from constant contact with their employers. Even in cases in which the servants do work in the house, in the kitchen or even the bathrooms, they are usually in a hurry to finish their tasks and leave for home or for their next job. There is thus little opportunity for leisurely interaction with housewives or with other members of the family. Moreover, in cases in which there are full-time servants employed in the household, the part-time workers' contacts tend to be with them rather than with members of the employer's family.

Non-resident servants tend to show far less interest in the doings of their employers than do resident servants. The reasons for this lie not only in the lesser contacts which they have with employers but also in the fact that they require less in terms of emotional satisfaction from their employers than do resident servants. The latter who are very largely separated from their kin and friends look to the family of their employers for interest and excitement. Servants who have been in the employment of one family for some length of time tend to identify themselves with the family of the employer and gain both great pleasure and vicarious satisfaction from the activities and achievements of the family. Servants who have worked as nursemaids value the warm and natural response to their care on the part of their charges and watch their development with as much interest and excitement as that of the parents. Non-resident servants, however long they remain working for their employers, seldom develop this degree of identification with them.

An even more important dimension to the difference between non-resident and resident servants' interaction with their employers is the fact that the former have far fewer opportunities of observing members of the family in their normal every day interaction with each other. Householders and adult children often leave the house before the servant arrives in the morning and return after she has left. On Saturdays and Sundays, if they are on duty, they leave at lunch-time. These servants do not, therefore, have any real contact with members of the family other than with housewives and possibly younger children. Even in the case of the latter, washerwomen are not expected to care for children at all. They cannot observe the family living and working together and thus have little opportunity to absorb any idea of the norms and expectations of Western type family interaction. In the homes such as those in Stamford Hill where men are often unemployed and on shift work, this isolation from the family may not be as great as in areas such as Morningside and Durban North. It remains, nonetheless, a factor to be considered.

Implications of the Differences in Interaction
between Employers and Employees under Conditions
of Resident or Non-Resident Service:

The differences which resident and non-resident service offer in terms of personal contact with employers should not, at the present time, be over-emphasised. The majority of African women in domestic service experience both types of work during their careers. Approximately 90 per cent of the non-resident servants interviewed during the Kwa Mashu survey and in the course of the investigations in the five neighbourhood units had held resident positions either in Durban itself or in the country or small towns before coming to the city. The typical pattern is for newcomers to Durban to seek resident work in order to have a place to live as well as a livelihood. Later, having found their feet in the city and got to know the townships they may find alternative accommodation. Many are forced into this by the necessity of bringing children to town.

Others marry or form permanent and semi-permanent alliances with men who have a right to a township house. Women have been known to seek husbands and lovers from amongst men who can offer them a house. Once established in a township home, however, many are forced to seek work again in order to swell the family finances or in order to acquire the much desired furnishings for the home. This time they turn to non-resident work. By the time they accept their positions, however, they have, in their youngest and freer days lived on the premises of employers and experienced the type of relationship with employers which resident service brings with it.

Some of the women who have been reared in the townships may of course never experience resident service. They are usually the highly sophisticated women who have achieved a reasonable educational standard and who though they despise domestic employment, are forced into it by lack of any other openings. Resident service holds no attractions for them and they tolerate non-resident jobs merely until they can find other means of support.

The proportion of women who have not experienced resident employment is likely to increase in the future. This will be the result not only of the natural process of family development in the townships but will also be accelerated by the possible increase in the demand for non-resident as opposed to resident workers and the planned pattern of total non-resident domestic employment. The implication of the differences in interaction between employers and servants in the case of the two types of employment will then be crucial. Women will no longer experience the close interaction which resident servants do now with the families of their employers. Like all other African workers they will view the South African European community from the outside and as such will be cut off from the close contact which they have for years past experienced with the very heart of Western life, manners and norms.

SOME PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING
THE FUTURE OF NON-RESIDENT SERVICE IN
DURBAN:

In the light of this investigation of the nature of non-resident domestic service and in particular of the problems facing non-resident workers in Durban, it seems probable that the very nature of domestic service as it exists in this country at present will change when plans to keep the European residential areas 'White by night' are brought to fruition. Before this type of service can become the norm of domestic employment in this city, certain practical problems will have to be faced and solved.

(a) Accommodation for single and unattached
African females in the townships:

As was shown in Chapter One there is at present a premium on accommodation for unattached African women in the city. The one hostel for African women can give accommodation to only 560 women on a permanent basis. Those who fail to get rooms in this hostel are forced to rent rooms in the townships. Since we have estimated that there are at present approximately 18,900 resident female domestic servants, it would obviously be impossible for all these women to find rooms to rent in the already overcrowded township houses. The alternative is to build large hostels for women. In view of the Government policy of residential segregation, these would, presumably, have to be sited in the townships. As many of the non-resident domestic servants have children and parents dependant upon them, a number of flats should be set aside for allocation to female family heads as well.

These hostels should be viewed as a permanent part of the township scene since it must be realised that for at least the next 40 to 50 years there are likely to be single and unattached African women in the city. Although influx control regulations will limit the entry of newcomers to town, the unattached women who are already living and working in Durban will have to be provided for. Many of these women have daughters who are either entering the professional field,

finding non-domestic jobs or following in the mothers footsteps as domestic servants. A number may not marry and so never gain the right to a township home through a husband. These women must be provided with accommodation also.

This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the problems of planning and siting female hostels for African women. It may be mentioned, however, that they should be within easy reach of the transport facilities to the city and should be planned so that the dangers of moving around at night which face unaccompanied women are minimised. The rentals charged for rooms will have to be within the pocket of domestic workers who must also feed and clothe themselves and their children and pay transport costs as well.

(b) Transport facilities:

The bus and train services to the townships are already crowded. Given the increased demands made upon these facilities by the women who now live on the premises of their employers, the present service will be inadequate. The municipal bus services taking Africans into the European and Indian residential areas will also have to be increased and replanned.

(c) Security measures:

If unaccompanied women are to be travelling in and out of Durban each day, police protection, particularly at the bus ranks and in the townships, will have to be provided for them.

If all domestic servants are to be drawn from the townships it will probably become necessary also for creches and nursery schools to be established which will free the mothers of young children to work in town. These will have to be subsidised in order to bring their fees within the reach of domestic servants. In addition, some form of organised activity for school children after school hours should be considered in an effort to control the problems of juvenile delinquency amongst the children of African working mothers.

CHAPTER EIGHTTHE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MISTRESS AND
SERVANT IN DIFFERENT SOCIAL AND RACIAL
GROUPS IN DURBAN

The master/servant relationship is well-known in history. In situations in which it occurs it generally goes hand in hand with, and is in fact, based upon economic and class differences between employer and employee. In England and Europe of the Nineteenth Century domestic service was accompanied by definite values such as those associated with 'keeping the servant at a distance' and not 'tolerating any familiarity' on his or her part. In upper-class households the social distance between the mistress and her family and servant was indicated by dress and separate accommodation, as well as by patterns of etiquette. Servants were housed in the 'servants' wing' and were provided with uniforms which not only declared their status vis-à-vis members of the family, but also, in accordance with their work and skill, in relation to the other servants employed in the home.

In South Africa, as this study has shown, similar patterns of domestic employment are to be found, but here employer and employee are usually drawn from different racial groups. While this racial difference is taken as an indication of inequality between the parties and so as a justification of their superior and inferior status in relation to each other, the racial groups are in fact also economically unequal and separated by a wide cultural and linguistic gulf.

In a country in which racial affiliation is the first and principal factor in the interaction between individuals of the different groups, European, African, Indian, and Coloured, it might be expected that differences in the race attitudes of individual employers would substantially

affect their treatment of Africans employed by them as domestic servants. Let us examine the evidence from the neighbourhood areas we have studied.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EMPLOYER AND
EMPLOYEE IN EUROPEAN HOMES:

Race Attitudes and the Relationship between
Mistress and Servant:

The race attitudes held by the European employers of the three neighbourhood units differed considerably. In Stamford Hill definite anti-African sentiments were expressed freely by both English and Afrikaans-speaking residents and there was a clear agreement amongst them that Africans as a 'people' are inferior to Europeans in all respects. Typical remarks in this connection were 'Oh they are 1,000 years behind us'. 'All Natives are stupid and immoral'. 'You must keep Kaffirs in their place'. In contrast to this the attitude of the Morningside and Durban North employers to Africans was on the whole far more tolerant. They were, for instance, willing to admit that Africans should be given better jobs and wages and that some were capable of skilled occupations. A small core of the English-speaking Morningside employers were 'liberal' in their attitude to Africans and non-Europeans generally. Many gave whole-hearted allegiance and assistance to the Progressive Party which was then in its heyday and were concerned over what they considered to be the injustice of race prejudice and discrimination.

To what extent were these race attitudes reflected in the general treatment of African servants in the three areas? In Morningside where employers were relatively tolerant in their attitudes to the Africans, the relationship between employer and employee was one of formality and distance. Contact between the housewives and the other members of the European family and their African servants was restricted to the work situation and within this to the essentials of the job. In contrast in Stamford Hill

where the expressed attitudes were tinged with strong racial prejudice, intolerance and even antagonism, the relationship between employer and employee was one of great informality which extended far beyond the limits of the employment situation itself. The position in Durban North, while much freer than in Morningside never approached that of the Stamford Hill pattern.

This apparent paradox must be reviewed against the background of the prevailing employment and social conditions in the three areas. In Stamford Hill the framework of employment is conducive to a good deal of contact between employers and servants and this often leads to a high degree of fellow-feeling between them. The small size of the houses, the tendency of the residents to congregate in the kitchens where the housewife works alongside her servant and the absence of a language barrier all operate to draw employers and employees into discussions not only of the work on hand but also on matters of general interest in the neighbourhood. In the majority of cases only one servant is employed in each household and the employee herself is thus dependent to a great extent upon her employer for companionship during her working hours. Many of the African women in Stamford Hill gain much in terms of their contact from the European housewives.

In Durban North while housewife and servant also share a good deal of the domestic work, particularly in the field of child care, the employment of more than one servant keeps mistress and servant at a distance. Co-workers look to each other for companionship and their unity as against the employer tends to drive a wedge between them and the housewives. In Morningside much of the rigidity of the master/servant relationship is due to the efficiency demanded of the servants who furthermore are expected to work unaided while their mistresses are out and about their social commitments. The demeanour of partial strangers thus characterises interaction of housewife and servant who are seldom together for long periods. It is probably correct to say also that the relationship

which the Morningside housewives have with their African servants is in no way different from that which they would have with persons of any other racial group employed by them under similar circumstances.

It is not only the framework of employment which affects the nature of the interaction between housewives and servants. The outlook of the employers in the different areas concerned and the extent of their understanding of the world of their servants are also important factors to be considered. The gap between the way of life of employers and servants is by no means as great in Stamford Hill as it is in Morningside and Durban North. The standard of living of the majority of Stamford Hill residents is low and not far removed from that of their servants. Homes are crowded, meagrely furnished and the food eaten by the European families is plain, monotonous and made up of inexpensive items which provide bulk rather than variety. The major problems facing Stamford Hill residents are financial. 'Making ends meet' is a constant theme of discussion amongst housewives who have to feed and clothe families on a tight budget. Householders often lose their jobs and even in homes in which there is a steady and sizeable income, much of it is speedily spent on rent and hire purchase repayments each month. In some homes money is lost on the races or through other gambling activities and month-ends see meagre meals and unpaid bills. Housewives may be forced to borrow from each other and even from their servants. In Morningside and Durban North, in contrast, the life of residents is luxurious and secure. Problems revolve around the possibility of affording luxuries such as new motor cars or overseas trips. It is never the very existence of the family which is at stake. Housewife and servant are thus worlds apart. It is not only culture which divides them but social class, experience and preoccupations. In Stamford Hill on the other hand, the European and African women can almost be said to share a common social environment. They can easily appreciate the nature of the other's problems and offer genuine sympathy to each other in these basic worries and insecurities.

The common rural or farm background enjoyed by many of the African and European women in Stamford Hill is yet another link between housewife and servant. A number of the European housewives, notably those of Afrikaans extraction, were aware of this link, while in other cases the housewives' belief in or tolerance of such things as African magic attested to a world view to some extent shared, or at least understandable to European and African alike. The situation in both Morningside and Durban North in which the majority of families are of urban and particularly English backgrounds is very different. Housewife and servant are separated by their contrasting outlooks and the European and African women are worlds apart in experience.

It may be concluded that the contrasts in the relationship between mistress and servant in the three areas investigated are to be explained largely on the one hand, in terms of class differences between the employers of the units and in the differing demands and expectations of work to which these class differences give rise. On the other hand they can be seen to be related also to the home background and the previous experience of the employers, particularly of the housewives. It is these factors which affect the interaction of mistress and servant; and, contrary to expectation, the variations in expressed racial attitude and prejudice bear little, if any, relation to the actual treatment of African domestic servants. Within the situation of domestic employment in European households it would appear that Africans are treated first and foremost as domestic employees and that class expectations and experience in this respect dominate the interaction between employer and employee.

This analysis of the situation is confirmed by the opinion common amongst African servants that, taken all in all, it is better to work for Afrikaans families than for English-speaking households. The former have the reputation of understanding Africans and 'treating them well'. This is explained as being due to their rural roots. The conflict between this degree of fellow-feeling and the fact

that it is the Afrikaners as a group who are felt to lie behind the political hierarchy in the country is often commented upon and wondered at.

The Implications of Racial Differences between European Employer and African Employee in the Context of the Wider South African Society:

Race, however, is not a factor which can be ignored in the analysis of the domestic service situation in European households. The European master and African servant must interact with each other, not only as employer and employee but, in certain situations, as members of different and opposing racial groups also. Since it is the group of the employers which holds political control in this country and since legislation tends to favour Europeans above Africans in White areas, it is the employer who tends to hold the upper hand in any altercation with their servants regardless of the issues involved. Likewise, the majority of servants are now dependent upon employment and in some cases upon their particular employers for the right to remain on in the town. Once they lose their jobs they, as members of the African group who hold no rights to live in the White urban areas, face the threat of being endorsed out of town with little or no hope of gaining permission to return. Furthermore, it can be argued that it is race which lies, paradoxically, at the very root of the easy relationship between employers and servants which occurs in some European homes.

Many writers have been puzzled at this easy relationship or lack of distance so often found between master and servant in South Africa. They have also pointed to the conflict of values which occurs when the typical White South African mother who would not dream of allowing her child to attend a multi-racial school, expects the African 'nanny' to handle, feed and care for her baby. The generally accepted White South African stereotype of Africans as 'dirty' or unhygienic necessitates their sleeping separately from the family and using separate

toilets, yet does not stop the housewife leaving the cleaning of her house and her most personal laundry to the care of her African servant. Though the latter is provided with separate cooking and eating utensils, she regularly washes those of her employer and also prepares and serves the employer's food.

The key to the apparent conflict would appear to lie in the clear acceptance by both parties of the inferior position of the servant. Social scientists investigating various situations in which parties to a relationship occupy superior and inferior status relative to each other have long suggested that if the groups to which they belong are clearly differentiated and understood to be unequal to each other, the closest contact may not only be allowed but may even be thought fitting^{1]}.

In South Africa the racial situation is such that European employer and African servant are accepted as unequal, not only because of their contractual relationship but also because they come from groups which as a whole are ranked as superior and inferior. Race and colour place the parties in virtually exclusive categories. Close contact between them may occur at certain levels since it is never thought possible for it to imply a relationship of equality. Because of this inequality there is no need for the employer to keep his or her 'distance'. Certainly there was no idea amongst the Stamford Hill servants that the talkative housewives were 'not keeping to their proper place' or that they were 'lowering' themselves in any way. Although African servants have a clear image or stereotype of how their employers should and do act, it does not turn on familiarity or the lack thereof. Rather it involves such points as the supposed European inability to do sustained heavy work for long periods, the women's unwillingness to do all her own housework and their general tendency to treat all Africans in a similar and off-hand fashion. Social distance in the master/servant relationship is thus, from the African point of view as from the European point of view, imposed just as much by race as by the facts of employment.

The conflict between the attitude of many White South African employers to Africans in general and their feelings towards, and treatment of, their individual African domestic servants can also be explained on the basis of so-called situational selection^{2]}. As emphasised by those writers who have been concerned mainly to explain the existence of conflict and inconsistencies in social life, many contradictions which strike the outside observer as obvious and glaring can continue to exist in the minds of people and to direct their actions if they occur at different times or involve different situations - as it were, in different sets of social imperatives. These are kept distinct by the individual concerned and so, in fact, do not from his or her point of view, conflict at all. Thus in interaction with Africans in general Europeans in South Africa adopt the attitude and behaviour of their racial group as a whole to Africans as a 'race'. Within the domestic service situation, however, they react to their African servants as individuals. They are guided in their treatment of servants, often the only Africans with whom they come into close contact, by their personal experience and relationships with them as individuals. Since it has been shown that within the situation of domestic service in European homes, the interaction and relationships between employees and employers are largely influenced by the social class and cultural background of the employer, the wide variations found to exist between patterns in Morningside, Durban North and Stamford Hill, are both in themselves not unpredictable and are certainly not at variance with the overall relationship of European and non-European in this country.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE
IN INDIAN AND AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS:

The Situation in Indian Homes:

The interaction of employers and African servants in the Indian homes investigated differed greatly from the formal and distant patterns of interaction found in the

Morningside homes, from the easier and more informal interchanges typical of the Stamford Hill European homes and also from the intermediate pattern of the Durban North homes. In both Willis' Road and Stamford Hill the Indian housewives and their servants were constantly in each others' presence. This arose not as in the Stamford Hill European homes, from the small size of the houses or from the preference of the housewives and the families for sitting and working in the kitchens, but largely from the desire of the Indian women to supervise closely their employees' every action. Mistrust and suspicion characterised their relationship and led the Indian housewives to be continually watching their servants. It is true that the servants were seldom skilled at their work and, especially in the case of those only recently employed, required constant teaching and help. This, however, does not explain the actions of the Indian housewives who refused to leave servants alone in the houses when they went out or the attitude of those who gave the women notice on the mere suspicion that they might be attracting the attention of their sons or husbands.

Whereas continual contact between members of households and African servants in the European homes of Stamford Hill and to some extent of Durban North also, appeared to lead to informality of behaviour, it led in the case of Indian households, merely to explosive situations. The servants resented the continual control and the presence of the Indian women in the same room as themselves. Instead of talking to the Indian housewives or even ignoring them when not discussing work matters, the African women were inclined to comment on and even jeer at the Indian women's presence and control. Their whole demeanour was one of indifference and even insolence. The housewives reacted violently, often taking the remarks and attitudes of the servants as expressions of 'cheekiness' or insubordination. Open quarrels soon developed and in a number of cases led to the dismissal of the servant. How are these patterns of tension and mistrust to be explained?

Cultural differences between Indian and African and

the nature of the employment requirements in Indian homes may be considered first. There is possibly a far wider cultural gap between employer and employee in Indian homes than is the case in European homes in which African domestic servants are employed. Since the majority of African women in Durban are Christian in outlook they may be supposed to have served some apprenticeship in this cultural tradition and, above all, to value Western ways as a positive model for action. Few Africans show any interest in the Hindu or Muslim faiths or ways of life nor are the Indians as a group sufficiently admired to invite any interest in, or emulation of, their cultural traditions. While it is true that many Indian housewives speak some Zulu and some African women have learned a smattering of one of the Indian languages, the cultural gap which divides mistress and servant is sufficiently wide in the majority of employment situations to leave very little ground for common interest or experience. This division is reinforced by traditional Indian rules and regulations particularly in regard to eating. The housewife does all the preparation of food herself, the servant is excluded from this sphere and symbolically also from close contact with Indian family life. In the European homes of Stamford Hill where housewives may also do all the cooking, the servant is not thus excluded as a matter of principle or taboo; it is recognised merely as thrift on the part of the housewife or incompetence on the part of the servant which bring about this division of labour.

The high labour turnover in Indian households is yet another factor to be considered. This certainly mitigates against the development of any familiarity between the majority of Indian housewives and their African domestic employees. Housewives who do not expect servants to remain in their employ for more than three to four months, consciously neglect to treat them in a friendly and sympathetic manner. The sense of transience which dominates the domestic servant relationship thus inhibits the development of common interests through greater understanding of the personal lives of the women concerned.

While these general factors are very important in determining the interaction between mistress and servant in Indian households, they do not completely explain the situation. It is suggested that Indian housewives react to their African employees very largely in terms of their approach to the African in general and to African women in particular. On the whole the inter-personal relations between Indians and Africans are tense. Though seldom in direct competition for employment, Africans and Indians are continuously thrown together in the city of Durban. The Indians are found mainly in commercial positions and Africans living and working in the centre of the city are largely dependent upon them for the purchase of food and clothing, and were also at one time largely dependent upon them for cheap housing^{3]}. The sophistication of the Indians in commercial matters gives them a great advantage over Africans, particularly in the case of unsophisticated newcomers from rural areas. It would appear to be true also, that owing to the strict parental control exerted over Indian girls, it is a fairly common practice for Indian males to seek sexual gratification from African and Coloured women. Female domestic servants living on the premises of employers away from the control of their families and from the rest of the African community, are vulnerable to this type of attention. This situation is disliked equally by Africans and Indians and adds to the animosities between them. Within the domestic employment situation the fear of sex relations between their servants and sons and husbands plays an important role in the general mistrust of female African servants by Indian housewives.

It has been argued that in the case of the employment of Africans in the homes of Europeans, the clear acceptance of the racial inequality between the parties on a general level allows a fair degree of equality and familiarity between mistress and servant in the domestic service situation. In the case of Indian and African this clear-cut barrier and easy relationship does not exist. Interaction between Indians and Africans is beset by difficulties and ambiguities. The Indian regards himself as superior to

the African. This supremacy is by no means unchallenged by the African and is not backed up by the general political framework of the country. Tension must result from such a situation. This is so intense that even within the master/servant relationship of domestic employment, it cannot be completely eliminated. As a result the relationship between the Indian housewife and African servant is usually an uneasy one.

There are, of course, exceptions. In the Indian homes of Wills' Road there were a few instances of a warm relationship between employer and servant. This occurred in situations in which the servant had been employed by the family for a number of years. Paradoxically in these cases, the very absence of the strict gulf which divides all Europeans and non-Europeans makes it possible here for the informality which develops with time in any employment situation, to progress to a point where the employee becomes part of the family rather than a servant in the strict sense of the word. In these cases the servants become conversant with the cultural peculiarities of Indian households and though they may still not identify with the family to any great degree, they value their jobs for practical reasons and are thus willing to accept the constant supervision of the housewife. In many cases this in itself is lessened as the Indian women grow to know the servants well and cease to fear that they will seduce their menfolk.

The Situation in African Homes:

In contrast to the employment situation in European homes, the employment of servants in African homes is a fairly recent phenomenon. There is in Zulu culture no master/servant tradition to serve as a background for this practice. There is, in fact, no word in the traditional Zulu vocabulary even remotely equivalent to the English word for a domestic servant. Even today the term applied to a domestic servant, isisebenzi, means literally anyone who works (derived from ukusebenza - to work) rather than someone who works purely in the field of paid domestic

employment.

Zulu society was one in which there were no class differences based on wealth or economic position alone. The only great social cleavages in the society other than those of age and sex were those based on rank - that is on closeness in blood to the royal lineage. There were patterns of social distance between commoner and ruler, and both royalty and district headmen had male retainers in various capacities (cooks, milkers, etc.). The ties between the latter and their overlords were, however, multiple and the relationship of the two was closer to that of a feudal relationship of patron and client than that of Western master and servant. In commoner homesteads the size and composition of the extended family normally obviated the necessity of seeking domestic help. If for some unusual reason extra assistance was required, the practice was for some kinswoman to be asked to join the family for a short period and to help with the household duties. Inter-dependence was the keynote of the relationship and the homestead concerned had duties of hospitality to the kinswoman as to any other visitor. This person would be treated in all respects like a member of the homestead, even if as one of minor importance. Finally, the fact that women were, in all the vicissitudes, of life part of the extended family under the final control of the male family head, taken in conjunction with the important economic services of women and the self-sufficiency of the individual 'house', meant that there was in the society no need for a woman to hire out her labour (See Chapter II).

Today the position is very different. Not only are there women who are forced to seek employment in order to buy food for themselves and their children, but there is, with the breakdown of the extended family, also a growing demand within the African community for the services of outsiders to help in the running of the home and the care of and rearing of children. The employment of servants has also developed against the background of needs created by the small nuclear family whose wife and mother is gainfully employed outside her home. This situation is typical of the

Christian educated elite, many of whom have attained professional status or taken up commercial enterprises and amongst whom a Western outlook and Western living pattern is accepted. The impetus for, and indeed the need for servants goes hand in hand thus with the diversification of African society and the developing class distinction in the African community.

The interaction and relationship between employer and employee in the African households studied have been found to be very different from the patterns in both European and Indian homes. In many cases the employee is not a 'real servant' but a distant kinswoman living with the family to help with the housework for her keep. In the Mariannhill unit the situation in the other cases was like that of the au pair arrangements overseas. In all it was clear that the Western pattern of domestic labour was fused with the traditional ideas of Zulu hospitality to any visitor to the family.

Employers in Mariannhill tended to explain the employer/employee relationship in terms of the absence of a racial difference between themselves and their servants. While this is certainly a factor of great importance, it cannot in itself explain all forms of the master/servant relationship in Mariannhill. It does not, for instance, account for the use of fictitious kinship terms between servant and employer, nor for the sense of responsibility felt by employers for the social, moral and spiritual welfare of the servants. These can only be the result of a situation in which traditional patterns of hospitality and multiplex involvement in all social relationships still dominates the interaction of individuals. Mariannhill is a Mission Station and employer and employee were united by common religion and world view. The employers had taken responsibility, furthermore, for their African servants and were answerable both to the Mission and to the girls' parents for their conduct and general welfare while in employment. They stood, in fact, in a relationship of either fictitious or real kinship to their servants.

It is not suggested that this pattern is typical of all situations in which Africans employ other Africans as domestic servants. The indications, in fact, are that it is characteristic merely of a particular situation or of a stage in the whole process of social change in the African community. In Clermont, a township near Pinetown, (See Figure 7) in which Africans own their properties and where a professional elite of doctors, teachers and wealthy businessmen with working wives is to be found, a master/servant relationship approximating to that found in many European homes appears to be developing. In these cases the employer provides the servant with distinctive uniforms and food separate to that of the family, and though the servant may live in the house of the employer, she is treated with reserve. The pattern of this relationship is consciously based on the employment situation in European households. In some cases the servants have worked previously for Europeans and so may even set the tone of the relationship; in other cases the employers model their treatment of their servants on what they think is the situation in European homes. In this they may be wide of the mark and treatment of their servants may paradoxically tend to greater distance than in many European homes⁴. It is probable that as class differences between employers and servants grow greater in the African community, patterns of interaction between them will change in the direction of the master/servant relationships in the European reference group, particularly that of the upper-middle class.

The contents of Volume 2 of this study of African women in domestic service in Durban was not originally envisaged as part of the survey. As the investigation proceeded however it became clear that the social ties of the group of women studied and the interests and activities of their non-working lives were of tremendous significance for an understanding of the situation. This could clearly not be neglected in any study carried out by a social anthropologist.

Volume 2 therefore contains chapters on leisure-time activities, making ends meet, social ties with men and women in town and country (the so-called social network) and the place of religion, witchcraft, and healing, in the daily lives of domestic servants. The study concludes with a consideration of domestic service as a factor in the process of urbanisation of women migrants in the city.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- 1] The practice of racial segregation in South Africa has necessitated the establishment of separate residential areas for each race. In a city such as Durban all Africans with the exception of resident servants and small groups of males who are housed in the compounds of factories or other institutions must live in the areas which have been set aside for them. These are termed Townships and are invariably situated at some distance from the town and from the residential areas of other racial groups, particularly those of Europeans.
- 2] Certain churches, notably the Methodist and Anglican still met in town during fieldwork. The Baptist Church, though having premises in town had another centre in Lamontville, one of the townships. The Pastor was in the process of moving most church activities to this centre during fieldwork. The weekly women's meetings or Manyano, which was held in town was attended by only 7 or 8 women but the one in Lamontville had a much greater membership.
- 3] This was done on the pattern suggested by Epstein (1961) in his study of the social network of one informant living on the Copperbelt.

NOTESCHAPTER I

- 1] It is from this practice that the well-known term 'locations in the sky' has been derived to describe the housing of servants on the roofs of blocks of flats in the areas of cities which are dominated by this type of development.
- 2] In the Cape Peninsula Coloured servants predominate. This is due to peculiar historical and social conditions not present in the rest of the country. For a discussion of wages paid to servants in the Cape see Wisson (1969).
- 3] A study of the return of the Bantu Administration Department made by the Durban City Engineer's Department in 1966, show that over the period 1960 to 1965 the total number of domestic servants employed in the city remained practically static with an approximately 10 per cent preponderance of females. They estimate however, that in the near future there will be an increasing swing towards the employment of females. Projections for 1980 suggest that by then the proportion of females to males in domestic employment in the city will have risen to 3 to 2. (Bantu Housing Investigation. Housing Investigation. Housing Section Development Division, City Engineer's Department, June, 1966).
- 4] The term 'townspeople' is being used in the sense of a distinct section of the urban population who regard town as their home.
- 5] These figures do not reflect the illegal money-making activities which are rife. (See pages 27-30). The residual category of 'no occupation stated' into which 15% of the total fall makes a correct assessment of the exact labour distribution difficult. Of

Notes - continued:

particular note is the fact that so few women appear to be involved in clerical and sales work. Women, for instance, who sell homemade produce, or market foods or clothing privately may not have been included in the latter category but classified under the residual category of 'no occupation stated'. The category of 'saleswork' would thus include mainly those women actually employed by firms or businesses to sell and advertise their wares.

6] For a fuller discussion of these occupations, see Kuper L.: An African Bourgeoisie: Race, Class, and Politics in South Africa. Yale University Press, 1965.

7] Nurses are paid in the vicinity of R60+ per month. Teachers' salaries vary according to qualification and position. (See Appendix III).

8] An example of a typical group may be given. Four or five women from the Inanda Reserve, near Durban, were found to be selling baskets, mats, woven trays and a few strings of beads. The goods had been made with the aid of their female kin at home. The women regularly spent about a week in Durban before returning home to replenish their stocks. They lived, during this period, at the Grey Street Women's Hostel, where they were well-known as frequent visitors. One of their number could speak a fair amount of English, and she acted as spokesman for the group. Where housewives were loth to buy their wares, the women offered to exchange them for old clothes. These they either took home or sold at a profit.

9] An example may be given to indicate the difficulties encountered in the search for accommodation. A certain woman worked as a domestic servant for five years at a wage of R10 per month. She then found a

Notes - continued:

job in a factory which paid R8 per week. Eventually she had to resign from her new job and return to domestic work because of the difficulties she encountered in finding a place to live. At first she lodged with distant kinsmen in one of the townships, but left when she suspected her room-mate of stealing her belongings. She could not lock-up her things since she shared a room and cupboard with the other girl. She then rented a single room in the house of a non-kinsman. This was illegal and in any case the African landlord charged her R6 per month in rent. She had to pay her bus fares to and from work and feed herself. Clearly she was in a worse position than when employed as a domestic servant.

10] See Figure 1. This is an area frequented by sailors of the ships currently in dock.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

- 1] The only possibility of a woman's filling a role other than that of wife, mother, daughter, was for her to practice as an isangoma - a diviner. Even in these cases, however, the woman was still tied to her home and fulfilled the obligations of her role therein.
- 2] Mbatha has shown that where pagan girls go out to work it is largely on a casual basis on nearby farms.
- 3] In about 10 per cent of the cases there was some doubt as to the truth of this claim. School attendance is valued very highly and its absence is felt to prejudice women in the eyes of the urban African community, of the European investigator and of employers in particular.
- 4] Quoted from a Pagan informant.
- 5] Some difficulty was encountered in obtaining reliable information on standard of education. A number of women were unwilling to reveal that they had not attended school. In cases where schooling had been meagre they tended to exaggerate their educational achievements in order to impress the investigator. Inconsistencies of this nature were discovered when a life story was obtained from the women concerned. Where there was doubt as to the veracity of the response, but where the women definitely had attended school, the case was classified under the heading 'some education'. Few if any of these women had passed beyond Class 2. The problem was further complicated by the fact that many women failed their final standard and yet gave it when asked to state their educational standard. Since this study is concerned, not so much with exact educational

Notes - continued:

- 5] achievement as with the influence of schooling, all responses were accepted at face value.
- 6] This is much in keeping with the results of the 1951 Census which found that 86.30 per cent of the total African population of Durban was Zulu-speaking, while 8.55 per cent were also Nguni of either Xhosa or Swazi origin. The actual distribution can be seen from the table quoted below. The lack of women domestic servants from the other language and racial groups represented in the Census can be explained in terms of the fact that it is primarily males of these groups who are in town working as migrant labourers. For instance, Sotho men who work mainly at the Durban Docks, seldom bring their women to Durban. Even where Sotho women do come to Durban it is seldom on a permanent basis or in search of work. They merely visit males temporarily. The one Sotho domestic servant had been brought by employers from Johannesburg but was planning to return home.

HOME LANGUAGE OF AFRICANS LIVING IN DURBAN

Home Language	%
Zulu	86.30
Xhosa	7.46
Swazi	1.19
Ndebele	0.07
S. Sotho	3.56
S. Bechuana	0.14
Sepedi	0.23
Shangaan	0.25
Venda	0.03
English	0.04
Afrikaans	0.04
Other and Unspecified	0.67
Total	100.00

- 7] The even distribution is surprising in the light of the small size of the sample.

- 8] See Mayer, 1961, and Wilson and Mafeje, 1962.
- 9] The exceptions to the above rule are to be found in the case of women who, in the absence of male heirs attempt to keep their rural home alive and those who, either with or without husbands, erect houses in their brothers' or fathers' homestead or under the latter's patronage, on lineage land. The indications from a study of a rural area near Durban which has been made by an African anthropologist, Harriet Sibisi, are that the latter type of situation is on the increase. She found that a significant number of sisters and daughters return to their own homes after marriage, often bringing their husbands with them. Under the brother's or father's patronage the husband is allocated free land in the vicinity of the woman's lineage home. In the case of unmarried women to whom land cannot be allocated, the pattern appears to be for the woman to finance the erection of a separate house within her father's or brother's homestead. This trend was marked amongst the older single domestic servants, a number of whom were saving while in town for this very end. Women who see no possibility of marriage or of a secure future in town as a single woman may resort to this means of establishing a home. Although this pattern is still the exception rather than the rule it may be that, given the formidable difficulties facing Africans and African women in particular who wish to put down roots in South African White city areas, it will increase. If so, women in these circumstances will find themselves, like men, working in town only to keep the rural home going.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

- 1] See Natal Regional Survey No. 6: Baumannville: A Study of an Urban African Community: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- 2] As compared with approximately £431 (R862) which has been estimated as the mean income of the Seaward Transitional Zone. Stamford Hill, one of the other neighbourhood units in which employment for Europeans was investigated, is situated in this zone.
- 3] It was upon these families that fieldwork was concentrated although not all were permanencies in the area throughout the research period.
- 4] In many respects the situation is similar to that existing in Bethnal Green, a working-class suburb in east London, described by Young and Wilmot (1957).
- 5] Once children have grown up or entered their teens this objection appears to lessen. Many families who employ females when their children are young, revert to males once they are older. This was the case in many families in Morningside.
- 6] It is not suggested that this is characteristic of all Coloured domestic employment in Durban.
- 7] The labour turnover of older male servants in skilled positions was similar to that of the females. Young male 'umfaans' however, frequently left their jobs either for better domestic positions or to enter industry.
- 8] It must be noted that wages have risen since the fieldwork was done. It is estimated that wages paid to all servants have risen by between R2 and R5.

Notes - continued:

- 9] Parents seldom liked to leave children younger than 14 or 15 years alone in the house at night.
- 10] See Part III.
- 11] It may be noted that spring mattresses, like any old furniture, was greatly valued, and servants begged to buy these from their employers, rather than just use them while employed.
- 12] See Chapter Five.
- 13] Employers in Morningside and Durban North tended to keep some check on the cleanliness and repair of their servants' rooms. They insisted for instance, that the rooms be sprayed against insects and often had them whitewashed when new servants moved into these two areas. In Stamford Hill, employers were not concerned with the state of or repair of their servants rooms. In many cases servants did not wish the field-worker to interview them in their rooms. They were ashamed of the actual rooms and their state of untidiness.
- 14] Men received overalls or white service suits.
- 15] See page 121 (overleaf).
- 16] See page 37.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

- 1] In one instance in Morningside a female servant was rumoured to receive visits from 'sailors'. She was a woman with Coloured relatives who were said to make these arrangements. The truth of the rumour could not be ascertained.
- 2] Since the housewife and other household members were continuously in the kitchen for one reason or another. It would have been far more likely that a Morningside employee could use her employer's utensils without detection!
- 3] Only two instances of employers giving their servants notice as a result of brewing were noted from this area. In both cases the employers were English-speaking.
- 4] This was not always apparent to employers who regarded it as merely chance but particular women enquired for jobs when these positions were in fact vacant. The applicants had usually been primed by kin and friends already employed in the neighbourhood.
- 5] As one woman put it.
- 6] Also quoted from a woman in the unit!
- 7] The wellknown mechanisms of witchcraft accusations operating here.
- 8] See Part III, Case Three, the Churchgoer.

N O T E S

C H A P T E R V

- 1] It is possible that in certain cases employment for certain Africans is preferred to that for any other group. This, however, is exceptional and the preference restricted to a particular category of women and employer. It will be discussed fully when domestic work for Africans is reviewed.
 - 2] My thanks are due to Mrs. Fatima Meer and to Mr. and Mrs. Mether in this connection.
 - 3] My thanks are due to Mrs. Harriet Sibisi in this connection.
 - 4] Despite the use of the toilet facilities in some cases and the sexrelations which occurred between African female servants and the Indian men.
 - 5] Although this was by no means a universal bar to pilfering.
 - 6] See pages 106, 107 and 174.
 - 7] See pages 98, 100 and 103.
 - 8] It was in only 20 of the 23 cases of African employment that correct figures could be gained on this and other scores. In the remaining instances servants either left their jobs before all the information had been gathered, or there was a discrepancy between their replies and those of the employers.
 - 9] See Figure 6. This area is close enough to Durban for servants to come into town to work during the week and return to their homes for the weekend.
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Notes - continued:

10] See page 162. The Indian housewives whose servants refused to eat their curries attributed this to the fact that the African women 'drank and smoked too much'. They were convinced that the servants did not require food under these conditions.

11] See page 123.

12] See page 128.

13] See page 203.

14] See page 153.

NOTES

CHAPTER VI

- 1] In a block of 49 houses selected at random from the huge Kwa Mashu township, there were only three homes in which servants were employed.
- 2] Most South African butcher shops sell cheap cuts of meat under the name of 'servants meat'.
- 3] In one case a brother and sister-in-law lived with a family. The former was not, however, expected to take over the care of the home. In fact, the housewife preferred to have a servant to do this and so keep control herself. She did not appear to trust her 'in-law'.
- 4] In the remaining home investigated the householder's wife had deserted him and a small baby. They were cared for by a sister who also brought up the child.
- 5] The one Coloured family who occupied the eleventh house, employed three servants; two women (one a Coloured who did the housework) and a male to care for cattle and garden.
- 6] She later dispensed with one of the servants when she could remain at home.

NOTESCHAPTER VII

- 1] Cato Manor was a shack area which developed in the 1920's behind the Berea Ridge (see Figure 7), as African squatters sought a place to live near to the centre of the city. Official control of the area was begun during the 1950's and the area was finally cleared by about 1965.
- 2] The drawing and administration of this sample was done in collaboration with a study of the social circumstances and characteristics of the Bantu in the Durban Region, which was being undertaken by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal at the time. The Kwa Mashu sample was based on a larger sample of 555 dwellings drawn by the Director of the Institute, Professor H.L. Watts, and Miss M. Young, about which information was gained through the use of the official township records. For greater detail as to the techniques used in sampling see: Young M.A. (1965): A Study of the Social Circumstances and Characteristics of the Bantu in the Durban Region, Report No.1 : Characteristics and Future Growth of Population, published by the Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, Durban, pp.86-89.
- 3] A further 17 of the women claimed to be unemployed domestic servants.
- 4] The majority of these women were either wives of the men to whom the houses had been allocated or were women with whom the men had entered into semi-permanent unions. A minority were widows whose husbands had died and who had been permitted to remain on in the houses which were then registered in the names of adult sons. In two cases houses had been allocated to the women themselves as a result of the fact that

Notes - continued:

- 4] despite the absence of a husband or adult son, they had heavy family responsibilities to illegitimate children or to those born to deceased husbands. This practice is, however, not common. On the whole a woman can only gain access to a township house through some male. The conditions under which she can be allocated one in her own right are so stringent as to make this a virtual impossibility.
- 5] This may be compared with the income derived by the male household heads in the Kwa Mashu sample survey.

Annual Income of Male Household Heads in
Kwa Mashu Sample

Annual Income		% of Sample
Per Annum	Per Month	
No income		11
R 0 - 119	R 0 - 9	3
120 - 239	10 - 19	3
240 - 359	20 - 29	9
360 - 479	30 - 39	46
480 - 599	40 - 49	19
600 - 719	50 - 59	7
720+	60+	3
Total		100

- 6] The cost of taxis to town from Kwa Mashu is 30c only in cases in which the taxi is shared with other people. If one travels alone it may cost as much as R2 or more per one way trip.
- 7] The drawback to this procedure is that the educational opportunities in many of the rural areas are far less than in townships. Rural schools except for privately run ones are seldom as good as those in town and transport difficulties may prevent children from regular attendance. Rural kin, moreover, may

Notes - continued:

- 7] expect youngsters to remain away from school to tend cattle or care for younger children. Parents caring greatly for their children's education prefer, if they cannot afford to send them to private boarding schools, to keep them living in the townships with them.

NOTESCHAPTER 8

- 1] See for instance Park, E. (1950): Race and Culture, The Free Press, Glencoe; Myrdal, G. (1944): An American Dilemma, Harper and Brothers, New York; and Alport, G.W. (1954): The Nature of Prejudice, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company Inc., Cambridge.
 - 2] For a statement of what is understood and implied by situational selection see Gluckman 1960, Mitchell 1960b, Epstein 1958, and more recently Reader 1964 and Plotnicov 1967.
 - 3] For instance, Indians owned a good deal of land adjoining the Cato Manor area and rented both sites and rooms in homes to Africans. In many other similar areas the same situation existed and still does in certain peri-urban areas around Durban.
 - 4] An example of this type of situation may be quoted although it does not come from the research experience of the author. An African colleague, Harriet Sibisi observed in an African household which she was visiting, that a servant was employed to care for the children of the housewife who was a trained nurse holding a full-time job outside her home. The mother of the housewife visited the house bringing sweets with her for her grandchildren. She gave some of these to the servant also. The housewife reprimanded her, pointing out that the servant was paid for her duties and thus the situation did not call for gifts to her. She implied, in fact, that in European homes nursemaids would not be given extras of this nature. The mother argued that the servant was 'just like one of the
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Notes - continued:

family'.

It may be suggested that the mother in this situation was arguing from the basis of her experience of a community largely undifferentiated by strict differences in social class. Hers was the outlook of traditional African hospitality to any person in the household. Her daughter, on the other hand, may be regarded as a representative of the growing social elite in an increasingly diversified community. Servants working for the latter are, in fact, of a different social class to their employers and the householders seek to demonstrate their social superiority by means of formal patterns of master/servant interaction. The relationship between them and their employees is furthermore, simplex rather than multiplex. Employer and employee are connected with each other only in their contractual roles stemming from the employment situation and not as total social personalities. This pattern is not typical of the interaction between individuals in small-scale undifferentiated societies, but the simplex pattern is usually found in large scale complex urban societies. It is to the latter pattern that the interaction between urban African townspeople and their servants is approximating - a pattern typical of the relationship between both Europeans and Indians and their African servants.

G L O S S A R Y

FAH-FEE -	A form of gambling based on the drawing of numbers. It is usually run by Chinese who organise Africans in the Townships as runners who collect bets and pay out winnings.
GAVINI -	Strong intoxicating homemade sugar cane drink. Requires distilling and so is not always made on employers premises. Domestic servants may buy it wholesale from township dwellers who have place to hide stills.
INYANGA -	Traditional herbalist with knowledge of medicines.
ISANGOMA -	Traditional diviner with the power to diagnose illness.
KIA -	Colloquial term generally used by Europeans for servant's quarters on employer's premises and derived from the Zulu word <u>ikhaya</u> .
KITCHEN-KAFFIR -	Local mixing of English and Zulu used by many Europeans in conversations with Africans.
LOBOLA -	Bridewealth.
NGENA -	The Zulu term for the Levirate. Literally enter. Take the wife of deceased brother. Doke et.al., (1958): English and Zulu Dictionary.
SHEBEN -	Illegal bar at which both homemade and bought liquor are sold usually at black market prices.
SHIMEYANA -	Intoxicating drink often made from sugar. Requires no distilling and is often made on employer's premises.
TSOTSI -	Colloquial term used to refer to youths of varying degrees of lawlessness.
UKUSOMA -	The practice of external intercourse to prevent pregnancy.
VETKOEK -	A lump of dough fried in fat or oil.
ZIONIST -	The term given to a particular type of Separatist Sect. See Sundkler (1961).

A P P E N D I X I

DOMESTIC SERVANT SURVEY

Questionnaire A Administered to all Employers
of Domestic Servants Investigated

SECTION A : INFORMATION ON DOMESTIC SERVANTS:

1. How many servants do you employ?

	<u>No. MALE</u>	<u>No. FEMALE</u>
African
Indian
Coloured

2. In what capacity are they employed?
Using symbols 'A', 'I' or 'C', fill in Appendix 'A'.

3. How did you come to employ them -

		Indian Coloured African	Indian Coloured African	Indian Coloured African	Indian Coloured African
Bantu Administration	MALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
	FEMALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
Contact through other servants	MALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
	FEMALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
Contact through European	MALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
	FEMALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
Door-to-door work seeker	MALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
	FEMALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
Knew Family	MALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
	FEMALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other (specify)	MALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
	FEMALE	.....	.....	.....	.....



NUMBER AND DESCRIPTION OF SERVANTS

		General Housework	Nanny	Cook	Gardener	Chauffer	Washing Woman	Ironing Woman	Other (Specify)	Full Time	Part Time
MALE	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
FEMALE	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

(2)

		Wages p.m.	Accommodation on premises	Transport costs if any	Uniforms	Hours of work	Days off	How much annual leave Paid	annual leave or not paid	How long in your employ
MALE	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
FEMALE	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

DO YOU EMPLOY ANY OTHER HOME HELP? (Specify)

.....

With regard to female domestic servants ONLY

A. PERSONAL INFORMATION:

1. What is her name?
2. Where is her home?
3. Marital status
4. No. of children
5. Other details known
6. What religion is she?
7. What does she do in her spare time?
8. Do you ever show an interest in her customs, fears interests, etc.?
9. Do you ever encourage her outside interests, e.g. sewing, knitting, church going, singing?
10. Have you ever suggested or helped her save money?
11. Does she take an interest in your family affairs? e.g. try and identify herself with you? copy your dress or home?
12. Do you encourage her to read the newspaper? OR books? If so, which type?

13. Do you allow her to listen to your radio - if so, what programmes?
14. To what extent do you let her use the telephone?
freely
to receive calls only
to take messages in your absence only
15. Does she take a pride in her room?
16. a] what is your attitude to her visitors?
b] what is your attitude to her husband/male friends sleeping in her room?
c] do you allow her to have her children staying with her
occasionally
all the time
not at all
17. If you have more than one servant, was there any relationship between your servants before you employed them?

B. WORK DONE:

Does she -

- I. a] Have nothing to do with your food..... YES/NO
b] Prepare meat and vegetables only..... YES/NO
c] Cook plain means YES/NO
d] Cook fancy meals, bake, use recipe book ... YES/NO
e] Do all the cooking
under guidance YES/NO
alone - in your absence YES/NO
Plan meals YES/NO

II. a] Make beds YES/NO
b] Put away clothes YES/NO
c] General washing YES/NO
d] Personal washing YES/NO
e] Childrens' washing YES/NO

III. Act as a nanny? Now YES/NO
In the Past YES/NO
Have you employed a nanny? YES/NO
African
Indian
Coloured

Reasons why:
Mother away at work YES/NO
Ease mother's task YES/NO
Mother absent YES/NO
Other (specify)
.....
.....
.....

Was this successful? YES/NO
WHY?
.....
.....

IV. Babysit at night YES/NO
Paid extra YES/NO

V. Does she order groceries, or buy vegetables on her own? YES/NO

VI. Any other attributes? Specify
.....
.....
.....
.....

VII. Do you supervise all she does? YES/NO
Can she be trusted to do all work alone YES/NO
- up to a point YES/NO

VIII. What have you taught her?
.....
.....
.....

INTERVIEWER'S ASSESSMENT:

All housework
Merely routine
Cooking
Won't teach anything - must be shown all the time.

C. If ACCOMMODATION PROVIDED:

- | | |
|--|--------|
| 1. Does she have a room to herself | YES/NO |
| 2. Share with other female | YES/NO |
| 3. Share with other male | YES/NO |
| 4. Are ther toilet facilities | YES/NO |
| 5. Are there washing facilities | YES/NO |
| 6. Is there electric light | YES/NO |
| 7. Do you provide - Bed | YES/NO |
| Mattress | YES/NO |
| Cupboards | YES/NO |
| Table | YES/NO |
| Primus Stove | YES/NO |
| Cooking utensils | YES/NO |
| Eating utensils | YES/NO |
| Bed linen | YES/NO |
| Other (specify) | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| Toilet articles (Specify) .. | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

D. FOOD. IF PROVIDED:

- | | |
|---|--------|
| SERVANT - Full-time, living on premises | YES/NO |
| Full-time, living at Kwa Mashu | YES/NO |
| Part-time, living out | YES/NO |

Do you provide your servant with

- 1. Separate rations YES/NO
- 2. Food from your table YES/NO

IF rations provided, specify quantity per month
per week

- Beans per week/per month
- Samp per week/per month
- Mealie meal per week/per month
- Mealie Rice per week/per month
- Meat per week/per month
- Tea per week/per month
- Sugar per week/per month
- Milk per week/per month
- Bread per week/per month
- Butter or margarine per week/per month
- Jam per week/per month
- Peanut Butter per week/per month
- Vegetables per week/per month
- Fruit per week/per month
- OTHER (Specify)
-
-
-

Is this a strict ration? YES/NO

Do you provide it DAILY/WEEKLY/MONTHLY

Where does she prepare her meals? KITCHEN STOVE/PRIMUS/OTHER

Where does she eat? KITCHEN/KIA/OTHER (If
other specify)

.....

Can you estimate the cost of feeding a servant per month?

.....

.....

Can you estimate the total cost of a servant per month?

.....

.....

SECTION B : BACKGROUND TO DOMESTIC SERVICE SITUATION:

1. Name:

2. Address:

HOUSE/FLAT/MAISONETTE

3. Family Composition:

Householder:

Housewife:

Additional adults other than adult

Children (specify)

.....

Dependant children:

<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Whereabouts</u>	<u>Education</u>
Infants

2 - 4 yrs

5 - 8 yrs

9 - 12 yrs

13 - 16 yrs

16 + yrs

Adult children: (that is, not dependant on parents)

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Whereabouts</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
.....
.....
.....
.....

What is your home language?

ENGLISH/AFRIKAANS/ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS/TAMIL/HINDU/
TELUGU/GUJARRATI/URDU/OTHER (specify)

5. Does anyone in household speak Zulu?
Specify
.....
.....
6. What is the husband's occupation?
.....
7. What is the housewife's occupation, if any?
.....
FULL TIME/PART TIME/TEMPORARY
8. How long have you lived as a family in Durban?
Less than 1 year YES/NO
1 - 5 years YES/NO
6 - 10 years YES/NO
11 - 15 years YES/NO
16 - 20 years YES/NO
More than 20 years YES/NO
9. History of Householder:

	Born		Attended School		Spent Most of Life 'Til 18 Years	
	Hus.	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
Natal
O.F.S.
Transvaal
Cape Prov.
Protect.
Other African (specify)
Overseas (specify)
Town
Farm
District (specify)

10. How long have you occupied this HOUSE/FLAT/MAISONETTE
- Less than 1 year YES/NO
 - 1 - 2 years YES/NO
 - 3 - 4 years YES/NO
 - 5 - 10 years YES/NO
 - 10 + years YES/NO

11. Is it rented or owned? (delete non-applicable)

12. When moving home have you ever taken a servant with you? YES/NO

FROM RURAL AREA INTO TOWN OR CITY/FROM TOWN TO TOWN/FROM HOUSE TO PRESENT HABITATION

PRESENT SERVANT/OTHER

Specify reasons and circumstances:
.....
.....

13. What is your religion?

CHRISTIAN DENOMINATION/OTHER/NONE

Spec. Spec.
.....

Do you attend REGULARLY/OCCASIONALLY/FEAST DAYS/
NEVER/CHILDREN ATTEND SUNDAY SCHOOL

Husband Wife

14. Educational Standard passed:
.....
Post school training (if any)
.....

15. Wife's occupation before marriage or having children:

16. Which of the following labour saving devices have you?

- Vacuum Cleaner YES/NO
- Floor Polisher YES/NO
- Washing Machine YES/NO
- Electric Iron YES/NO
- Dishwasher YES/NO
- Carpet Sweeper YES/NO

Any other electrical appliances? (specify)

.....
If servant does not use these appliances, why not?
.....
.....

(11)

17. How many rooms in your house (apart from kitchen,
bathroom, lounge, toilet)

A P P E N D I X II

DOMESTIC SERVANT SURVEY

Questionnaire C Administered to Householders
in Kwa Mashu Sample Survey

I.S.R. 4/28 - 4/40

Questionnaire No.
Cols. 1 - 3

Section I:

1.A.	1. Head of Household	1.B. Tenant 4 - A
	2. Wife	Lodger B
		D.K. 0

1.C.	Marital Status	HUS/WIFE
	Never Married	4 - 1
	Christian Rites/Legal	2
	Customary Union	3
	Cohabitation	4
	Separated	5
	Divorced	6
	Widowed	7
	D.K.	8

1.D.	Education	WIFE	HUSBAND
	Never attended	5-A	6-A
	Class 1 - 2	B	B
	Standard 1 - 3	0	0
	Standard 4 - 6	1	1
	Standard 7 - 8	2	2
	Standard 9 - 10	3	3
	Post School	4	4
	Special		
	D.K.	5	5

1.E.	How Long in Durban	WIFE	HUSBAND
	Born in Durban	7-A	8-A
	10 years and over	B	B
	5 - 9 years	0	0
	1 - 4 years	1	1
	Under 1 year	2	2

1.F.	Age	WIFE	HUSBAND
	15 - 19	9-A	10-A
	20 - 24	B	B
	25 - 29	0	0
	30 - 34	1	1
	35 - 39	2	2
	40 - 44	3	3
	45 - 49	4	4
	50 - 54	5	5
	55 - 64	6	6
	65 - 74	7	7
	75+	8	8
	D.K.	9	9

1.G. OCCUPATION:
Specify

	WIFE	HUSBAND
Unemployed	11-A	12-A
Domestic Servant	B	B
On own account	0	0
Service Workers	1	1
Unskilled Manual	2	2
Operatives	3	3
Semi-skilled/Skilled	4	4
Traditional	5	5
Clerks and Other White Collar	6	6
Ministers of Religion	7	7
Business	8	8
Professional and Semi- Professional	9	9
D.K.	NP	NP

Q.2.

FAMILY MEMBERS OTHER THAN HEAD AND WIFE, NON-RELATED PERSONS, LODGERS.

NAME	SEX	AGE	STANDARD	OCCUPATION/SCHOOL	RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
<u>OWN CHILDREN LIVING</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>STANDARD</u>	<u>OCCUPATION/SCHOOL</u>	<u>WHERE LIVING AND</u>
<u>ELSEWHERE</u>					<u>REASONS</u>
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					

Q.3. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION (EXCLUDING LODGERS)

Single Householder	13 - A
Household Head and Wife Only	B
Child or Children Employable	C
Child or Children at School	1
Child or Children: Pre School	2
Other related Children	3
Other related Adults	4
Non-related Children	5
Non-related Adults	6
D.K.	7

4. DOES HOUSEWIFE:

Do Domestic work at present	14 - A
In the past/given up	B
In the past/temporarily unemployed	0
Never done	1
D.K.	2

5. (IF AT PRESENT)

For Europeans	14 - 3
Indians	4
Coloureds	5
Africans	6
D.K.	7

6. (IF DOMESTIC AT PRESENT)

Full-time living on employers premises	15 - A
Full-time living at Kwa Mashu	B
Part-time for one employer	0
Part-time for more than one	1
Just washing and ironing	2
D.K.	3

Section II:

Q.7. Does anyone else in family (excluding lodgers) do domestic service?

Yes	15 - 4
No	5
D.K.	6

8. (If Yes) how many

1	15 - 7
2	8
3	9

9. (If Yes) who works as Domestics? (Ring 2 or 3 if necessary)

Child (Male)	16 - A
Child (Female)	B
Relatives (Male)	0
Relatives (Female)	1
Non-related (Male)	2
Non-related (Female)	3
D.K.	4

10. What type of domestic work do the Females specified above do?

For Europeans	16 - 5
Indians	6
Coloureds	7
Africans	8
D.K.	9

11. Full-time living on Employers premises 17 - A

Full-time living at Kwa Mashu	B
Part-time for one employer	0
Part-time for more than one	1
Just washing and ironing	2
D.K.	3

Q.12. What Wages do the above Domestic earn? (include bus fare)

R25+	17 - 4
R20 - 24	5
R15 - 19	6
R10 - 14	7
R5 - 9	8
R0 - 4	9
D.K.	NP

13. What ages are the above Domestic?

10 - 14	18 - A
15 - 19	B
20 - 24	0
25 - 29	1
30 - 34	2
35 - 39	3
40 - 44	4
45 - 49	5
50 - 59	6
60 - 69	7
70 and above	8
D.K.	9

14. What Standard of Education have the above Domestic reached?

Never attended	19 - A
Class 1 and 2	B
Standard 1 - 3	0
Standard 4 - 6	1
Standard 7 - 8	2
Standard 9 - 10	3
Post School	4
Special	
D.K.	5

Section III: Ask Housewife

15. What is your Husband's wage (specify and state whether per week or per month).
.....

Q.16. What is your Wage or Earnings (specify and state whether per week or per month).
.....

17. What Income do you have from other sources? (specify in detail - per month/per week)

Children's earnings
Rent from Lodgers etc.
Illicit and Gambling etc.
Other (specify)

Total

18. Details of Monthly family Expenditure

House Rent
Fuel, Light and Water
Transport
Shoes and Clothing
Furniture etc.
Amount sent Home

Total

A P P E N D I X III

SALARIES PAID TO AFRICAN FEMALE TEACHERS

The salaries paid to African teachers increased twice during the period of this study, once in 1963 and again in 1967. Muriel Horrell, (Bantu Education to 1968, South African Institute for Race Relations, 1968) has analysed these changes. The following summary is taken directly from pages 93-95 of her book.

New salary scales for African teachers in the Republic and the Transkei were introduced on 1 April 1967, full information being published in the Bantu Education Journal for June of that year. It is impossible to go into detail here, but a few examples are given.

- (a) Teachers with a Lower Primary^{1]} certificate employed in a lower primary school:
 Previous scale: R294 x 18 - 312 x 24 - 384 x 36 - 492.
 New scale: R366 x 42 - 660 x 60 - 840.
- (b) Teacher with a Higher Primary^{2]} certificate:
 Previous scale: R336 x 24 - 384 x 36 - 600 x 48 - 648.
 New scale: R408 x 42 - 660 x 60 - 1,080.
- (c) Teacher with a degree and a professional certificate:
 Previous scale: R600 x 48 - 1,032.
 New scale: R720 x 60 - 1,800.

1] The Lower Primary Teacher's Certificate is open to women only and is to be discontinued shortly. It involves a two year post-Form I course.

2] The Higher Primary Teacher's Certificate is open to both males and females and involves a two year post-Junior Certificate course. It is designed to prepare teachers for higher primary teaching.

It was announced in the Bantu Education Journal for February 1968 that teachers with the L.P.T.C. plus Junior Certificate were in future to be paid on the scale applicable to the H.P.T.C.

Privately-paid teachers:

There are large numbers of African teachers whose salaries are not subsidised by the Government: more than 15 per cent of the total number employed in Government or aided schools in the Republic in 1968. In an address given to the Institute of Race Relations in August 1966 the chairman of the Moroka school board said that in his area each pupil was being asked to pay 25 to 30 cents per term towards the salaries of teachers additional to those provided for on the Department's budget. Even then, the school board could afford to offer salaries of only about R10 a month to privately-paid teachers in lower primary schools, and R45 or less in post-primary schools. Hence, these posts were occupied, in the main, by unqualified teachers.

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