THE BAUMANNVILLE COMMUNITY

A Study of the Family Life of Urban Africans

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
DURBAN – 1955

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A Study of the First African Family Location in Durban

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH - UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

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PREFACE

The Institute for Social Research of the University of Natal came into being to stimulate and develop social research, to provide the instrument through which inter-disciplinary research could be planned and executed, and which could provide a place where qualified social science students drawn from the various social science disciplines could have training in co-operative research.

It was agreed that the research activities of the trainees should be a series of community studies to reveal patterns and trends within the structure of the four separate racial groups of Durban, to throw light on their position in the social structure of Durban as a whole and on their relation with members of the other groups.

The Baumannville study of an African urban community is the first of the five projects to cover the basic types of communities of which Durban is composed. The others are Coloured, Indian, European and a mixed residential area.

Baumannville was chosen as the African community to be studied in Durban, in spite of the initial recognition that the early administrative policies of confining admission to those married according to Christian rites and the large sprinkling of professional and clerical workers might constitute a selected, possibly non-representative African urban community. But Baumannville presented four distinct advantages for a preliminary study. The location is small, comprising only 118 households. It was thus planned that information be sought from the entire community and sampling avoided. It was known that most members of the community were English speaking, thus making the use of interpreters unnecessary. Baumannville is the oldest location in Durban and it was considered desirable to undertake the initial research into an African urban community having had the longest experience of the influences of urbanisation and European contact, thought and ways of life. Finally Baumannville offered the advantage of ready accessibility to the field workers.

Interviews, observation, records and a schedule were the major instruments used in conducting the survey. The planning of the study began in April 1954, the major field work being undertaken in June and July. Information was sought from each of the 118 Baumannville households on a wide range of subjects included in schedule prepared by the team. This was obtained from all but five households, who, despite the perseverance of the field workers, declined to co-operate.

The team was composed of two sociologists, two psychologists and one social anthropologist. Although representing different social science disciplines, the team worked together at the same tasks throughout the study. It was only at the stage of analysis and interpretation that the material was divided into selected sections which were allocated to individual researchers. Mrs. Audrey Cowley M.A. undertook the documentary research and the writing of the chapters on the history and administration of Baumannville; Miss Violaine Junod M.A. (an Institute staff member who volunteered to work on the project) prepared "The People"; Dr. Desmond Reader submitted "Houses, Families and Households" and the major part of "Marriage, Family Life and Children"; Mr. Jack Mann M.A. assisted with the latter chapter and wrote "Attitudes to Other Racial Groups"; Mr. Cleopas Kumalo M.Soc.Sc. was responsible for "Schooling - Past and Present" and "Religion, Medicine and Magic" and Mr. Fred St. Leger B.A. (S.S.), BSc. (Econ.) undertook "Workers, Occupations and Income" and "Recreation and the Use of Leisure Time". The team was responsible for the last chapter.

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Certain limitations are inherent in this type of study. For instance, adequate data for intensive analysis of certain important aspects of community life were not obtained. Pre-occupation with the schedule and its analysis imposed some degree of rigidity. The results, however, have revealed much of importance, the problems of inter-disciplinary research have been met and the team has obtained a fruitful experience in things learned the hard way.

The Institute for Social Research is indebted to many people for aid in the planning, research activities and publication of this report. It is not possible to thank all of them here.

Above all appreciation is extended to the men and women of Baumannville, who assisted so generously and over so long a period with an ever ready tolerance and infinite patience. The Overseas Consultants of the Institute for Social Research, whose services were made available by the generous assistance of the Carnegie Corporation, New York, in addition to their other valuable services to the Institute, bore much of the heat and burden of the research training project. Grateful thanks are expressed to Professor Edmund de S. Brunner, Chairman of the Institute of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, whose leadership and contagious enthusiasm has left an indelible impact; to Professor Charles Nixon, University of California, who saw the project through its stages of growing pains and to Professor Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, Teachers' College, Columbia University, who gave valuable guidance and ready assistance during the final period and most generously undertook the laborious task of editing the report. Institute members of the Departments of Economics, Education, Bantu Studies, Psychology and Sociology assisted by their sympathetic and critical interest and guidance. Professor K. Kirkwood, until his departure for Oxford in December 1954, was intimately associated with the project and his knowledge of Baumannville proved to be most valuable. The officials of the Department of Native Administration, Durban Corporation, readily assisted while the Department of Census made available its data on Baumannville from the 1951 Census.

The National Council for Social Research financed the bursaries for the advanced social research training and also made a grant to enable this study to be undertaken.

In affording recognition to the many men and women who have given valuable counsel and guidance any inadequacies of the study cannot, however, be attributed to them.

H.P. POLLAK
ACTING DIRECTOR
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

University of Natal,
Durban.
28th June, 1955.

C O N T E N T S

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FIGURE 1: LOCATION OF BAUMANNVILLE.

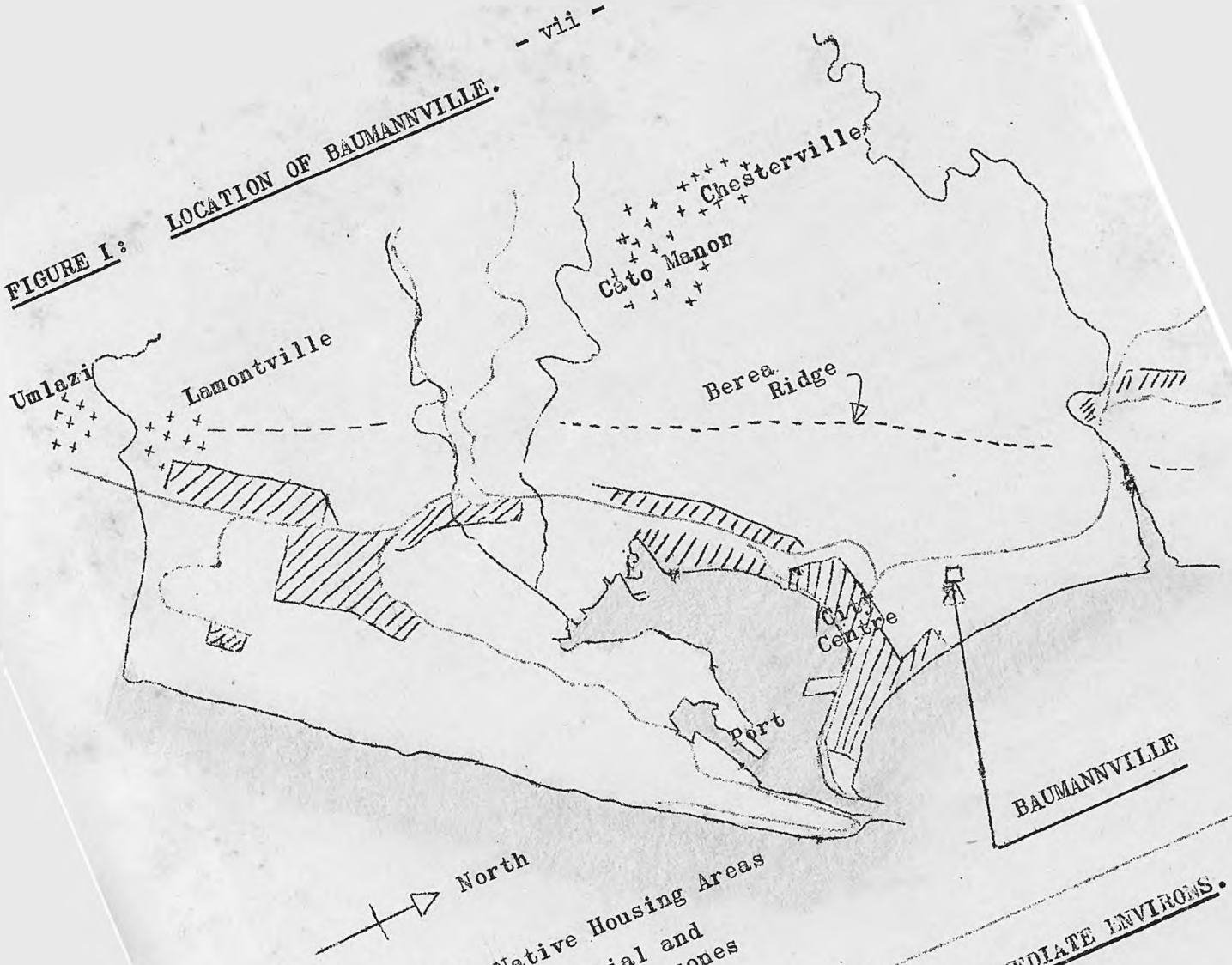
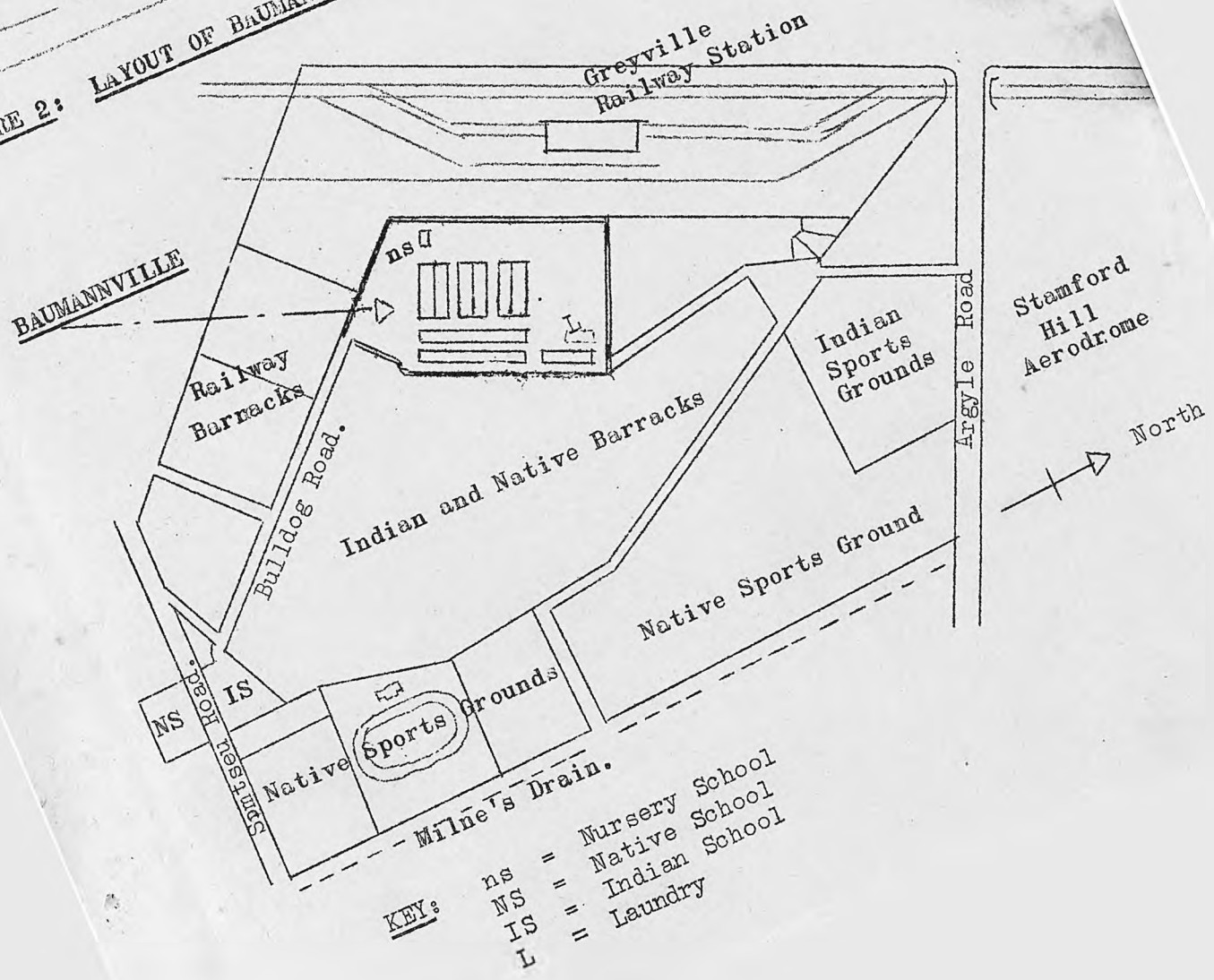


FIGURE 2: LAYOUT OF BAUMANNVILLE AND ITS IMMEDIATE ENVIRONS.



CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

Baumannville was the first housing for Native families provided by the Durban Municipality although barracks for single men had been built earlier. This establishment was, in reality, recognition that the Natives were becoming a part of the city's population and that the city had a responsibility for their proper dwelling. This location has been a part of the whole history of the urbanization of Natives in the Durban area. Before we consider the historical background and the specific history of Baumannville itself, however, its location and relationship to the city should be indicated.

LOCALE.

The site of the Baumannville Location was originally part of the swampy alluvial terrain south of the Umgeni River known as the Eastern Vlei. It lies just over a mile due north of the Durban City Hall and three-quarters of a mile from the sea, just south of the old Stamford Hill aerodrome. A small more-or-less-regular pentagon of land, nine acres in extent, it is bounded on the east by the Corporation Indian Magazine Barracks and on the south by the Railway Native compounds. Its western boundary is the railway line to the North Coast and the Greyville railway station, while to the north lies an unimproved piece of the town lands. There are only two means of access - from the south past the Somtseu Location in Jolf Taylor Road up the narrow and winding Bulldog Road, or from the north turning off Argyle Road and skirting the Indian Barracks. In this small enclosed area live approximately eight hundred people, an island of African families surrounded by thousands of single Natives and Indian families.

The main significance of Baumannville's position lies in its proximity to the city on the one hand and to Somtseu Location on the other. It is the most conveniently situated of all the Durban Native locations, being within walking distance of most amenities; in addition it has had a good municipal transport service to the city since 1948. But its whole life is coloured by the influence of Somtseu Location, housing 4500 single men a hundred yards away. Baumannville has always been an adjunct to Somtseu since the days when it was first conceived as the Married Natives' Quarters of the Depot Road Location. To-day it looks to Somtseu for its trading facilities, its post office, and most of all, its beer customers.

CONDITIONS BEFORE UNION.

In 1899, the year of the Second Boer War, the total population of Durban was 41,259; nearly 30 percent (11,935) were Natives and of these 95 percent (11,334) were males. This was in no sense a stable population; it consisted mostly of men who had come to the town from Zululand for six months of the year to earn some money. They worked as ricksha pullers, as 'togt' or day labourers, as domestic and store servants. Housing was haphazard; servants slept in 'kias' in employers' backyards; storemen in the stores where they worked by day; some private firms built compounds; the Corporation had provided Togt Barracks, but these were totally inadequate, and in any case the togt men preferred to share the dwellings of their domestic servant friends on the sly, or make illegal use of laundries and food store-rooms as sleeping apartments - a practice strongly combated by the Sanitary Department. Indian and Native settlements had sprung up at Bamboo Square near the Point and

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on the Eastern Vlei, a swampy area which had been drained in 1865. A Wesleyan minister of the time commented, "A marked feature in our work here is the absence of children or any family life".

There was no direct taxation for Natives, though togt workers and ricksha boys had to take out licences. A proclamation of 1874 required the registration of togt labourers and in 1888, after protests at an outbreak of assault and rape, the Registration of Native Servants Law had been passed; neither was enforced with any degree of thoroughness; in 1899 about 4,066 men were registered. The Magistrate reported little serious crime except for liquor offences; although Natives were not supposed to have 'European liquor' in their possession, it was fairly easily come by through poor white and Indian peddlers. The authorities were troubled at the 'social and moral deterioration' of the Native. Not only was drunkenness rife, but prostitution was increasing and venereal disease was becoming a health problem. Otherwise the main illnesses among the Natives were chicken-pox and dysentery. There was always the threat of smallpox, but vaccination had been introduced. No recreational amenities were available, though seven night-schools were run by enterprising missionary societies. In 1895 there were eighteen eating-houses for Natives and 154 'Kaffir stores', the great majority run by Indians.

After the Boer War, labour was scarce and wages rose. The Native population continued to grow slowly but steadily, reaching 15,900 by February 1909. It was still mainly migratory, though an urban core was beginning to form. This had been frowned on officially; the Assistant Magistrate, Mr. Stuart, wrote in 1904, "(Natives) should be regarded as mere visitors to the town; as such, though they give us labour, they do not contribute to the municipal rates and therefore have no right to share the same privileges that regular citizens do. Permanent residence in town should ... be discouraged." The new Corporation Togt Barracks at the Point had been built in 1903 at a cost of £14,591, but to the dismay of the authorities, full advantage was not taken of the new accommodation. The difficulty was said to be the high rent (2/6 p.m.) added to the fact that free accommodation was still available in the kitchens of householders. To meet this situation, the Locations Act (Act 2 of 1904) was passed, giving Town Councils the power to compel Natives to live in locations and make regulations for their control. In 1905 the Poll Tax was introduced. In 1906 the Bambata Native Rebellion broke out. This affected Durban only insofar as large numbers of Natives went home to protect their kraals. The town remained orderly and peaceful. The first Municipal Eating-house set up in 1906, ("a model of sanitary effectiveness"), was the first visible sign of a new municipal policy of providing amenities for urban Natives. The eating house supplied Corporation-brewed hop beer, which led to a dispute with the Courts as to whether the Corporation was conniving at an infringement of the law, which prohibited the sale of fermented liquor to the Natives. The decision went against the Corporation and the sale of hop beer was suppressed. The result was the wholesale brewing of Kaffir beer all over the Borough and a great increase in drunkenness. Legislation was urgently needed and in 1908 the Native Beer Act (Act 23 of 1908) was passed, giving local authorities power to undertake the manufacture of kaffir beer and to exercise a monopoly of its sale within their areas. The proceeds were to be paid into a Native Administration Fund, to be used, after administrative expenses were deducted, for establishing locations and schools, providing hospital acommodation and any other object in the interests of the Natives. From this Fund came the money to build Durban's first Native Location.

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The need for a Native location had been felt as early as 1863, when it was recommended that land should be set aside at the end of Grey Street for this purpose. By 1873 the Town Council was so alarmed at "the probable disastrous effects which may arise to the inhabitants of the Borough from the selling and leasing of properties in and about the town" to Natives and Indians that they appointed a Committee to select a suitable site for the location. The site chosen was "on the high and dry portion of the Eastern Vlei to the north of the Powder Magazines, or to explain more fully, at the spot where the last Durban race meeting was held" - the very site where Baumannville was built 40 years later. Attempts were made in succeeding years to settle Indians there. The Indian Magazine Barracks was built in 1880, and twenty plots were sold to private owners, but on the whole the Indians preferred to remain on the overcrowded Western Vlei. By 1889, however, there were complaints of a shanty town on the Eastern Vlei where Natives were charged exorbitant rents (10/- per month for a single room) by Indian landlords - a forerunner of the recent situation at Cato Manor.

Over the years constant pleas were put forward to the Council, mostly by the Chief Constable and the Town Medical Officer, for a location. After a rape case in 1886, a large public meeting recommended the establishment of a Native location at a convenient distance from the town, mainly in order to keep the Natives under proper police supervision. From the European point of view, the advantages of segregating the Natives in a location lay mainly in increased control and supervision; the liquor traffic could be suppressed, the dangers of theft and assault could be minimized, there would be less risk of the spread of epidemics, less fear of fire from the inflammable and badly-built Native dwellings. Moreover, since proximity to Native houses reduced the value of property, shifting the Natives from the centre of the borough meant a financial coup. The police also argued that it would solve the constant complaints of the "noise made at all hours by the hordes of kaffirs living on neighbouring premises". There were advantages in the plan, however, for the Natives. "I strongly recommend ... that a Native Location be at once erected upon the Eastern Vlei", wrote the Superintendent of Police in 1889, "where pure air and good water are in abundance and where they will be far more comfortable and happy". There, it was envisaged, they could have their own eating-houses, schools, churches and playgrounds all to hand; in such a location licensed Native beer-houses could be allowed. A minimum standard of housing could be maintained and they would not have to live under overcrowded conditions. And they would be protected against the corrupting influence of the more lawless Europeans, especially the liquor-sellers. "Now between 5 and 9 p.m.", runs the Police Superintendent's Report for 1898, "(they are) subjected to all the temptations for liquor and other vices, and after that hour penned up like so many pigs unless they can persuade (for a few pence) a vagabond to give them a pass to wander about after hours, or get one from some of their employer's family on the pretence of going to school ..... The expenses would be trifling compared with the danger by fire, epidemic or present loss of property taken by them, the value of the ground they now occupy, and what is more, their own health and happiness".

In spite of these arguments, no immediate attempt was made to overcome the financial difficulties involved in building the location. The local authorities, recalling the cost and lack of popularity of the Point Togt Barracks, were chary of another failure. Nothing was done until the Native Administration Fund was set up and began to operate in January 1909, providing the Municipality with the money and the necessary directive to take action.

BUILDING THE LOCATION

In 1910, with Union safely achieved, the severe incidence of tuberculosis among the Natives turned the thoughts of the Town Council again towards the desirability of a location to protect the health of all sections

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of the community. A special Committee on Native Locations was appointed under Councillor Henwood and, in collaboration with the Borough Engineer, a plan was prepared for laying out eighty acres at King's Park, in the neighbourhood of Stamford Hill. The special feature of this plan was that residence in the location was to be voluntary - previous schemes had proposed that all Natives not actually required for service during the night hours should be compelled to live in the location. Councillor Henwood's plan, however, met with a very cold reception from the burgesses of Stamford Hill, and the following year the Mayor proposed that the location should be on a much larger scale, and situated outside the Borough. The Council of 1912 rejected this suggestion because of the transport problems involved in getting servants and labourers to work on time. One of the first considerations in housing Natives, it was pointed out, was that the European employer should not be inconvenienced. Native labourers were needed at the Port at all hours, there were extensive industrial undertakings at Congella, and hundreds were employed at warehouses and workshops in the centre of town, so the logical solution was to provide not one but three locations, at the Point, Ordnance Road, and Congella. After another year's delay, events moved swiftly. Plans were prepared for a location on a site at Bamboo Square at the Point, and tenders were invited. On the eve of accepting the tender the suitability of the site was questioned because of governmental proposals to take over all business as forwarding agents at the harbour, in which case the area would be required to house the Government-employed labour. The Bamboo Square tenders were hastily rejected and the Borough Engineer instructed to go ahead with plans for a site in the Ordnance Road district.

This time it was the real thing. Tenders were accepted in November 1913 for a site abutting Depot Road, and building was started on a location to accommodate 624 single male Natives. But this plan ignored the necessity for providing housing for married Natives living permanently in town, a problem just becoming significant at the time. Through the efforts of Councillor Baumann, chairman of the Municipal Native Affairs Committee, the Council agreed to the erection of thirty-four houses for married Natives, to be built on a single acre of land alongside Depot Road. The Council was not unanimous in its approval of the scheme; some members argued that one acre was insufficient for thirty-four families, while others reiterated that family housing should be outside the Borough and each house should have at least a quarter of an acre for a garden. Finally more land was allocated opposite the Greyville Railway Sheds and £8,000 was set aside out of the Native Administration Fund for the building of the Married Natives' Quarters, as Baumannville was to be known for the next twenty-four years. Thus the life of Baumannville began, as it has continued, intimately connected with the large single Natives' location next door.

The Depot Road Location was formally opened by the Chief Magistrate in March 1915, but by June only an average of sixty Natives per month had taken up residence there - one-tenth of its capacity. The story of the Togt Barracks was being repeated. The Natives were suspicious of municipal housing, either from superstition, ignorance, conservatism or poverty. In 1916 bylaws were promulgated under the Locations Act, empowering the local authority to levy penalties against Natives living in unauthorized places in the town and against the proprietors who permitted them to do so. This had the desired effect and by the middle of 1917 the Mayor could report that all municipal accommodation for Natives was fully occupied.

The Married Natives' Quarters was built between March 1915 and July 1916 at a cost of £7,808. It consisted of thirty-six units, arranged in three terraces of twelve attached cottages, costing £216 each.

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They are described in the contemporary Native Administration Department's records as being "constructed of brick throughout, with tiled roofs. Each cottage is ceiled, shelving is provided and various improvements, such as street lights etc., have been erected. They are all connected with the sewerage system. An abundant supply of water is available. Each cottage contains two rooms, kitchen, pantry, coal house and washing gulley, and is let at a rental of 15/- per month". Tenants started moving in in the latter half of 1916. The policy was to move respectable Native families from areas of the town prohibited for Native residence into the location. Families discovered by Health Department officials living under badly overcrowded conditions or in dwellings considered "unfit for human habitation" were also advised to move, so that the presence of the location made some slum clearance immediately possible. The original tenants were all required to be married according to Christian rites, a factor considerably biasing the population. In all other respects their selection was left to the discretion of the Location Manager of Depot Road. The first inhabitants were mostly people of some education and status - solicitors' clerks, interpreters, clerks in the employ of the Corporation and teachers. In 1946 the Native Administration Department received a request for an old age pension from Matilda Vilakazi, who claimed that her husband was the first man to be given a cottage at Baumannville. By the end of 1917 it was clear that the scheme was a success and it was decided to increase the accommodation by a further two blocks of twelve cottages each. Plans were prepared twice and building deferred twice because of the scarcity and rising costs of materials due to the World War. On the third occasion houses were designed "as cheap and plain as possible compatible with decency", and the twenty-four cottages were completed in April 1919 at a total cost of £6,284, or £261 each, 20 per cent more than the first batch of houses. The "cheap and plain" policy was not a saving in the long run. One of the economies had been to build the houses without ceilings, but so much soot and dust got in through the tiled roofs from the railway that the ceilings eventually had to be installed in 1923.

In the post-war years the problem of Native housing in Durban became more urgent and more complex. There was by now a steady influx to the town from the country and a class of permanent urban Natives was rapidly developing. There were now Native residents who had no other home than the town. Increasing numbers of Natives lived in undesirable quarters where overcrowding encouraged disease. But the coffers of the Native Administration Fund (which the Urban Areas Act had merged with the Togt Fund to set up the Native Revenue Account) were empty, owing to the expenses incurred in providing barracks, breweries, beerhalls and eating-houses. In 1923 an application was made to the Government Central Housing Board for a loan of £100,000 with which to erect Native housing, but it was refused owing to lack of funds. The Council renewed its application in 1924, and at last in 1926 the Central Housing Board agreed to a loan of £50,000. The Joint Council for Europeans and Natives then submitted a resolution asking that part of the money be used to provide family accommodation. "The present accommodation for Native families, at the Married Quarters of Depot Road Location", they wrote, "while a model in the type of accommodation provided, is altogether inadequate to meet the needs of Native families requiring to live in Durban". As a result £12,600 was allocated for a further sixty two-roomed cottages for married Natives to be built at the Married Natives' Quarters. These were built during 1927 at a cost of £12,990 or £216.10.0 per unit, just about the same as the cost of the first thirty-six cottages. They were let with none of the difficulty that had attended the original accommodation of the location. On the contrary they proved popular, and in 1928 all 120 houses were fully occupied.

The Native Administration Department records for 1922 show the Married Natives' Quarters population as 252, comprising sixty families, made up of fifty-six men, sixty-three women, fifty-eight boys and seventy-five girls, an average of 4.2 persons per house. No further population

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figures are available, but an estimate based on this density would give a population of 504 in 1928 after the completion of the second sixty houses. In 1952 the Native Administration Department estimated the population to be 889. The fieldwork of this study shows it to be 842, a density of 6.9 per family-occupied house[1]. Thus the houses which were originally built to accommodate young couples with small families are being stretched to capacity and beyond to shelter in addition lodgers, visitors, family attachments and another generation of children.

Financially the location was a doubtful proposition. The Municipality had not expected to make a profit, but a heavy loss meant penalizing future plans for Native housing. Rent-collecting was by no means an easy job, and in 1920 a new bylaw had to be drafted to enforce payment. The income from rents of cottages for 1921-2 was £548 and expenditure on repairs, maintenance, etc. amounted to £828, a net cost to the Native Administration Fund of £280. For the year 1923-4 the deficit was £367, and as an economic rental, calculated on the valuation of the land, worked out to £2.4.0, or to £2.11.8 if light and water were charged for instead of being supplied free, the Council decided that the rents of the cottages might legitimately be raised from 15/- to £1 per month. At this level they have remained ever since, in spite of attempts by the Council in 1951 and the Government in 1954 to introduce economic rentals. The Native Administration Department estimates that the current discrepancy between income and expenditure for Baumannville is in the nature of £1,900 per annum.

Yet in spite of these disadvantages, the Council might well be proud of its innovation in providing family housing for Africans. The Public Health Report for 1929 states, "It is only during recent years that the Native has developed a tendency to bring his family to live in town, and the only really satisfactory living accommodation for Native families is the 120 houses built by the Corporation, beside the Greyville Railway Sheds". The Native Administration Department Report adds, "It is essential that this feature of housing should be extended towards the establishment of a proper Native Village, if the Native community is to develop along satisfactory lines".

THE GROWTH OF AMENITIES

Since the Married Natives' Quarters was originally conceived merely as an extension of Depot Road Location, no social amenities were provided at first specifically to serve the small married community except for a store, built in 1918 from Corporation-supplied materials and run as a private enterprise by one A.J. Mtetwa. A church was erected by the Salvation Army in Depot Road in 1917 and a school, planned in 1915, was built in 1920. A lecture hall and recreation grounds were provided at Depot Road Location, and through the kind agencies of Dr. Dexter Taylor of the American Board Mission a weekly cinematograph entertainment was introduced in 1922.

The growth of the amenities affecting the modern Baumannville community may be traced under several heads.

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[1] The counted population in the 113 households responding in this study was 775. At the same average density the estimate for the other five households would be thirty-five. To this has been added the thirty-two (25 children and 7 staff) in the Bantu Child Welfare Society Infants' Home occupying two cottages.

Economic facilities:

The laundry has probably been the most important single development in the economic life of Baumannville. As early as 1919 it had been suggested that a municipal wash-house in the location would provide a means of livelihood for the inhabitants and more hygienic conditions than washing on the banks of the Umgoni River as was the practice of the Native washermen. Nothing came of this however, and in subsequent years it became the practice for the Married Natives' Quarters women to take in the washing and ironing of the European residents of the Beach area and to do it in the backyards and kitchens of their homes. In 1934 plans were prepared for a wash-house to cost £2,200. The proposed charge for its use was 2/3 per day. The residents protested that at this price they could not hope to make any profit and the scheme was referred back to the Native Administration Committee for modification. In 1939 a protest was received from the Durban Laundry and Cleaners and Dyers Organisation to the effect that the amount of laundry work done by Native women constituted unfair competition to the laundry trade and that the women were working illegally without licences (a licence was required under the by-laws if washing was not done on the employer's premises). Regretfully the Location Superintendent admitted that the Laundry Organisation had legitimate cause for complaint and warned the women of Baumannville to discontinue their backyard washing. This led to a furore in Baumannville; the Advisory Board made an official protest; more than a hundred women appealed to the Superintendent to allow them to continue their twenty-year-old occupation; and the National Council of Women made an appeal to the Town Clerk on their behalf. Three months after the Laundry Organisation's protest, the Council had agreed to provide a wash-house in Baumannville.

Before the laundry was opened, however, another five years elapsed. The Second World War seriously affected building costs and the availability of materials. The building designed to cost £1,200 finally cost, without the locker-room, £3,067. This meant several applications to the Council for increased allocations. The washing troughs were built too high and there was no timber available for raised platforms. After the building was completed, it took another six months to instal the electricity for the irons. Then when the building was ready and the sixty-two women who did washing for a living were confronted with the necessity of taking out licences at £1.10.0 per annum, there was considerable resentment among the people and many women threatened to boycott the laundry. The Superintendent met this difficult situation by forming a society, called the Baumannville African Women's Association, of a few women who agreed to take out licences. The first licences were granted in May 1945, and in July the laundry, equipped with thirty-eight tubs and eighteen ironing-plugs, was formally opened. Once it was actually in operation the boycott broke down and there was a steady stream of applications for licences.

The laundry, however, continued to be an administrative headache. Almost immediately the Laundry Organisation brought an objection to the licences granted on the grounds that the laundering requirements of the City of Durban were already amply catered for and the premises were not suitable. The Public Health Department objected that no storage space was provided for clean and dirty linen, and a special locker room had to be built. This cost an extra £2,279 and was not completed till April 1948. Soap was in short supply, and it was only with difficulty that the Superintendent arranged for the Women's Association to receive a quota at wholesale prices. The electrical fittings proved unsatisfactory, largely owing to the many different types and defects of the irons supplied by the women, and the cost of repairing them became formidable (£28 in October 1945). Special laundry regulations had to be drawn up. The charge of 6d. per day for washing and 3d. for ironing did not cover the running costs and in 1952 the Superintendent reported that the laundry was losing at least £15 per month. In 1948 the installation of a hot water system was discussed but owing to the high cost no action was taken. The Chief Superintendent in 1955 proposed to transfer the boiler from the disinfecting plant at Somtseu Location, and raise the charges to help balance this expenditure.

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The laundry has had an impact not only on the economic, but on the social life of Baumannville. The Baumannville African Women's Association at first confined its activities to the laundry, buying soap wholesale and reselling it to members at retail prices, the profits going into the Society's funds. Later the Superintendent attempted to use it as a medium to introduce training in home crafts such as spinning. In 1947 it played a semi-political role, siding with the Superintendent in a dispute with the Baumannville Advisory Board, who complained that the Superintendent dealt directly with the women without consulting them. The secretary of the society gave evidence before the Broome Commission to the effect that "The women members of the society refused to join hands with the Location Advisory Board, because they had no confidence in them, because they were not helping us with anything". However, by 1952 it was reported that although the Association officially had thirty-seven members, a chairlady and a secretary, it had actually ceased to function, without ever having rendered a financial report. Instead, a Laundry-women's Association (under a different chairlady) was formed, with the declared aims of obtaining a supply of hot water and running the laundry on a collective basis, the Association to take in and distribute all washing equally among the members and then pay wages according to the work done. To date, however, this degree of organization has not been achieved.

The trading store in the location, built in 1918, appears to have become defunct during the 1920's. In response to a petition from seventy-two residents asking for a store in the Married Quarters to be run by a Native under the control of the Advisory Board, the present small shop was built in 1937. Residents, however, tend to do most of their shopping at the market and at Indian shops in Greyville and in the centre of town.

About 1949 a Food Club was formed, which collected money weekly and bought food in bulk at the auction market on Saturdays. At its peak the club had thirty families as members, but it broke down because its officers did not always remember to organize the weekly collections and do the buying.

A measure intended to alleviate the hardships caused by the War to the lower income groups of the community was the introduction of subsidized milk and food distribution schemes. The milk scheme was extended to Baumannville in December 1939 following a successful start at Lamont Location. Fifty-four pints of milk were supplied daily to be sold at 2d a pint, but the response was so disappointing that the facility was discontinued from July 1941. It was re-introduced in June 1944 at a price of 3d a pint, however, and has been popular ever since. The assistance to the individual householder may be gauged from the fact that the subsidized price has not risen since 1944, although the ordinary retail price is now 6½d a pint. By 1954 the total cost of the milk was £27,000 per annum for all the Durban Native locations half of which was paid out of the Native Revenue Account, and allegations were being made that a black market in the subsidized milk had developed. During 1944 the Council authorized the sale of fruit, vegetables and fuel, bought cheaply through the Division of Economics and Markets, at cost to the residents of Native Locations.

There have been attempts by private enterprise to improve the shopping and trading facilities in Baumannville, but these have not been encouraged by the Native Administration Department which considers it better to concentrate such facilities at Somtseu Location. Four Baumannville residents carry on business at Somtseu as caterers or suppliers of fresh produce. In 1944 some of the leading spirits

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of Baumannville formed the Inkwezi Co-operative Trading Society, the object of which was to open a trading store, a cafeteria and a Fresh Produce Enterprise at Somtseu Location "to stop the Indians making profits out of Africans". Some three years were spent in efforts to amass the necessary capital, but this was never achieved and the Society foundered. In 1948 one Daniel Dube wrote to the Superintendent pointing out the difficulties of obtaining refreshments in the location on Sundays and suggesting that he be granted a site to set up as a fresh produce and refreshments dealer, but without success. The same fate attended the applications of Eric P. Ramorobi to start a "café demove or moving grocery", a fish and chip saloon and a drycleaning establishment.

Recreational activities:

Baumannville has no playing fields or sports ground of its own, but has always used those provided for Somtseu Location (see map), which were begun at the same time as the location was built. A popular result of the de Waal Commission Report after the 1929 riots was the appointment of a Native Welfare Officer, whose duties included the organization of entertainments and sporting functions. In 1930 the Bantu Grounds Association was constituted to direct Native sporting matters, sponsor the formation of sports clubs and organize athletic meetings. This, of course, is a service to the whole Native community, not Baumannville and Somtseu alone. In 1950 the Somtseu sports grounds covered nine acres and included three football fields, two cricket pitches, four tennis courts, a cycle track, a Ngoma dance area and a sports pavilion. The City Blacks, Baumannville's football team, was founded in 1947.

As far as more cultural pursuits are concerned, the community as a whole is served by the Bantu Social Centre, founded in 1933, under whose auspices the Bantu Parliamentary Debating Society was formed in 1935 and the Ndongeni Library established in 1942. The Centre was taken over by the YMCA in 1952 and offers classes in domestic management, Afrikaans, music, dancing, boxing and weight lifting, besides holding socials and prayer meetings. The programme organizer reports a marked falling-off in the Baumannville membership since the YMCA took charge, only twenty-seven Baumannville names appearing among a membership of over 1,000.

Baumannville has an organization of its own, the Baumannville Cultural Society, which was founded in 1944 and still meets nominally once a month in the homes of members. Usually a lecture is given or a paper read, but it also organizes musical evenings, play readings, an arts and crafts section, library facilities, carol singing at Christmas and an annual picnic excursion. The titles of a section of the 1949 lecture programme are indicative of the interests of the group - "Non-European Political Salvation in South Africa", "A Review of 'Cry The Beloved Country'","Parliament and How It Works", "A South African Looks at East Africa", "This Advertizing", "African Youth". Three lectures were given in this year by Baumannville residents to members of the Toc H - on "Baumannville", "The African Football Association" and "The Struggle of an African Mother". It is regrettable to note that in 1949 only four of the thirty-four members had paid their annual subscription.

Services for Children:

An important feature of Baumannville is the Infants' Home, housed in two adjoining cottages and run by the Bantu Child Welfare Society. The proposal to establish such a home was first made in 1937 by the Society, and after the Council had agreed to an annual grant of £150 to pay for rent and running costs, the present two cottages were rented early in 1938 and the Home started with one abandoned child and one staff member. The Baumannville residents objected to the policy at first because of the housing shortage, but eventually accepted it. The Infants' Home today

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houses twenty-five children ranging in age from two weeks to five years, and a staff of seven. The children are usually committed by the court under the Children's Act, having been removed from unsuitable homes or abandoned. There are occasional cases of children whose mothers are working, or who have been discharged from hospital and are waiting for their parents to collect them. A curious feature is that none of the children in the home comes from Baumannville families.

The Bantu Child Welfare Society has made strenuous efforts for the last ten years to get improved premises and vacate the Baumannville houses. In 1944 the Council had under consideration the establishing of a day nursery, an Infants' and Children's Home and offices for the Society in Baumannville; the scheme was approved in 1946 and £15,000 placed on the year's estimates. However, by 1948 the Manager of the Native Administration Department had serious doubts about the suitability of the site because of the dirt from the railway and the bad influence of the brewing practices of Baumannville, and suggested that Lamont would provide a better environment for the Home. The Bantu Child Welfare Society feared that the Municipality was going back on its promises and threatened legal action. In 1951 the Council finally authorised a loan of £20,000 from Housing Loan Funds to be repaid over forty years and the granting of the land in freehold to the Society, but the Minister of Native Affairs would agree only to a thirty year period of occupancy and not to the sale or lease of the land. The Natal Housing Board too raised objections to the high standard of accommodation contemplated and the unit cost per inmate, and fresh plans had to be drawn up which reduced the cost to £15,400 and allowed accommodation for seventy-two children instead of the sixty originally provided for. At present it is planned to build the Home at Lamont, and the Society hopes that it will be in use by 1957.

In 1943 the Durban Girls' College Old Girls' Guild applied to the Council for permission to conduct a temporary nursery school in the Bantu Congregational Church in May Street, and to build a permanent one in Baumannville, if the Council would agree to provide half the building costs of £6,000. The next year it was decided to build the nursery school at Lamont, because it was felt that the number of Native children in Baumannville was so limited in comparison with those who would eventually be settled in the larger locations, that the Baumannville site was not the most suitable one to serve the best interests of the City. In 1948, however, the Old Girls' Guild decided to erect a temporary school in Baumannville after all, as many of the children who attended the May Street school were from Baumannville and the May Street area was predominantly Indian. The Council granted the Guild half an acre in the extreme southern corner of Baumannville on a ten year lease, renewable for two further periods of ten years each at an annual rent of one shilling, and in 1951 provided a grant-in-aid of £2,500 towards the building costs. The school was opened in November 1951 and given the name of Ekujabuleni (The Place of Rejoicing). Sixty children were transferred from the May Street school and twenty-one new pupils admitted; at present there are just under a hundred children. Some of the Baumannville parents would not permit their children to attend at first, but there is now keen support. In 1952 the subsidized milk scheme was extended to the school.

The school built in Depot Road in 1920 is still the main one used by Baumannville children. An intermediate department, consisting of Standards V and VI, was started with six pupils in 1922. In 1934 the Intermediate and primary schools were combined and Standard VII added, and by 1936 the school offered education up to Standard IX (Junior Certificate). In 1943 there was a major reorganization, the school being enlarged to absorb several branch schools and rechristened

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the Loram Secondary School in honour of an erstwhile Inspector of Native Education. £19,000 was spent in providing extra classrooms, a refreshment hall and staff rooms. The school's Parents' Committee, on which Baumannville has always been well represented, met first in 1932 and played a large part in organizing the school meals system in 1944.

As early as 1932 the Advisory Board drew attention to the need for a suitable playground to keep Native children from playing in the streets, and the Council agreed to level and fence a vacant area near the Married Natives' Quarters for this purpose. In 1948 eight playground units of swings and seesaws were bought for the locations, of which one was allotted to Baumannville.

Other Amenities:

No health services have been provided exclusively for Baumannville except for the appointment of a Native female nurse, at a salary of £4 per month, during the world-wide influenza epidemic at the end of 1918, when the Married Natives' Quarters was seriously affected. For the rest, the people of Baumannville participate in the services supplied for the Durban Native community as a whole. The Natal Anti-Tuberculosis Association was set up in 1933 to press for more hospital accommodation and to alleviate the sufferings of dependents of tuberculotics of all races. In 1934 the Municipal maternity and child welfare services were extended to non-Europeans at the Brook Street Clinic, and a certain amount of home visiting in the locations, including Baumannville, was undertaken by African health visitors. The Infants' Home has been visited regularly once a week by a European health visitor since it was founded. Immunization services are available to non-Europeans at the City Health Department, and since 1948 a van equipped to vaccinate against smallpox visits all the locations twice a year. Health education programmes against venereal disease and tuberculosis were introduced in 1943; talks are given in the locations from a mobile van fitted with a loud-speaker, and films are shown. Natives in Durban are served by two large hospitals, the King Edward VIII Hospital run by the Provincial Administration and the McCord Zulu Hospital run by the American Board Mission.

There were no public transport facilities serving Baumannville or Somtseu until 1947, when the Superintendent, assisted by the two Advisory Boards, urged the need for a service to the city. The Transport Board agreed, but granted only one route to the Municipality and two to Indian bus companies. This was greatly resented by the location residents, already up in arms against Indian "commercial exploitation", and a petition was presented objecting to the licensing of the Indian buses. The licences were not granted and the area is now served only by Municipal transport. Since the distance is short, Baumannville and Somtseu are the best-served of all the Native locations, buses running every seven minutes at peak periods.

Since the Baumannville houses have no proper gardens (there is room for one small flower-bed in front of each house), there have been demands from time to time for the vacant land at each end of the location to be allocated for growing food. In 1945 the Superintendent acceded to this request and 27 plots were allotted. Enthusiasm soon dwindled as gardeners fought a losing battle against the fowls which are allowed to run loose in the location, and at the time of this study the gardens had become odd patches of mealies and a few flower beds, sporadically tended by some of the old men.

Desired Amenities:

There are certain fundamental amenities which Baumannville still requires. The most keenly felt is the lack of a recreation hall. The Baumannville Advisory Board in 1937 submitted a request for a hall which was

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rejected by the Native Administration Committee on the grounds that the community was so small numerically that the cost was not justified. In 1943 a complaint was made to the Combined Advisory Board that a special film on tuberculosis had not been shown in Baumannville because of the lack of a suitable hall, and it was suggested that a marquee should be erected for the time being. In 1946 the Council authorized plans to be drawn up for a building to be used both as a day nursery and a recreation hall as part of the scheme for the Bantu Child Welfare Society, but in the ensuing delay and negotiations over the Infants' Home the project was dropped. Baumannville residents are free to use the J.L. Farrell Hall at Somtseu Location, which was opened in 1946, but this is not really a solution because of the lack of identification between the two locations. However, as a hall is technically available, the Native Administration Committee resolved in 1948 that in view of the more pressing need for facilities at bigger locations, the proposal for a grant for a recreation hall for Baumannville should stand down indefinitely. It does not seem likely that the Baumannville people will ever get their hall.

There is no public telephone at Baumannville in spite of a campaign which has been prosecuted since 1943. The only telephone in the location is in the Infants' Home, and the Child Welfare Society has been forced to complain about tenants' entering the Home at all hours to use it. In 1950 in response to requests by the Rev. Zulu and the Child Welfare Society, the Manager of the Native Administration Department took up the matter with the Telephone Department, which in 1952 promised to instal a telephone in the laundry but warned that there would be some delay owing to difficulties in obtaining apparatus. The delay still continues.

There is no postal delivery to Baumannville. The nearest post office is at Somtseu Location (established 1940) and letters have to be fetched from there.

A list of grievances and requirements put forward at two public meetings of the tenants in 1944 and 1945 makes interesting reading. In 1944 the residents wanted premises for the Co-operative Society, a postal delivery, a public telephone, alterations to the houses to turn back verandahs into kitchens, a district nurse for general and midwifery services, and the removal of the stagnant water which collected behind the row of cottages 1-36 after rain. In 1945 they complained about the lack of hot water in the laundry, the selling of liquor by Indians from the Magazine Barracks, the lack of gardens and the fact that the Co-operative Society had still not been allocated any premises.

THE RECENT YEARS

The Durban Indian-African riots of 1949, disastrous in the Booth Road - Cato Manor area, made relatively little impact on Baumannville in spite of its proximity to the Indian Magazine Barracks. According to the account of the Superintendent, who was one of two European eyewitnesses of the events, an 'impi' of Natives from Somtseu Road and Umgeni Road attempted to attack the Magazine Barracks and broke a number of windows by throwing stones. The Native police managed to ward them off, and another attack was made from the Argyle Road end of Baumannville. The Indians in the Barracks retaliated by throwing stones into the location. The City and Water Engineer, under whose department the control of the Magazine

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Barracks falls, reported to the Town Clerk that "damage to the Magazine Barracks, especially in the nature of broken window panes and sashes, occurred extensively from missiles thrown from the Baumannville direction. It is not suggested that the missiles were thrown by the Baumannville families, but there is little doubt that the throwing was done by the visitors almost invariably on their journey away from Baumannville."

The High Brick Wall:

These incidents focused attention on two perennial problems in the administration of Baumannville - the maintenance of peaceful relations between the adjacent Indian and African communities and the control of illicit liquor. The official answer to the problem of racial contact was, as in the rest of South Africa, segregation, to be achieved by the building of a high brick wall on the common boundary of Baumannville and the Magazine Barracks. A picket fence had been erected for this purpose in 1933, but its main value had been in providing both communities with firewood, while it did not impede social contact and the trade in alcohol at all. In 1948 the Baumannville Superintendent said that he could not control the liquor traffic unless a brick fence was built. After the riots the Durban Indian Municipal Employees' Society also appealed for a dividing wall, and it was agreed that the cost should be borne equally by the City and Water Engineer's Department and the Native Administration Department. The matter remained in abeyance until 1953, when on the initiative of the Native Administration Department estimates were prepared, and in 1955 the necessary finance was voted. While the mills of officialdom were slowly grinding, social and economic intercourse continued unabated between the two communities.

Beer brewing and illicit liquor:

The problem of keeping a check on the brewing and sale of illicit liquor became much more acute with the promulgation of Government Notice 70 of 1945, which authorized limited domestic brewing of kaffir beer by householders in locations. This concession was intended to reduce the frequent offences against the liquor laws, for in spite of heavy penalties the Natives continued to brew kaffir beer and 'concoctions' such as shimiyane and siqata and to obtain 'European liquor'. In 1942 an effort was made to 'clean up' the illicit liquor position in Baumannville; after consultation with the Advisory Board, the Superintendent decreed that tenants convicted of offences against the liquor laws would be ejected from the location, and that the South African Police would be invited to raid the location between 3-4 a.m. on Sundays. This policy, however, was put into effect only sporadically. The official sanction of domestic brewing gave rise to a thriving trade in the married locations (Baumannville, Jacobs and Lamont) near the large single quarters for men. Such a trade offered reciprocal advantages for all concerned; for the housewives brewing was a means of supplementing their incomes at home and with relatively little labour; for the consumers it meant a more intimate and congenial environment and less restricted hours for drinking than the Municipal beerhalls could supply. In an effort to combat the growing evils of 'home brew' the Superintendent in 1948 appealed for longer opening hours and increased supplies at the beerhalls.

By 1948 the adverse efforts of the domestic brewing policy were clearly discernible in Baumannville. Hardly a weekend passed without some crime of violence. Regular police raids merely turned the population to brewing the much more alcoholic shimiyane, which had the advantage of fermenting more rapidly than kaffir beer and thus diminishing the chance of detection during the fermenting period. In 1949 the Superintendent tried a direct appeal to the tenants at a public meeting, threatening them with the withdrawal of the permits for domestic brewing if the position did not improve. The Advisory Board members were reluctant to support a forceful campaign of control because it would endanger

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their chances of re-election. By 1950 the Superintendent estimated that the home brewing system was abused by 80 per cent of those who availed themselves of it at all. A mass meeting of the residents of Somtseu Location passed a resolution urging the Superintendent to take drastic disciplinary action against the Baumannville brewers, who they said were demoralizing the City's Bantu workers. An Advisory Board report of 1950 regretted the number of crimes which had taken place in recent months but claimed that these were committed not by Baumannville residents but by "visitors" who came to the location already drunk. In 1951 the Manager of the Native Administration Department wrote to the Town Clerk, "Baumannville is a hotbed of the illicit liquor trade and allied vices .... the sale of brandy is viewed in a serious light .... Drunken brawls are the order of the night and day". During the fieldwork of the present study one (non-brewing) informant remarked that before the advent of home brewing Baumannville had been a pleasant friendly place; now everyone was too busy brewing all day to chat, the residents vied with each other for trade and it was no longer safe to leave doors unlocked or washing outside at night.

In 1951 the Superintendent reported, "Baumannville as it is today serves no good purpose and is nothing else but a blot on the city. Of late there have been four brutal murders, which can all be traced to the drinking of all sorts of concoctions that takes place there, and numerous serious assaults from the same cause. Out of 118 families resident in the location I have recorded 110 convictions for illicit liquor in recent years .... Fines varying from £80 to £5 have been inflicted by the courts, but these have no effect whatever as even the larger sums are quickly and easily made up with the sale of beer and other liquors .... With the large single Somtseu Road Location within a few hundred yards of it, the large Railway Location for single Natives having a mutual fence with it and the Somtseu Road Native Sports Ground within a stone's throw, an ever ready market exists for their wares and nothing but the withdrawal of the home brew privileges and restriction of entry to outsiders will ever put the traffic in drink down".

Illegal additions to houses:

The problem of the illegal structures built on to the houses is another case where infringement of the law has become common practice. The original two-roomed cottages were intended for and let to young married couples with small families. Over the years the families enlarged, relatives came to town, lodgers were taken in, and the pressure on the accommodation became acute. To meet this need residents closed in the back porches to make an additional room, used sometimes as a kitchen, sometimes as an extra bedroom, often as a parlour for the beer customers. In 1948 the City and Water Engineer complained that each house without exception had an illegal wooden structure erected off the back verandah built of untreated timber which harboured rodents, that rusty iron stove pipes taken through the roof constituted a potential fire risk, and that the lighting and ventilation of the original houses were so obstructed as to infringe the health regulations. The possibility of altering the temporary additions to conform with the public health requirements was investigated, but was not considered feasible. The City and Water Engineer suggested as an alternative building a separate additional room, ten feet by twelve, in the yard of each cottage and then removing the illegal structures. As this scheme was estimated to cost £24,000 (more than the whole 120 houses originally cost to build), it was not accepted by the Native Administration Department, who thought that a better apprach would be to attack the overcrowding by giving preferential allocations of houses at other locations

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to the Baumannville overflow, and then call upon the remaining tenants to render the illegal structures rodent proof if they wished to retain them, under threat of demolition. Notices in this vein were served without effect, and in 1953 the City Engineer reiterated his demand for action, claiming that it was impossible to do an adequate job of maintenance as long as the illegal structures existed. There was some doubt as to whether there was legal sanction for their demolition but it was considered that Section 18 of the Urban Areas Consolidation Act or alternatively the Public Health or Building Bylaws provided the necessary authority. A policy was decided on of demolishing the illegal structures as houses fell vacant, so that no individual tenant should be penalized. If the tenant himself removed the structure, he might retain the materials, but if it was left to the City Engineer's Department, the materials would be confiscated. Incoming tenants would be asked to sign an undertaking that they would make no illegal additions. In spite of this by 1955 two new structures had been built. Drastic action with regard to their removal is being contemplated at present, but the unpopularity of this move among the residents need hardly be stressed.

Within recent years a number of policies have been put forward which would have affected Baumannville more or less radically, but all have so far proved abortive. The earliest of these was the proposal, first mooted in 1939, to erect a Native Women's Hostel on the site adjoining Baumannville. This would have had the effect of helping to balance the enormous excess of males in the Somtseu - Baumannville area. Plans were prepared for the hostel in 1944 and in 1948 an area of four acres was officially proclaimed for the purpose. As both the YMCA and the Roman Catholic Church had been granted sites to build hostels for women in the Central area, however, it was decided in 1949 to build two municipal hostels further out at Mayville and Congella, and to use the Baumannville land for a new Central Brewery. The land was deproclaimed as a residential area in 1952, but the brewery has not yet been begun.

Effects of proposed rent increases:

An issue which aroused considerable distress among the residents of all the locations, and which is still alive, was the proposed introduction of economic rentals. Towards the end of 1950 the Finance Committee of the City Council suggested that all locations should be placed on an economic basis; there had been no rent increases for twenty years and it was felt that a more equitable tariff for the value of the accommodation supplied should now be charged. This was in line with Government policy to reduce the heavy losses incurred by sub-economic schemes. Economic rentals were worked out, but since these would involve drastic increases it was suggested that an income survey be undertaken to see what people could afford to pay, and so introduce the higher rentals by easy stages. The economic rental for Baumannville was calculated as £4.16.0 and the rental suggested on the basis of the income survey was £2.7.6.

These relatively mild proposals produced a storm of protest. The Combined Advisory Board stated that the increases were not justified considering the accommodation provided, the high cost of living and the low incomes of the location residents; they complained of insufficient consultation and threatened a resistance campaign. The Zulu newspaper "Ilanga Lase" reported that African housewives were so determined to resist that they were prepared to make public demonstrations if the authorities persisted. Some tenants expressed their intention of leaving the location and going to live in the shanty-towns. In October 1952 the scheme was further modified to introduce the rent increases in two stages a year apart. Shortly after this increased rents were introduced in one of the men's hostels in Johannesburg and a riot resulted. The Council then dropped the project, until the matter was reopened by a Government directive issued at the end of 1953.

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The Government policy was geared not simply towards raising rents, but to introducing a system of differential rentals based on income. No action could be taken until the Finance Act (Act 45 of 1953) provided the enabling legislation, but immediately the Act was gazetted, Government Circular 120/313(22) was sent out requiring all ative householders in sub-economic schemes with incomes in excess of £15 (for areas where wage determinations for the building industry existed) to pay economic rentals. Municipalties which did not introduce economic rentals by the 1st July 1954 would have to make up certain losses on sub-economic schemes from their own borough funds. This policy was not received favourably by the Municipal authorities - the Manager of the Native Administration Department condemned it as "arbitrary and inequitable" - or by the Advisory Boards as spokesmen of the natives.

The United Municipal Executive was briefed to represent to the Minister of Native Affairs the difficulties of implementing the directive. It managed to persuade him to postpone the date of operation of the new system and to introduce a sliding scale which made the impact of the new rentals less severe. Under the revised system householders in Baumannville with incomes up to £15.9.11 would still pay the old rent of £1 per month; thereafter with every ten-shilling rise in income the rent would be increased three shillings until the full economic rent, fixed at £5.3.6, was paid at an income level of £29. The Native Administration Department estimated that 82 per cent of the tenants would be unaffected, 16 per cent would fall into the transitionary group and 2 per cent into the economic group, giving a revenue increase of £255 per annum.

Even with these concessions from the Government, the Advisory Boards remained adamant in their opposition and recommended to the Council that the Government directive should be ignored. This the Council was unable to agree to in view of the financial losses it would be called upon to bear and the fact that only 25 per cent of location residents would in any case be affected. The economic rents were duly promulgated and the date of enforcement set for 1st December 1954, when a dramatic interruption occurred. On the 30th November two independent Supreme Court judgments in the Transvaal declared the new rentals ultra vires on the grounds of inadequate definition of the words "income" and "earnings and allowances" in the Government circular. The whole matter is therefore hanging fire while new legislation is prepared, and location tenants are still paying rent at the old rates.

Proposal for widows' location:

The policy change which would have had the greatest effect on the Baumannville community had it gone through, was the suggested conversion of Baumannville to a widows' location. Under the Unkungena custom of the Native code, when a man died his widow became the ward of his nearest male relative and joined the domestic establishment of the latter. In the locations, as there was no provision for female householders, this meant that on the death of the husband the whole family was uprooted. One of the first acts of the Combined Advisory Board in 1937 was to take this grievance before the Native Commissioner, who arranged with the Native Administration Department that women widowed while resident in a location should retain their houses at the discretion of the Superintendent. Complaints were made before the Judicial Commission on Native Affairs in 1947 however that the position of the widows was still insecure, that they could not afford to pay the full rent of houses in the locations and that they were liable to molestation at the hands of the location men and beer-drinking visitors. Mrs. Maggie Gumede, a Baumannville resident, gave evidence that "We, as widows, had never been given an opportunity to

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make our views heard; we were just 'nobody's business'. The members of the location Advisory Board always frightened us by saying that, as widows, we had no legal right to remain in the location and that on any day we would be turned out ... We plead, as widows, that we should have our position made clear, because, as widows, we consider that we should not pay the same rent as when our husbands were alive ... We have no place to go to for a home except the location". In view of this and other evidence the Broome Commission Report recommended that the City Council should provide a separate hostel or location for widows[2].

In 1948 the Superintendent of Somtseu and Baumannville began to press for the choice of Baumannville as the widows' location. There were a number of good reasons for this. In the first place the number of widow tenants already in Baumannville was increasing rapidly; in 1945 there were ten, by 1948 twenty-three. The presence of the laundry provided a means of earning an honest living without resorting to the usual solutions of prostitution or brewing. The evils of brewing could be considerably curtailed by the stricter supervision possible in a widows' location. In the course of the change-over, the houses could be renovated and the illegal structures removed. Rents could then be reduced to 15/- per month.

To achieve this a wholesale exchange of Baumannville families with widows from the outlying locations was envisaged. It was confirmed that such a transfer of residents between locations was legally possible under Section 38(3) of the Urban Areas Consolidation Act. The Secretary for Native Affairs, however, favoured a much more gradual programme of bringing widows into the location only as vacancies arose, and in March 1952 the City Council passed a resolution incorporating this policy. This resolution caused considerable disturbance among the Baumannville tenants, and the Advisory Board met the Manager of the Native Administration Department to express its opposition, which was based on the fear that the setting up of a separate widows' location would encourage an influx of widows from other parts of the country and that far from curtailing the vices of liquor-selling and prostitution, the proximity of the all-male Somtseu Location to an all-female Baumannville would lead to a great deal more trouble. Early in 1954 the Advisory Board made a recommendation to the Native Administration Committee that when a location resident died, his widow was to stay at the location and not be removed to any other location or to special quarters for widows. As a result no further attempt has been made to implement the earlier Council resolution. The storm raised by this issue was just settling down at the time of our study.

Still more recently, attention has been given to the idea of converting Baumannville from a family location into quarters for single men as an extension to Somtseu Location, with from five to eight men in each cottage. It is argued that this will help to house the labour force centrally and will provide an opportunity for a renewed attack on the brewing and illegal structures problems, while the families will gain from a transfer to the newer locations where more amenities are provided for family living. So far this scheme is merely tentative and no action has been taken to implement it.

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2 Report of Judicial Commission on Native Affairs in Durban, 1947. Section 45, page 106.

The role of Baumannville in Durban's Native housing policy has changed enormously with the passage of time. In 1917 it was a new, original and important step forward; for nearly twenty years it remained virtually the only family location. Then in the mid-1930's Lamont Location was built, in 1939 a long-term plan for slum clearance and rehousing was devised, and the post-war years saw the completion of Chesterville and Lamont Extension and the policy of building loans for the erection of houses at Umlazi Glebe. By 1952 Baumannville provided 118 out of a total of 2,877 Municipal houses for Native families, or 4 per cent. It is therefore no longer of much importance in the total picture of Native housing in Durban.

It is in fact possible that the death-blow to Baumannville has already been struck. Under the Group Areas Act (Act 41 of 1950), which provides for the re-zoning of urban areas to ensure the residential segregation of the various races, Baumannville falls into a working or non-residential zone, so that ultimately the area will have to be cleared of all Native housing. Whether the residents will be sent to the established locations at Chesterville and Lamont, allowed to build their own houses at Umlazi Glebe or transferred to the proposed new scheme at Duffs Road, and when all this will occur, is at present only a matter for speculation. But it seems likely that with the implementation of the Group Areas Act the sands of time for Baumannville are running out.

CHAPTER 2

ADMINISTRATION OF THE LOCATION

Throughout the discussion of the historical background of Baumannville many references have been made to the authority under which the location operates and to the administration which is responsible for it. This chapter deals with these matters within the framework of which Baumannville operates. The principal aspects of administration which are important to understanding the community are:- enabling legislation, local regulations, general restrictions on Natives, and advisory boards.

ENABLING LEGISLATION AND ITS APPLICATIONS

The administration of Baumannville must be viewed as part and parcel of the highly complex system of Native administration which has evolved out of the attempt to unify the diverse practices of the four provinces under a department of the central government. Before Union local authorities had virtually a free hand in the management of Natives living in their areas. Section 147 of the South Africa Act of 1909 vested the control and administration of Native affairs in the Governor-General-in-Council, and the new central Department of Native Affairs was created to ensure uniformity of policy and adequate supervision of municipal administration. In the succeeding decade public attention was drawn to the great growth of the urban Native population, the poor conditions under which Natives lived and the need to compel local authorities to fulfil their responsibilities towards them. The result was the passing of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act (Act 21 of 1923), the two main purposes of which were to provide adequate but segregated accommodation for Natives in urban areas and to control the movement of Natives to the towns[1]. This Act, many times amended and revised and consolidated by the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (Act 25 of 1945), may be considered the fons et origo of all South African urban Native administration.

Distribution of Powers:

Under the Urban Areas Act the powers and duties involved in urban Native administration are divided among the central government, the provincial administrations and the local authorities. The Governor-General may, by proclamation, compel residence in a location, Native village or hostel, restrict right of ingress to a proclaimed area, enforce the registration of service contracts and authorise the removal of Natives redundant to the labour requirements. He may make regulations dealing with the medical examination of Africans, the enforcement of service contracts and the licensing of location superintendents. The Minister of Native Affairs may frame regulations concerning the management of beer halls and domestic brewing, the removal of Africans from prohibited areas and the proper distribution of the labour force. His approval is required for the establishment or abolition of a location, the fixing of rents, the appointment of officers administering locations, expenditure from the Native Revenue Account and the exercise of the right to permit domestic brewing or the municipal monopoly of kaffir beer. Where the local authority does not take the initiative in providing suitable accommodation for Natives, the

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1 Hellmann E., Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 223.

Minister may do so at the municipality's expense[2].

Model regulations prepared by the central Department of Native Affairs have been taken as the basis for Native administration by most local authorities. The Department is represented in urban areas, including Durban, by Native Commissioners and controls a small mobile staff of Inspectors of Urban Areas. The role of the provincial administration in Native affairs is relatively small and is mainly confined to the scrutinizing of regulations prepared by the local authorities, although it may have the final say in such matters as the acquisition of sites for locations and the allocation of Government housing funds. Local authorities are empowered to make regulations concerning inter alia the conditions of residence in locations, their management and control, the constitution and functions of advisory boards, the erection of dwellings, allocation of trading sites, maintenance of public order and supervision and restriction of meetings of Africans. All such regulations, however, must first be submitted to the Native Advisory Board for comment and be approved by the Administrator and the Minister before they can be brought into effect.

The central government is thus in a position to exercise close and comprehensive control of urban administration by virtue of its powers of regulation-making, inspection, control of expenditure and veto of proposals from local authorities. The shaping of policy has largely passed into its hands, and the municipalities, remembering their erstwhile independence, have sometimes felt this as a restricting influence. In the Durban Mayor's Minute for 1926 the Mayor commented unfavourably on the centralization of policy-making and decentralization of administration, and demanded a clearer demarcation of powers. However, in 1940 J.S. Allison, a former Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, remarked on "the wonderful spirit of co-operation and understanding as between Muncipal and State Departments, in spite of the obvious opportunities for annoyance and interference latent in their relative positions"[3]. The coming to power of the Nationalist Government in 1948 led to radical policy changes, some of which were at variance with local policies. This resulted in a slowing-up or actual impeding of the process of administration. Illustrations of how this has affected Baumannville are to be found in the dispute over the introduction of economic rentals, the length of time taken to decide the fate of the Native Women's Hostel, and the difficulties raised in 1951-2 over the building of the Bantu Child Welfare Society Infants' Home, each of which was discussed as a part of the history.

Finance:

Native administration is financed from the Native Revenue Account set up by the Urban Areas Act. The largest contributors to the Native Revenue Account are the Natives themselves, through the payment of rents and fines for contravening location bylaws, and through the proceeds from municipal beer-halls. Europeans contribute by paying fees for service contracts and housing licences, and (since 1953) a service levy of 2/6 per week for each Native employee not housed by the employer. Of these by far the most lucrative source of income is the profits from the sale of kaffir beer. It will

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2 Simons H.J., Some Aspects of Urban Native Administration I, Race Relations Journal 1940, Vol 7 No. 4, p. 101-2.

3 Allison J.S., Some Aspects of Urban Native Administration II, Race Relations Journal 1940, Vol. 7 No. 4, p. 112.

be recalled that in Natal the principle of utilizing the proceeds of the kaffir beer monopoly for the benefit of the Natives had been introduced by the Native Beer Act of 1908; the Native Administration Fund set up under this Act was incorporated in the Native Revenue Account in 1923. Under the Urban Areas Act the Native Revenue Account could be debited only with "services rendered by the local authority in respect of land set aside for Native occupation", and any other charges which the Minister considered to be for the welfare of the Native community. In effect therefore it permitted municipalities to utilize beer-hall profits to balance deficits in the Native Revenue Account and to provide funds for sub-economic housing; the passing of the 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act led to the wholesale adoption of the kaffir beer monopoly system by other municipalities. In 1945 this policy was deliberately discarded by setting up a Kaffir Beer Sub-Account, into which all receipts from the sale of kaffir beer had to be paid and which could be used only to cover expenditure incurred in the manufacture and sale of kaffir beer and to provide social and recreational facilities for Natives. The sub-account could not be used for housing, and consequently the move was unpopular with local authorities and its enforcement had to be deferred. The present policy is to make income and expenditure on housing self-balancing where possible.

The expenses incurred in the administration of locations are chargeable to the Native Revenue Account. A single set of accounts is kept for both Somtseu and Baumannville Locations. It is thus impossible to obtain an idea of the cost of running Baumannville with any accuracy, although in the past a rough estimate has been made by debiting Baumannville with one-twentieth of the total expenses. In view of the relative size of the locations, this is probably an over-estimate. The main items of expenditure for Baumannville are capital charges, staff salaries and allowances, maintenance, electricity, printing of laundry tickets and other services, and the subsidizing of the milk scheme[4].

Local Administration.

The policy-shaping body of the local authority as far as Native affairs is concerned is usually one of the standing committees of the Council. If there is no special committee for Native affairs, it may fall under the Public Health Committee or the Town Clerk's department[5]. The responsibility for carrying out government and municipal policy lies with the municipal Native administration department, where this exists. The establishment of such departments was strongly recommended by the Transvaal Local Government Commission of 1922, but they have been instituted in only a few of the larger areas or those with big Native populations,

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4 The revenue for Baumannville was estimated for the year 1953-4 as follows:-

Rents (120 cottages @ £1 per month)	£1,440
Laundry	100
Milk	912
Rent (General Dealer's Store)	45
Lodgers' Fees	55
	£2,552

Finance relating to the milk scheme is not normally included in the location accounting system.

5 Simons H.J. Op. cit. p. 109.

particularly in Natal and on the Rand.[6] The Native Laws Amendment Act (Act 46 of 1937) provided for the appointment of managers of municipal Native administration departments. In most of the smaller towns the officer responsible for Native administration is the location superintendent, who may also be the health inspector, the market master or even the Town Clerk.

Durban has a good record in the setting up of the machinery for local Native administration, both preceding and exceeding the requirements of the Urban Areas Act and its amendments. All aspects of Native administration - the establishment and control of eating-houses and togt barracks, registration of servants and labourers, as well as civil and criminal offences - were originally handled by the Police Department. In 1907 a Native Eating House Committee of the Council was set up, and for a few years thereafter the situation was confused, Native affairs falling under several committees; for example, in 1911 the Municipal Eating House and Native Beer Committee, the Market and Native Administration Committee, and the Police and Fire Brigade Committee all dealt with different facets of Native administration. In 1912 a special Native Affairs Committee was established, although this was soon amalgamated with the Police and Fire Brigade Committee again. The whole committee system of the Council was reorganized in 1920 in an effort to simplify administration and prevent overlapping of committees, and Native administration was placed under the Public Health Committee. In 1926 it became the responsibility of the Markets and Abattoir Committee - a sort of Council step-child, belonging nowhere. As a result of the recommendations of the De Waal Commission Report on the 1929 riots, a special Native Administration Committee was once more set up and has continued to function ever since. It consists of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, three other Councillors and the Mayor ex officio and meets at least once a month. Its terms of reference are very wide - to manage all aspects of Native affairs in the city, including Native housing,[7] and to arrange for the administration and enforcement of all relevant bylaws and regulations. Its duties are to consider proposals on Native affairs put forward by the Native Administration Department, the Advisory Boards, or its own members, and make suitable recommendations to Council. In practice, however, it is largely concerned with the supervision of expenditures from the Native Revenue Account.[8]

Durban's Municipal Native Administration Department dates back to 1911, when a very small staff under Mr. W. Wanless as Superintendent was deputed "to control undertakings provided for the benefit of Natives". To-day it has a staff of approximately 170 Europeans and 1110 Natives, and its functions include the control of influx into the city, the registration of service contracts and the organization of a labour bureau, the planning and maintenance of municipal Native housing, the licensing of private premises used to house Natives, the administration of housing loans, the management of beer halls, breweries and eating-houses and the administration of locations, hostels and emergency camps. The organization of Native welfare,

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6 Ibid, p. 103.

7 A new Committee of the Council to deal separately with Native housing is being set up from June, 1955.

8 Simons H.J., Op. cit. p. 109.

entrusted by the De Waal Commission in 1929 to a Native Welfare Officer working directly under the Town Clerk's Department was taken over by the Native Administration Department in 1940. The day-to-day administration of the locations is carried out by the Location Superintendents, whose activities have been co-ordinated by a Chief Location Superintendent since 1951 in accordance with a recommendation of the Broome Commission.[9]

The Role of the Superintendent:

The Urban Areas Act lays down that officers administering locations and villages must be licensed by the Minister and cannot be dismissed or have their salaries reduced without his consent. This acts as a safeguard in what must necessarily be at times an unpopular position. The Ministerial licence is intended to ensure that the right type of man is appointed, since no particular qualifications for the post of superintendent are specified, although experience in dealing with Natives and fluency in a Native language are looked on as advantages. Some of the Rand municipalities make promotion in the Native Administration Department dependent on the possession of a Bantu Studies diploma, and the Natives' Representative Council in 1938 stated that an ideal superintendent should have "some knowledge of and sympathy with Native aspirations plus a liberal education and sound knowledge of Native Law and Administration". Witnesses before the Broome Commission in 1947 suggested that location superintendents should hold matriculation certificates and have attended university courses in Public Administration, Bantu Studies and Social Anthropology. The Commissioner did not however agree that this was necessary, although he thought that the Chief Location Superintendent should possess academic qualifications.

Model regulations dealing with the powers and duties of superintendents were prepared by the Department of Native Affairs in 1924. They lay down that the superintendent must reside at an approved place in or near the location, that he must report on the conditions, health and management of the location, must issue permits and transmit grievances and recommendations from the residents to the local authority. Durban has never drawn up any regulations specifying the duties of location superintendents. One superintendent giving evidence before the Broome Commission said, "We have no laid-down duties, nor have we any co-ordinating set of regulations to which we can work. Hence, each location superintendent runs his institution on his own system and in his own way". The appointment of a Chief Location Superintendent has tended to alleviate this position to some extent.

The superintendent's chief duties in practice consist of the allocation of houses, and trading sites, the prevention of unauthorized occupation or residence, the settling of disputes among residents, inspection of houses to maintain the level of sanitation and cleanliness, making arrangements for maintenance, rent collection and the issue of visitors', lodgers' and domestic brewing permits to 'fit and proper persons'. It lies in his discretion to prohibit the holding of public meetings and entertainments and the building of subsidiary structures such as fowl-runs. Simons says, "His powers extend beyond the management of municipal property into the field of private rights ..... One of his difficulties is that his functions as civil administrator are not easily distinguishable from his role of policeman and supervisor of restrictive and oppressive legislation".[10]

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9 Report of the Judicial Commission on Native Affairs in Durban, 1947. Par. 121.

10 Simons H.J., Op. cit. p. 104-5.

Baumannville has never attained to the status of having a superintendent of its own. In its earliest days it was administered directly from the Native Administration Department, a Coloured man called Kraft who lived in the location being deputed to collect the rents. It was then decided that the Location Manager of the Depot Road Location should be responsible for the Married Natives' Quarters as well, and this system of treating Baumannville as an administrative adjunct to Somtseu has obtained ever since. The office from which all administration concerning Baumannville is carried on is situated inside Somtseu Location. There have been four superintendents responsible for Baumannville from 1917 to the present. The present superintendent has been there since 1946 and since 1951 has combined the offices of Chief Location Superintendent with the superintendency of Somtseu and Baumannville. To cover the increased work, a Deputy-Superintendent was appointed to handle most of the day-to-day administration of the two locations. The Superintendent controls a staff of four Europeans and 133 Native clerks, labourers and watchmen.

A study of the Native Administration Department files gives a more detailed insight into the variety of problems and duties which falls to the lot of the location superintendent. During the years 1945-9 the Superintendent of Somtseu and Baumannville was called upon to deal with the maintenance and repair of houses, roads and sewers, the allocation of houses and the collection of rent arrears, the eviction of tenants for various offences, applications for trading sites and the demolition of the illegal structures. He tried to control the brewing malpractices by direct appeals to the tenants and by co-operation with the police. He kept records of the tenants and their families, got jobs for some of their children, arranged for old age pensions and the milk supply, and discussed the problem of the ceremonial slaughter of goats in the Location with the Public Health Department. He formed the Baumannville Women's Association and negotiated the laundry permits and the soap quota. He relayed the grievances of the Advisory Board to the Manager of the Native Administration Department, and settled innumerable personal problems of the tenants involving divorce, desertion, drunkenness and defamation. A resident asked the Superintendent to eject his boarder with whom he had had a fight; the members of one family were suspected of tuberculosis and had to be X-rayed; another householder was harbouring a Coloured woman whose husband demanded her return; one of the women accused another resident of practising witchcraft on her because he wanted her house; such letters as the following are not uncommon:-

> "Dear Sir,
>
> Just a line to inform you that I have left the house at Baumannville as per our misunderstanding between my husband and myself. I am now at home at the above address and have left for good looking forward to my divorce."

It is clear that considerable tact and versatility are required of a location superintendent in the execution of his duties.

<u>The Views of the Tenants:</u>

Some attempt was made in the course of this study to elicit the attitudes of the Baumannville residents to local administration as it affects them most nearly through their contact with the Native Administration Department. Of the respondents, fifty-five declare themselves satisfied with the administration of the Native Administration Department, sixty are dissatisfied, and five undecided.

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Not unnaturally most of the dissatisfaction arises from points where the administration affects the routine of daily living rather than from matters of principle. The most frequently voiced complaint is against the proposed rent increases (this was just before the Government qualified the original arbitrary increases by the introduction of a sliding scale, and many of the people were faced with a rise in rent from £1 per month to £5.3.6). A close second comes resentment at the size of the houses and the refusal by the authorities to permit any extensions to be built on. There are constant complaints about the state of disrepair into which houses, fences, yards and roads are allowed to fall and the long delays before repairs are done. Other grievances are the lack of a recreation hall, a telephone booth, hot water for the laundry and more space for the children to play. Attitudes to brewing are ambivalent, non-brewers demanding that "the Corporation" should take steps to stop brewing, while beer-sellers complain of the excessive interference. Officials of the Native Administration Department are charged with being unsympathetic, discourteous or casual when approached with requests and grievances. "They should have more respect for our personalities", "They should be more human", "They do what they like regardless of people's feelings", are some expressions of this theme. In particular the Superintendents come under fire for not being stricter with illicit brewers and for being dilatory about repairs; there is criticism of the calibre of man chosen for the post. "The Native Administration Department does not show enough care in selecting a Superintendent; they require no educational qualification and they do not pay well ..... What is needed is a good example for the Africans", says one informant, while another comments, "The officials of the Native Administration Department know nothing about the people who live in the locations, and are very difficult to approach. Anyone who tells the truth is regarded as too big for his boots. One rarely finds Location Superintendents who have the welfare of the location residents at heart ..... The Superintendents are against any progressive thing. The Native Administration Department gets a retired policeman who can speak Fanakalo, but a policeman has seen only the worst side of Africans. These men are worse educated and worse off economically than many of the men they rule. They perform the functions of an illiterate chief in the reserves, but get paid much more. There is only one Superintendent in Durban worth his salt". Finally there is some feeling that the Native Administration Department is responsible for limiting the powers of the Advisory Boards.

Those tenants favourably disposed towards the Native Administration Department are less inclined to enlarge on their views than the critics; nevertheless, a certain amount of sympathetic comment is offered spontaneously. "They really do try to make houses for us. It's our people who do nothing", is one percipient remark. "I've no grounds to complain; when I go to report matters to them I've not met with discourtesy", says another. The Superintendent also has his champions. "(He) is a civil servant, but he has been most sympathetic with our needs", is one favourable comment. Lastly there are a few followers of a middle road which combines pointing out the defects of the administration with some constructive suggestions as to what can be done about them.

LOCAL REGULATIONS

The Married Natives' Quarters, along with the Ordnance Road Togt Barracks and the Depot Road Location, was approved as a Native location by the Governor-General in 1915 under Section 2 of the Locations Act (Act 2 of 1904 (Natal)) and Section 147 of the South Africa Act (promulgated in G.N. 1158 of 1918). In 1940 this was repealed and "the premises known as Baumannville Location, Block GVL, City of Durban" were approved as a location for the residence of Natives by the Minister of Native Affairs under Section 1(1) of the Urban Areas Act. The Location was renamed at the same time as this reproclamation, the name Baumannville being

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selected by the Combined Advisory Board (in spite of the preference of the Council for a Zulu name) to commemorate Councillor J.M.L. Baumann, the Chairman of the Native Affairs Committee when the building of the Location was begun.

Not codified.

The Location regulations under which all Durban Locations except Lamont are administered are thirty years old and far from comprehensive. It appears that a good deal of location administration depends on accepted precedent rather than written rules. The regulations are, however, at present in process of revision. The first set of Native Location Bylaws of the Municipality of Durban was sanctioned by the Governor-General in 1916 and promulgated in P.N. 122 of 1916 and G.N. 1159 of 1918. They were mainly concerned with enforcing residence in the newly-built locations, only exempt Natives and domestic servants being allowed to live elsewhere. They laid down rules of conduct for location residents and gave the location manager power to evict tenants for misbehaviour or offences against the liquor laws. Under Section 27 of the Urban Areas Act these bylaws ceased to operate, and in 1926 fresh Regulations for Native Locations and Hostels within the Borough of Durban were prepared, and approved by the Minister under Section 23(3) of the Act (promulgated P.N. 237 of 1926). These regulations fixed the rents for the various institutions and made provisiom to enforce prompt payment. Persons creating a noise or disturbance, provoking a breach of the peace or disobeying the Location Manager were to be found guilty of an offence. Residents convicted under the liquor laws or keeping a "disorderly house" could be ejected. Non-residents might not enter the location between 5 p.m. and 5 a.m. without permission from the Location Manager, and no animals might be kept without his permission. These regulations were re-promulgated in 1945 (P.N. 70 of 1945) and have been amended several times since then; most of the amendments deal with minor rent adjustments at the other locations and hostels and have little significance for Baumannville.

Rents.

The original rent paid for the Married Natives' Quarters houses was fixed at 15/- per month. This was given legal sanction only in 1920 when an additional Location Bylaw was prepared to this effect. In 1924 it was decided by the Council to raise the rents to £1 per month and this was incorporated in the Location Regulations of 1926. After the rent increases proposed by the Council in 1951 had fallen through, P.N. 140 of 1952 (amending P.N. 70 of 1945) was promulgated fixing the rents for all municipal family accommodation at sub-economic rates; Baumannville remained at £1 per month. It is interesting to note that P.N. 237 of 1926 lays down that rents are payable "by the husband or as hereinafter provided", whereas under P.N. 140 of 1952 they are payable "by the person to whom the Superintendent allocates the house, except as hereinafter provided". This change was probably necessitated by the acceptance of widows as householders. Householders accommodating lodgers pay a lodgers' fee of 5/- per month in addition; as the rent charged lodgers varies between 10/- and £1 for a portion of a room, the expenditure is amply recouped. There was no provision in the regulations for the charging of a lodgers' fee until November 1954 (P.N. 638 of 1954). The Superintendent claims that no Baumannville resident has fallen in arrears with his rent since 1947.

Allocation of houses.

The allocation of houses in Baumannville is one of the functions of the Superintendent. The qualifications required of a

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prospective tenant are that he must be married, have a family, be in regular employment and (since 1953) have a sub-economic income (i.e. less than £15 per month). Originally only applicants who had been married according to Christian rites were accepted, but this rule was relaxed when Lamont Location was started in 1934. Either a Christian marriage certificate or a certificate of customary union from a Native Commissioner is to-day taken as proof of legal marriage. In 1948 it was decided that applications for houses should be dealt with by the main office of the Native Administration Department in order to co-ordinate the position for all locations, but this was not carried out. In 1951 this responsibility was transferred to the Superintendent of Lamont, as the only location where new houses were available for allocation. In 1953 a policy of preferential allocation of houses to the married children of location residents, to Natives exempt from influx control and to cases specially recommended by the Superintendent, was introduced. In practice there is no longer a systematic allocation of houses to applicants on a waiting list. Residents of Baumannville hardly ever move, the only exceptions being Government servants who are transferred, or an occasional business man who decides to try his luck in a country town. Only three or four houses fall empty in a year and these are filled at the discretion of the Superintendent.

GENERAL RESTRICTIONS ON NATIVES

No account of urban Native administration would be complete without some reference to the morass of legal restrictions and requirements with which Natives coming to the towns and remaining there in employment have to comply. All the Baumannville residents must at one time or another have come up against these laws.

Influx control.

The aim of the legislation dealing with influx control was originally to check vagrancy and to prevent the Colony of Natal being swamped by refugees from the other territories; the modern provisions attempt to control the distribution of the labour force and to prevent excess unemployment in the towns. In Natal the earliest 'passes' controlling both inward and outward movement were introduced in 1884. Under the Durban Native Affairs Bylaws of 1916 (published at the same time as the first Native Location Bylaws) Natives entering the borough had to report to a registration office within 24 hours of their arrival and were issued with a permit to remain in the borough for five days. If they did not obtain work within the five days, the permit had to be renewed or the Native had to leave the borough. The Urban Areas Act made provision for the prohibition of entry into certain proclaimed areas of Natives surplus to the labour requirements or deemed "undesirable" for any other reasons. Local authorities were required to take a periodic census of Natives and the Minister might order the removal of those considered redundant or "idle, dissolute or disorderly". Durban did not make use of these powers until the validity of the 1916 regulations was challenged by certain African organizations in 1927. Steps were then taken to have the borough of Durban declared a proclaimed area (G.G. Proc. 10 of 1928) and a new set of regulations was framed under Section 23 of the Urban Areas Act (G.N. 93 of 1928). These provided for the establishment of reception depots for new arrivals in town, and extended the initial period for seeking work to six days. Natives entering the proclaimed area for purposes other than employment might stay a month. No Native under eighteen was permitted to enter unless he had a parent or guardian in the urban area or had been guaranteed a job. All these provisions applied only to males. Act 25 of 1930 required females to obtain a certificate of approval from the local authority before entering a proclaimed area, and in 1936 a Governor-General's proclamation (G.G. Proc. 66 of 1936) prohibited their

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entry into the proclaimed area of Durban. Fresh regulations amending the 1928 ones and incorporating this feature were drawn up (G.N. 368 of 1936), but were received with great distress by the Native women of Durban, and a deputation of five hundred women appeared before the Native Commissioner to protest. The offending regulations were not withdrawn but it was tacitly agreed that they would not be applied.

In 1940 G.G. Proc. 39 of 1940 attempted to 'freeze' the drift to the towns by prohibiting the entry of all Natives into specified proclaimed areas unless they had already been guaranteed a job, could prove that they were on a temporary visit or local labour conditions justified it. The Council in 1944 decided to enforce these provisions, but as there was no real labour surplus, they were very leniently applied. In 1949 as a result of the recommendations of the Broome Commission an effort was made to tighten up influx control in order to reduce the number of unemployed Natives in Durban and stop the growth of shack settlement. Native Commissioners in country districts were circularized to dissuade Natives from coming to Durban to seek employment, and restrictions were imposed on the issue of permits to seek work (G.N. 1032 of 1949). Government legislation embodied in G.N. 250 of 1950 and the Native Laws Amendment Act (Act 54 of 1952) further strengthened the hand of the municipality in enforcing influx control. Since then the Council has somewhat relaxed its policy to allow Natives with an educational qualification of Standard VII or higher (1950), youths under twenty-one willing to become domestic servants (1952) and Native juveniles whose fathers are in regular employment in Durban (1953) to enter the city. In spite of all official efforts, however, it is well known that there is a good deal of illegal immigration into the city and this may account for some of the overcrowding that goes on in locations.

Registration of service contracts.

The registration of service contracts is a device which provides a means of tracing individuals and protecting the interests of both employers and employees. Law 21 of 1888 (Natal) authorized the boroughs of Durban and Pietermaritzburg to establish a system of registration of Native servants. The Native Affairs Bylaws of 1916 required all employers on engaging a Native to send him within twenty-four hours to the registration officer for medical examination and the issue of a registration record, which was to be renewed monthly. Exemptions from registration were granted to government servants, members of the police and C.I.D., owners of freehold land, Natives employed outside the borough, the aged and chronically diseased, scholars and litigants. Special provisions were made for togt labourers. The Urban Areas Act introduced the system of registration of service contracts throughout the country, exempting in addition chiefs, ministers, teachers and interpreters from its requirements.

The Durban regulations of 1928 and 1936 dealt *in extenso* with registration, laying down the fees to be paid, the length of time for which a contract was valid, and the procedure to be followed on termination of employment or in case of illness or default. The most recent registration regulations are those promulgated in G.N. 1032 of 1949 and made applicable to Durban by G.N. 527 of 1950. These require a non-exempted male Native to be registered with a contract of service within three days of taking up a new job and to report to the registration officer within three days of becoming unemployed. Contracts of service are limited to one year and the employer is liable for the fee. Periodic attempts have been made by the Public Health Committee of the Council to obtain the registration and medical examination of Native females, but the Advisory Boards have always set their faces steadfastly against this. The

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situation is likely to be altered however by the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act of 1952 which provides for the replacement of the old service contracts and identification documents by a single "reference book" to be carried by males and females alike. The issue of reference books to males began in April 1954, and by August 38,000 had been distributed out of a total estimated at 110,000. A special Government Proclamation (G.G. Proc. 71 of 1954) requires Native females in urban areas to carry documents, but as yet no date has been fixed for their issue to women in Durban.

Curfew regulations.

Location residents are also subject to the curfew regulations. A 9 p.m. curfew was imposed to keep Natives off the streets under the Natal Vagrancy Law of 1869. The Native Affairs Bylaws of 1916 provided that the only placeswhere a Native might legitimately be between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. were on his employer's premises or within the location (except for those exempt from registration, land-owners, ricksha-pullers or holders of special permits). In 1931 under G.G. Proc. 245 of 1931 the hours of curfew were limited to 11 p.m. to 4.30 a.m., during which time no non-exempt Native might be in any public place without special authority. These provisions still apply, but the stringency with which they are enforced varies from time to time. Within the locations there is freedom of movement.

Liquor and Kaffir Beer.

The legislation concerning the supply of liquor and kaffir beer touches the life of the Baumannville residents very closely, since illicit brewing is such a striking feature of their economy. Total prohibition of intoxicating liquors to Natives, with certain minor exceptions, has been in force in South Africa since before Union. The Liquor Act (Act 30 of 1928) consolidated the liquor laws of the four provinces and prohibited the supply of liquor containing more than 2% alcohol to Natives. In Natal the system of municipal monopoly of the manufacture and sale of kaffir beer was introduced by the Native Beer Act of 1908 with beneficial effects on the municipal revenue. The Urban Areas Act upheld the principle of general prohibition but made provision for municipal monopoly or domestic brewing to be introduced in areas where the Minister considered it to be desirable. As these provisions were merely permissive, they had little effect on the country as a whole. Durban was allowed to continue with its monopoly system under Kaffir Beer Regulations framed under Section 23(2) of the Act (G.N. 1456 of 1925). These laid down that kaffir beer might be sold only on week-days between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m. and only for consumption on certain specified premises - the municipal beer-halls. No males under eighteen and no females were to be served, and the police were given powers to search premises where illicit brewing was suspected. In 1929 the sale and possession of liquid yeast, sprouted grain and other fermenting agencies were forbidden in locations. Under the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937 the principle of prohibition was tacitly rejected; the Act provided that domestic brewing automatically became lawful where local authorities did not introduce either a system of municipal monopoly or the licensing of individual suppliers. In addition either of these systems might be run in conjunction with domestic brewing. The Durban system however, remained unaltered until the promulgation of G.N. 70 of 1945, which allowed limited domestic brewing of kaffir beer by householders in locations subject to the issue of permits by location superintendents. This measure was made specifically applicable to the urban area of Durban by G.N. 1487 of 1945. The regulations under which domestic brewing is at present conducted are those framed under Sections 33(2) and 38(2) of the Urban Areas Consolidation Act and published in G.N. 88 of 1949. Householders may apply to the prescribed officer (the location superintendent) for permits for domestic brewing which allow them to brew between 2 and 10 gallons on specified premises and are good

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for between 7 and 28 days. Persons brewing without a permit, in excess of the amount specified, on other premises or supplying intoxicating liquor are guilty of an offence. The regulations provide also for a single permit covering a whole location or village, in which case householders are limited to brewing 4 gallons at a time. Special permits may be granted for special occasions, such as weddings. Baumannville operates under the system of individual permits valid for 28 days. Until recently residents were allowed to brew only 4 gallons at a time, but the Superintendent, who believes that a liberal approach is the best way to combat the evils of illicit brewing, has now extended this to ten gallons, the maximum permissible under the regulations. In 1951 domestic brewing privileges were extended to Native householders not resident in locations (G.N. 1993 of 1951). An attempt was made by the Council in 1949 to introduce the sale of kaffir beer by licensed individuals, but this was quashed by the Minister of Native Affairs.

ADVISORY BOARDS

Location Advisory Boards were established with the intention of providing a channel of communication between the individual location resident and the local authority. The Transvaal Local Government Commission in 1922 recommended the institution of advisory committees in locations which would enable the superintendent as ex officio chairman to keep in touch with the needs and aspirations of the Natives, "thus ensuring prudent administration and general contentment".[11] Acting on these recommendations, the Urban Areas Act required local authorities to establish advisory boards for every location and Native village. (An amending act (Act 46 of 1927) enables the Minister to set up boards for other portions of urban areas besides locations). The Act lays down that a board shall consist of not less than three Africans resident within the urban area in addition to a chairman who may be a European, and that no regulation affecting the Native area shall be made or withdrawn by the local authority until after consultation with the advisory board. Other details of the election of members, and the procedure, duties and functions of the boards are left to the local authorities.

Operation of Boards in Durban.

Durban however did not comply with the provisions of the Act until 1936, although a "Goodwill" Advisory Board was set up in 1929 in accordance with a recommendation of the de Waal Commission, after the boycott and riots of that year had shown the importance of keeping in touch with Native opinion. The "Goodwill Board" did not correspond to the separate location boards envisaged by the Act. It consisted of four City Councillors and ten Natives chosen to represent all sections of the community; it was to meet monthly and report to the Council through the newly-inaugurated Native Administration Committee on matters concerning the welfare of Natives in the city. One Baumannville resident, A.J. Sililo, was appointed to serve on this board. Separate location advisory boards in terms of the Urban Areas Act were set up for five locations - Lamont, Baumannville, Somtseu, Jacobs, and Dalton Road - in 1936. The "Goodwill Board" continued to meet until 1939 when it was done away with under the exigencies of war.

A joint meeting once a month of all the location boards forming a federal body known as the Combined Locations Advisory

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11 Report of Transvaal Local Government Commission. 1922. Par. 295.

Board, with one of the City Councillors as chairman,replaced the general board. Beginning as a measure of convenience, this Combined Board gradually took over the functions of the constituted boards which ceased to meet independently, so that matters affecting individual locations were not adequately ventilated. The dangers inherent in this system were realized by Mr. Justice Broome, who wrote, "In your Commissioner's opinion the Native Advisory Boards were intended to be, among other things, a channel of communication between the location residents and the City Council. The creation of the federal body has obstructed this channel ..... The creation of the Combined Locations Advisory Board is no doubt an excellent move, but the Combined Board must not be allowed to usurp the functions or to impair the activities of the constituent boards".[12] This warning was not heeded until 1952 when it became clear that the combined system of meeting led to much unnecessary waste of time and insufficient attention to local problems. As an experiment it was decided that the Boards should meet independently for a year, coming together for joint meetings only when necessary. The experiment was not highly successful; the Boards met irregularly and a good deal of work was required to collate their reports for the Native Administration Committee. After the year the system of meeting "jointly but severally" was re-instated. At present there are seven Location Advisory Boards, which meet once a month separately with their respective superintendents, and again jointly as the Combined Locations Advisory Board.

Regulations:

Model regulations covering the constitution and functions of advisory boards prepared by the Department of Native Affairs suggest a board of six members, three elected annually by registered occupiers in the location and three nominated by the local authority, with the superintendent of the location as chairman ex officio. The Advisory Board Regulations for the City of Durban (P.N. 26 of 1937) lay down that each location advisory board shall consist of three members elected by the registered tenants and two appointed by the Council, with a member of the Council as chairman.[13] In practice the chairman of the Native Administration Committee of the Council presides only over the combined meetings; in addition each board has an African chairman elected from among themselves. Candidates for the Advisory Board must be nominated in writing by five location residents. No one who is in arrears with his rent or who has served a prison sentence within the last twelve months is eligible for nomination. Only registered male occupiers whose rents are paid up can vote. Provision is made for the correct conduct of elections. As voters may be illiterate, each voter makes his choice verbally to the Returning Officer. Members hold office for one year but are eligible for re-election; they receive a salary which has recently been raised from £1 to £3 per month and are entitled to certain privileges, being exempted from registration requirements and the carrying of passes and having free transport to and from meetings. The regulations require monthly meetings and the keeping of minutes and lay down the size of a quorum and rules of procedure. Members who are imprisoned without the option of the fine, who contravene location regulations, are away for more than six weeks without leave or who do not attend three consecutive meetings must forfeit their seats on the board.

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12 Report of Judicial Commission, op. cit. Par. 117.

13 This deviation from the model regulations has proved wise. The system of having the location superintendent as chairman, though widely practised, does not work well. See Simons H.J., Op. cit. p. 107.

In 1948 a revision of the Advisory Board Regulations was prepared incorporating the suggestions made by the Broome Commission. The revised version provided for the monthly meeting of the separate location boards, newly constituted to consist of a Chairman (either the Chairman of the Native Administration Committee, the Manager of the Native Administration Department or the Location Superintendent) and four elected members, each of whom was to serve two years, two retiring each year to preserve continuity in the membership. The Combined Advisory Board was abolished in its present form and reconstituted, each Location Board sending one member to its quarterly meeting. More careful provisions were made for the conduct of elections: candidates were required to pay a deposit, voting was to be by secret ballot and corrupt practices were to be prosecuted. The revised regulations were adopted by the Council in 1949, but were not sanctioned by the Minister of Native Affairs in view of contemplated changes in policy afterwards embodied in the Urban Bantu Authorities Bill.

Functions.

The main function of the Advisory Boards is consultative. The Durban regulations state, "The Board shall act entirely in an advisory capacity and shall consider and report to the Council through the Native Administration Committee on all matter affecting the welfare and well-being of the Natives residing within the Native Location ....." Under the Urban Areas Consolidation Act all changes in regulations concerning location administration or affecting the interests of Natives in the urban area must be referred to the advisory board for report and may not be approved by the Administrator or the Minister until the board's report has been given due consideration. Amendments to the Urban Areas Act have increased the number of matters that must be referred to the boards for report, notably the estimates of the Native Revenue Account, but this does not necessarily (or even often) mean that the course of action decided upon will follow out their recommendations. Advisory boards may also recommend new regulations or propose new measures in the interests of the Natives they represent. However, "the requests of the boards are as a rule refused with almost monotonous regularity".[14] Act 12 of 1936 gave advisory boards the right to elect a representative of the urban areas for each province to the Natives' Representative Council once every five years, but with the abolition of the Council in 1951 this function has now fallen away. The boards are occasionally called on to settle disputes among location residents, but their decisions have no official sanction and residents tend to consult them only when they are dissatisfied with the superintendent's ruling. In 1950 one tenant in Baumannville requested "a round table with the board" to air his grievances against his mother, who was conducting a lively trade in kaffir beer in his house against his wishes.

Successes and failures.

A study of the work of the Baumannville Advisory Board since its inception in 1936 gives an insight into the sort of problems which exercise the minds of the representatives of location residents. The Board has crusaded successfully for the building of the

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[14] Simons H.J., Op. cit. p. 109.

laundry and the re-introduction of the milk scheme, unsuccessfully for a recreation hall, a telephone box, a postman and the replacement of "squat-pan" lavatories by the pedestal type. It has approved the building of the nursery school and the Infants' Home. It has complained about the limited size of the accommodation provided and strenuously opposed the introduction of economic rentals and the conversion to a widows' location. In conjunction with the other advisory boards, it has protested against the regulations restricting the entry of Native women in 1937, opposed the raising of registration fees in 1946, commented on the revised regulations for the constitution of Advisory Boards in 1948 and given evidence before numerous government commissions. A memorandum prepared by the Combined Locations Advisory Board for the Native Laws Commission in 1947 stated that locations were overcrowded, poorly maintained and inadequately provided with trading and transport facilities; that location superintendents were not suitably qualified for their posts; and that the management of locations should be vested in the advisory boards, which should have increased power to make recommendations and vote funds.

Many criticisms have been levelled at the advisory boards from responsible sources. Hellmann writes, "It is now clear beyond doubt that the system of Advisory Boards is a failure. The people themselves, seeing the impotence of the boards which they designate as "talking shops', have no confidence in their power to promote their interests".[15]

One difficulty is that in no sense can the Boards be called representative. In the first place they have been set up only for locations, leaving the many thousands of Natives who do not reside in locations (about 88 per cent of the total Native population) voiceless.[16] Secondly there is a ludicrous disproportion between the number of voters and the number of their "representatives" in the different locations; each location regardless of size returns the same number of board members, so that the smaller locations are proportionately much better represented at meetings of the Combined Advisory Board. Baumannville, with one two-hundredth of the Native population of Durban, returns one seventh of the advisory board members. As only male householders are allowed to vote, the Superintendent in 1951 estimated that in Baumannville ninety-eight people, out of a total urban Bantu male population of approximately 100,000, were controlling one seventh of the representation. Thirdly, only a small minority of residents actually takes the trouble to vote. The Mayor's Minute for 1949 comments on the distressingly small number of registered occupiers who voted at the annual elections. Baumannville had the best record of all the locations, with a 53.5 per cent poll; Somtseu was the worst with a 7.6 per cent poll. Simons attempts to account for this indifference to local issues by saying that the migrant labourers, in town to earn a specific amount of money, are not sufficiently identified with the urban community, while the "intellectuals" are afraid of being dubbed "agitators" and are therefore unwilling to get mixed up with anything savouring of politics.[17] The lack of a system of wards or other electoral divisions within locations increases the non-representativeness of the Boards. In Bloemfontein the introduction of the block system has improved matters. Finally the method of verbal voting makes it possible for the Returning Officer, if so minded, to influence the result

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15 Hellmann E., Op. cit. p. 266.

16 Report of Judicial Commission, Op. cit. Par. 118.

17 Simons H.J., Op. cit., p. 109.

of the elections. After some elections had been challenged, it was decided in 1950 that in future returning officers should be appointed from the Native Commissioner's staff and not from the municipal Native Administration Department to avoid such charges.

Even when duly elected, the advisory boards do not always function well. One reason for this may be that the most suitable people do not always get elected. It has been frequently suggested that Corporation employees should not be eligible as board members because of the opportunities for corruption involved. In terms of the Civil Service Regulations African teachers are precluded from serving on the boards, which eliminates some of the most intelligent and able members of the community. During the period 1951-3 three Baumannville Advisory Board members were unseated, one for contravening the domestic brewing regulations, one because he was in prison and one for missing three consecutive meetings. Charges of apathy are constantly being brought against the boards, not without evidence. In the municipal year 1948-9 seventeen meetings of the Combined Location Advisory Board were scheduled, of which five were not held because there was no quorum. During 1951 there was no quorum from Baumannville at five consecutive meetings of the Combined Board, which meant that no Baumannville business was transacted at these meetings. In 1947 a responsible member of the Baumannville Advisory Board, a university graduate, resigned from the board because of the unbusinesslike conduct of the proceedings, the lack of opportunity for the discussion of general municipal Native administration and policy[18] and the inadequate treatment of local problems under the wasteful method of combined meetings.

There is not infrequently a lack of harmony in the relations of the boards with the superintendent and with the location residents as a whole. Boards are quick to resent lack of consultation. In Baumannville serious friction developed between the Superintendent and the Advisory Board over the formation of the Women's Association connected with the laundry. The Advisory Board boycotted the opening of the laundry and accused the Superintendent of helping to prepare the memorandum, containing complaints against the Board, which the Women's Association submitted to the Broome Commission. In her evidence before the Commission, the Secretary of the Women's Association said, "The Advisory Board claimed that the Location Superintendent had no right to work with us without their consent .... Why should you (the Advisory Board) stop the Location Superintendent helping us, on the grounds that you had not been consulted? .... We should not be able to work together with the Location Advisory Board, because it had never done any good for us". It is clear that the Advisory Board does not have the confidence of all the Location residents. In some locations vigilance committees have developed spontaneously as intermediaries between the board and the people, but this has not occurred in Baumannville.

Opinions of the residents.

In the fieldwork of this study an attempt was made to explore the views of the people of Baumannville towards their Advisory Board. The investigation found that the community is fairly evenly divided into supporters and opponents of the Board. Of ninety-one respondents eligible to vote, roughly two-thirds (fifty-seven) say that they vote regularly in the annual Board elections; judging by their subjective comments ("I don't really know what they are doing", "I haven't got time to vote, I did it once but it's all foolishness")

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[18] Report of Judicial Commission. Op. cit. Par. 118.

the remaining third tend not to vote at all rather than voting occasionally. Forty-three residents express themselves as satisfied with the functioning of the Board, forty-seven as dissatisfied, and one is undecided. The hypothesis was put forward that those people expressing satisfaction with the Board are in fact the non-voters who are apathetic towards the issues involved, but on being tested the relationship was not found to be significant.

The opponents of the Board are far more vocal in their criticism than the supporters in their defence. Many of the defects of the Advisory Board system already indicated reappear in the Baumannville context. The prime objection against the Board, variously expressed, is the absence of tangible results of its work. "The Board is useless; it gets nothing done for us", is the main theme. Closely allied is the feeling that there is insufficient contact between the Board and its constituents, and thus no proper representation. "We don't see any step in which the Board has helped us. The Board should be kindly, it should visit us and consult us, but they don't even know what we need", laments one householder. There is a good deal of criticism directed at the personal qualities of the members of the Board. They are accused of being lazy, corruptible, uneducated, incompetent and mere "yes-men"; over and over again they are charged with participation in and support of the illicit brewing practices. "They are only interested in the brewers. They all make their money by brewing. Mr. X has not worked for years but he has a motor-car ..... He and the others, they are only nice to the brewers. That is how they get their votes", comments one antagonist; another pungent remark is, "I used to vote but the people on the Board now are drunkards elected by drunkards".

Some residents feel that a change in personnel is all that is needed to set the Board on the right path again; others, perhaps more far-sighted, direct their criticism against the system rather than the individuals involved. The limited powers of the Board and the fact that there is no means of enforcing its recommendations are seen as the real impediments to its successful functioning. "The Advisory Board system would be good", says a current member of the Board, "if members of the Board were taken as advisers, but they're used by the authorities as rubber stamps. Many superintendents would like the Boards abolished. Even the members of the Boards do not know what their function is, because people who advise you usually know more than you, but here the advised believe the reverse."

A number of solutions are offered as to how the Advisory Board system can be improved. These include enlarging the Board, requiring it to report back to the residents on all decisions, endowing it with more powers, giving women the vote and the right to stand as candidates, electing only "clean-living educated people", uniting with the other Boards to take a strong stand against the City Council, reducing the red tape in its procedure and obtaining direct representation on the Council.

There is no doubt that the Baumannville people are well aware of the inadequacies of the Advisory Board, and that the lack of proper representation is one of the sources of their grievances. Some have despaired entirely and lapsed into political apathy ("The Advisory Board is a dupe, so I take no interest in it"); others however hang on to a forlorn hope and go through the annual motions of election, but without much confidence. "As we have nothing better", says one resident resignedly, "the Board might as well be there, but it doesn't do anything for us".

Suggested Improvements.

The main difficulty facing the advisory boards is that they have no real power. Residents will always turn first to the superintendent for help because he can enforce his decisions. The boards' recommendations can be, and often are, ignored or overridden by the Council. They have no real control over the use made of the Native Revenue Account. At best they can

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only represent grievances to the local authority and put up some opposition against objectionable measures. Under the circumstances it is little wonder that they become imbued with a sense of futility and apathy and confine their activities to destructive criticism.

Various suggestions have been made from time to time for strengthening and reconstituting the advisory boards. The Location Advisory Boards Congress in 1939 proposed that all members of boards should be elected, that municipal employees should not be allowed to stand as candidates and that Councillors rather than superintendents should be appointed as chairmen. The Manager of the Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Department has advocated the institution of a ward system for the whole city, not the locations alone. Africans themselves have been consistently pressing for direct representation on local authorities, as a first step by Europeans.[19] It has also been suggested that local authorities should be required to report to the Department of Native Affairs on the action taken on proposals made by the advisory boards, with full reasons for rejections. The Broome Commission recommended that the internal affairs of locations should be dealt with by the individual location boards and the Combined Locations Advisory Board should confine itself to questions affecting locations in general; that Native Advisory Boards should be established for hostels and for Natives not resident in municipal locations; and that steps should "be taken to arouse the interest of Natives in the advisory boards, to ensure that they meet regularly, to tighten up the order of proceedings at meetings and to improve liaison and communication between them and the City Council".[20] All bodies agree however that the fate of the advisory boards depends on their being entrusted with more definite functions, especially relating to the control of finance. A step in this direction has been taken by the Urban Bantu Authorities Bill introduced in 1952, which aims to replace the advisory boards by all-Native local governing bodies with executive and financial powers, and by setting up urban Bantu courts with limited jurisdiction. It is thought that under this system the urban African will gain more real experience of local self-government than can be provided by the advisory boards as they are at present constituted.

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19 Hellmann E. Op. cit. p. 266-8.

20 Report of Judicial Commission. Op. cit. Par. 148.

CHAPTER 3

T H E P E O P L E

Certain facts about the people who live in Baumannville are necessary as a basis for further consideration of characteristics, activities and attitudes. This chapter deals with these facts under the headings: number and growth of the population; homogeneity of the people, composition of the population; and stability of the community.

NUMBER AND GROWTH OF POPULATION

This is not a large community and never can be because it is a limited geographical area with a limited capacity. The precise number of people dwelling in Baumannville which may be recorded depends on how they are counted.

How many people?

The survey counted 775 people regularly residing in 113 households. This is the number which will be used throughout this report. This number, however, included the children who were away at school and did not count the visitors who were temporarily present at the time the study was made. There were actually 787 staying on the premises at that time. There were five households from which information could not be obtained, if they are estimated at the same number of persons per dwelling found in the 113 dwellings, thirty-five would be added. Two of the cottages are given over to an infants home. These are not residents in the same sense as those who occupy the dwellings and this population is constantly changing. At the time of the study there were twenty-five children, an average number, and seven staff making thirty-two in all. Adding these two items to the 775 permanent residents, the population in June 1954 was 842.

Increase in Population.

The first thirty-six cottages were completed in 1916 and twenty-four were added in 1919. The only early record of population is found in the book in which records, rulings etc. have been accumulated. There is a statement that in 1922 there were 252 persons in the sixty resident families. No evidence has been found to indicate that there was any appreciable increase in persons per dwelling when the additional sixty cottages were completed and occupied in 1929. On this assumption the population would have been 504, a hundred per cent increase in the five years since 1922 due entirely to the increase in dwellings.

Subsequent to 1929, however, the pressures of housing shortage and increased movement of Natives to the city formed a "doubling up" in the cottages as relations and boarders were taken into the households. The 1951 Census returns the total population of Baumannville as 854, the Native Administration Department estimated the population in 1952 as 889 and this study records 842 in 1954. On this basis the population has increased 67 per cent in the twenty-five years between 1929 and 1954 without any additional living quarters being provided. This amazing increase in density is from 4.2 to 6.9 persons per dwelling.

Changes in Population.

The only detailed analyses of population available are those made by the Census of 1951 and in this study. So short a time can scarcely be

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TABLE I DISTRIBUTION OF THE BAUMANNVILLE POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX, 1951 AND 1954[1].

Age Groups	Males						Females						Total					
	1951			1954			1951			1954			1951			1954		
	No.	%	Cum %	No.	%	Cum %	No.	%	Cum %	No.	%	Cum %	No.	%	Cum %	No.	%	Cum %
under 5	70	19.7	19.7	49	13.8	13.8	86	17.3	17.3	66	15.3	15.3	156	18.3	18.3	115	14.6	14.6
5 - 9	46	13.0	32.7	47	13.2	27.0	39	7.8	25.1	40	9.3	24.6	85	10.0	28.3	87	11.1	25.7
10 - 14	23	6.5	39.2	27	7.6	34.6	38	7.6	32.7	40	9.3	33.9	61	7.1	35.4	67	8.5	34.2
15 - 19	27	7.6	46.8	42	11.8	46.4	40	8.0	40.7	46	10.6	44.5	67	7.8	43.2	88	11.2	45.4
20 - 24	48	13.5	60.3	38	10.6	57.0	67	13.5	54.2	44	10.1	54.6	115	13.4	56.6	82	10.4	55.8
25 - 29	26	7.3	67.6	32	9.0	66.0	53	10.6	64.8	25	5.8	60.4	79	9.3	65.9	57	7.2	63.0
30 - 34	18	5.1	72.7	23	6.5	72.5	39	7.8	72.6	27	6.2	66.6	57	6.7	72.6	50	6.4	69.4
35 - 39	18	5.1	77.8	13	3.7	76.2	27	5.4	78.0	16	3.7	70.3	45	5.3	77.9	29	3.7	73.1
40 - 44	11	3.0	80.8	13	3.7	79.9	28	5.6	83.6	26	6.0	76.3	39	4.6	82.5	39	5.0	78.1
45 - 49	15	4.2	85.0	8	2.3	82.2	26	5.2	88.8	19	4.4	80.7	41	4.8	87.3	27	3.4	81.5
50 - 54	16	4.5	89.5	13	3.7	85.9	24	4.8	93.6	24	5.6	86.3	40	4.7	92.0	37	4.7	86.2
55 - 59	18	5.1	94.6	15	4.2	90.1	14	2.8	96.4	19	4.4	90.7	32	3.7	95.7	34	4.3	90.5
60 - 64	7	2.0	96.6	12	3.4	93.5	9	1.8	98.2	11	2.5	93.2	16	1.9	97.6	23	2.9	93.4
65 - 69	7	2.0	98.6	5	1.4	94.9	6	1.2	99.4	5	1.2	94.4	13	1.5	99.1	10	1.3	94.7
70 and over	5	1.4	100.0	8	2.3	97.2	3	0.6	100.0	12	2.8	97.2	8	0.9	100.0	20	2.5	97.2
Unknown	0	0.0	-	10	2.8	100.0	0	0.0	-	12	2.8	100.0	0	0.0	-	22	2.8	100.0
T O T A L	355	100.0	-	355	100.0	-	499	100.0	-	432	100.0	-	854	100.0	-	787	100.0	-
Median Age	21.2	-	-	21.6	-	-	23.5	-	-	22.8	-	-	22.5	-	-	22.3	-	-

[1] Data from special tabulations furnished by the Census Division. The population on premises at the time of the survey is taken as the 1954 total for this table.

used whether the differences which come to light are real, errors in enumeration, or misunderstanding on the part of those giving the information. A few points, however, are worth noting.

The differences in the age and sex distribution of the population can be seen in Table I. Those differences are for the most part minor. It should be noted that the pattern of age and sex distribution here is quite different from that of the general Native population in 1936 where each successive older age group decreases in size.[2] There is a considerable discrepancy in the returns for females in 1951, not only in the total number, but also in age distribution and marital status as we will see. Women have a higher median age than men. In 1951 the children under five form a larger proportion of the population and in 1954 those seventy and over are a larger proportion than in 1951.

The Census in 1951 revealed a ratio of 71 males to 100 females, the survey a ratio of 82 males to 100 females in 1954. Comparing this with the ratio of 218 for the total Durban Native population in 1951 clearly reveals that Baumannville is a family location.

TABLE 2 MARITAL STATUS OF BAUMANNVILLE POPULATION FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY SEX FOR 1951 AND 1954

Marital Status	Males				Females			
	1951 Census		1954 Survey		1951 Census		1954 Survey	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Single	96	44.4	108	46.6	83	24.6	103	36.0
Married	117	54.2	109	47.0	220	65.7	114	40.0
Widowed	3	1.4	8	3.4	32	9.5	53	18.5
Separated or Divorced	0	0.0	6	2.6	1	0.2	15	5.2
Unknown	0	0.0	1	0.4	0	0.0	1	0.3
TOTAL	216	100.0	232	100.0	336	100.0	286	100.0

The changing patterns of marital status are seen in Table 2. The great discrepancy between the number of married men and married women in 1951 cannot be accounted for except that possibly some of the widows called themselves married women, as perhaps some of those separated or divorced have also done. It may be also that the extraordinary increase in single women from 1951 to 1954 could be accounted for if unmarried mothers reported themselves to be married in the census enumeration.

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2 Ch. 2. Population by H. Sonnabend in Handbook of Race Relations, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1949. p. 16.

TABLE 3 TRIBAL COMPOSITION OF THE BAUMANNVILLE POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX - 1954

Tribe	Under 15		15 - 59		60 +		Age Unknown		Total		Total	%
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Zulu	90	111	145	182	12	23	6	6	253	322	575	74.2
Swazi	9	6	11	17	2	1	0	0	22	24	46	5.9
Xhosa	11	16	17	14	4	0	0	0	32	30	62	8.0
Sotho	10	8	21	11	2	1	0	0	33	20	53	6.8
Venda-Shangaan	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.1
Other Tribe	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0.3
Tribe Unknown	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	0.3
Ex-Union	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	5	3	8	1.0
Coloured	7	5	3	10	1	0	0	0	11	15	26	3.4
TOTAL	129	148	199	239	23	25	6	6	357	418	775	100.0

HOMOGENEITY OF POPULATION

The outstanding characteristic of the Baumannville population is its tribal homogeneity. The very high proportion of Zulus among men and women, old and young, reduces other tribal or ethnic groups to negligible importance. This is to be expected from a location situated in Durban which draws its African population predominantly from Natal which is almost entirely Zulu. In the homogeneity of its Native population Durban resembles Cape Town which draws mainly from one tribal group, Xhosa-fingo, in the Transkei.[3] It is very unlike urban centres in the Transvaal, notably the Witwatersrand and Pretoria, however, which draw from many tribes located throughout the Union and from some outside the borders of the Union.[4]

Table 3 shows the tribal composition of the population. Zulus make up 74.2 per cent of the total population and together with the other Nguni tribes (Swazi and Xhosa) 88.1 per cent. Zulus predominate in both sex groups; the difference between 70.8 per cent of the males and 77 per cent of the females indicates that males can be drawn from greater distances than females.

A small, but significant group is the Coloureds who make up 3.4 per cent of the population. This group of twenty-six people is mostly children under seventeen. There are also five relations and one other lodger in the group, but two household heads (one man and one woman) and the wife of another household head are also included.

TABLE 4 AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF BAUMANNVILLE POPULATION

Age Group	Males		Females		Total	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
0 - 4	48	13.4	63	15.2	111	14.3
5 - 9	48	13.4	42	10.0	90	11.6
10 - 14	33	9.2	43	10.3	76	9.8
15 - 19	48	13.4	49	11.7	97	12.5
20 - 24	40	11.2	41	9.8	81	10.5
25 - 29	30	8.4	23	5.5	53	6.8
30 - 34	22	6.2	27	6.5	49	6.3
35 - 39	12	3.4	16	3.8	28	3.6
40 - 44	13	3.7	25	6.0	38	5.0
45 - 49	7	2.0	16	3.8	23	3.0
50 - 54	12	3.4	24	5.7	36	4.6
55 - 59	15	4.2	18	4.3	33	4.3
60 - 64	10	2.8	11	2.6	21	2.7
65 - 69	5	1.4	2	0.5	7	0.9
70 - 74	3	0.8	9	2.2	12	1.5
75 - 79	2	0.6	1	0.2	3	0.4
80 - 84	3	0.8	0	0.0	3	0.4
85 - 89	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
90 and over	0	0.0	2	0.5	2	0.3
Unknown	6	1.7	6	1.4	12	1.5
Total	357	100.0	418	100.0	775	100.0

/ The .....

3 R. Levin. Marriage in Langa Location. Communication from the School of African Studies, New Series, No. 17, 1947, p. 2.

4 E. Hellmann. Sellgoods: a sociological survey of an African Commercial Labour Force. South African Institute of Race Relations, 1953 and passim. E. Hellmann. Rooiyard: a sociological survey of an urban Native slum yard. Cape Town: Oxford University Press for the Rhodes Livingstone Institute, 1948, p. 11.

The predominance of Zulus in any type of grouping indicates that the backgrounds and traditions of the community are Zulu.

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

Age and Sex Structure.

There is nothing particularly striking in the distribution of the population of Baumannville by age and sex as shown in Table 4. It is similar to a modern urban pattern with many minor variations, however, because of the relative smallness of the members involved. When this distribution is graphically compared with the total Native population of Durban, a very striking difference can be seen. The population pyramids of the total Native population of Durban and of the population in Baumannville are shown in Figures 3 and 4. The dependance upon migratory Native labour and the consequent very large population of males of working age in the Durban population throws the whole sex distribution of the population out of balance on the male side. By contrast Baumannville shows basically a balanced population. This again puts emphasis on the fact that this is a location for families.

Two further comparisons throw light on the Baumannville population. First is a comparison of the distribution of the males with reference to the working years with a similar breakdown of the Native, Indian, Coloured, and European populations of Durban. This is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5 MALE POPULATION OF BAUMANNVILLE BY AGE WITH REFERENCE TO NORMAL WORK PERIOD 1954, COMPARED WITH THE SAME DISTRIBUTION FOR NATIVE, INDIAN, COLOURED, AND EUROPEAN POPULATIONS OF DURBAN, 1951.

	Baumannville		Durban			
	No.	%	Native %	Indian %	Coloured %	European %
Pre-working Age 0 - 14	129	36.1	12.02	46.28	45.66	25.32
Working Age 15 - 64	209	58.5	87.01	51.20	52.41	66.70
Post-Working Age 65 and over	13	3.6	0.97	2.46	1.81	7.97
Age Unknown	6	1.8	0.00	0.06	0.12	0.01
TOTAL	357	100.0	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

There are marked differences between the various groups. The Baumannville pattern lies between the Indian and Coloured, which are very similar, on the one hand and the European on the other. There is a much greater similarity, however, between the Baumannville pattern and the distribution of the total Native population of the Union which according to the 1946 Census had 38.03 per cent in the pre-working period, 58.37 per cent in the working period, and 3.26 per cent in the post-working period.

The second is a similar comparison of the females with reference to reproductive age which is shown in Table 6.

/ Here .....

FIG. 3
Age and Sex structure of the Native population of Durban, 1951.

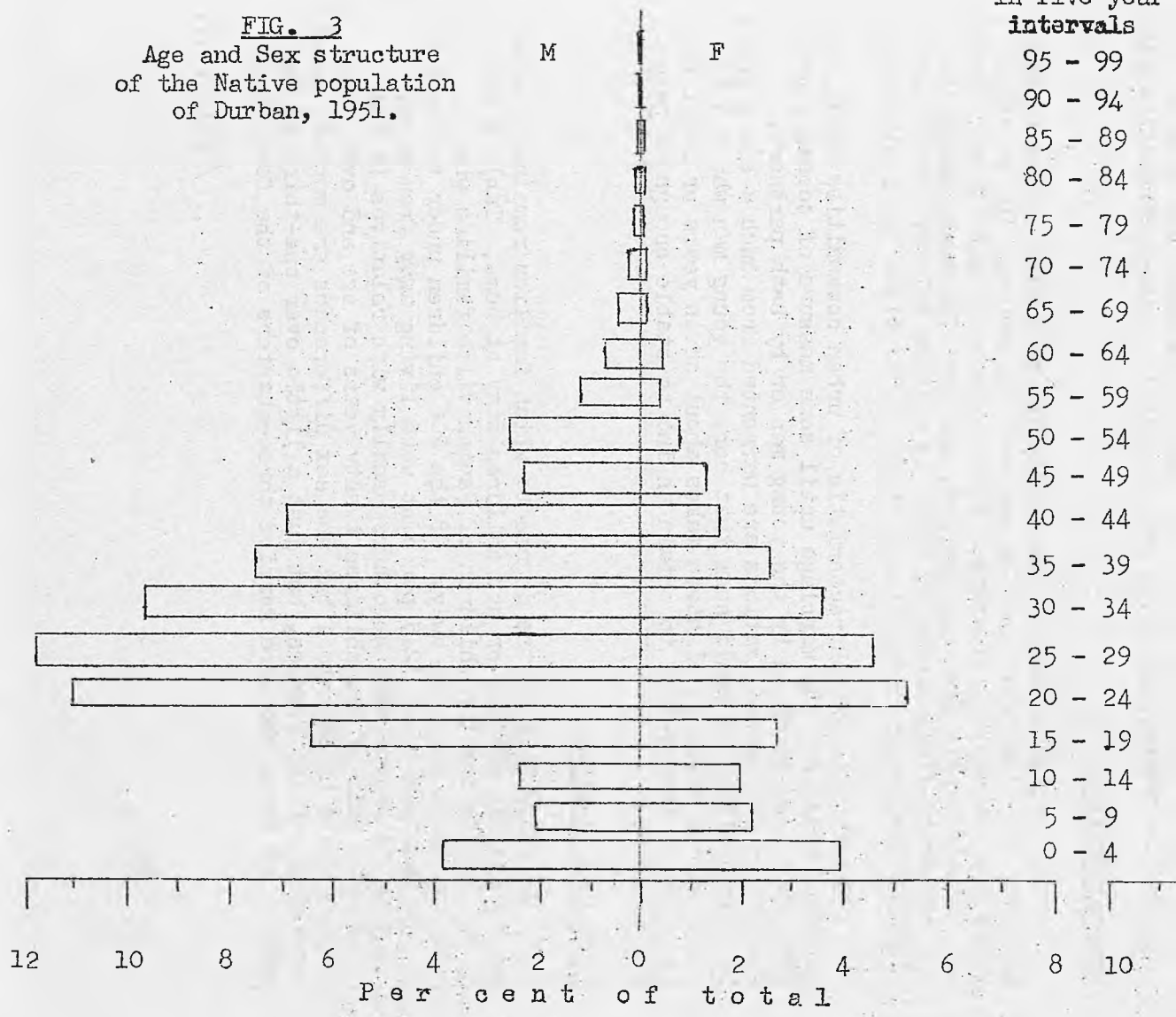

FIG. 4
Age and Sex structure of the Native population of Baumannville, 1954.

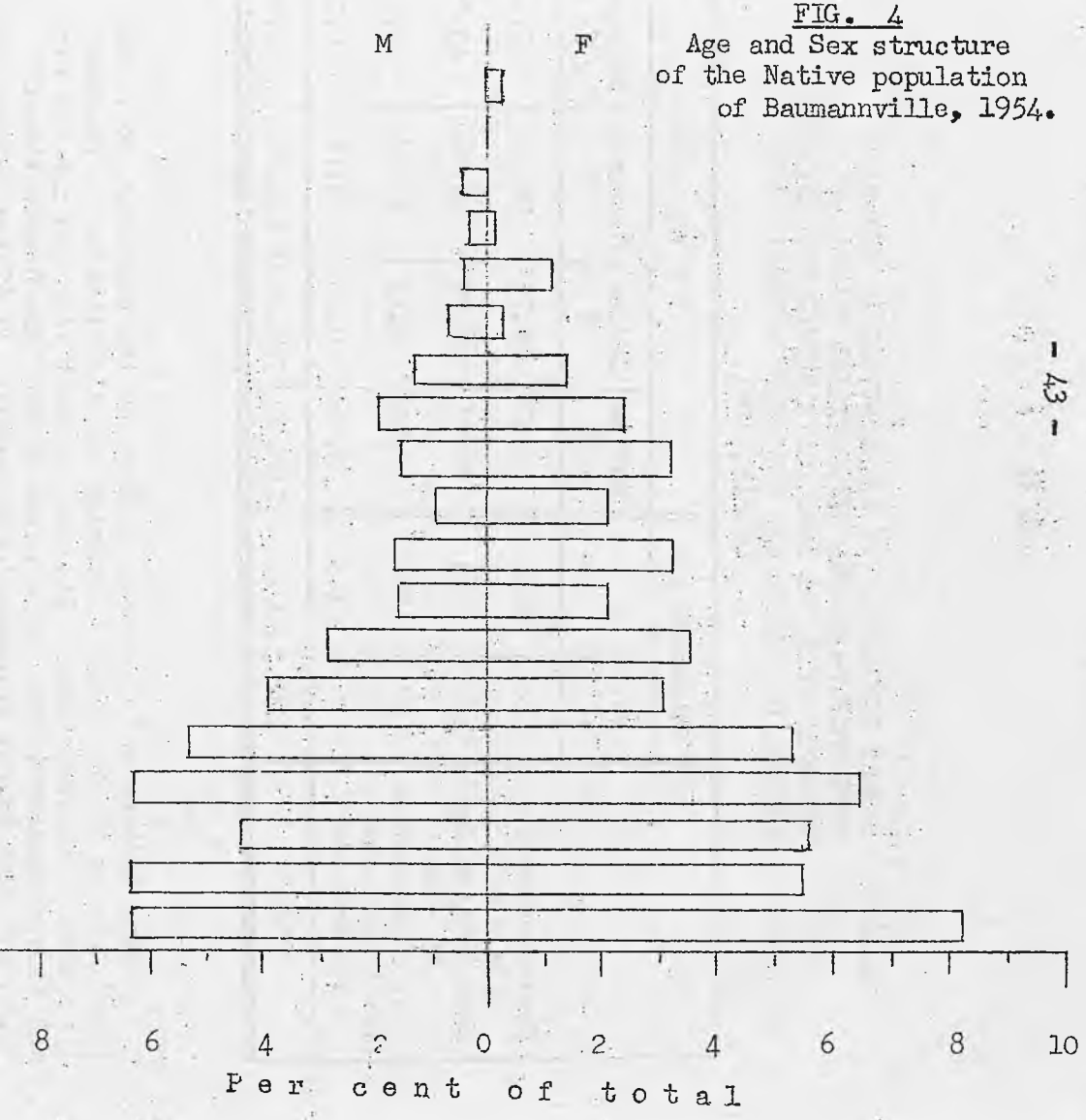

TABLE 6 FEMALE POPULATION OF BAUMANNVILLE BY AGE WITH REFERENCE TO NORMAL REPRODUCTION PERIOD 1954, COMPARED WITH THE SAME DISTRIBUTION FOR NATIVE, INDIAN, COLOURED, AND EUROPEAN POPULATIONS OF DURBAN, 1951.

	Baumannville		Durban			
	No.	%	Native %	Indian %	Coloured %	European %
Pre-reproduction Age 0 - 14	148	35.4	25.67	48.75	38.33	23.64
Reproduction Age 15 - 44	182	43.5	70.77	42.77	48.76	45.82
Post Reproduction Age 45 and over	82	19.6	3.55	8.43	12.80	30.52
Age Unknown	6	1.5	0.01	0.05	0.11	0.02
TOTAL	418	100.0	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Here Indians and Coloureds differ and the Baumannville female population is unlike them although the distribution is somewhat like that of the Europeans. It, too, is most like the pattern for all Native females in the Union which in the 1946 Census showed 39.56 per cent in the pre-reproduction years, 44.67 per cent in the reproduction years, and 15.43 per cent in the post-reproduction years.

Marital Status.

The marital status of the population of fifteen years of age and over is shown in Table 7 by sex and age groups. Two related facts are immediately apparent; there are more people of marriageable age who are single than are married, and that few marry under the age of twenty-five. Actually there is neither male or female under eighteen who is married although there is one widow under eighteen.

These facts are characteristic of urban communities which, in general, tend to delay marriage until some measure of economic stability has been attained by the young man or by both partners. Whether or not generalizations are warrented from such a small group in Baumannville, it would seem that here the young man who has to begin paying taxes at eighteen takes about seven years or until he is at least twenty-five to obtain an income stable enough to permit him to marry.

Family Solidarity.

An indication of the degree to which families remain together can be seen in whether or not children stay at home. Table 8 shows by age and by sex the children of Baumannville families who were at home and those who were away. Of the 200 children under twenty years of age twenty-five or 12.5 per cent were living away from home, fourteen at school and the others usually with relatives in the reserves. Half of the children twenty years of age and over were away as would be expected, but the sex differences are marked, nearly two-thirds of the females, but just a little over one-third of the males. Of those who were married three-quarters of the females and

/ only .....

TABLE 7 DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY MARITAL STATUS, MALE AND FEMALE IN AGE GROUPS

	Total				15-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		65 and over		Unknown	
	Male		Female		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	No.	%	No.	%														
Single	112	49.2	101°	37.4	84	74	18	17	4	6	0	0	2	1	1	1	3	2
Married	103	45.2	107	39.7	3	14*	28*	26	21	22	16	24	23	15	10	4	2	2
Widowed	6	2.6	48	17.7	1	1	0	3	0	12	2	9	0	13	2	9	1	1
Separated, Divorced, Deserted	6	2.6	13	4.8	0	1	6	3	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	1
Unknown	1	0.4	1	0.4	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	228	100.0	270	100.0	88	90	52	50	25	41	19	40	25	29	13	14	6	6

* One in each group just living together.

° Including 24 unmarried mothers 13 of whom are under 25 years of age.

TABLE 8 CHILDREN OF BAUMANNVILLE FAMILIES LIVING IN AND AWAY FROM THE COMMUNITY, BY AGE AND SEX

AGE	TOTAL		Living in Baumannville			Living away from Baumannville		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL
0 - 4	24	28	21	27	48	3	1	4
5 - 9	32	29	28	26	54	4	3	7
10 - 14	14	24	9	22	31	5	2	7
15 - 19	28	21	26	16	42	2	5	7
20 +	64	83	41	33	74	23	50	73
Age Unknown	1	4	0	1	1	1	3	4
TOTAL	163	189	125	125	250	38	64	102

only one-quarter of the males were away. This suggests that the traditional pattern of patrilocal residence at marriage is still significant in the urban environment. Under the great difficulty experienced in obtaining homes of ther own, married sons have remained in their parents' homes and daughters who married have gone with their husbands.

STABILITY OF POPULATION

The stability of population depends upon how many of those who are born in the community survive and how long those who live there stay. These are matters with related factors which are discussed in this section.

Sex Differences.

We have already indicated that although Baumannville is a family community and has a far more balanced sex ratio than among the Natives of Durban as a whole, there is still a much lower ratio of males to females than would be found in an average community. This may be partly explained by the births, for more female than male babies are born - 90.7 to 100. This is contrary to the usual pattern. But a larger proportion of males than females under six years of age die - 33.5 to 30.0 per cent, which does correspond to the usual pattern. There is not even a start toward a balanced sex ratio. Table 9 gives the basic facts of births and survival for all the children born to the families in Baumannville. It must be remembered that the births may have been many years ago and some of the deaths were as late as adulthood.

To check the disproportion of males in the relatively small population of Baumannville, statistics were obtained for Lamont, a much larger family location on the outskirts of Durban. In 1954

/ Lamont .....

TABLE 9 CHILDREN OF ALL FAMILIES - BORN, DIED AND SURVIVED, BY SEX

Sex	Number Born	Still-births	Live births	Number Died	Number Survived	Per cent Survived
Male	256	11	245	82	163	63.7
Female	282	13	269	80	189	67.0
Unknown	6	6	0	0	0	-
TOTAL	544	30	514	162	352	64.7

Lamont had 1,487 dwellings and a population of 8,694.[5] It was found that from 1949 to 1954 inclusive there had been 1,734 live births and the ratio of males to females was 90.7. Each year more females were born, the difference ranging from four in 1952 to twenty-nine in 1953. Here also a larger proportion of males than females under six have died, 18.7 compared to 14.2 per cent. The pattern in Lamont is the same as the pattern in Baumannville. The considerably lower deaths rates in Lamont may be at least in part due to the fact that the figures are a concentration of recent years while in Baumannville the spread is over many years and also to the fact that more medical services have been immediately available to the people of Lamont during the period covered by the statistics.

Survival Rates.

Of the total number born over the years, 5.5 per cent were still-births. Of those born alive 31.5 per cent have died. The ages at which children have died are given in Table 10.

TABLE 10 DECEASED CHILDREN BY AGE OF DEATH, BY SEX

Sex	Live Births	Year of death								Total Deaths	% of Live Births
		1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	5-16	over 16	Unknown		
Male	245	33	17	5	1	2	3	12	9	82	33.5
Female	269	33	21	4	0	2	7	7	6	80	30.0
TOTAL	514	66	38	9	1	4	10	19	15	162	31.5

Starting with the live births (after subtracting the thirty still-births from the 544 total births) a rate of survival can be computed for the composite population including all of the children born over the years to the families in Baumannville. This is shown in Table 11.

While these seem reasonably high survival rates when compared with a composite of the children born and those who have died in Lamont during the period 1949 to 1954, the corresponding figures would be: 90.6 per cent

/ survived .....

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5 The Lamont data was furnished by the Institute of Family and Community Health.

TABLE 11 SURVIVAL RATES OF CHILDREN FOR THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF LIFE

Of 544 Born at	Alive	Per cent Survived Year	Per cent of Live Births Survived
Birth	514	94.5	100.0
1st Birthday	448	87.2	87.2
2nd Birthday	410	91.5	79.8
3rd Birthday	401	97.8	78.0
4th Birthday	400	97.8	77.8
5th Birthday	396	99.0	77.0

survived the first year; 95.1 per cent the second; 97.9 per cent the third; 99.5 per cent the fourth; and 99.8 per cent the fifth. In Baumannville 22.9 per cent of those born alive have died before their fifth birthday, but in Lamont only 16.3 per cent. The record in Lamont is much better than that in Baumannville.

Mothers and Children.

The number of children which the wives of Baumannville have had range from none to twelve as Table 12 shows.

TABLE 12 DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN BY NUMBER BORN TO EACH MOTHER

Number of Children per Mother	Number of Mothers	Number of Children
None	9	0
1	14	14
2	20	40
3	9	27
4	18	72
5	13	65
6	14	84
7	6	42
8	7	56
9	4	36
10	5	50
11	2	22
12	3	36
TOTAL	124	544

The most frequent number of children is two with twenty mothers, but four follows closely with eighteen mothers. The average is 4.4 children or leaving out the childless wives 4.8 children. While the average family is only moderately large, nearly half of the children belong to families of seven or more children.

The surviving children per mother in Table 13 and the deceased children per family in Table 14 complete the story of mothers and their children.

/ TABLE 13 .....

TABLE 13 DISTRIBUTION OF SURVIVING CHILDREN BY NUMBER PER MOTHER

Number per Mother	Number of Mothers	Number of Children
None	8	0
1	19	19
2	24	48
3	21	63
4	16	64
5	12	60
6	10	60
7	2	14
8	3	24
TOTAL	115	352

TABLE 14 DISTRIBUTION OF DECEASED CHILDREN BY NUMBER PER FAMILY

Number per Family	Number of Families	Number of Children
None	40	0
1	26	26
2	17	34
3	11	33
4	6	24
5	3	15
6	2	12
7	2	14
8	3	24
9	0	0
10	1	10
TOTAL	111	192

The average number of surviving children per mother is two with twenty-four mothers. The average number of deceased children per family is none with forty families, twenty-six families have lost one child only. The ranges, however, are quite wide, families have from no surviving children to eight and from none to ten deceased children.

Nine families have no children. The mothers range in age from twenty-two to fifty-nine. Three of them are under thirty and because of the tendency to late marriage may not yet have begun to have their families. This is 7.5 per cent of the families. Forty families, 33.3 per cent have lost no children by death, but eight or 6.7 per cent have lost all of their children ranging from one to eight, two have had all stillbirths, one five and the other eight; the remaining sixty-three, 52.5 per cent, have lost one or more of their children.

Where people come from.

Of the total population, 90 per cent were born in Natal and 43.5 per cent in Durban. This emphasizes further the basic homogeneity of the population already pointed out. Table 15 gives the place of birth by age and sex. The only areas of origin of the people outside Natal of any importance are the Cape Province and the Transvaal with only slightly more than 4 per cent each.

/ TABLE 15 ..

TABLE 15 PLACE OF BIRTH BY AGE AND SEX

Age	Ex Union		Cape Province		O. F. S.		Transvaal		Durban		Natal Outside Durban		Unknown		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
0 - 4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	47	58	1	3	-	1	111
5 - 9	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	43	32	4	7	-	-	90
10 - 14	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	4	21	28	9	11	-	-	76
15 - 19	1	-	1	5	-	-	2	-	25	17	19	27	-	-	97
20 - 24	-	-	-	2	1	1	2	1	18	17	18	20	1	-	81
25 - 29	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	5	16	17	-	-	53
30 - 34	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	3	2	17	21	-	-	49
35 - 39	1	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	1	1	7	13	1	-	28
40 - 44	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	2	11	21	-	-	39
45 - 49	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	7	12	-	-	22
50 - 54	-	1	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	18	-	1	36
55 - 59	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	2	-	-	11	14	-	-	33
60 - 64	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	7	9	-	-	21
65 - 69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	-	-	7
70 +	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	4	10	-	1	20
Unknown	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	4	5	-	-	12
TOTAL	5	4	14	21	4	1	10	14	172	165	150	210	2	3	775

TABLE 16 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN BAUMANNVILLE BY AGE AND SEX

Length of Residence	A G E G R O U P S																															
	under 5		5 - 9		10-14		15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		55-59		60 +		Unknown		Totals			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Both
Under 2 yrs	24	33	3	4	4	5	8	11	4	7	2	7	4	8	4	4	3	4	1	1	-	1	1	5	-	2	1	-	59	92	151
2 - 4 yrs	24	30	6	7	5	5	7	5	4	6	3	2	5	4	1	1	1	2	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	59	65	124
5 - 9 yrs	-	-	39	31	3	9	3	6	7	4	3	1	2	7	-	2	1	2	1	1	-	1	3	2	1	4	1	1	64	71	135
10 - 14 yrs	-	-	-	-	20	24	6	6	5	6	3	2	1	1	2	5	4	6	-	1	1	4	1	2	4	6	-	-	47	63	110
15 - 19 yrs	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	21	5	3	4	2	3	1	-	2	2	6	3	-	2	5	2	-	1	2	-	-	46	42	88
20 +	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	15	15	9	6	5	5	2	2	6	2	12	7	13	8	8	17	9	1	2	77	81	158
Unknown	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	5	4	9
TOTAL	48	63	48	42	33	43	48	49	40	41	30	23	22	27	12	16	13	26	7	15	12	24	15	18	23	25	6	6	357	418	775

How long do people stay?

Table 1t distributes the people by age and sex according to their length of residence in Baumannville. Of those over twenty years of age 40 per cent have lived there twenty years or more and of those under twenty years of age 72 per cent were born there. Slightly more men than women over fifty-five years of age have been there twenty years or more ($^3/_5$ to $^1/_2$). This may reflect the legislation which states that African women may not join their husbands in the towns until they had stayed there for a period of at least three years.

The younger the group the higher the percentage born in Durban:-
94 per cent of all children under 5 were born in Durban;
63 per cent of those 5 - 19 years of age were born in Durban;
11 per cent of those 20 - 44 years of age were born in Durban;
1 per cent of those over 45 years of age were born in Durban.

It appears that the individuals once they arrive in Baumannville by birth or migration stay there for a long while and many have lived there all their lives.

Family Mobility.

From the standpoint of family mobility this is a stable community. Most of the families have been dwelling there for a long period of time, forty of them for twenty years or more, and another thirty-seven for between ten and twenty years. Nearly one-third of the families whose past history is known began in this community and have been there ever since, in one case over thirty years.

The seventy-nine families which have come into Baumannville on the average lived in a number of places for short periods of time before they arrived. Most of the reasons given for their moves were on account of work (51 per cent), but a few (22 per cent) were to be with their kin, and some (17 per cent) were to get better housing. The reasons given for moving into Baumannville were largely to get better housing (62 per cent) or for accommodation close to their work (29 per cent). Eighteen of the seventy-nine families came from Durban and fity-six from Natal outside Durban leaving only five which came from other parts of the Union.

It was not possible to obtain information about why families have left this location. There have not been many and it may be surmised that the reasons were very compelling, such as being transferred in one's job. The administration regards the turn-over as very small and indicates that whenever a dwelling does become vacant there is a married son of a resident or an employee of the administration awaiting his chance to take up occupancy in it.

CHAPTER 4

HOUSES, FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS

This chapter endeavours to make the statistics of the last chapter come alive by describing the houses in which the people live, the kind of families who occupy the houses and finally the special form of occupation of the dwellings - households, which are quite different from simple families as we shall see.

THE HOUSES[1]

Baumannville location consists of 120 terraced houses in single-storey rows, abutting on streets which are kerbed and tarred. The location is an old one, and on a smaller scale the general picture is reminiscent of the obsolete type of urban working-class district encountered in the industrial towns of Europe. It is primarily the small overall size of the blocks of dwellings which saves the area from blight, for the terraces are in no case long enough to induce monotony, and at the end of almost every street there is a view of open space. The occupants are on the whole a house-proud community with a considerable experience of urban life, and they have succeeded in maintaining a certain air of tidiness in the area.

Types of Accommodation.

Two types of accommodation are to be found. The first sixty houses completed between 1916 and 1919 are known as the red houses on account of the colour of their exposed brickwork. They are arranged in two parallel terraces of twenty-four houses each, fronting upon one another, with a third terrace of twelve houses in prolongation of the first row. The second sixty houses completed in 1927-1929 are known as the white houses because of the plaster and whitewash with which they have been treated externally. This group is arranged at right angles to the first, in three parallel lines of double terraces, each opposite pair of houses in a given line being set back-yard to back-yard with a dividing fence between. Each terrace is ten houses long, so that a double terrace contains twenty houses with the plots set back to back. The arrangement of the terraces is shown in Figure 2, the frontispiece. The exposed brickwork of the earlier houses weathers better, and in fact looks newer, than the plaster and whitewash of the later houses, which is inclined to flake off and show the effects of grime from the nearby railway marshalling yards. The two types of houses have somewhat different arrangements, as can be seen from the floor plans in Figures 5 and 7.

The settlement as a whole is completed by a communal laundry, a nursery school and a trading store, and shows economical use of some two-thirds of the nine acres of ground available for its layout. The remainder of the ground is used for hanging out the washing of Baumannville's industrious laundresses. A few people have gardens in the open space where vegetables and flowers are grown. Some residents maintain

/ that .....

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[1] Sections dealing with the architectural aspects of the houses are a condensation of the "Report on Single-Family Houses at Baumannville Location, Durban" made in November, 1954 by Paul H. Connell, Professor of Architecture, University of Natal.

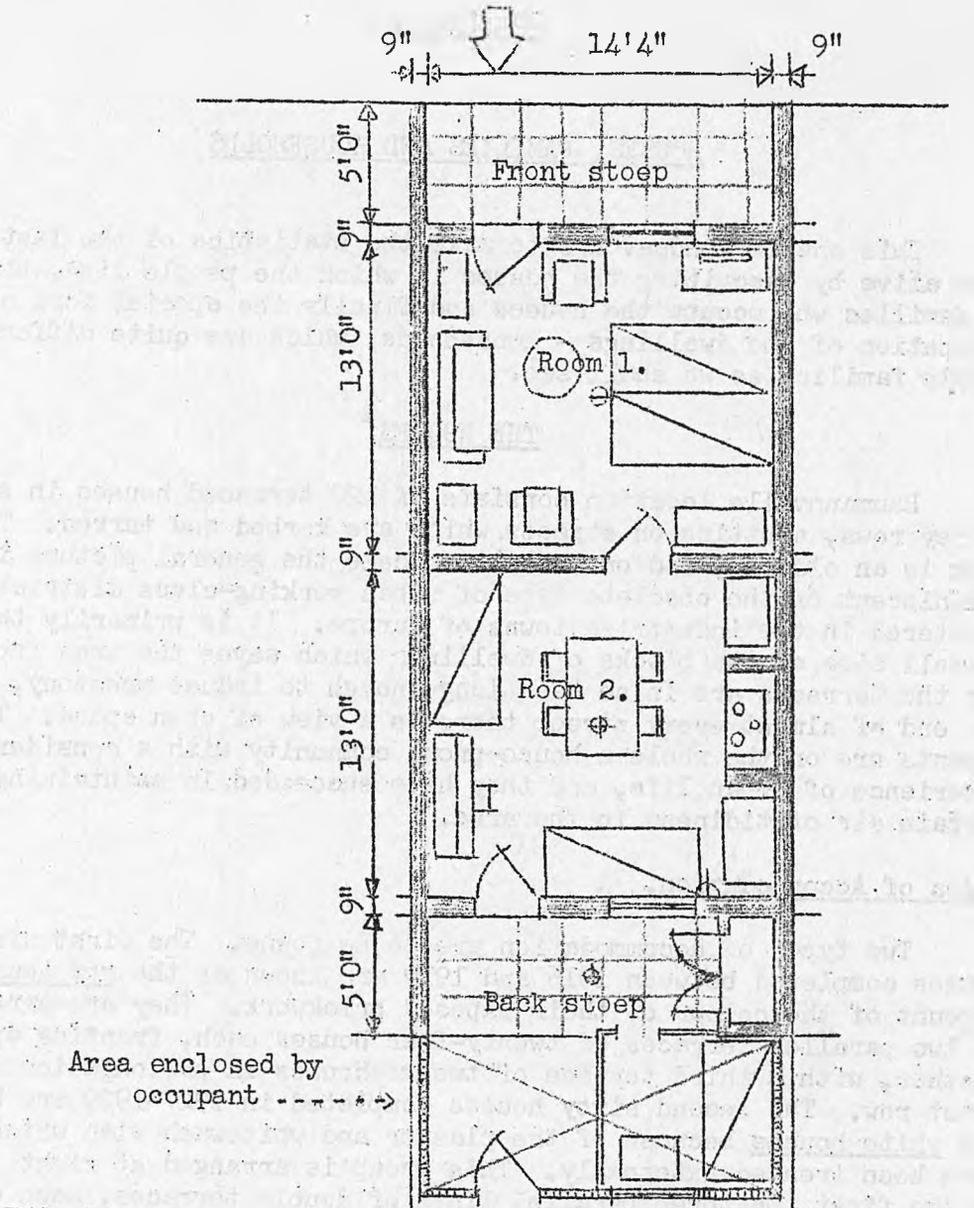

FIG. 5.

Baumannville

"Red" House

Flocr Plan: 1" to 8'0".

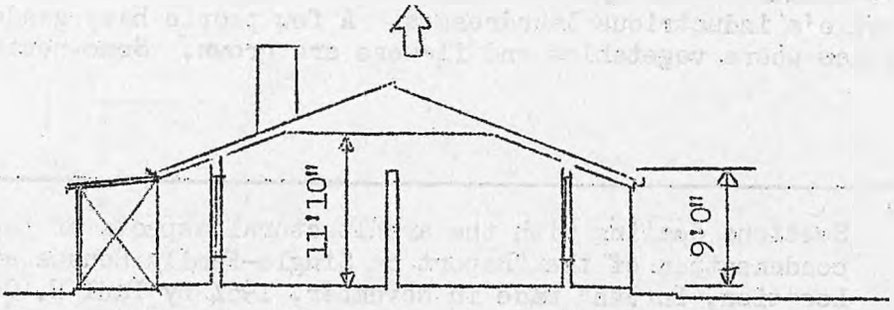

FIG. 6.

Cross Section: 1" to 16'0".

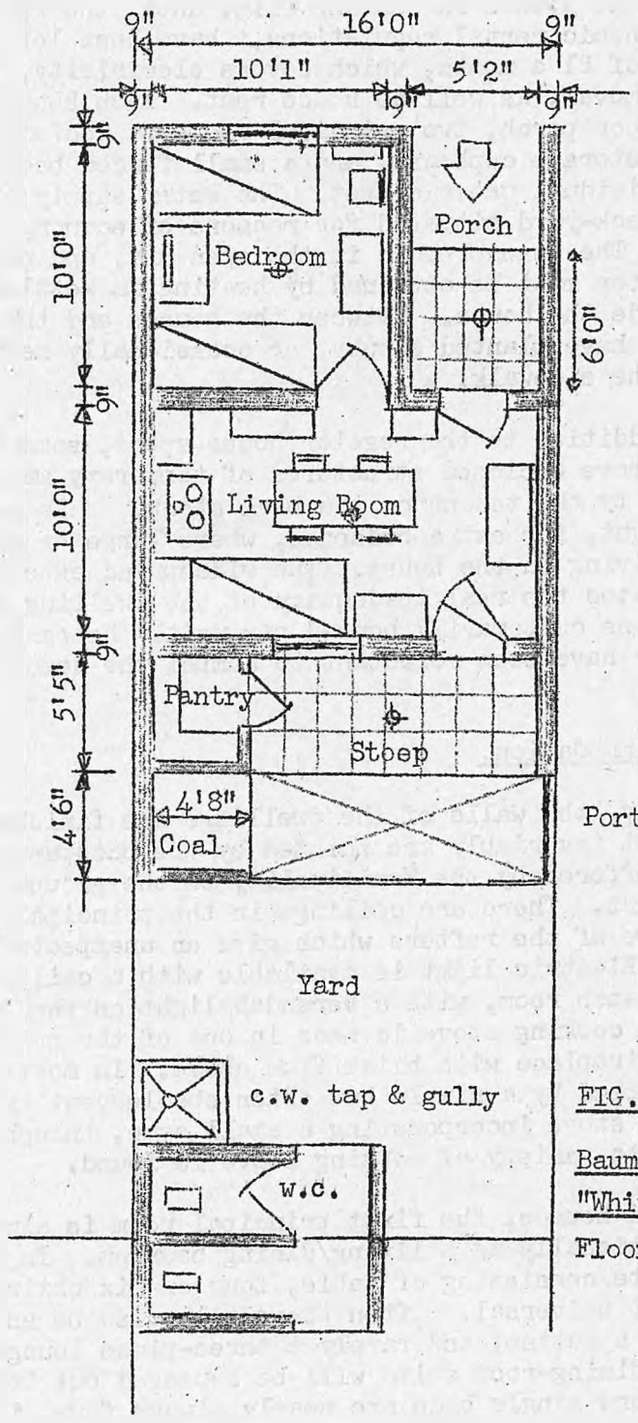

FIG. 7.

Baumannville
"White" House
Floor Plan:
1" to 8'0".

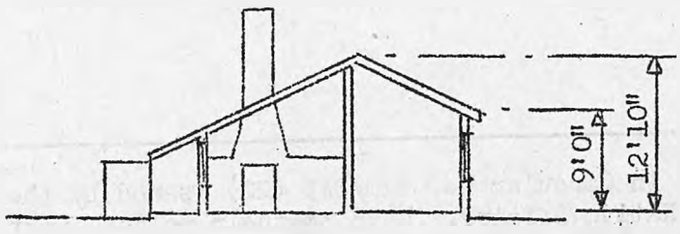

FIG. 8.

Cross Section: 1" to 16'0".

that at least part of this space could be better used to set up stores and businesses which they could work on their own account. Two of the red houses have been taken over to serve as a children's home, run by the Bantu Child Welfare Society, so that 118 houses in the location are available for private residence.

All the houses in Baumannville, until the recent introduction of economic rental regulations,[2] have been let at the sub-economic rent of £1 a month, which covers electricity, repainting and rubbish removal, as well as house rent. Each house has a covered front stoep or porch, two principal rooms, a roofed back stoep with built-in storage cupboard, and a small fenced back-yard containing an individual water closet. The water supply is limited to a tap in the back-yard situated for reasons of economy next to the water closet. The standpipe is in the open air, and no sink is provided. Hot water must be obtained by heating in kettles or pans on the stove inside the house. Between the houses and the paved road some residents have planted shrubs, or occasionally medicinal herbs, along the sidewalk.

In addition to the regular house space, some 85 per cent of the houses have enclosed structures of temporary materials built as extra rooms by the tenant on the back stoep. This normally serves, at least at night, for extra bedspace, where large or multiple families are living in the house. The widespread extent of this practice indicates the real inadequacy of the dwelling space for the number of persons customarily housed per unit. Recognizing this fact, the authorities have been reluctant to compel the demolition of such structures.

Use of the Accommodation.

Internally, the walls of the dwellings are finished to a fair face, and almost invariably are painted by the occupants, who refuse the whitewash offered by the Municipality on the ground that it quickly shows the dirt. There are ceilings in the principal rooms, following the slope of the rafters which give an unexpected air of spaciousness. Electric light is available with a ceiling light and a plug outlet to each room, with a verandah light on the back stoep. Provision for a cooking stove is made in one of the principal rooms by means of a fireplace with brick flue above. In most cases this opening is occupied by a simple but often obsolescent type of cast-iron solid-fuel stove incorporating a small oven, though occasionally a more up-to-date variety of cooking stove is found.

In the red houses, the first principal room is almost invariably used multi-functionally as a living/dining bedroom. In this room a dining-room suite consisting of table, four or six chairs and sideboard, is almost universal. Often there will also be an armchair, less frequently a settee, and rarely a three-piece lounge-suite, in which case the dining-room suite will be squeezed out into the second room. One or more single beds are nearly always found in the overloaded first room, in the only place where they can be put - against the walls; and the chances are that there will be a wardrobe as well.

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[2] As promulgated in Circular No. 120/313 (22) issued by the Union Department of Native Affairs. Much to their relief, most people in Baumannville, through being in too low an income group, will not suffer rent increases under its provisions.

Any remaining wall or floor space is used for knicknacks such as side-tables, hallstands, mirrors, vases and pictures of family groups and religious pictures.

The second principal room in the red houses is normally used as a kitchen/bedroom, in which also any younger members of the household who cannot be accommodated at the main dining-table may be fed. It contains further beds and wardrobes not in the first room, but its main item of furniture is a "kitchen-suite" of four chairs and a table, the latter having a variety of uses from sewing to serving beer. There may also be a kitchen dresser, and sometimes an ice-chest, usually without ice. Cooking is done in this room, which contains the stove.

In the white houses the second room is used as a combination of both rooms in the red houses since, owing to its more private position, the first room is used almost exclusively as a bedroom

Design has influenced function in these small homes, though in effect it adds to the discomfort and confusion of the living/dining part of the house. Sometimes the householder has solved the space problem by moving some of the kitchen or dining furniture into a third, built-on, room; a particularly well-designed built-on kitchen coming to mind in one instance. Normally, however, by virtue of human rather than material overcrowding, the built-on room in both types of house is primarily an extra bedroom; generally a poorly-furnished affair with single bed, sleeping mats and perhaps a small, crude table. The visitor who sees a well set-out back parlour with benches round the walls is probably in a successful shebeen house.

From information obtained, about three-quarters of the house-holders have bought their furniture new, sometimes long ago, nearly all on the instalment system from European stores in Durban and paid off at the rate of about £2 a month. Furniture which becomes broken or dilapidated is generally repaired as the means become available. In a few cases furniture has been inherited from deceased parents who occupied the same dwelling, or from a dead spouse. Some houses have what might be called "special furniture". Three, for example, have electric stoves instead of cast-iron ranges, seventeen have a piano, twenty-six have an ice-chest and seventy-one have a radio or radiogram. Not to possess the last-named items is not serious privation, however, as some neighbour's set can be heard at most times of the day or night, usually without stirring from the house.

Whether special furniture is primarily of functional or of prestige significance is difficult to assess. There is little doubt that pianos are frequently not played, ice-chests often not used for their special purpose. Moreover, the thirty-one households with no special furniture tend to be in the lower-educated group; the average standard passed by the higher educated spouse in such houses being 3.5 compared with standard 5 in households owning an ice-chest and a radio. Perhaps the more highly educated the individual in this setting, the more he values these material expressions of European culture; perhaps it is merely that because he is more highly educated, he earns better money, and can therefore afford them.

Adequacy of the Accommodation.

It is clear, both from the comments of householders interviewed and from the placing of furniture, that the occupants of these houses have difficulty in the daily running of their homes. The difficulty arises firstly from a confusion of function in the rooms, and is expressed by the people in two ways: by deploring the lack of a "front room" where they can receive callers without taking them into an intimate bedroom environment, and by pointing out the lack of privacy

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between parents, adolescents and children, which arises from having to use every room as a bedroom.

Secondly, the difficulty is due to that overcrowding of limited living-space which will be a recurrent theme throughout this chapter. Baumannville households range from one to seventeen persons and the problem of sleeping space alone is often acute. To take quite a small household of seven persons - four male and two female adults and one male juvenile: the widower household head, his adult son and juvenile son, sleep in two single beds in the front living-room/bedroom; his adult daughter and a female related lodger sleep in two single beds in the kitchen/dining-room; and in the built-on room are accommodated two male adult related lodgers, one on a camp bed and one on the floor. When a household head is married, and one or more of his sons or daughters is also married, perhaps with children, the difficulties can be imagined. In general it appears that in these houses any surplus above four or five persons must sleep on the floor.

Eating space is also a problem. In large households, owing to lack of space, families either have to separate for meals, the adults in the front room and the children in the kitchen; or two sittings have to be arranged, the children often having their food first before the comparatively late arrival of the wage-earners. Great inconvenience is caused by the lack of a sink in reasonable proximity to the cooking area. All washing-up has to be done either in a portable wash-bowl or at the standpipe in the open. Lack of a covered approach to this water point in wet weather is also irksome. Finally, the electric light and power outlets apparently do not satisfy every need for electrical appliances, for they are frequently supplemented by unofficial extra wiring, usually taken from the lighting points, to meet the requirements of multi-functional rooms.

While providing some relief in these problems of space and function, many of the amateur structures constructed as extra rooms are far from satisfactory as shelters for human beings, and the nature of their materials may constitute a distinct fire risk. In the case of the red houses, which have front stoeps, the latter are not furnished for regular use, and so provide no additional living space. They are not as a rule even used for window-gardening, although the front sidewalk strip has often been dug and planted as previously described. The front stoep area, which occurs within the total roofed area of the house, might therefore have been put to better use within the dwelling,[3] and a small front garden plot would have been appreciated and cared for, to the betterment of the housing environment.

In general, the standard of construction in Baumannville is high, and the buildings, despite their age, are in a good state of repair, though a little drab in appearance. The wooden yard fences, however, were at the time of the survey in a severe state of disrepair, bordering on disintegration, and repeated unsolicited complaints were made to the fieldworkers on this score. Householders

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3 In her "Survey of Housing and Family Conditions: Orlando Township" (M.A. thesis, 1949) Miss Eberhardt records (p. 138) that the overwhelming majority of Orlando inhabitants wanted a front stoep, the reasons being that a house does not look like a house without one, that Europeans have stoeps, and that the people would like to sit on a stoep in the evenings or at weekends. The stoep as a non-functional European culture-symbol may be important.

have attempted to patch the wider openings with odd materials, and the resulting appearance of the back premises has become rather squalid. More than any other single factor, these dilapidated back fences tend to give the location a touch of urban blight, which their replacement by modern diamond-mesh fencing would rapidly remove.[4]

The Designed House Capacity.

Table 17 shows the living space provided in the two types of dwelling at Baumannville compared with one of the standard house plans (Type NE 51/9) produced by the National Housing Office[5] in terms of present-day minimum standards.

TABLE 17 LIVING-SPACE IN BAUMANNVILLE RED AND WHITE HOUSES COMPARED WITH MODERN MINIMUM STANDARDS

Space	Living Space in Square Feet		
	Baumannville Red	White	Standard NE 51/9
Front Room	185	160	211 (living-room and kitchen combined)
Back Room	172	101	219 (two bedrooms combined)
Front porch/stoep	72	31	Nil
Back stoep & Storage	72	111	No stoep: 5 sq.ft. food cupboard - interval
Water closet	15	15	W.C. and bathroom 33
TOTAL NETT AREA AS DESIGNED:	516	418	483
Additional space enclosed by occupants:	92	52	Nil
TOTAL NETT AREA AUGMENTED:	608	470	483

The total floor space provided under modern minimum standards is smaller than that provided in the red houses as designed and larger than that in the white houses as designed, but it is smaller or comparable with the augmented nett area in both types when the additional space enclosed by the occupants is taken into account. For a comparable total nett area, the modern minimum standards design NE 51/9 has achieved a considerably larger floor space in both of the principal rooms than in either the red or the white type house. The conclusion appears to be that the main disadvantage of the Baumannville house is not inadequate size, but faulty design.

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4 The recommendations in this and the preceding paragraph are made in Professor Connell's report, already referred to.

5 National Housing and Planning Commission: Minimum Standards of Housing Accommodation for Non-Europeans, Pretoria, 1951.

From the total nett area of the Baumannville houses as they stand, the "designed house capacity" can be calculated in terms of the space requirements per person according to present day minimum standards. This shows that both red and white houses have a capacity of 4 - 5 persons as designed and 5 - 7 persons as augmented, a "person" being defined as anyone over one year old. These figures will be taken as the basis of a study of overcrowding in the course of the present work.

THE FAMILIES

The consideration of families in Baumannville is complicated by the number of occupants of the houses. The recognition of this complication is essential to an understanding of the various types of families.

Who has houseroom officially?

The location houses were designed for single African families of 4 to 5 persons. Officially only one such family, the wife and children of the household head - the person in whose name the house is registered - is entitled to houseroom in each of the 118 houses available for private occupation. The privilege of household headship has also been extended to widowers, and in particular to widows, so that they and their offspring are also officially resident in certain houses of the location.

These provisions, however, by no means meet the actual situation, as the authorities, and others acquainted with the urban African milieu, are well aware. Urban accommodation for Africans is far from sufficient for the ever-swelling labour force. Consequently, even under conditions of advanced urbanization such as in Baumannville, where the expectation might be to find characteristic urban families of the elementary type, many more persons than the single elementary or fragmentary family[6] crowd into the dwellings.

The occupants respond to this pressure by patterns consistent with the traditional extended family system characteristics of life in the reserves.[7] In other words, when Africans in the urban areas have to fit into limited house-space, they do so along the lines of relationship best known to them. The household head's family - the family in occupation - becomes the core family of tradition, to which are attached either related individuals or related families,

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6 It would have been convenient here to use the term residual family as devised in the Keiskammahoek rural survey, Vol. III, p. 55. The definition of that term, however, is a disjunction of either two parents past child-bearing age or one parent left alone through divorce, death or desertion. For the present purpose we are interested not so much in children as in numbers and types of persons, so that a special term is needed to denote one-partner as opposed to two-partner families.

7 References to the common structure of the extended family among the Nguni tribes (among which the Zulu are included) are many. As characteristic of these, one may take Mrs. Hoernle's chapter on Social Organisation in "The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa", 1946, ed. Schapera, especially pp. 69 and 82.

to form the extended or the joint family. Just as the kraal often contains the huts of married sons, and unmarried grown-up children, as well as the homes of servants or dependants in the background, so house-space has to be found in the homes of relatives for these persons when they come to work in the big cities.

To support this hypothesis, the main objects in the following inductive analysis of Baumannville households and families will be to show: a) that at no stage in the synthesis of the urban household from its component family and individual types can any such component be removed on the ground of "unofficial residence" without doing violence to the household structure as a whole; and b) that the urban African families which emerge from the analysis are not and, under present conditions of Bantu residence in the cities, cannot be replicas of the typical European urban elementary family.

For these purposes, one-partner (fragmentary) and two-partner (elementary) families without relatives attached will first be analysed. Related individuals and/or related families attached to families of either type will then be considered. Finally, combinations of all these types with any unrelated lodgers or servants, to form the principal grouping in Baumannville, the household, will be discussed. Any family type, as the occasion requires, will be divided into main families; the family in a given house of which the household head is a member; and sub-families; any other family or families which happen to be living in the house. Unrelated individuals in various capacities have to be treated separately.

The primary concern in this section is with main families which, since the household head is the person in whose name the house is registered, are by definition the official residents of the house. Of the 118 houses in the location used for private residence, information could not be obtained from those living in five of them,[8] so that this section covers the persons officially dwelling in 113 houses.

Fragmentary Families.

The fragmentary family consists of a widowed, deserted, divorced, separated or unmarried person, with or without children (and attached unrelated persons such as servants) but without related individuals or families living in the house. Where a widow or a widower, with or without children, has relatives to live in the house, the resulting family will be considered as extended rather than fragmentary. For the same reason fragmentary families which are part of joint families will be considered under that heading when it arises.

There are nine widow and two widower fragmentary families in Baumannville houses. The widow households consist of three widows each living alone in a house, one widow with an adopted son, one widow with five adopted husband's sister's children (the mother being dead), one widow with six young children of her own, one widow with three unmarried adult sons; and two deserted women, one with a son of eighteen and the other with an infant female grandchild. These fragmentary families are well within the capacity of the location houses in fact, they tend to make less intensive use of the accommodation than other family types. The reason for their small size is quite evident. In all cases except one, the woman concerned is between 42 and 54 years of age (the exception is 70 years old), and all but one

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8 Thus four per cent of the total are non-respondent. Two of the houses apparently contained married couples, three seemed to have widow householders.

of the women has lost her husband within the last five years or so. They are middle-aged women, recently flung on their own resources. As one of them said, "We widows are like dogs, we have nobody to turn to".

These are not, of course, the only widowed main families in the location. Apart from seven more widowers, or separated or divorced male householders, all of whom have extended or joint families,[9] there are ten more female household heads claiming widow status who have extended families, and twelve more who are part of joint families, making thirty-one widow houses in all.[10]

Widowhood is the only marital status in which a woman may be registered as a Baumannville householder according to current practice.[11] Women without husbands for one reason or another therefore jealously guard the ostensible status of "widowhood" in order to retain tenure of their homes. A fear is apparent among elements of the male population that the authorities are in process of converting the location into a settlement for widows only. We were told by more than one informant that should this become an open and official policy, many married women would murder their husbands in order to obtain widow status and retain their houses. They would then, it was alleged, take lovers from the neighbouring Somtseu single men's barracks. While it may seem absurd, this situation affords an interesting insight into a set of group tensions found in an African urban community of this type. Not only do the widows in effect become a group upon which certain domiciliary and sexual

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9 A man deprived of his spouse is not, in the Zulu tradition, in the same helpless position as a woman would be. He does not normally lose status, and may proceed to accumulate relatives or other dependants much as though he were still married. In any case he will normally have in a female relative to cook and keep house for him, so that his family then becomes extended, even if it were not so before.

10 While these women are all officially classed as widows, only twenty-two are widows in fact. The remaining nine women consist of two who have never married, one married woman (whereabouts of husband unknown), one remarried widow, three deserted women, one divorced woman and one separated woman.

11 Provincial Notice No. 140 of 1952 requires that rents be payable by the person to whom the Superintendent allocates a house, as opposed to a previous regulation (P.N. 237 of 1926) which made them payable by the husband (of the occupying family). Only "widowed" females have in practice been allocated houses by the Superintendent.

fears are projected, but it is clear that to keep a house is more important, in this context, than to keep a husband.[12]

Elementary Families.

The elementary family is the type for which Baumannville was designed. Only twenty-two, less than one-fifth of the houses, however, are occupied by this type of family - husband and wife living together, with or without children - alone. In terms of the insufficiency of urban living-space already referred to, such a family, unless there are many children still alive and living with their parents, does not normally fill a house to capacity as the Bantu see it. Even in the light of our estimated augmented house capacity of five to seven persons the elementary main families of Baumannville do not make full use of the available house-space. Seven of these twenty-two families are within the capacity of the houses (5-7 persons), two (one of eight and one of ten persons) are overcrowding the houses, the other thirteen have less than five persons each (four have two persons, five have three persons and four have four persons). The twenty-two families together contain 100 persons.

Of the thirteen families which under-occupy the houses, few can be considered as complete Zulu-type families. The four consisting of husband and wife alone include three in which the wife is receiving or has received medical (or herbal) treatment for failing to conceive, the fourth is an old couple whose children are all married and living away. The five 3-person families, in all but one case, are those in which every child save one has been still-born or has died young, or in which every child has died and a related child has been adopted. Only one of the 4-person families is a very young family, though more might have been expected, the others have children married and living away, or just few children.

Although elementary families are not old families - the average age of husband and wife in three-quarters of the twenty-two elementary main families is less than thirty-five years - reflecting the low median age of the Baumannville population. Moreover, the difference between length of residence of elementary families compared with extended families in the location is hardly significant, 65 per cent extended compared with 60 per cent elementary families have ten or more years' residence. In respect of both age of parents and length of residence, therefore, there is nothing to show that elementary families are a transitional type towards the extended family frequently found in Baumannville

Among those concerned with Bantu housing schemes there is sometimes an assumption that the more highly educated an African family, the more its family type as well as its way of life will tend to

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12 It may not be inappropriate to note here that if it is in fact the official intention to convert Baumannville into a location for widows only, the probable long-term result would be that the settlement will become one large brothel. There is no precedent whatever in tradition for the lodging of unrelated widows without relatives and without supervision in adjacent rooms of the same house, and it is unlikely that these women would remain in such a condition for long. One extended widow family per house might, on the other hand, be a possibility, assuming that the fear of murder mentioned in the text above is entirely without foundation.

approximate to that of the European: that is, to the elementary family as it is called here. In Baumannville, however, the very small difference in the highest educational standard reached by the better educated parent favours the extended families, compared with the elementary families. If the supposed tendency exists, therefore, it is buried in the overall pressure to fill all available living space.[13]

TABLE 18 DISTRIBUTION OF THIRTY-SIX EXTENDED MAIN FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN CORE FAMILIES AND NUMBER OF ATTACHED RELATIVES; AND BY SIZE OF RESULTING FAMILIES IN RELATION TO BAUMANNVILLE HOUSE CAPACITY

Core Families		No. of Families with attached related persons							Total No. of persons, in Core Families.	No. of Extended Families by size in relation to house capacity		
Type	No. of persons	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		Below	Within (5-7 persons)	Above
Fragmentary: 13 families	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	2 families	-	-
	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	6	3	-	-
	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	20	-	5	-
	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	1	-
	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	1
	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	1
No of Persons attached to Fragmentary Families:		6	10	6	-	-	-	-	48	5	6	2
		= 22 persons =								= 13 families =		
Elementary: 23 families	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	6	1 family	1	1
	3	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	12	1	3	-
	4	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	20	-	5	-
	5	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	20	-	3	1
	6	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	24	-	-	4
	7	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	2
	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	1
No of Persons attached to Elementary Families:		8	10	21	4	5	-	7	104	2	12	9
		= 55 persons =								= 23 families =		

/ Extended .....

13 A decision regarding whether Bantu housing units should be on the European model or not is obviously vital in location planning. If, under a gross housing shortage, living space of any kind will merely be filled to capacity by the room, regardless of family type, it might be more realistic to build two-person room units which can be aggregated for families of different sizes, rather than model houses like NE 51/9. The appropriate forms of such aggregated accommodation would have to be worked out.

TABLE 19 DISTRIBUTION OF FORTY JOINT FAMILIES BY NUMBERS OF PERSONS IN MAIN AND IN SUB-FAMILIES, AND BY SIZE OF RESULTING FAMILIES IN RELATION TO BAUMANNVILLE HOUSE CAPACITY

Main Families		Number of Families with											Total No of persons in main fams.	No of Joint Families by size in relation to house capacity		
Type	No. of persons	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	13		Below	Within 5-7 persons	Above
		persons in related Sub-Families.														
Fragmentary:- 7 fams.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	2	-
	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	2	-
	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	1
	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	1
No of Persons in Sub-Families.		2	6	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	20	-	4	3
		= 36 persons =												= 7 families =		
Elementary:- 11 families	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	6	1	-	2
	3	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	2	1
	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8	-	-	2
	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	1
	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	1
	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	1
No of Persons in Sub-Families.		10	-	4	5	12	-	-	-	-	11	13	41	1	2	8
		= 55 persons =												= 11 families =		
Core Families													Core Families			
Extended:- 9 fams. Fragm. Cores.	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	2
	2	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	4
	3	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	1	1
	Totals	-	3	-	-	30	14	8	-	-	-	-	17	-	2	7
		= 55 persons =												= 9 families =		
13 fams. Elem. Cores.	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	8	-	2	2
	3	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	12	-	2	2
	4	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	2
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	1
	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	1
	7	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	1
	Totals	-	6	12	5	6	14	8	9	20	-	-	46	-	4	9
		= 80 persons =												= 13 families =		

Extended Families.

When fragmentary and elementary main families are augmented by relatives - and about three-quarters of the Baumannville main families are so augmented - two possibilities arise: either individual relatives, or families of relatives, may join what can be called the core family, the fragmentary or elementary nucleus of which the household head is a member. In the first case, where individuals join, an extended main family emerges. In the second case there is a joint family. Table 18 analyses the extended families, showing the sizes or their core families officially living in Baumannville, and the numbers of relatives attached to them and living unofficially in the location. It also shows how the total size, the thirty-six extended main families, stand with reference to the estimated augmented capacity of 5-7 persons per house.

Fragmentary extended families accrete less relatives than elementary extended families do. The thirteen fragmentary extended families with forty-eight persons in the core families gather twenty-two attached relatives, an average of just over two core persons per relative. The twenty-three elementary extended families with 104 persons in the core families gather fifty-five attached relatives, averaging less than two core persons per relative. In general, the "carrying capacity" of core families in Baumannville accommodation appears to be about one relative per two persons.

Elementary cores might be expected to take on more relatives than fragmentary cores, since: a) the elementary core averaging 4.5 persons tends to be larger than the fragmentary core of 3.7 persons, so that more relatives would not swamp it; b) relatives of both husband and wife have claims to houseroom with elementary cores, whereas this is not usually the case with "widows". That these factors have not made any marked difference is another suggestion of the stronger tendency to fill all available living space, whatever the family type.

The second part of Table 18 makes it clear that more than a third of the fragmentary extended families are under-occupying the estimated house capacity, even with their attached relatives, and that only two of these families have exceeded it. With elementary extended families, on the other hand, just over half the twenty-three families are using the houses to full capacity, only two are under-occupying the accommodation, and nine are over-crowding it. "Widow" extended families tend to under-occupy the houses, married couple extended families to overcrowd them.

Joint Families.

Before considering the personal and functional aspects of attached relatives, the story of official occupation in Baumannville must be completed by an analysis of the attachment of families of relatives to main families. There are forty joint families in the location, compared with the thirty-six extended families[14]. When

/ families .....

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14 From the Alexandra and Orlando township material cited by J.D. Rheinallt-Jones ("Native Housing in Urban Areas with Special Consideration of its Aspects") in Race Relations, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, pp. 96-123, it is possible to calculate the following figures for comparison with the present survey:-

families take in relatives the chances are even whether they will be individuals or families. This suggests that where relatives have spouses or immediate issue, they bring them into the house; where not, they come alone.

In five cases out of six, joint families consist of a main family and only one sub-family. In the seven instances where there is more than one related sub-family in a house, eleven out of the sixteen sub-families concerned are small fragmentary families, often consisting of an unmarried daughter and her children. The main families can be fragmentary, elementary or extended, for any type of family can be conjoined with any other type to form a joint family.

Table 19 shows the number of persons in joint families, divided by main families officially in Baumannville, and unofficial sub-families, to which are added any unauthorized individual relatives part of extended families.

Thus 350 persons in main and sub-families, official and unofficial, live in joint families in Baumannville; nearly half the family population (350/743 persons) is found in less than a quarter (40/166) of all the main and sub-families in the location. Joint families average 8.8 persons compared with 6.4 persons for extended families. It is evident from the table that once a main family takes on a related sub-family, with or without additional relatives, the total number thus unofficially added is likely to exceed the size of the original main family. The inference is that once a sub-family is admitted, the main family is either disinclined or unable to control the natural increase of that family. In any event, there is an average of about one and a half sub-family members per main family member in all joint families except the nine "widow" extended joint families. In these the average rises to over three persons per main family member, because the main family is very small; never more than three persons.

Four more houses which in a sense contain joint families are those in which pairs of unrelated families live together. The four main families are elementary in each case, and the four sub-families comprise one fragmentary servant family, one elementary lodger family and two extended lodger families. The main families are small - two 2-person, one 3-person and one 5-person family - and the sub-families fill the house-space, paying at the same time a contribution, or rendering services to the main families. In one instance, the only one known in the location, the two families have completely separate budgets and separate family economies.

/ The .....

	Extended Families	Joint Families
Alexandra	38%	7%
Orlando	30%	21%
Baumannville	32%	35%

The high percentage of extended and joint families in Baumannville, and the correspondingly low number of elementary families, is probably related to the extreme desirability of this location as an urban African residence on account of its central position, compared with Alexandra and Orlando townships.

The joint families give the main picture of overcrowding for a large part of the Baumannville population. Only one joint family, consisting of four persons, is under-occupying the accommodation. Of the remaining thirty-nine joint families, twelve are using the houses to capacity (5-7 persons) and twenty-seven are overcrowded with eight to seventeen persons. Table 20 gives the distribution of families by different types and by the number of persons in each.

TABLE 20 DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY TYPES AND TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS

Type of Family	Number of Families with 1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons	8 per family	9 per family	10 per family	11 per family	12 per family	13 per family	14 per family	15 per family	16 per family	17 per family	Total families
Joint	-	-	-	1	4	4	4	11	4	3	1	3	1	2	1	-	1	40
Joint Unrelated	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Extended	-	1	2	4	5	7	6	4	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
Elementary	-	4	5	4	1	4	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
Fragmentary	3	5	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
TOTAL families	3	10	7	10	10	17	14 house capacity	17	11	5	1	3	1	2	1	-	1	113

This table in effect gives the distribution by type of all the families in Baumannville, forty-nine sub-families being concealed among the joint families and the remaining four among the families living unrelated together. The total family population for the location (less five families unknown) calculated from this table is 739 persons, without taking any unrelated attached individuals into account. Of this population, 405 persons in forty-two families are living under overcrowded conditions, 250 persons in forty-one families fill the houses to capacity, and eighty-four persons in thirty families under-occupy the accommodation according to minimum housing standards. Most of the overcrowding is in the twenty-seven joint families.

Not all these persons, however, are officially entitled to house-room in Baumannville. The sub-families of joint families and families living unrelated together - that is, any second family in the house - are not entitled to be there, nor are the related attached persons in extended families or joint families.

We turn now to the officially resident core and main families in Table 21 which gives the types and number of persons with the fragmentary families separated by the sex of the household head.

Table 21 answers the original question which headed this section: who has house-room officially? It is obvious from the detail of the table, however, that the answer has been obtained only by cutting ruthlessly across family ties in extended and joint families. The families now listed as officially resident are not really families, but family remnants, alike in form, but certainly not functional entities compared with the European-type families to which they are supposed to correspond.

Whatever means are used to limit or qualify the size or nature of African families occupying location accommodation such as

/ Baumannville .....

TABLE 21 DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALLY RESIDENT FAMILIES BY TYPE AND NUMBER OF PERSONS

Type of Main or Core Family		Number of Families with 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 persons per family	TOTAL families	TOTAL persons
FRAGMENTARY:-				
widow families	alone:	3 3 - 1 - 1 1 - - -	9	26
	part of extended:	2 2 - 3 1 - 1 1 - -	10	38
	part of joint:	2 5 3 1 1 - - - - -	12	30
TOTAL, widow families:		7 10 3 5 2 1 2 1 - -	31	94
widower families	alone:	- 2 - - - - - - - -	2	4
	part of extended:	- 1 - 2 - - - - - -	3	10
	part of joint:	2 1 1 - - - - - - -	4	7
TOTAL, widower families:		2 4 1 2 - - - - - -	9	21
ELEMENTARY:-				
married couples with/without children	alone:	- 4 5 4 1 4 2 1 - 1	22	100
	part of extended:	- 3 4 5 4 4 2 1 - -	23	104
	part of joint:	- 7 7 4 2 2 2 - - -	24	87
	part of unrelated joint fams:	- 2 1 - 1 - - - - -	4	12
TOTAL, "married couple" families:		- 16 17 13 8 10 6 2 - 1	73	303
GRAND TOTALS, officially resident families:		9 30 21 20 10 11 8 3 - 1	113	418

Baumannville, those families will undoubtedly in the end respond to the pressure of the acute housing shortage by complete house saturation along extended or joint family lines. A realistic way to meet this situation would be to accept it as it stands at the moment, and consider what can be done to house the so-called "unofficial" residue which although "outside" the main and core families, probably contributes quite as much to the labour requirements of Durban as those who are officially housed.[15] The following section will indicate in more detail who the additional people are.

/ Who .....

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15 For example, of the fifty-two related and unrelated lodgers of both sexes, thirty-two males and six females are earning. One male and one female of the non-earners are pensioners, five are infants, two are schoolgirls, three women assist in the house, and two men are unemployed.

Who has houseroom unofficially?

Unofficial residents in the location can be either related or unrelated, the two classes are best treated separately. Related unofficial residents are twenty-two persons attached to fragmentary families and fifty-five persons attached to elementary families (Table 18) and in sub-families attached to fragmentary thirty-six, to elementary fifty-five, to extended with fragmentary cores fifty-five, and to extended with elementary cores eighty (Table 19), making a total of 303 persons related to the official householders, but unofficially resident in the location. These 303 persons, together with eighteen persons in unrelated sub-families and the 418 persons officially housed, constitute the total Baumannville family population of 739 persons.

It might be thought that sub-families created by married sons and daughters of household heads are entitled to first consideration for housing, by contrast with other related sub-families. Table 22 separates married sons and daughters who generate sub-families from a) unmarried sons and daughters, and b) married and unmarried relations, who create sub-families, also in need of accommodation.

TABLE 22 SUB-FAMILY HEADS BY SEX, MARITAL STATUS AND RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Marital Status	Sons	Daughters	Relatives		TOTALS	
			Male	Female	Male	Female
Married	8	4	7	9	15	13
"Not Married"*	3	13	-	5	3	18
TOTALS, Sub-family heads:	11	17	7	14	18	31
					49 sub-families	

* A technical term including widowed, divorced, separated and unmarried persons of both sexes -mostly the last-named.

The overall tendency is to have married sons and/or unmarried daughters living in the house, and this was borne out by field observation. It is also noticable that more "not married" than married sons and daughters together are accepted in Baumannville households, almost certainly for the sake of the children concerned. With relatives, on the other hand, there is a strong tendency for them to be married, presumably because householders are not prepared to accept responsibility for the illegitimate children of relatives. No "not married" male relatives and their offspring had been accepted in households. On the whole, however, it is evident that legal union and direct descent from the household head are by no means the only criteria for acceptance of sub-families in Baumannville.

Table 23 shows the distribution by numbers of persons in the sub-families created by the twelve married sons and daughters.

With such small numbers involved, it is impossible to be sure that the families of married sons cluster about the smaller family sizes, while those of married daughters cover a wider range. This is, however, the situation which would result from the pressure put upon a married son to found his own establishment once his family had reached a certain size.

/ TABLE 23 .....

TABLE 23 DISTRIBUTION OF SUB-FAMILIES OF MARRIED SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY NUMBER OF PERSONS PER SUB-FAMILY

Sub-Families generated by:	Number of Families with 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 persons per sub-family.							TOTAL families
Married Sons	2	3	2	1	-	-	-	8
Married Daughters	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	4
TOTALS, Sub-families:	3	3	2	2	1	-	1	12 sub-families consisting of 47 persons.

On what basis official?

Following the above argument, on what grounds other than European ideas of consanguinity are the sub-families of married sons and daughters more related to, or more a part of, the Zulu-type joint family than sub-families generated by unmarried issue or by other related persons? One household in Baumannville contains a very large joint family consisting of a main family of husband, wife and unmarried children, and three sub-families generated by a married son, a married daughter and an unmarried daughter respectively. The married daughter and her husband have no children, and the married son and his wife have two. The unmarried daughter has six children which are as much a part of the household head's patrilineage, in the traditional sense, as the two children of the married son are. In terms of children, will the large sub-family of the unmarried mother be excluded from the house when the two small married ones are allowed to remain?

If the sub-families of unmarried sons and daughters are acceptable in a housing policy, how can the sub-families created by other relatives of the household head be excluded? Table 22 shows that more married relatives than married offspring of the household head generate accepted sub-families. Among these relatives has been included a married grandson, his wife and child, part of a joint family covering five generations. If that sub-family is officially acceptable, how is it with an old widower household head, who besides accommodating the child of his unmarried only daughter as one sub-family, also has his married brother's son, wife and two children as another? In traditional Zulu practice, a brother's son, especially when that brother is dead, is virtually as close to a man as his own son.[16] With this admitted, it is surely difficult to exclude all the other related cases, such as the one, where a childless household head and wife have accepted not only the former's father's sister to live with them, but also her married daughter, daughter's husband and three children. A widowed 6a6ekazi (father's sister) under these circumstances is very close to a man, and her child is almost as his child.

/ Argument .....

16 This can be inferred from E.J. Krige, "The Social System of the Zulus", 1936, pp. 25, 28. See also D.H. Reader, "Makhanya Kinship Rights and Obligations", University of Cape Town Communications No. 28, 1954, pp. 10, 16-17.

Argument in this strain serves to show the importance of all the links which are not recognized by the criterion of official residence to Zulu family life. Changes in family structure due to the present urban environment, so far from dissolving the composite family, only serve to augment it. Whereas in rural life relatives on the husband's side had prime right to living-space in his kraal, and for a man to live with his wife's people was considered disgraceful, in the urban environment, as exemplified in Baumannville, it is found that the wife's relatives claim houseroom too. Of the seventy-six extended or joint families in the location, twenty-seven have both husband's and wife's relatives living in the house, the remaining forty-nine being divided almost equally between families which have only husband's relatives, those which have only relatives of the wife, and those which have no relatives at all living in the house other than children and grandchildren and their offspring. This new foothold which the wife's relatives have gained in the urban household may very well be due to her new powers of independence as an earner - one who often contributes to the household income, say by the sale of illicit liquor, more than her husband does by his legitimate occupation.

Similar arguments apply to individual relatives living with the extended family, except that because they would sometimes be very young or very old and alone if separated from the core family to which they are attached, the argument not to separate them on humanitarian grounds is intensified.

Lodgers and Servants.

There is reason to believe that many relatives are attached to the core family by economic as well as by kinship ties. This was to some extent masked in the survey by the fact that contributions by related lodgers or to related servants must sometimes have been in kind, that is groceries or other useful commodities.

TABLE 24 NUMBER OF LODGERS AND SERVANTS, RELATED AND UNRELATED, AND NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS TO WHICH THEY ARE ATTACHED BY FAMILY TYPE

Type of Individual	Family Type						TOTALS	
	Fragment.fam.		Element.fam.		Extended & Joint			
	No.of Persons	No.of Households	No.of Persons	No.of Households	No.of Persons	No.of Households	No.of Persons	No.of Households
Lodgers								
related:	-	-	-	-	32	23	32	23
unrelated:	3	2	11	3	6	3	20	8
Servants								
related:	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	2
unrelated:	2	2	6	4	8	8	16	14
TOTALS								
related:	-	-	-	-	34	25	34	25
unrelated:	5	4	17	7	14	11	36	22

/ Where .....

Where cash or kind is known to have passed, Table 2.' shows the number of lodgers and servants, related and unrelated, and the number of households to which they are attached by main family types. The related lodgers and servants have already been taken into account in the extended and joint family distributions; the unrelated lodgers and servants have not.

The unrelated are more truly the lodgers and servants. The former number twenty in eight households the majority with elementary families where there is more room. The latter number sixteen in fourteen households the majority with extended and joint families where there would be more need of help.

Related lodgers (thirty-two in twenty-three households) and servants (two in two households) can only occur in extended or joint families, for they make a core or main family extended. Even taking what are undoubtedly low figures, however, it is clear that a good number of attached relatives are lodgers. Had contributions in the opposite direction in kind, such as the use of sleeping space, been taken into account it might have become apparent that a number of them were also servants.

When the related lodgers are divided by age and sex, it is found that three-quarters of them are men in their twenties, working in Durban, usually single and paying a preferential rate of about 10/- a month for lodging, often irregularly. It is not clear to what extent food is provided for them from the household budget or to what extent they buy food for it. Other related lodgers are either old persons or children under 18 for whose keep a small sum is paid. Related schoolchildren living in households do not pay for lodging. Only two related servants were discovered, one a widow of forty and the other a separated woman, twenty-five years of age. It is reasonably certain that there are other female relatives in a servant capacity who are not paid in cash but for whom the necessities of life are provided by the household head or his wife. Such women will normally be elderly and without a spouse, and will be in the household genuinely to help with the housework, and not necessarily to brew and serve illicit liquor.

Other attached Relatives.

A considerable number of attached relatives are neither servants nor lodgers, but just live in the house. These range from country children who live with their town relatives in the location while they are at school, to persons related only by clanship, that is, through having the same isi6ongo or clan name (say, Ngco6o). Complete families related only in this way were living as sub-families in two households, the practice in this location not being as common as had been expected. [17] Unattached widows come to live in their brother's house, for according to Zulu tradition this is one of the alternatives open to a widow in rural areas, and in a few cases separated or divorced men, sometimes with a child of the broken marriage. In general, however, the unmarried nieces or nephews of the household head or his wife are those most frequently attached to the core family, of these 40 per cent are relatives on the wife's side, and 45 per cent on the husband's

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17 The influence of clanship in urban areas is discussed in Levin, "Marriage in Langa Native Location", University of Cape Town Communications, No. 17, 1947, pp. 68-69, and in Godfrey Wilson's essay "Economics of Detribelegation in Northern Rhodesia", Part II, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 6, 1942, p. 53.

side. Many of these are children from the country at school in Durban. Whatever the relationships and numbers of these attached people living with the core family, they are as likely to be related to the wife of the householder as to the householder himself.

Between related persons, who have been included under the family, and non-related individuals making up the household, is a category which will be called here assimilated persons. This term has reference to the urban Bantu habit of taking very young, very old or unrelated, neglected or impoverished persons into the household, from no obvious motive other than pity in many cases, and "making them part of the family". In the case of very young children this produces a form of quasi-adoption which is so closely allied to the traditional Bantu form of taking over a deceased relative's children - or even one or more of those of a prolific living relative - that it has become a norm in Baumannville in lieu of legal adoption, which necessarily involves formalities and delay. As there is no functional difference in the care and treatment bestowed upon an assimilated and a legally adopted child by the people, the one or two cases of legal adoption found in the location have been classed as assimilated. Children who have been assimilated combine with their foster parents or parent to form an elementary or a fragmentary family; and they may form part of extended or joint families in the usual way.

Assimilated adults appear as extensions of the family into which they are taken, being of the same or of a senior generation to that of the parents. To all intents and purposes they are treated in the family as though they were relatives of the parent who took the initiative in assimilating them. As one Zulu housewife, who had taken in a Swazi woman of fifty-six, said, "she just came walking in here one day in March, not knowing where to sleep. I gave her supper, and she has stayed here ever since, helping me where she can. I don't pay her anything, but give her things as she needs them." Had this woman been deliberately engaged for the purpose, she might have been called a servant. As it is, she and other adults of the same kind have already been included in the family population as members of extended and joint families. Five adults were found to be assimilated in this way into four Baumannville households, six children were assimilated into two fragmentary families, and twelve children into seven elementary families.

THE HOUSEHOLDS

The various modifications of family patterns which have been discussed because the data made it necessary, seem also to indicate that it is more realistic to recognize that, in Baumannville, the basic social unit is the household. The entire human contents of each house not only dwell in the same place, but actually live together sharing from day to day the arrangements, the meals, the problems, and the responsibilities. It is, therefore, these households and the total population of all households which is important. The household population consists of the family population, 739 persons, with the thirty-six unrelated lodgers and servants living "unofficially" in the location added, a total of 775 persons.

These unrelated persons in households can no more be separated from the families to which they are attached than can the related attached persons already discussed. The household is the prime economic unit in Baumannville, and if unrelated persons are attached, they are attached as a matter of economic necessity, either on the side of the household head, the unrelated person, or both. There are functional differences, however, in the significance of the

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attachment of unrelated persons compared with related persons.

There are twenty unrelated lodgers compared with thirty-two related lodgers, not a large number. Unlike the related lodgers who are usually young single persons, unrelated lodgers are mostly in families, with spouses from twenty-five to sixty years of age - on the whole in the older group. While in one case £2 a month lodging is asked, and in another £1 or more, the general pattern of payment is similar to the preferential rate of 10/- a month for related lodgers; with an even greater likelihood, however, of payment in kind. The economic necessity in these cases appears to be entirely on the lodger's side, the householder, with certain reservations, merely providing houseroom. An excerpt from the fieldworker's notes for one household throws light on the matter: "When I asked why she does not make these people pay, she gave two reasons. One, ... they are Christians. Anything the lodgers would like to do should be voluntary. As long as they behave themselves she is contented. Two, ... Should they be forced to contribute, they would do anything, because (then) they would be joint owners of the house ...". The last point may often be important: with security of tenure depending only on the continued passage of money, it could easily be "usurped" for a pound or two, and there are no kinship obligations to regularise the issue.

In the case of unrelated servants, there is little doubt that a real difference of function exists when comparison is made with related servants. Far from being elderly, the average unrelated adult servant is a strong woman in her prime, brought in from the country because of the low wage she will accept, for the specific purpose of helping with the brewing and serving of illicit beer to customers. One fieldworker put the matter thus: "It is quite clear that (the servant) is hired for brewing purposes. She is a tall, tough, rural-reared woman - ideally suited for the strenuous job ...". Such a servant will, of course, only be required in the successful shebeen house with a high turnover; hence a comparatively small number are employed. While the present official policy regarding "domestic" brewing continues,[18] then in some form or other the beer servant will appear as an integral economic part of the shebeen household. It is fairly definitely established, however, that apart from casual encounters, beer servants are not engaged in organised prostitution for the benefit of customers in the location, but confine themselves on the whole to beer service. This is not to say that procurer houses are unknown for sexual activities elsewhere than in Baumannville.

Four of the unrelated servants are juveniles, and in this case they are engaged as children's nurses, generally in a household where both parents go out to work. In one such house, the wife "asked a friend to recommend some child of poor parents who could not afford her food, to live with her family, help the servant by supervising small children, in return for which she would get bed, board, clothing

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18 Permissive domestic brewing, limited to four gallons at a time, is in force in the location under the provisions of Government Notice No. 88 of 1949. But, as one informant said: "The door of evil was opened to Baumannville with one (paraffin) tin of beer". The objection to domestic brewing is that there is no effective means of checking either the quantity brewed or its sale. vide A. Lynn Saffery, "The Liquor Problem in Urban Areas", Race Relations, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1940, pp. 88-94.

and also schooling, but no wages". In this case there is also an adult servant in the house, whose main function is evidently not to supervise small children.

The total number of persons in the officially resident families as shown in Table 21 amounts to 418. The households whose distribution will now be set out includes in addition the 357 unofficially resident persons, totalling 775. These additional people include 303 attached relatives, as individuals or in families, eighteen persons living in unrelated sub-families, twenty unrelated lodgers, and sixteen unrelated servants. Table 25 shows the distribution by size of the resultant households and the total household population of 775 persons.

TABLE 25 DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN RELATION TO HOUSE CAPACITY

100% = 113 households.					
- 22% -		- 37% -		- 41% -	
under-occupied		used to capacity		over-crowded	
Houses No.	Persons Occupants	Houses No.	Persons Occupants	Houses No.	Persons Occupants
1 x 1 =	1	14 x 5 =	70	16 x 8 =	128
9 x 2 =	18	16 x 6 =	96	11 x 9 =	99
8 x 3 =	24	12 x 7 =	84	7 x 10 =	70
7 x 4 =	28			4 x 11 =	44
				2 x 12 =	24
				1 x 13 =	13
				2 x 14 =	28
				1 x 15 =	15
				1 x 16 =	16
				1 x 17 =	17
25 =	71	42 =	250	46 =	454
GRAND TOTAL: Household Population: 113 houses, 775 persons. (5 houses unknown)					

Slightly more than a third of the houses are used to capacity according to the calculated capacity of the houses as 5-7 persons. Of the remainder about twice as many are overcrowded as under-occupied. While only 41 per cent of the houses are overcrowded, nearly 60 per cent of Baumannville household population live in these houses. Baumannville with its average of 6.9 persons per household is heavily overcrowded when compared with Native accommodation in Durban as a whole, averaging 3.2 persons per household as reported in the 1943-44 Housing Survey of Durban.[19] Even allowing for a large increase in population since then, there is little

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19 The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community. Natal Regional Survey, Additional Report No. 2, Durban: University of Natal Press, 1952, Chapter V, pp. 85, 87.

doubt that the high relative household density in the location is by virtue of its extremely desirable position, from the African point of view, within the central area of the city.

House and room density, and hence the degree of overcrowding, could be calculated from the above figures in at least four different ways.[20] The point here, however, is not only that too many people are living together in these small houses according to accepted standards of health and decency, but also that they are prepared to continue doing so, whatever the discomfort. 84 per cent of the householders have tried to meet the situation by building on the additional rooms at their own expense. While this has been done in 75 per cent of the households of five persons or less, perhaps for use as a beer-parlour or guest-room. In 90 per cent of the households with more than five persons an extra room or rooms have been added, presumably to provide the additional space needed for a large household, without having to turn any person, related or unrelated, away.

The conclusion which seems to present itself from this study, and which may well have a wider application than merely to Baumannville, is that the growing urban African population, under present conditions of limited accommodation in the city, cannot without strain and injustice be reduced to the convenient elementary family of between three and seven persons which seems to be the basis of modern town-planning for the Bantu. The African household, as instanced in Baumannville, is like an entire kraal rolled into the two or three rooms of a house. The extended or joint family which it normally contains is not in any way inferior as a family structure to the elementary family in the same environment. In fact it portrays advantages, the aged are cared for, orphans find refuge, funds are spread, and traditional kinship obligations are met within its framework, in a way hardly possible in the individualistically-attuned elementary family.

Under the circumstances the familiar "model" two- to four-roomed houses may in practice be unsuitable, particularly where there may be a range of persons per household as wide as in this location; from one to seventeen persons. To refuse to permit unrelated persons to be integrated into such households would only be equitable if African wages were of a level to permit the widespread independent existence of elementary families of the size planned for, and there were sufficient centrally situated hostels or other accommodation for the unrelated persons to use, or at least no serious deficit in urban African housing at large.

These conditions do not obtain. Thought may therefore have to be given to some flexible scheme for housing the large and variable numbers of related and unrelated persons at present constituting households.[21] As the National Housing and Planning Commission have

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20 The Durban Housing Survey: A Study of Housing in a Multi-racial Community. Natal Regional Survey, Additional Report No. 2, Durban: University of Natal Press, 1952, Chapter V, p. 89 ff.

21 A system of letting aggregates of, say, 2-person room-units might be tried, possibly in flatted accommodation if experiment shows that this is suitable for African families. The 12-person household will then rent six rooms, with the possibility of renting more if the numbers increase, or less if some of the members die or leave. Satisfactory arrangements for living-room, kitchen, toilet etc. will, of course, have to be made.

properly said: "The problem of housing non-Europeans in urban areas is one which is never static. The persons already housed increase, and the industrial development in certain areas may attract non-European labour from other places, thus creating a housing shortage. It is therefore necessary for local authorities to watch carefully the natural increase and the infiltration of non-Europeans into their areas, in order to know what housing demands exist at any time, and what the future may require".[22]

Finally, three reservations: firstly, it will almost certainly be objected to the conclusions drawn here that they are formed from only one small, non-representative Durban location and are therefore not valid at large. The reply is that they suggest a sociological basis for urban African housing sufficiently different from current practice to challenge further investigation in other locations.

Secondly, it is not implied that, given ample housing facilities, urban Africans might not prefer to live in the European elementary family form, without all the additional kinship obligations which they are now shouldering. The point is, that under present conditions of restricted accommodation in the city, it is impossible for them to live like Europeans while their houseroom is being saturated through the legitimate needs of relatives; and therefore that since many years of intensive building must elapse before this situation could be ameliorated,[23] the realistic approach in the present generation is to build for the extended and joint family, structures which must continue to exist.

Thirdly, nothing has been said to convey that Baumannville inhabitants are dissatisfied with this type of location as such. They complain of overcrowding, delays in repairing fences and yards, the lack of community recreational facilities - in particular the lack of a communal hall; but there is full recognition of the ease of reaching their work without great expense, the provision by the administration of public services such as street-cleaning, and above all a considerable pleasure in the neighbourly relations engendered by lines of contiguous houses. It may be that at the present stage of the African housing problem, the properly-designed terraced house, let on some flexible unit principle, is the best solution to the accommodation needs of the majority of urban African households.

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22 National Housing and Planning Commission Publication, "A Guide to the Planning of Non-European Townships", 1951, p. 2.

23 vide J.E. Jennings, "Housing for the Urban Bantu - a Problem in Whole Engineering", Transactions of the S.A. Institute of Civil Engineers, Vol. 4 No. 6, June, 1954, p. 3, where it appears that to eliminate the backlog of 353,131 urban African dwellings in the Union within ten years, would involve speeding up the present rate of building by about four times.

CHAPTER 5

MARRIAGE, FAMILY LIFE AND CHILDREN

The household is the primary social unit in Baumannville, as was shown in the preceding chapter, but within the household there may be more than one family. Normally the main family - the immediate family of which the household head is a member - determines the pattern of life within the household. The household head is responsible for paying the rent, whether he in fact pays it or not; and prompt payment of rent is the only guarantee of security of tenure, which means much to the African. If lodgers, individuals or families are able to make themselves agreeable or helpful to members of the main family, they may enjoy the privilege of living for a relatively small sum in this most central and convenient location in Durban, although frequently under overcrowded conditions. In this way it becomes to the advantage of sub-families and attached individuals in the household to conform with the behaviour patterns of the main family.

This situation has implications for marriage and family life in the location. It reinforces the old-established natural hospitality and desire to meet kinship obligations which is characteristic of the Bantu, and it serves further to knit the household into one cohesive social unit. Marriage and family life in sub-families becomes the concern of the household as dominated by the main family. Child-care where parent-substitutes are available in the household is no longer the sole concern of a sub-family fragment. The attitudes to various aspects of marital and pre-marital life during the process of growing up and maturity, will be conditioned by the household environment rather than the family or sub-family alone.

MARRIAGE

While up until recent years the families moving into Baumannville were selected on the basis of the regularity of their marriage according to the standards of western culture, the attitude of the people to the monogamous married state appears to be ambivalent. On the one hand legal marriage still confers status on both partners as it did in traditional Zulu times: a man in a sense is not truly adult until he has a wife, nor a woman fully matured until she has borne children. On the other hand, while polygamy itself has virtually disappeared, the polygamous attitude persists, in that sexual union outside legal monogamous marriage is permitted, or at least suffered, to a degree which it is not in European society.[1] The whole Bantu attitude towards sex is more matter-of-fact and less inhibited. Thus, while marriage gives prestige and perhaps status, it is not essential for "respectability".

The facts of the marital status of the population fifteen years of age and over was given in Table 7 in Chapter 3. Some additional implications need further consideration here.

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1 As E.J. Krige says, writing of urban African marital relations: "The transition from polygamy to monogamy is not an easy one and concubinage and adultery are common." (Africa, Vo. IX, 1936, p. 20).

Age at Marriage.

There is a considerable range in the age at which both husbands and wives were married as Table 26 shows.

TABLE 26 AGE AT THE TIME OF MARRIAGE OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES

	-- Age of Marriage --					
	15-20 yrs	21-25 yrs	26-30 yrs	31 yrs --	Unknown	TOTALS
Husbands	3	20	46	24	10	103
Wives	34	49	14	9	1	107

Forty-six (45 per cent) of the husbands married between the ages of twenty-six and thirty years, and as many of the remainder married above that age-group as below it. Forty-nine of the wives (46 per cent) married between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five, and eighty-three (78 per cent) of the wives had married by the age of twenty-five. This table was calculated for spouses in all age-groups, but since only three husbands (3 per cent) and fourteen wives (13 per cent) less than twenty-five years of age were married (Table 7) compared with twenty-three husbands (23 per cent) and eighty-three wives (78 per cent) married by twenty-five years of age, it is clear that the older people were married at younger ages. The inference is that the later marriage-age of husbands, and in particular the later age of marriage of wives, is a relatively recent phenomenon as far as this population is concerned.[2]

Of the men in Baumannville half had been married and 45 per cent were married at the time of this study; of the women 62 per cent had been married and 40 per cent were presently married, and half have had one or more children.

Single Persons.

The large proportion of single persons among those of marriagable age and the lateness of marriage have been pointed out. This is not so much African, or Baumannville, as it is a characteristic of cities. Levin indicates for Langa location, Cape Town, that marriage takes place at a later age in town, ascribing this to the absence of family pressure, the length of time taken to acquire enough for lobolo payments and to become sufficiently stable financially to contemplate marriage, and the fact that education is finished at a later age in town than in the country. It is doubtful whether the first factor applies to Baumannville, where more than half the main families have been resident for over ten years and there is a stable household life. The second factor is most important and will be discussed under lobolo. The last factor would appear to have some significance, in that thirteen men and seventeen

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2 Ruth Levin, "Marriage in Langa Native Location", University of Cape Town Communications, No. 17, 1947, p. 20, shows that 34.8% of men married in rural areas, compared with 29.6% in urban areas, were married by the age of twenty-five; and that 69.8% of rurally-married women compared with 36% urban-married were married in the 15-20 age-group. This study shows the same tendency for the marriage-age of urban men and women in particular to have increased.

women between eighteen and twenty-four years were found still to be studying.

There are fifteen "real" spinsters of twenty-five years and over, all with education over Standard VIII. This is a characteristic of urban communities where the greater opportunities which cities afford for women to get jobs and earn a living gives them other alternatives to marriage. Here are women with good stable jobs who have found out that they can take care of themselves and prefer to remain single as many women under similar circumstances in cities do. Their position is well put by a headmistress, who said: "It is now becoming common for an educated woman not to be content with anyone". Behind this attitude can be discerned the outlines of a class-system, defined in educational and probably in economic terms. As another informant suggested: "... people of today don't marry for love. They consider the social position of the family, are they well-to-do?"

A philandering, as well as a mercenary attitude was often ascribed to the twenty-five bachelors. Thirteen bachelors are between twenty-five and twenty-nine years of age, eight of these plus four older are unmarried sons of household heads. Only five are unrelated lodgers, three of whom have lived in Baumannville for less than two years, and the other two between five and nine years. Ten of the bachelors live in joint families, seven in extended families; so that unmarried men tend to be found in the larger families. Only six bachelors have had Standard VIII education or more. Four have had no schooling at all.

Traditionally among the Zulu, unmarried persons of either sex were considered highly abnormal if they continued long in that state, the girls after they had become fully nubile and the men after their age-regiment had been given permission to marry. It was partly to discover to what extent the traditional attitude persisted, that a question was included in the survey asking about feelings toward spinsters and bachelors. Table 27 summarizes the results.

The main response is a new one and in economic terms: "they are a problem for support when they grow old", "they have no security", and "may deprive their male next-of-kin of part of his inheritance. In other words, there are no in-laws to share the economic load created by unmarried old people in the modern hand-to-mouth existence.

The traditional attitude that the unmarried must have something mentally wrong, do not mature, become fools, seems to persist among male respondents. It is still recognised by both sexes that marriage confers status, and that it is painful for parents to see their daughter unmarried, "it is undignified", "does not look good", "is not proper". As seen mainly by the female element, "people are created to marry", "it is a duty as well as a privilege", and "it should be every women's goal". Both sexes realise the consequence of non-marriage, that "no (legitimate) children are born", and therefore that one's name is not carried on. As one person said: "A bachelor is like a seed that is left on top of the ground". It is mainly the women, with their feeling for dependent security, who visualise that the unmarried will "have no home", "no man to take charge", "no helper". The unmarried are seen as unhappy, lonely, not at ease. It is difficult for them to live decently, they cannot stand it, and their way of life is not Zulu-like, and is consequently disapproved.

Tolerance is to be found under present conditions of African urban life, and a good number of respondents are prepared to allow the unmarried to go their own way. This, they say, "is their character"; "it is up to them", "each must go as he wishes", "it is natural to

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TABLE 27 ATTITUDES OF RESPONDENT HUSBANDS (H) AND WIVES (W) TOWARDS SPINSTERS AND BACHELORS

Attitude		Responses Concerning Spinsters by		Bachelors by	
		H	W	H	W
DISAPPROVE	They are a problem for support	9	10	6	9
	They do not mature mentally	4	-	6	5
	A woman lacks the dignity of married status	4	8	-	-
	An unmarried man has no name	-	-	4	2
	A person is created to marry	3	7	3	11
	No children are born	3	4	3	4
	Bad, unnatural, not nice	2	9	5	18
	Against Zulu custom	1	3	-	4
	No place to go home	-	6	2	8
	Not happy or at ease	2	3	-	-
	Miscellaneous	-	2	3	3
NEUTRAL	Sorry for them	3	2	3	6
	This is their character	9	5	6	2
	Many can't afford marriage	-	-	6	-
APPROVE	Provided they behave well	5	7	5	4
	Marriage is a failure in urban life	2	1	3	1
	It is good	1	3	2	1
	Miscellaneous	-	-	1	-
	Don't know	2	2	-	-
	Total responses:	50	72	58	78

such people"; there should be no compulsion and no force to choose. Men point out the high cost of urban marriage.

Those who approve of the unmarried state appear to be the ones who find, or have found, little pleasure or profit in marriage. About as many men as women fall into this group. The women were apt to reply, perhaps somewhat wistfully, that provided a girl had nice work, led a clean life and helped her family, it was a good thing not to marry. The male attitude was on the whole a disillusioned one: marriage does not work in urban life, married people quarrel, it is better not to marry.

Underlying these responses is a general acceptance, contrary to former times, that non-marriage has become a part of the urban African social scene. This viewpoint is tending towards the European individualistic conception of the unmarried person as potentially useful and entitled to his own way of life, and away from the traditional Zulu idea of the abnormal and socially non-co-operative individual.

Unmarried Mothers.

Counted among the single persons in Table 7 are twenty-four unmarried mothers the largest group of whom, thirteen, are under

/ twenty-five .....

twenty-five years of age and seven more between twenty-five and thirty-four. This is a concomitant of delayed marriage, perhaps even a consequence. One unmarried mother to every eight women of reproductive age is a situation for which there is no counterpart in the tradition of these people. The old tradition permitted ukuhlo6onga (external non-penetrative intercourse) among young people, provided the girl's virginity was not disturbed. Now, under the stresses of delayed marriage in the urban situation, among this older age-group, the same term is used for full intercourse, resulting in a crop of illegitimate offspring.

Of the twenty-four unmarried mothers, eleven are daughters of the household head, nine are relatives, two are non-related. Two are themselves household heads, a fact to be borne in mind when the incidence of "broken homes" is discussed. Unmarried mothers, then, are as likely as not to be daughters of the household head, being kept on in the house by their usually despondent parents. It was an interesting field of experience that in cases of illegitimate birth it was always the parent, rarely the unmarried mother, who suffered. Particularly if the parents were elderly and used to the old ways and had had their children late, the misbehaviour of their daughters was a great shock. One couple, speaking of their daughter's unexpected pregnancy, said with great emotion: "We expect it (marriage) to happen, and a child who evades it is a murder and a witch to parents' hopes and expectations". With its reference to supernatural evil, this is very strong language to use of one's own daughter.

The reaction of parents is related to their former rural situation in which children were legitimized, succession and inheritance made plain, and families brought together, by some form of recognized union: in those days, customary union with the passage of lo6olo cattle. Daughters, on the other hand, find themselves in a modern situation in which although ready and fit, they are for one reason or another delayed or prevented from exercising their natural functions as wives and mothers. Their reaction to the indignation of their parents is inevitably of the form: "What do you expect in these times when we cannot marry? Do you think we want to stay without children all our lives?" This is obviously a situation which the discipline of parents alone cannot allay. As one parent put it: "We have no remedy for it. You can stay with children, look after them, but they still surprise you. My daughters never slept out, they always came home in time. But ..... still got those children". Nor is education deterrent: five of the unmarried mothers were educated to Standard VIII or IX, and fourteen attained Standards III to VII.

This theory that unmarried motherhood in the location is largely due to artificial delay in the legal assumption by women of the functions of parenthood, is supported to the extent that there were only two unmarried mothers under eighteen.[3] The implication is that tensions leading to the breaking of the quasi-Christian moral code do not normally build up sufficiently for action until the traditional age for marrying is past, and the girl has spent several potentially fruitful years in sexual inactivity. It must be remembered too that

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3 There may, on the other hand, be substance in the view that girls in the under-18 age group are often still at school, do not have the same range of social contacts (and therefore temptations) and are not so sexually orientated as their older sisters out at work.

these years are passed in the town with its atmosphere of moral laxity which has been pointed out by many writers.[4]

The summary of responses by parents to a question asking their attitudes to sexual relations before marriage is given in Table 28 which reveals that they were disturbed by the consequences as well as the immorality of the unmarried girls.

TABLE 28 ATTITUDES OF HUSBANDS (H) AND WIVES (W) TOWARDS SEXUAL RELATIONS BEFORE MARRIAGE[5]

Attitude:		H % responses	W %
DISAPPROVE:	Morally wrong	34	23
	Not Christian	2	1
	Not lawful or customary	13	8
	Not nice, disliked	-	11
	Bad or unpleasant consequences	19	31
	Various factors or persons blamed	8	6
	Other reasons	5	5
NEUTRAL:	Useless to disapprove	6	6
	Undecided	2	3
APPROVE:	Various individual factors	11	6
		100%	100%

Husbands put more emphasis on the moral and custom aspect of the question and wives emphasized the consequences. Eight responses mentioned the bible and may be presumed to refer to Christian morality. Others, however, spoke of moral evil in different terms: "purity is gone", "indecent", "improper", "impure", "an evil of our times". The attitude that premarital sex relations are wrong by reference to law and custom were expressed: "the ancestors hate it", "it is not our custom to go beyond external intercourse", "we have lost our custom which was good", "it was not lawful in our time". The expression "not nice" seems to be almost exclusive to Christian women, apparently being used by them to convey dislike, failure to come up to civilised standards of life, and perhaps moral evaluation in Christian terms.

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4 vide, e.g. Ellen Hellmann, "The Native in the Towns", in The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa, 1946, Chapter XVIII, pp. 419 422. Also E.J. Krige, "Changing Conditions in Marital Relations and Parental Duties among Urbanised Natives", Africa, Vol. IX, 1936, p. 5 passim, which is still a valuable analysis of the whole question of urban African marital relations.

5 It must be pointed out that this is a heavily biassed sample: only married people responded, most of them in the higher age-groups and long-settled in the location. Had the survey taken a sample of young people, the attitudes to pre-marital intercourse would likely have been more favourable.

Various consequences of premarital intercourse were expressed by both men and women. First, there are the consequences on the children: "it produces children who are orphans", "the children have no protection", "bad from the health and education point of view", and others in a similar vein. Second, the girl suffers: "when the girl is pregnant, the boy runs away", "a good-looking child is spoilt". Third, and with some feeling, the parents suffer: "I have just had trouble with my daughter, makes a lot of children to be supported by one small family", "your family must support children all over again", "brings trouble to your parents". Fourth, it is bad for the Zulu nation: "it will produce a nation of Coloureds", "it will ruin my nation", "it lowers the dignity of the Bantu people". Last, it is said to lead to sexual abnormality.

The blame for all this is laid at every door: of the parents - "it is weakness of the parents", "I blame myself as one of the parents"; of the woman - "the girls are to blame", "they no longer want (only) external intercourse", "the girls just give themselves to the boys"; of the man - "the boy is to blame"; of circumstances - "it is through poverty they cannot marry", "there is not a separate hut for men in these houses."

The small majority which approves of premarital intercourse does so on a number of grounds ranging from a justification of external intercourse ("I think much of our national customs") to bland self-identification ("I also did it").

People feel groping and helpless in the face of unmarried motherhood. An attitude such as this was frequently heard: "The Zulu nation now seems to get excited in these matters much earlier - this is a recent condition ... I don't know what has gone wrong". On the other hand the statement by a thoughtful informant shows real insight, which taken with the undoubted economic delay in marriage, reveals what may be a considerable part of the total situation:

> "I cannot say that this terrible situation is entirely the result of the difficulty of marrying. It is also bad town influence - bioscopes contribute. Our girls do not have time or opportunity to go to decent amusements, or sports. When they are free they try to make the best of it in the wrong way. They take anything and get excited.
>
> Parental control is lacking too. Children say 'who are you to tell me how I should behave?' Parents work all day, come home tired, and find relaxation in drink. They are not interested in the bad behaviour of their children. Some of them don't even want to get married."

Married Persons Apart.

Eight husbands and twelve wives had their spouses away from home. Of the eight husbands, only one was a household head, hiw wife was away in the country indefinitely for medical treatment. Only four of the twelve wives were the spouses of household heads, the husbands of two of these women were aboard the same ship, working as stokers, and returning to their wives only about once in three months. In the third case, according to the wife, the husband was "away to the country for some nervous mental disorders ..... we are expecting him back any day". The fourth wife did not know the whereabouts of her husband, and this case may become a desertion.

Women tend to suffer in status if their husbands are away for any length of time, even for good reasons. The other married women look down on them. One woman with a seafaring husband said that this

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"lowered her". She often felt lonely and downcast, and had pleaded with her husband to take a job in Durban. He was, however, "too free at sea to give it up". Men, on the other hand, do not seem to suffer in this respect, being more at liberty to do as they please.

It still seems customary in some cases to send the wife home to her own people for the birth of the first, and sometimes subsequent children. In return for looking after the wife during her first confinement, her parents are rewarded by her husband with a shawl, the itshali lokuóelethisa, which may be paid in money. A "shawl" of this kind should also be given for each subsequent child born in the parental kraal. There is one case of a husband with two wives, the older one lives with him in Baumannville, the second with her two sons in Zululand.

Persons living together.

Only one couple which is counted among the married was living under common law marriage at the time of the study. Both persons say that negotiations have been started with her people, the loóolo to be paid in cash. This one case is at first glance interesting as a negative fact, the urban African literature indicating on the whole a much higher incidence of illicit unions in other locations: Langa 5 per cent,[6] Rooiyard 20 per cent,[7] Pretoria 21 per cent and 24 per cent from two samples,[8] and Alexandra 35 per cent.[9] But Baumannville is of course a "respectable" and settled family location, the people having been screened for admission on the criteria of settled Christian family life and standards of stable economic life. The population is consequently biased against just living together as a satisfactory arrangement. Some twenty husbands and wives were asked what they thought about this kind of union and their answers overwhelmingly showed their disapproval; no stability: "A person is likely to be in love with somebody else again and I would be left"; "Marriage is the only essential basis for living together"; "You must have confidence she is your wife"; "I wouldn't have any rights over him"; "We start seeing mistakes in one another, and it results in our not getting married"; "We cannot stay together without marriage". Just living together is too hard on the emotions, makes one feel too insecure, in an environment where it is possible, and desirable, to have stable unions lasting over a period of years. Christianity does not allow it suggests a moral element: "It breaks a holy law, a law of God"; "I was born a Christian"; "I want to get married in church". Further practical considerations occur under the Economic heading: "This would run me into expense, I wouldn't be able to save the money to loóola her"; "he doesn't give my parents the loóolo"; "it is a waste of time working for a man who is not your husband". Some people think of the children: "This would result in illegitimate children"; "The status and upbringing of the children (will be hard)"; "the

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6 Levin, op cit. p. 61.

7 Hellmann, "Rooiyard: a Sociological Survey of an Urban Native Slum Yard", 1948, p. 80.

8 Krige, op cit. p. 13.

9 Kark, "A Study of a Pocket of Ill-Health", 1946 (unpublished ms.) Information extracted by Miss Violaine Junod in her unpublished M.A. thesis "New Social Groupings in Southern Bantu Urban Areas", p. 67.

children won't help their parents when they are old". Altogether, the decision that just living together will not do is a practical one, mostly unrelated to moral issues or respectability, but dictated by the desire for a permanent union in a family setting.

BROKEN FAMILIES

According to the designations of European social work Baumannville would be a place of broken homes - twenty-four unmarried mothers, eight husbands and twelve wives not together with their spouses, and as we are to see forty-eight widows and six widowers, six men and thirteen women separated, divorced or deserted. They would add up to 117 "broken families" and compare them with the ninety-four couples living continuously together. Observation, however, confirms the non-applicability of these standards. Many of the things which would disrupt a European-type elementary family can be absorbed without too serious consequences in the "households" which form the basic social units of this community.

Broken families consequently in this situation would be broken households - when the main family of the household is not complete. On this basis we find that thirty-seven or one-third of the 113 households are broken, two of these are headed by older unmarried mothers, twenty-two have widow heads and six widowers, and from among the separated, divorced and deserted two men and five women are household heads. It would not be quite fair to count the one husband and four wives whose spouses are temporarily away though they are of the main families in their households, they must be regarded,however, as on the border line.

Whether or not this is a sound differentiation only an intensive socio-psychological study could reveal. Sociologically this seems to be consistent with the findings about Baumannville. A further consideration, however, should be given the other major items affecting broken households.

Widows.

Almost one out of every five women (19 per cent) over eighteen years of age in the location is a widow. This is due in part to a policy of permitting widows to be household heads. The widows tend to fall in the higher age-groups, half of them are over fifty-five years, and more than a quarter are between the ages of thirty-five and forty-four.

Twenty-two of the widows are household heads, not to mention nine other women of different marital status who are officially classified as widows. Owing to a persistent rumour that the location is to be converted to a widow location, these widows tend to be regarded with fear and suspicion by elements of the male population who feel particularly insecure about house-tenure. On their part, the widows often complain that the Baumannville Advisory Board discriminates against them as a group, failing to represent their point of view and turning people against them.

Most of the location widows are relatively independent economically, in about the same proportion as the remainder of the population who brew beer. Others do laundry, receive rent from land, and in a few cases accept contributions of groceries from male relatives. Despite their independence, however, there is little doubt that most widows would like to remarry, not only for status, companionship and protection, but where possible to have more children. Some widows have attempted

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to adopt children, or have successfully assimilated children of relatives into their households.

Widows stay on in the deceased husband's house as the effective household heads, particularly when they have passed the menopause and assume traditional male responsibilities, gathering related families or individuals under their roofs. Twenty-two out of the thirty-one "widow" households in Baumannville contain joint or extended families, almost exactly the same proportion as for all households (80:113).

While there are only six widowers, two separated and one single man count under this category, making nine in all. They are all household heads. Seven live in extended or joint family households, normally including female relatives to look after any children they may have. Two are in fragmentary households, one with a daughter of sixteen as housekeeper, and the other with a girl of nineteen whom he intends to marry.

Separated, Divorced and Deserted Persons.

It is doubtful whether there have been many judicial divorces in Baumannville (the survey did not request papers to be produced). Divorce from Christian rites union, the prevalent form, is relatively expensive, delayed, and difficult, compared with the agreement to separate, accompanied by the return of one or more lobolo beasts or their cash equivalent, characteristic of customary union. Similarly, there have probably been very few judicial separations, and the dividing line between what the people call separation and what they call desertion must often be narrow. In the circumstances it seems reasonable to combine the three separation, divorce and desertion, and to regard them as roughly comparable with divorce in European society.

Of the six men appearing under this heading in Table 7, two separated men are household heads with the status of widowers; of the thirteen women, one separated, one divorced and three deserted women are household heads with the status of widows. Six men and thirteen women with disrupted marriages out of a total adult "married" population of 115 males and 168 females give a rate of "divorcees" per thousand married population, of fifty-two males and seventy-seven females. When these are compared with the figures for judicial divorce only, for the European population of Durban, thirty-one males and forty-seven females per thousand married population respectively[10]. Baumannville stands much higher, but had the number of non-legal separations in the European community been taken into account, as has been done for Baumannville, the marital disruption shown in the location might well have appeared proportionately less by comparison.

When "divorce"[11] happens in the location, the remaining partner and his household can adjust in a number of ways ranging all along the scale from almost giving up the house at one extreme to amassing a large joint family at the other. In one house the separated household head has virtually sub-let the premises to his brother and

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10 Calculated from the 1951 Census.

11 "Divorce" in parentheses will be used in this section to cover separation, divorce and desertion.

family of wife and four children, who are the effective occupants. Surprisingly enough, the household head's wife's mother continues to live in the house, but he himself, having no children, seldom comes home. In another case a deserted woman, forty-eight years old, had only her son of eighteen living in the house. Her comment was "I want more children. I have only one at present". The deserted woman in another house was supported by her husband from 1945, when he left, until 1953 when he lost his job in Durban, since when his whereabouts are unknown. Through his contributions, and her brewing, the wife has been able to support quite a large joint family, just as though she were living with her husband.

Most "divorced" persons are not household heads, but sub-family heads or just attached individuals in households. The house of one elderly widow, who is not often in town, is occupied by her separated daughter and child, her unmarried daughter and five children, and her divorced sister's daughter and three children, producing a household of twelve persons. One must consider in what special sense this is a broken home. In two other cases, an unmarried and a separated son and their children are found in households, the mother in each case having "run away", although by tradition, without the passage of lobolo, the children would have belonged to her people.

Just as children of "divorces" outside Baumannville are being cared for in the location in the absense of their parents, so "divorced" individuals attached to households may have children outside the location who are not part of the Baumannville population. A much more detailed study than this survey would be required to establish such facts and their implications, and to find out, for instance, to what extent people leave the location on marital disruption, thus producing an artificially low figure for the "divorce" situation at any time. All that can be led up to here is that, given the "divorce" picture as we see it, to what extent does this imply broken homes among the actual Baumannville population?

MARRIAGE AND LOBOLO

The factors making for monogamous union among the urban Bantu at the expense of polygamy are quite well known, and probably little different in Baumannville from other African urban locations. In addition to the antagonism of the women, who are growing in individualism because of their increasing capacity as independent wage-earners, local authorities generally will not let houses to polygamists, so that at any rate ostensibly, the latter are not found in urban locations. Christian morality as embodied in western culture is also making some impression, and above all there is the economic factor, not only is urban marriage expensive in itself, but the high cost of married life in the towns usually precludes the African from supporting more than one wife, even when she is working between periods of childbirth.

Forms of Union.

In Baumannville there is a consistent pattern of monogamy. The customary union is Christian rites marriage with the passage of lobolo. This is not due as much to any conscious choice by the population, as it is the result of the selection, by the authorities since the inception of the location, of couples married in the Christian manner.

Out of the 120 families which responded to questions about their marriage 114 provided information about the rites which were observed. Of these 104 or 91 per cent were Christian rites alone. Four of the other ten, however, were in part Christian ceremonies so that 95 per cent of these marriages were in whole or in part Christian rites. Of

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the remaining six, four were civil rites, one customary Zulu union and one was polygamy.

There were 102 marriages or 90 per cent with lobolo and/or izibizo, and ninety-four or 82 per cent combined lobolo and/or izibizo with Christian marriage. While the original screening for families of Christian marriage seems to have been very effective, there appears to be an increase in the proportion who combine with their Christian marriage the old custom of lobolo and/or izibizo perhaps reflecting a desire for greater security and marital stability in a situation where there is a high degree of sex competition.

In the first twenty schedules people were asked what is the best form of union and why. The responses may be regarded either as true convictions regarding the nature of Christian rites union, or as a rationale accepting its enforcement.

Of the fifty-four comments only six favoured the old customary union, one favoured civil rites, the balance, twenty-six comments from wives and twenty-one from husbands, considered Christian marriage the best.

It is apparently the binding force of Christian rites union, judging by the number and variety of responses of this kind which is its chief attraction to both sexes as a form of marriage. Remembering the fear of instability expressed in the attitudes towards living together, it is interesting to note the complementary responses by the wives towards Christian rites union: "It ties a man down to one wife", "the church is a form of discipline in family matters", "you don't get parted by marrying in this way", "it is backed up by Christian morals and thus capable of controlling the parties", "you know you have one husband", "I like it for myself and my children to ensure rigid legal and religious ties". The husbands concur, saying: "It keeps you together", "you cannot do what you like", "it gives you guidance", "it is the only sound basis for happy family life", "it involves moral and religious obligations to spouse and children".

Echoes of the known discord in the old polygamous families still arise in the responses: "There cannot be peace in a polygamous family", "there is no strife (in Christian rites union)", "other unions are cruel to spouses and children", "I don't want to be one among many wives", "if you have only one wife you look after her nicely". Some of the husbands recognise the economic difficulties of polygamy: "Life is so expensive through Europeans ideas that we can only afford one wife", "polygamy causes poverty", "nowadays a man cannot support a number of wives".

Belief in the Christian way of life is important to some: "I am a Christian", "the Christian life is better than the old way of life", "it is part of my religious belief". Christian belief as such does not figure with others: "It is the most advanced way", "I have grown to love it", "I don't like the Zulu way, know nothing of other forms".

The few who prefer customary union do so because: "When the marriage breaks down, there are less legal and no religious ties; divorcing is bad and expensive; customary union insists on the obedience of the wife, while Christian rites makes the sexes equal; there is no special advantage in any, but customary union is customary". In the one case where civil rites union was preferred, this was on the understanding that lobolo would not pass, since: "lobolo is a nuisance; it may prevent marriage because the husband has not the money". This is an important point which will be discussed later.

In most responses, then, Christian rites is implicitly or explicitly contrasted with customary union in respect of stability, strife, expense and the Christian way of life, and customary union is in all respects found wanting.

Choice of Mate.

We have already seen that Baumannville has a tribally homogeneous population, 74 per cent being Zulu. Other tribal elements represented include small numbers of Swazi, Xhosa and Mpondo tribes which belong to the Nguni group, and Sotho, Thonga, Griqua and ex-Union tribesfolk which make a non-Nguni group. Table 29 shows the extent of intermarriage between the Zulu and these groups.

TABLE 29 MARRIAGES OF RESPONDENT SPOUSES BY TRIBE OF HUSBAND AND TRIBE OF WIFE

Tribe of Wife	- Tribe of Husband - Zulu	Other Nguni	Non-Nguni	Total Wives:
Zulu	78	4	9	91
Other Nguni	4	9	2	15
Non-Nguni	7	2	5	14
Total Husbands:	89	15	16	120

The majority of marriages (78) are all-Zulu otherwise Zulu husbands are as likely to marry other Nguni wives as the latter are to marry them, and about as likely to marry non-Nguni wives as the reverse. Also, other Nguni husbands seem as likely to marry non-Nguni wives as the latter are to marry them. In general, while Zulu tend to marry one another, non-Zulu origin within the African people is not a bar to intermarriage, either with the Zulu or among themselves. The situation is related to an observed tendency in the location for other and non-Nguni to pass for Zulu, and for tribal differences on the whole to be played down.

The people were asked to say, what personal qualities they considered important in the choice of a mate. Table 30 inventories the qualities mentioned.

Table 30 is divided into three sections: attributes valued by both sexes of one another, those sought by men in women and those appreciated by women in men. It is noticeable that attributes in the general section would not be inappropriate to European choice, whereas those in the male and female sections are more characteristic of the patriarchal relationship of tradition. In other words, there is a blend in these social values of the new and the old.[12] Good family name and background,

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12 Levin, op. cit. p. 70, briefly shows a blend of ideal marriage values for Langa. The ideal wife is diligent, hospitable, pleasant, discreet and thrifty; the ideal husband, steady, not drinking too much, treats his wife well, and is not lazy or extravagant.

TABLE 30 PERSONAL QUALITIES CONSIDERED IMPORTANT BY HUSBANDS AND WIVES, IN THE CHOICE OF A MATE

Attributes:	For a MAN, a woman should be/have:	For a WOMAN, a man should be/have:
Good character	7	8
Love	7	5
Manners	4	8
Intelligence	4	5
Good family background	2	4
Good-looking	2	3
Wealthy	2	2
Christian	1	3
Hard Working	6	-
Humble, obedient and quiet	6	-
Good child-bearer	1	-
Master in the house, responsible	-	6
Kind and helpful, respectful to the old	-	6
Regular worker, thrifty, honest	-	4
Non-drinking	-	3
Total responses:	42	57

although not appearing frequently, are making their appearance as an indication of class-consciousness in urban African marriages. As one woman put it: "(he must have) class, not be a raw Native"; or even more trenchantly, as put by a man: "Look at her father, look at her mother, and then look at her".

Lobolo.

It is one thing to desire a girl as a wife because of love or her good qualities, but quite another thing in the urban economic environment to marry her. It has been shown that in 90 per cent of all types of marriage in Baumannville, lobolo passed. Traditionally, lobolo was the collective name for the ten head of cattle normally transferred from the bridegroom's to the bride's people in consideration of the passage of the girl's reproductive and labour capacity from the latter group to the former. The passing of these cattle also bound the two kinship groups to reciprocal rights and obligations, and determined membership within the husband's lineage of any children of the union. The possibility of the return of the cattle or the return of the girl acted as a guarantee of the good conduct of both husband and wife.

Today, as Table 31 shows, lobolo in cattle has almost entirely become lobolo in money, and the situation is very different from olden times.

The proportion of money payments alone against other forms of payment is very significantly higher in the post-1930 than in the pre-1930 period.[13]

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13 ($\chi^2 = 17.8$. $P < .01$)

TABLE 31 LOBOLO AND/OR IZIBIZO PAID AT MARRIAGE, BEFORE AND AFTER 1930

Lobolo and/or izibizo		Pre - 1930			Post 1930			
		Cattle alone	Cattle and money	Money alone	Cattle alone	Cattle and money	Money alone	Unknown
Cattle	Money							
1-5 head:	£1-£25	-	16	-	1	5	2	1
6-11 head:	£26-£55	18	-	10	3	2*	17	1
over 11 head:	£56 +	2	1	6	1	-	13	1
Unknown, or in kind other than cattle:		-	-	-	-	-	-	8
TOTALS:		20	17	16	5	7	32	11

* 1-11 head + £56 +

Table 31 shows, moreover, a tendency for lobolo payments to have increased in recent times, and for these higher payments to have been in money. It is fairly safe to assume that lobolo payments of cattle in earlier times were generally in respect of marriages taking place in rural areas, whereas payments in cash are largely in relation to urban marriages, and urban homes, where there is no place to keep cattle.[14]

Another important factor relating to the use of money instead of cattle for lobolo is the Natal custom of izibizo payments. These are illegal monetary demands over and above the statutory requirements of ten head of cattle or the equivalent of £50 (at £5 a beast) as laid down in the Natal Code of Native Law. With the rising cost of living and the increasing use of money, the Zulu of southern Natal have been in the habit in recent years of asking for these izibizo payments in cash over and above the lobolo[15] to offset, as they say, the increased expense of bringing up their daughters in these times. In some cases the izibizo for desirable and sought-after girls has outstripped the lobolo, running into £100 or more while the cash lobolo becomes vestigial or disappears. The process is accelerated by Christian parents who, knowing in many cases that their White churches are sternly against the practice of "buying" wives with lobolo, claim their due entirely in a large sum of izibizo. In general, there is obviously a transition taking place from a cattle lobolo with group functions to a cash payment with individual functions.

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14 This generalization is made with some caution, however, since, as Krige points out (op. cit. p. 14), many urban families will accept cattle and send the beasts to relatives out of town who keep them with their own cattle.

15 vide D.H. Reader, "Marriage among the Makhanya", International Archives of Ethnography, Vol. XVII No. 1, 1954, p. 74, for an account of izibizo among a Zulu tribe in Southern Natal.

Not only is the izi6izo becoming a custom among the Zulu, but also among those of other tribal backgrounds. The following is a list of the "izi6izo" paid by a Xhosa husband for a Mozambique wife in 1928, in addition to £80 of lo6olo:-

To bride's father:	To open the mouth (Zulu: imvulamlomo)	£3. 10s.
To bride's mother:	Blanket	£6. 10s.
	Headcloth	£1. 10s.
	Pot	£5. 0s.
For the women:	(These may have been subsequent wedding gifts)	£2. 10s.
For the men:	(These may have been subsequent wedding gifts)	£2. 10s.
To bride's father:	A gift	£10. 0s.
	A stick	£1. 10s.
	The beard (Zulu: umgundandevu, lit. "the beard-shaver")	£1. 10s.
	A hat	£5. 0s.
	A coat	£7. 0s.
	TOTAL	£46. 10s.

These gifts, with the same Zulu names, have all the characteristics of the Zulu izi6izo sequence which may become a seemingly interminable list of demands upon any pretext that occurs, until the husband's resources are exhausted. Sometimes, to be just, the girl will take her husband's part against these demands, and if she is a strong person, may succeed in suppressing them.

Traditionally, the amount of lo6olo payable could be varied according to whether the woman was a chief's great wife being paid for by the tribe (when the amount was almost unlimited), the daughter of a chief or an induna, whether she was a virgin or had had children, and whether she was young or old or previously married. An old widow past childbirth, for instance, might have remarried with the nominal passing of one beast, just to show her and her family respect. In Baumannville this scale of values has been disturbed to some extent by the importance of money and property, which are much involved in the African urban marriage situation both, through marriage in community of property under Christian rites and the possibility of devising property by will in the European manner. Thus in the case of a widow who had remarried, "although she was old when remarried, and had had children before, the fact that she was known to have property (in the shape of a piece of land) increased her lo6olo value to £50 (no izi6izo)."

The constant preoccupation with money in the marriage negotiations has resulted in the debasement of formerly functional transfers of cattle to the process of extracting wealth or commodities from one or other of the interested parties. In one case land worth £110 was transferred to a husband by his wife's mother instead of the ukwendisa beasts, one of which traditionally represented the girl and her ancestors and had a ritual significance in the joining of the two lineages, without which the marriage was not "perfect".[16] The ingquthu beast (called by Christians the umgholiso, the beast of honour) which formerly had to be a beast "with four legs" and

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16 vide E.J. Krige, "The Social System of the Zulus", 1936, p. 137. D.H. Reader, op. cit. pp. 85, 93-94.

was a tangible thank-offering to the girl's mother,[17] is now just another £5 tacked on to the lo6olo money, of which it was never part.

This loss of function and of symbolism of the cash compared with the cattle is accompanied by a linguistic blurring of the distinction between lo6olo and izi6izo, to the extent that when naming the total sum paid, some people could not say what proportion was lo6olo and what izi6izo, or whether the total should be considered exclusively as either. Generally, both have one main function nowadays, to provide the parents of the bride with some ready money to spend, and only one term is needed to describe that.

The amount of lo6olo/izi6izo demanded in Baumannville is not found to vary significantly with the education either of the husband or of the wife, but probably depends rather upon the bargaining powers and the personalities of the two sides. It is easy to understand how parents, under the present difficulties of their economic life, should seize upon the opportunity of their daughter's marriage to provide themselves with a little material comfort, of however temporary a nature. Moreover, it is a general practice nowadays to use some of the money to defray the very considerable expenses of the wedding.[18] The fact remains that in extreme cases, where the lo6olo demanded is sometimes in excess of £100, nothing less than rapacity is indicated.

The probable ultimate effect of the prevailing high rates of lo6olo demanded by parents is interesting, for in Baumannville lo6olo shows little sign of diminishing or disappearing. Such rates can hardly fail to delay the age of marriage of both sexes, since intending bridegrooms are hard put to it to save the necessary money to marry. Yet early in this chapter the theory was put forward that unmarried motherhood in the location is largely due to artificial delay in the legal assumption by women of the functions of parenthood. If this is true, then the grief of parents at the pregnancy of their unmarried daughters, and the reduction of lo6olo value which thereby results, is due at least in part to their demands for high lo6olo in the first instance. It may well be the case that parents are hoist with the petard of their own cupidity.

FAMILY LIFE

While this survey, within the limitation of the structured-interview form of its schedule, was not designed for a systematic investigation of Baumannville family life, a considerable amount of relevant material was collected in the course of interviewing. This, with reservations which will be mentioned, makes it possible to present an outline, sometimes impressionistic, of family life in the location.

Family Cohesion.

Those interviewed were asked to what extent family members performed certain activities together. Table 32 summarizes the results.

These figures just give the relative frequencies with which respondent families perform the activities mentioned. Significantly more

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17 E.J. Krige, ibid, pp. 131-132. Reader, idem, p. 81.

18 Levin, "Marriage in Langa Native Location", pp. 54-57, sets out these expenses in detail.

TABLE 32 FREQUENCIES WITH WHICH FAMILIES PERFORM CERTAIN ACTIVITIES TOGETHER

Activity	Number of Families performing Activities together			
	Never	Sometimes - Often -	Always	
1. Meals	4	32	79	115 responses, one per family against each type of activity 5 families unknown.
2. Evenings	4	35	76	
3. Weekends	6	37	72	
4. Prayers	14	32	69	
5. Church	28	47	40	

families had meals together than went to church together[19] and significantly more had family prayers together than went to church together.[20] The order and freqnecies for these sorts of activities is, indeed, such as might be expected in almost any urban situation. These superficial evidences may reflect no genuine cohesion, however.

Even if all the frequencies had occurred under "Always", there is the possibility that the exigencies of the urban African housing situation compel families to have certain activities together, which under more favourable physical conditions they would have apart. To determine whether a family is genuinely cohesive an intensive psychological study is required.[21]

Some impressions, however, were gained from field observation. There is little doubt that conflicts do arise, both within and between families in these generally overcrowded houses, which militate against family cohesion. Two or three instances of conflict for houseroom between relatives of the husband and the wife were noticed also between a man's wife and children and his relatives and their children. Now that wives are working, and sometimes earning more than their husbands, they are in a stronger position to assert themselves than in the past, and it becomes possible for them to successfully claim houseroom for their relatives against the demands of their husband's relatives.

Even if a wife is not working and does not succeed in asserting her claims, she may become bitter and unco-operative in an

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19 ($\chi^2 = 26.5$. $P < .01$).

20 ($\chi^2 = 14.7$. $P < .01$).

21 A psychological investigation of family solidarity in terms of strength of husband-wife and parent-child relationships, as outlined in Oeser and Emery, "Social Structure and Personality in a Rural Community", 1954, Vol. II, Chapter IX, would have been useful and important, but would have involved a separate sub-project.

atmosphere where many of her friends have been successful in making their individuality felt. In one house the husband, wife and three children were living with the husband's unmarried sister and her four children. The husband had a well-paid job, and his sister was a well-educated staff nurse, whereas the wife was relatively ignorant and morose. The conflict situation was intensified in that the latter had only one boy, while the husband's sister had three who might become eligible to inherit part or all of his estate at the expense of his own children.

Conflict between husband and wife, and hence lack of family cohesion, was found in a situation which seemed to stem from the contempt of the wife for her husband. Not only was he slow and obtuse compared with her mercurial disposition, but the household carried a heavy weight of his relatives, most of whom were non-earning. The lack of cohesion in this extended household could almost be felt, and yet the wife reported a high measure of family activities performed together.

Much more family cohesion may sometimes be indicated in a family which by Western standards would be regarded as a broken home. The "widow" householder in one case is an unmarried woman who has had her children by different men: "The first two daughters were by the same man - he paid two imvimba 'beasts' (£10) for these children.[22]" "He deceived me, he was a married man". The third child, the boy, was by a detective. "I was engaged to him, ukucela negotiations were under way,[23] and then he was transferred to Johannesburg". The last child is by a man from Port Shepstone. "He used to come a lot, but now I don't see him". This woman is living in her parents' house in the location. She has taken over a girl of nineteen, a distant relative whom her parents had assimilated into the household. The resulting small extended family of six gave the impression of being well-knit and happy. The householder's elder brother, living in another house in Baumannville, sends groceries to help the family budget from time to time. These, together with the money made by the householder as a vegetable-seller and by her relative as a nursemaid in a European home, keep the family going. The eldest child of six goes to Loram school, and the two eldest go regularly to Sunday school.

By virtue of the location's central position, Baumannville school-children tend to have their lunch meal at home with their parents, unless the latter are away working. A Loram school teacher said in contrast with children from, say, Chesterville, the Baumannville children tended to disappear to their homes "round the corner" during the lunch hour. This tendency will naturally make for closer parent-child contact than is usual in the African urban environment. The school is not able to provide lunches for its pupils, so that those who are not fortunate enough to live nearby, and nobody other than a Baumannville inhabitant is, have to bring their food with them.

A special survey would have been needed to determine to what extent people are out in the evenings, by age and sex groupings, and the reasons for their consequent absence from home. There is a strong general impression that mothers stay at home fairly consistently with

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22 One imvimba beast was traditionally paid by a seducer for each child of the seduction. Ukuvimba means to cut off, because such beasts were deducted from the lobolo when the girl subsequently married.

23 Ukucela (asking) refers to the whole process of agreeing the lobolo for a marriage.

their young children who have to go to bed early, but more information about young, and particularly unmarried mothers would have been welcome. Religious activities in the smaller and sectarian churches seem to occupy childless adults of both sexes on several evenings of the week. Young people are naturally out a good deal, though there appear to be few opportunities for their legitimate enjoyment. Of one house it was said: "The three male adults are often out in the evening, but the rest of the family, particularly the small children, have meals together". There were some complaints from wives that their husbands went out drinking in other houses in the location, and this may be symptomatic of a persistent lack of companionship between African spouses except at the higher educational levels.

Family Intervisiting.

There is a sense in which visiting among related families, particularly between town and country, may be considered an index of the degree of cohesion within the families themselves, so that this section in a way is a direct continuation of the last. Forty-seven visitors from outside Baumannville were found in the location at the time of the survey, an average of almost one visitor for every other household. Elementary two-partner households seemed to have slightly more visitors, fragmentary one-partner households the fewest and extended households about average. Almost half of the visitors came alone, the numbers dropping off sharply for groups of two persons or more. The visitors were as likely as not to be related to the household head, the related visitors being principally the household head's siblings and/or their offspring.

According to the information given about family intervisiting, rather more visits are made by relatives to Baumannville than are made by residents of the location to relatives in other places. The frequency of visits to and from relatives living outside Durban is determined largely by the factor of distance, as Table 33 shows.

TABLE 33 FREQUENCY OF INTERVISITING TO AND FROM RELATIVES, BY THEIR PLACE OF DOMICILE

Frequency of visits in the last 12 months: Visits:	- Place of Domicile of Relatives - - N A T A L - Durban To relatives	Durban From relatives	Ex-Durban To relatives	Ex-Durban From relatives	Outside Natal To relatives	Outside Natal From relatives	Total Visits To relatives	Total Visits From relatives
Once a month or more:	45	57	10	39	-	-	55	96
Less than once a month	30	29	102	91	19	30	151	150
Total visits:	75	86	112	130	19	30	206	246

Residents are likely to visit relatives living in Durban rather more often than once a month, while Durban relatives are very likely to visit them somewhat more frequently. With the relatives who live outside Durban, however, the pattern is to intervisit less than once a month, but more than once a year. Most intervisiting occurs with relatives outside Durban but in Natal. Outside Natal, few visits are made, and not unnaturally, these are never as often as once a month. The pattern of visiting is not substantially different for blood relatives and relatives by marriage except that a far smaller

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number of visits to the latter living in Durban than to blood relatives living in Durban was reported. The reason is likely to be that few relatives by marriage of the Baumannville population happen to live in Durban. In other words, many marriages in the community will have been country marriages.

Increasing length of residence in Baumannville does not appear to disturb these intervisiting patterns. If intervisiting among relatives is an index of family cohesion to any extent, then in this respect increasing urbanization in Baumannville does not appear to make for less cohesion. Indeed, the reasons given for intervisiting indicated that in 79 per cent of the visits to, and in 81 per cent of the visits from relatives, had as their object the maintenance of family ties or the seeking of social contact with one's kin. The contacts with distant kin keep fresh even in this community whose people have an average length of residence in the location of more than ten years.

One in five visits is differently motivated. In cases of sickness residents are as likely to go to their relatives in the country as their relatives are to come to them in town. It is an interesting hypothesis that this indicates a removal from the immediate social milieu which would be characteristic of a desire to escape sorcery, whether in town or the country. To take a holiday also, people seem to come about as frequently to Baumannville (as a base for Durban) as to leave it for the country. People from the location sometimes go to rural relatives to celebrate weddings and, most important, to attend ukubuyisa ceremonies (the laying of the spirit of a departed close relative) at the ancestral burial place rather than in town. All these contacts make for family cohesion.

Family Socio-economic Activities.

A number of reasons for visiting the country were of the form: "To see our land, to report on our house" and so on. It transpires from the economic part of the survey that twenty-seven householders in Baumannville own land with title deeds, and twelve have land without deeds, probably at the dispensation of a rural chief. All this land is outside Durban, and ranges from Westville, a suburb of Durban, up to Pretoria. If the land is freehold, it is usually occupied by a rent-paying tenant; if not, there is an occupant, usually a relative, who lives on it to prevent the land from reverting to the chief, or being reallocated. As an instance: "This land has just been given to us by the chief. We have a house on it, which my sister and her husband are using free. The house is also used as a church and a private school..."

Although there are cases of economic gain resulting from the letting of land, there is little doubt that this is not the main motivation for making every effort to purchase or occupy it. There is a dilemma here. On the one hand urban Africans want to stake their claim as permanent city dwellers, which may involve ostentatiously cutting off all rural ties. On the other hand, always fearing some administrative fiat which without warning may cast them into the bush, they must retain ties with the chiefs in order to have rural land as a security for themselves and their families. It is their insecurity of tenure in urban areas which has made so many of the location dwellers face financial hardship in order to buy freehold land over a number of years.

If they were restricted to legal means of making money, many Baumannville families would be in a severe predicament, particularly where there are broken homes. It is possible for a widow or female divorcee to make a living for herself and her family without resorting to illicit brewing, but exceptional qualities of steadiness and hard

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work are required. Here is the case of a divorced woman with a family of five, who works as linen maid in a hotel: "I come in late. I have to do cooking and many petty domestic duties. In the morning I must get up early, put my house in order, get the children ready for school. I only have one day off from work (Sunday) and that doesn't leave me with much spare time. I only really rest when I go to bed at night". The fieldworker continues the story: "The informant has an unmistakeable businesslike atmosphere ... about her: perhaps a result of physical and mental strain, pre-divorce tensions and post-divorce struggle to maintain the family and educate the children single-handed ... For most months (she) decided to forfeit the Sunday days-off ... in order to increase her wages. She is a very hard-working woman".

When a deceased husband has left behind a heavy hire purchase debt on furniture, and the family for one reason or another does not co-operate, it is hardly possible to refrain from illicit earning. This is the case of the Swazi widow of a Zulu husband, with a family of four including a deaf and dumb adult son and a work-shy adolescent: Her husband paid a deposit of £3 on furniture priced at £90, and died soon afterwards. The widow continued: "I had to pay for it steadily with beer-money. When my husband died I began brewing for sale. Until then I had only been brewing for his own entertainment and comfort". The economic stresses in this family are accompanied by what might be considered pathological symptoms. Again the widow: "(The wife in house No...) hates me: she bewitched my late husband, and I never knew it until she saw me in the backyard and told me in the face that she had served me right. She was the leader in a group of nine other persons who wanted to do my husband in. She told me that she wanted to mow down my whole family. When my son died, early in the morning she told me that she had kept her word ..." Consequently, the Swazi widow now keeps an <u>inyanga</u> (medicine man) in the house: "He is no relation of ours, but we are keeping him free of charge as the family protector. We have enemies on both sides of our house. He helps us. During the day he runs his business. During the night when our enemies are likely to bewitch us, he is with us and we do not fear".

Even when, in the face of such difficulties, people turn to brewing for sale, it is seldom an easy or a pleasant life from the family point of view. Brewing and selling to a fair profit is a whole-time occupation to which one must turn over almost the entire house. There is always the danger of police raiding, with the ransacking of personal effects and the demoralising effects upon members of the household. As one woman said: "I haven't time to go out much now. We have to look after the beer all the time, because the police raid us so much". In most cases too, the demand from customers is not regular, and this may give rise to more anxieties than a steady, legitimate occupation: "On bad days when nobody comes for beer, I sometimes stand there and ask myself where the money will come from to feed all these mouths" (woman with a household of fourteen).

Harder on the family than anything else, perhaps, is the complete loss of privacy when the house is turned into a shebeen and the drawing-room into a beer-parlour. As one man said: "People just brush past you into your own home, they don't care who you are". To put the matter more graphically, the following is the written complaint by a householder against his own mother, made to the Baumannville Advisory Board about five years ago:-

/ "Gentlemen, ...

"Gentlemen,

I ..... request the board to consider my bellow grievances with regard to my domestic affairs caused by my mother, Mrs. .....:

Illicit Liquor - (a) I strongly point out that the making of beer at my place is not my will.
(b) I have always reports that when I am at work this place becomes a home of drunkenness.
(c) She keeps people not introduced to me through her concerned.
(d) My room and my bed has become a place of drunkards. As a result my things keep on missing, and I have 3 cases of the intruders through this negligent behaviour and no sober habits.
(e) I always see men of different languages - so much that one day I was questioned by one of them asking who I was.
(f) The language spoken here is always dirty and indecent, smelling, and this shows no humanity and full of immorality.
(g) I always find empty bottles of strong liquor lying at the yard which one day shall go to my business and deprived me of my licence, as she has started to go about talking about my name ....

Yours obediently,
S. -------

N.B. Some point's shall be personally interviewed."

There is little doubt, with such occupational hazards, that beer is seldom brewed from choice, but either from sheer economic necessity or from legitimate desire to reach a standard of living commensurate with urban requirements as seen by the people. In a few cases, however, such as outlined in the rather touching communication above, a person may reach the stage where the success of the undertaking, the sheer flow of custom, becomes an end in itself, and moral considerations are driven to the winds. The house is then no longer a family dwelling so much as a public amenity, and the woman (for such it usually is) becomes a full-blown shebeen queen. Here is a thumb-nail sketch of the type of household which results:-

"The informant has a voice like a circular saw at full blast, and unblushingly admits to being a full-time shebeen queen. All her children, miscarriages, etc. have turned her into a huge, shapeless mass as she sits there at the entrance to the house, exchanging coarse jokes with an apparently never-ending succession of customers as they come in. When I had gained her confidence, she began the interview by producing two receipts for beer-fines totalling £13, and asking me the Zulu equivalent of "how can a poor girl live?" The interview was punctuated by her bellows of greeting to acquaintances in the street anything up to 100 feet away".

"I found it worth while during the afternoon to build up a considerable rapport by exchanging Zulu marriage customs with the ladies of the house. The old dame knew them all, singing the wedding songs for me as soon as I gave the words of the opening lines. The young bride (a son's wife) listened to us with shining eyes, for she knew none of this. Eventually she said sadly: 'You white people have taken all this away from us. We don't know our old customs and we don't understand yours. Look at the wedding I could have had in the way you say ....'".

/ "The .....

"The husband is a rather pathetic figure of a fine old Zulu gone to seed with sickness and lack of exercise. Bringing no economic return to the household, he is a person of no consequence therein - a very different picture from traditional Zulu custom".

"When the interview was over, I asked the young bride how she was enjoying life in Baumannville. She said that she was miserable here through the bad company in the house and the constant stream of beer customers. She was hoping to join some clubs to find an interest in life. She endured all this only because of her husband and the fact that she owed labour to her parents-in-law".[24]

Persons can be found all down the scale from outright shebeen queens to those who are prevented in the face of dire necessity from brewing because of religious or moral scruples.[25] It must be emphasized that the great majority of brewers are decent people, who find in brewing for sale the only ready means of reaching, or trying to reach, the standard of living to which they aspire. The temptation to brew must often be particularly great among educated and professional people, who watch the easy profits coming in from liquor, by contrast with the relatively small salaries which they earn after years of study and the financial sacrifices of their parents. As one teacher said: "These people become educated, but nothing is provided for them. They become trouble-makers. Many highly qualified people become shebeen queen. I have seriously thought of it myself. I can't live these days". This person in other parts of the interview showed a highly developed moral sense and a keen critical faculty. She and her like are well aware of the effects of brewing upon family life: "It is not good for the growing child to see so much brewing in his home, and he sees less of his parents because he has to be out during beer sales. (The children) don't get a good upbringing, and they hear the beer customers' bad language".

Much as the factors discussed in this section appear to point towards a general state of family disruption rather than cohesion in the community, it would be a grave mistake in the absence of standards of urban African family life to judge that Baumannville is a disrupted community. As pointed out in the section on broken

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24 The traditional custom of ukukhotiza required that the girl should work for her mother-in-law, normally until she had borne her first child (vide Krige, "The Social System of the Zulus", p. 155). It appears that in some cases this custom has survived in the urban areas.

25 c.f. the informant in Phillips, "The Bantu in the City", 1936, p. 262, who said: "The temptation to sell this illicit liquor is almost too strong. All the women around here are making a lot of money; buying pianos and gramophones and silk dresses. Because I am a Christian and try to go straight, I have to stand here day after day and kill myself washing". The problem is evidently not a new one.

homes, this is not the general impression. There are happy and well-integrated families in the location, even if most of them appear to be in the upper income groups. Real affection and faithfulness between husband and wife can be found, high aspirations for the children, and upright principles of Christian family living. Any practices which make against such ideals - failure to have certain family activities together, conflict in the home, lack of family intervisiting, resort to illicit beer-brewing - are readily explicable, not in wanton terms, but as the modes of adjustment of an underprivileged, and consequently conflict-ridden group. Overcrowded living conditions, the pressure of poverty, the breakdown of the protective significance of lobolo, a lack of social responsibility and of vocational opportunity, have all been cited at one time or another as factors making for family instability among the urban Bantu. Let us say rather that they are the concomitants of low social and economic status. In Baumannville their full manifestations have been to some extent delayed, in that the location was for long community-proud, settled and respectable. Now that insecurity of tenure is abroad, while living costs rise, it is hard to know how long disintegration may be deferred.

CHILDREN AND THEIR REARING

Children are very important to the life of Baumannville. While only 28 per cent of the European population of Durban is under eighteen years of age, 42 per cent of the people in Baumannville have not yet reached their eighteenth birthday. There are eighteen households without under-eighteens and there are nine households with more than six child residents in each. Households on the average have three under-eighteens. If for no other reasons, by virtue of their numbers children would bulk large in the life of the community. The population under eighteen is 326, about equally divided between boys and girls. Those under five make up more than one-third of the child population while only one-fifth are between the ages of fifteen and eighteen.

Are Children Wanted?

The tribal African was philoprogenitive. "The population views of the tribal Bantu were dominated by a trinomium: wives, children, cattle. All these were forms of wealth and a measure of social prestige. Anyone who proposed to the Bantu limitation of birth must indeed have appeared deprived of his senses like one who dared to advise a farmer to apply Malthusian methods to cattle".[26]

It is against this kind of background that the practice of birth-control and the attitudes of the people toward limiting the size of their families becomes important. Only fifteen of the household heads or their spouses acknowledged that they had done anything to space or limit their families. The reasons they gave were: "It gives a child a fair chance to nurse", "If children come too close together, the health of the elder is affected", "Because of the expense". Eighty per cent, however, were opposed to the limitation of family size. Some expressed no reasons, but others did and their principal reasons were - they wanted children, "I want my babies", "We would like more children", "I have no children yet"; some thought that children must be accepted as they came, "I cannot reject God's gift of children", "How can we refuse God's gifts? it is unthinkable", "It's as God wills"; others just thought that it was wrong. "It is not right", "I don't believe in it".

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26 H. Sonnabend: "Population". Chapter 2 in Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. 1949, p. 23.

About one-fifth of these people though they opposed limiting family size had a touch of uncertainty in their replies that they did not know how to. "How? We Africans don't do it, I am told Europeans do it: well, they know how".

This general opposition to birth control is somewhat surprising because in the old tradition of the Native tribes there was a control on the number of children a mother could have, although apparently the custom was not thought of in those terms. It is, however, reflected in the explanations given by those who are presently using birth control. The old tradition prohibited complete intercourse between spouses until the child was weaned. As one person interviewed explained: "The older people used to refrain from intercourse for two or three years until the child was completely weaned". It was believed that if a mother became pregnant before her last child was weaned the next child would be stupid".[27]

This abstinence was not so hard on the men in the old days in the kraal because most of them had other or at least another wife. In "Christian" Baumannville, however, polygamy has no place and with only one partner to satisfy his desires, the husband is not prepared to abstain for so long as two years. The threat to marital harmony of the old prohibition wherever linked with the late date of weaning under contemporary circumstances, may explain why the traditional late weaning has been modified. "We refrain from intercourse for six months after a birth" said one householder. "During that time the man is free to satisfy his instincts elsewhere on a casual basis. The woman cannot do this - the arrangement is for his benefit. But some people have warned one that six months is too long to make a woman wait, the diet is better in town and sexual instinct is stronger". On the average, as will be discussed presently, children are weaned in Baumannville at the age of ten months. There is no significant difference between the older and the younger and the better-educated and lesser-educated in the practice of birth control.

Under the old tribal custom of late weaning, mothers did not have their children in close succession. In Baumannville weaning takes place earlier and there is not yet widespread use of Western birth control methods. Assuming that the practice is to have no intercourse until a child has been weaned larger families would be expected since the people want children, wean early, and do not practice birth control. Explanation of the current predominantly small families is beyond the information available in this study.

A random sample of forty-eight household heads or their spouses were asked to indicate the smallest and the largest number of children they would like to have. The average minimum number was three and the average maximum was six. The average number of surviving children per mother was less than three as Chapter 3 reported, but since two-fifthsof the Baumannville female population are still in the reproductive years, this number is likely to be increased. There was no significant difference between the number of children born by working and non-working mothers.

Another evidence that children are wanted is found in the continuance of the traditional practice of taking children of relatives

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27 E.J. Krige. "The Social System of the Zulus". Longmans, Green & Co. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1936. p. 73.

or even non-relatives into the households which was discussed in Chapter 4. The tendency is for children of close relatives to be "assimilated" into smaller households where there are none or a small number of children. Thirteen households with ten children of their own have assimilated twenty additional children.

Assistance at child-birth.

"Child-birth among the Zulus is the concern of women alone; only women are in attendance ....."[28] In Baumannville a considerable departure has been made from the traditional way. Nearly half of the children have been born in a hospital (46.5 per cent) and another 12 per cent had a doctor (3 per cent), or general nurse or a trained midwife (9 per cent), the rest (41.5 per cent) of the babies were born at home - some of them back in the kraal in the reservation - surrounded by the old wives of the neighbourhood in the old Zulu way. Some mothers have experienced only the old way, some both ways, some only the new way in the hospital and some neither, but almost four-fifth (82 out of 104) of them said they would like to have their babies born in a hospital with the assistance of a doctor. Said one mother: "I used to kneel down on the floor to be delivered. Sometimes the old women used to beat me to make the child come out ... It is better to go to a hospital".

While age and education seem to have little significance in the preference of women for having babies in hospitals, they do make a difference with reference to past experience. Mothers under the age of forty-five have had nearly two-thirds of their babies delivered by doctors in hospitals while mothers forty-five and over have had less than half of their babies in the modern way.[29] Almost three-quarters of the mothers who have attained an education of Standard III or more have had some form of trained assistance (hospital, doctor, general nurse, trained midwife) whereas less than half of the mothers with less education have had any trained assistance.[30]

The greatest differences in assistance at birth show up when comparisons are made of births before and after 1936, the year of the opening of King Edward VII Hospital, where free medical services became available. McCord Zulu Hospital had served the African community since it opened in 1909, charging very modest fees. The differences are shown in Table 34.

Before 1936 less than one-quarter (23.1 per cent) of the babies were born in hospitals, since that date about two-thirds (64.2 per cent). The proportion of babies born at home has dropped to less than half - 76.9 per cent to 35.8 per cent, but the births without trained assistance has dropped from 71.3 per cent to 19.0 per cent.

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28 E.J. Krige. op. cit. p. 64.

29 ($\chi^2 = 5.3$; P. = $< .05$).

30 ($\chi^2 = 7.1$; P. = $< .01$).

TABLE 34 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PLACE OF BIRTH AND TYPE OF ASSISTANCE AT BIRTH BEFORE AND AFTER 1936

Period of Birth.	CHILDREN BORN									
	In Hospital		At Home							
			With trained Assistance		Without trained Assistance		Total		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
Before 1936	33	23.1	8	5.6	102	71.3	110	76.9	143	100.0	42.9
1936 or After	122	64.2	32	16.8	36	19.0	68	35.8	190	100.0	57.1
Total	155	46.5	40	12.0	138	41.5	178	53.5	333	100.0	100.0

While a few of the older people cling to the old ways the recent decades have made a tremendous change in the patterns of child-bearing. These people have largely come to think in modern urban terms and to make use of the facilities of their city.

SOME CHILD-REARING PRACTICES

Baumannville children are completely weaned on the average at the age of ten months. Deprivation of the breast is usually abrupt and ungentle. Roughly two-thirds of the mothers interviewed rub some substance on their breasts to repel their child and so effect a sharp break from suckling. Usually the juice of the inhla6a, a species of aloe, or chili powder or juice is used. "Civilised people use chilis; farm people use inhla6a", explained one of the mothers. Sometimes other repellants such as pepper, mustard, castor oil or cascara are used; or the mother binds her breasts to keep the child away. Some psychologists think that abrupt deprivation of the breast has severe effects on the child's personality. One study of African weaning suggests that this is so. "The change towards the mother is permanent in its form - the child never again recovering the close pre-weaning attachment to her".[31]

Most mothers judge that a child is ready for deprivation of the breast when it has reached a prescribed age; though a number of them set the time at the stage when the child begins to walk or tries to eat or rejects the breast for instance, by biting or "spitting out the milk".

The amount of education of the mother does not seem to be related to the time of weaning, but the age of the mother is related to earliness of weaning. None of the mothers under thirty-five years of age delay weaning beyond the age of eighteen months, though about one-sixth of the mothers over thirty-five have weaned their children

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31 R.C. Albino & V. Thompson: "A Study of Weaning in African Children", British Journal of Medical Psychology, to be published.

between nineteen and thirty months. The tribal tradition of late weaning seems still to have some influence amongst the older women.

The average age at which toilet-training is begun is 6.6 months, but one-tenth of the mothers stated that they do not begin this training until the child is more than a year old. The mothers nearly all train by patience and encouragement, the habits being inculcated, they say, by placing the child on the chamber-pot as soon as he wakes in the morning or whenever he shows signs of need. If chamber-pots are as widely used, as our information suggests, then once again Western ways have been adopted. The age of education of the mother does not seem to determine the date of commencing toilet-training.

The tribal practice of ukuɓeletha is still almost universal in Baumannville. A mother who ɓeletha's her child binds him to her back with a swathe of cloth. Thus the child is controlled and the mother left free to do her work about the house. The practice is convenient for the mothers and they are understandably loath to cease it: "Carrying the baby on one's back is very necessary when one is working", is the sort of statement often heard. Mothers who say that they ɓeletha their children make up 80 per cent of the 105 mothers interviewed, and 46 per cent of the mothers say that they ɓeletha "very frequently".

ɓeletha is discontinued when the children reach the age of 15.7 months on the average, but subsequently a child may on occasion be bound to the mother's back, particularly when he needs to be pacified. One mother still ɓeletha's her son at times although he had reached the age of six. About a half of the mothers discontinue this practice when the child is able to walk, two-tenths when he has grown too big or heavy, and one-tenth when pregnant or delivered of another child. The age, education, or employment status of the mother have no significant relationship to the date of stopping ɓeletha.

Each parent in seventy-four couples was asked to state with whom lay the responsibility for feeding, clothing, punishing, rewarding and attending to the schooling and the religious instruction of their children. With respect to these six aspects of child-rearing, an average of 55 per cent of the couples agreed as to the person or persons responsible for rearing children in their family, 32 per cent maintained that these items of child-rearing were the responsibility of both parents, 17 per cent that the mother was responsible, 3 per cent that the father was responsible, and 3 per cent that some other person, such as a grandmother, was responsible. If, in the tribal environment, the father had the say in the bringing up of his children, his word is not absolute in Baumannville, where most couples seem to share the responsibility for bringing up their children.

Many rural patterns and old tribal customs of child-bearing and child-rearing seem to have changed materially within the urban environment of Baumannville, but remnants of the old ways still are found. Some, such as sudden deprivation of the breasts and carrying babies on the back, are practiced by almost all of the mothers. Others, like late weaning and having babies born at home without trained assistance are considered proper only among the older people. Almost every woman today wants her babies to be born in a hospital with modern scientific assistance. There are strong tendencies to depart from the idea of authoritative patriarchal control in families to thinking of the responsibilities as a co-operative task. While the old patterns of spacing children have broken down under the conditions of city life, new ways have not to any extent yet taken their place. In this area of living urbanization has also left its mark.

CHAPTER 6

WORKERS, OCCUPATIONS AND INCOME

The South African industrial revolution of the 20th Century parallels that of Britain in the late 18th and early 19th century in a number of ways: influx of a bewildered rural population to the cities, rapid industrial development, insufficient attention to the human side of the process. The English countryman of the 18th century, however ignorant of town ways, was at least of the same culture and spoke the same language as those who employed him. In South Africa, the bulk of those who come from the country to work in cities are African Natives whose backgrounds are entirely different from those of the European employers. In addition the Africans, and to a lesser extent other Non-Europeans, are faced with a whole complex of legislation and custom which limits their operations and controls their behaviour. Despite all these difficulties, a considerable proportion of African town dwellers have adapted themselves to urban conditions and are now permanent city dwellers. Cities, however, as in the industrial revolutions in other countries, have not been prepared to receive these rural immigrants either with dwellings, adequate incomes or urban services. The squalor, poverty, disease and crime which have resulted have been costly in human misery and civic welfare.

Baumannville residents have been city dwellers for many years, have been exposed to the influences of urbanization and have made many adjustments in their patterns of living, in their occupations and in their ideas. One of the important keys to understanding what has happened to the people is through an analysis of their economic life; the first step of which is the study of employment.

EMPLOYMENT

The working population of Baumannville makes up 65 per cent of the total population fifteen years of age and over. The proportion of the population in the labour force by sex and the employment status of those in the labour force are given in Table 35.

The labour force includes 76 per cent of the males and 55 per cent of the females, fifteen years of age and over. These proportions deviate somewhat from the census of the population of Natal in 1946 which reported 83 per cent of the European males, but only 27 per cent of the females, and 92 per cent of the African males and 42 per cent of the females in the labour force.[1] The difference between the percentages of males in the working force reflects the increasing number of those between fifteen and twenty-four who are continuing in school. The very high proportion of women who are workers, is undoubtedly the result of urban conditions; first women go out to work to supplement the often inadequate income of their menfolk, and second, the city provides more opportunities for gainful employment for women than are available in the rural areas.

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1 M.H. Alsop: "The Population of Natal" (Vol. 2 of the Natal Regional Survey), Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1952, p. 123.

TABLE 35 POPULATION FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER OF BAUMANNVILLE BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1954

	Males			Females			Total		
	No.	% of Population	% of Labour Force	No.	% of Population	% of Labour Force	No.	% of Population	% of Labour Force
Population 15 years and over	228	100.0	-	270	100.0	-	498	100.0	-
Labour Force	173	75.9	100.0	148	54.8	100.0	321	64.5	100.0
Wage and Salary earners	146	64.0	84.4	78	28.9	52.7	224	45.0	69.8
Workers on Own account	12	5.3	7.0	51	18.8	34.5	63	12.7	19.6
Unemployed	15	6.6	8.6	19	7.1	12.8	34	6.8	10.6
Not in Labour force	55	24.1	-	122	45.2	-	177	35.5	-

In addition to the women enumerated who are engaged in legal occupations, there are a number of illicit beer-brewers and -sellers in Baumannville. These have been classified as housewives or 'engaged in household duties'. Were they included among the gainfully occupied, the proportion of adult women who were not in employment or seeking employment would be smaller.

Employment and age.

Table 36 analyses the wage- and salary-earners, those working on their own account and the unemployed by age and sex.

A striking feature of this table is that it shows an almost complete absence of adolescent employment. This presents a strong contrast to the general picture of youthful employment and more particularly unemployment not only among Africans, but also Coloureds and Indians. The proportion of Baumannville youth in work or seeking work is low even compared with Europeans in this country, or for populations in other industrial countries. The 1936 Census showed that in the Union 55 per cent of African males and 44 per cent of African females aged ten to nineteen years old (other than those engaged in agriculture) were gainfully occupied.[2] In Baumannville, however, the proportion of males aged eleven to seventeen in the labour force was found to be 4 per cent and of females 8 per cent and, taking the age span eleven to twenty-four, 43 per cent of the males and 34 per cent of the females.

Of the fifteen to seventeen year old group in Baumannville, all but six are in school or at work so that at most 12 per cent could be considered as unemployed.[3] Nearly two-thirds of the eighteen to

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[2] Sixth Census of the Union of South Africa, Vol. IX - U.G. 12/1942, pp. XV, XVI.

[3] Ellen Hellmann: "Problems of Urban Bantu Youth", Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1940, pp. 138-139 reports that in Johannesburg in 1938 51 per cent of the boys and 56 per cent of the girls aged 14-18 in the families she studied were unemployed. The corresponding figures for the 18-21 age group were: boys 20.4 per cent and girls 33.3 per cent, and in the same year it was

TABLE 36 LABOUR FORCE BY AGE GROUPS, SEX, AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS COMPARED TO DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER : BAUMANNVILLE, 1954

Age Groups	Wage- and Salary-earners			Workers on own account			Unemployed			Total Labour Force			Total Population		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
15 - 17	2	4	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	6	27	22	49
18 - 24	38	21	59	-	3	3	7	13	20	45	37	82	61	68	129
25 - 29	25	10	35	-	1	1	3	-	3	28	11	39	30	23	53
30 - 39	29	16	45	3	5	8	1	3	4	33	24	57	34	43	77
40 - 49	16	13	29	1	15	16	2	2	4	19	30	49	20	41	61
50 - 59	20	10	30	4	17	21	1	-	1	25	27	52	27	42	69
60 +	14	4	18	2	8	10	-	-	-	16	12	28	23	25	48
Unknown	2	-	2	2	2	4	I	1	2	5	3	8	6	6	12
TOTAL	146	78	224	12	51	63	15	19	34	173	148	321	228	270	498

twenty-four year old group are in the labour force and almost one-quarter are still in school. Of the males, seven are unemployed and three are neither at school nor at work so that 16 per cent might be considered unemployed. Of the females, in addition to the thirty-seven in the labour force and seventeen in school, fourteen are either married or carrying responsibilities for household duties. The thirteen of the labour force who indicated that they were unemployed are 20 per cent of the age groups.

The Aged Work.

Of the group sixty years of age or over, sixteen out of twenty-three men and twelve out of twenty-five women are in the labour force; in fact 9½ per cent of the male and 8 per cent of the female labour force are in this group of aged. Seven of the men and five of the women are over the age of sixty-four: the pensionable age is sixty-five for men and sixty for women. One of sixty-seven works in an iron-foundry for £12.4.0 per month, a second, of sixty-five, gets a seasonally variable income from selling goats, while a third, of seventy, is a machine-minder. Two of the elderly women combine taking in washing with the much more lucrative business of beer-brewing and -selling.

According to the 1936 Census, which gives the latest available figures on employment, 74 per cent of all African males aged sixty or over (other than those engaged in agriculture) were gainfully occupied as were 16 per cent of African females compared to 47 per cent of European males and 4 per cent of European females.[4]

The Baumannville picture is about the same for African males as that for the whole Union, but about four times the proportion of African older women bear the burden of gainful work in Baumannville as in the Union. Compared to European and other people, three African men work for every two Europeans, but twelve times as many older African women are at work.

It would seem that in Baumannville the pressure of poverty is sufficient to compel a relatively high proportion of both sexes, but especially of the women, to continue working into old age, but it is also true that there is an extremely low rate of old age pensions, for which a stringent means test is applied.

The few workers at the other end of the age scale reflects the educational aspirations of parents for their children who have a high school attendance through the eighteenth year.[5] This is facilitated, however, by the evident difficulty of those in the early twenties in getting employment. Whatever the reasons for keeping children at school, the good effects of doing so, not only educationally, but also socially, are great indeed. The evil effects of juvenile unemployment in terms of dissoluteness, delinquency and general moral deterioration are minimized.

/ Independent .....

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estimated that only 40 per cent of African children of school-going age in Johannesburg and Alexandra Township were at school at any one time.

4 Op. cit. pp. xv, xvi and Vol VII - U.G. 11/1942 - pp. 2 - 19.

5 cf. Chapter 7.

Independent Workers.

As Table 36 shows, those classified as workers on their own account are on the whole considerably older than 'wage- or salary-earners'. The few in this category are largely engaged in running small businesses, such as eating-houses. Women 'workers on their own account' are largely washerwomen, with a few hawkers. Compared to women in the other classifications they are rather poorly educated, are married and are older..

Comparison between employment status and marital status also shows that wage and salary jobs are predominantly filled by single women (forty-one) though those that are or have been married together make up a number only slightly less (thirty-seven). The part time work which can be fitted into household duties and care of children is the province of married women and widows (forty-three). Unemployment of both men and women is an experience of single people (twenty-four out of thirty-six).

Unemployment.

Though the numbers are small, the unemployed of both sexes are predominantly young. Almost half of the men who are unemployed, and two-thirds of the women, are under the age of twenty-five compared to just over one-quarter of the same age in the labour force in each sex. Of the fifteen male unemployed, four were sick and two were regarded as "work-shy". Of the nineteen unemployed women, five were married or widowed.

The Durban Native Administration Department, whose registration figures are not complete, had a record of 2,601 unemployed which was 2.4 per cent of those registered (all males) at the end of June 1954, when the field work in Baumannville was done for this study. It would seem that the proportion of workers unemployed in Baumannville may have been as much as four times as great though such comparisons are somewhat precarious with such small numbers.

OCCUPATIONS

Baumannville men are engaged in a very wide variety of occupations. Contrary to the popular concept that African males are concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled industrial occupations, the men of Baumannville find their living in all sectors of the economy, with the exception of agriculture and mining. The range of occupations open to women is much narrower: with few exceptions they are either in the professions or personal service.

Varieties of Occupations.

The occupations which the men gave as their jobs together with the number in each, are as follows:- Armed forces (one); boot and shoe repairer (four); bus conductor (one); Carpenter (one); Cartage contractor (one); caterer (two); chauffeur (four); chef (one); Cleaner (one); clergyman (two); clerical service in government or province (four); in municipality (five); in business (three); commission agent (two); delivery boy (seven); draftsman (one); factory operative (six); gardener (three); hawker or pedlar (two); interpreter (one); journalist (one); labourer in business establishment (seven); in industrial establishment (thirty of which two under eighteen); in provincial or municipal work (four); laundry worker (three); lift attendant (one); lorry or car driver (ten); medical service (three); Native Advisory Board (one); packer (three); painter (one); photographer (one); policeman (one); printer's assistant (one); railway worker (six); salesman (three); shop assistant (one); shop keeper

/ (four) .....

(four); stoker (two); stove assembler (one); supervisor of labour (three); tailor (one); taxi driver (one); teacher or lecturer (nine); telephone operator (one); watchman (one). A total of 158 workers.

The occupations of the womenare:- caterer (one); children's nurse (one); dress factory worker (one); dressmaker (seven); domestic servant (thirty-nine of which four under eighteen); hawker or pedlar (eleven); interpreter (three); labourer (one); laundry worker (forty-two); matron (one); nurse (trained) (seven); receptionist (one); social worker (one); teacher (twelve); typist (one). A total of 129 workers.

For both sexes the proportion of professional workers is remarkably high. There are, for example, nine man and twelve women teachers or lecturers in Baumannville, or 2.5 per cent of males and 2.9 per cent of females in the township. This is seventeen times the proportion of males and nine times the proportion of females for Africans in Durban in 1951 according to the Census[6] (0.15 and 0.4). Besides teachers, the group of professional men includes a draftsman who works on his own account and is one of the most respected members of the community, two clergymen, a journalist and the secretary of a large sports association. In short, this is a community with a comparatively large number of persons of high social standing. It could, therefore, be expected to contribute a disproportionate share of African social, political and intellectual leadership in Durban as a whole.

Besides the professional group, which in urban African society is held in even higher esteem than in its European counterpart, all the other occupational groups usually found in an African urban township are well represented. Of those men working on their own account, some run eating tables at the nearby Somtseu single men's hostel, one is a tailor working in the back room of the cottage in which he lodges and one runs a taxi service. Male wage-earners include a youth of sixteen who 'teaches others to make shoes and sandals' for a wage of £8 per month, a stevedore at the docks who gets £22 per month, a stove assembler, a printer's assistant, a bus conductor and two stokers on a steamer. Women wage- or salary-earners include an Indian doctor's receptionist, a typist and a matron of the nearby single men's hostel, but no less than half of them are domestic servants. Women working on their own account are mainly employed part-time as washerwomen who go out to collect laundry from European households and wash it in the local laundry, and there are various pedlars and hawkers, with a few dress-makers. The high proportion of domestic servants and of washerwomen (or laundry workers, as they are called in the list) is usual in an African urban community. Beer-brewing and -selling is an important women's occupation, but being illegal, is not included in the above classification.

Employment by Sector of Economy.

Table 37 includes in each category of employment all workers engaged in that sector of the economy, irrespective of the nature of their occupation. For instance, manufacturing (which includes building and

/ construction) .....

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6 From unpublished data of the 1951 Census furnished by the Department of the Census to the Ecological Survey of Durban under the direction of Professor Leo Kuper, University of Natal.

TABLE 37 EMPLOYMENT OF BAUMANNVILLE LABOUR FORCE, MALE AND FEMALE, BY SECTOR OF ECONOMY

	Male	Female	Total
1. Manufacturing:			
Skilled	13	-	13
Semi-skilled	8	-	8
Labourer	38	-	38
Total	59	-	59
2. Public Service:			
Professional	21	22	43
Clerical	12	2	14
Skilled	-	-	-
Semi-skilled	3	1	4
Labourer	2	-	2
Total	38	25	63
3. Transport & Communication:			
Skilled	7	-	7
Semi-skilled	6	-	6
Labourer	8	-	8
Total	21	-	21
4. Commerce & Finance:	27	14	41
5. Mining:	-	-	-
6. Farming & Fishing:	-	-	-
7. Personal Service:	10	85	95
8. Unspecified:	3	5	8
GRAND TOTAL	158	129	287

construction) includes not only the various types of manual workers, but also clerical and supervisory workers and workers engaged on despatch and delivery in manufacturing enterprises. Commerce in cludes commission agents, the pedlars, the lift attendant, shop assistants, retail traders, drivers of delivery vans, cleaners and sweepers (labourers)[7].

/ Secondary .....

[7] The classification used is that of the Industrial Legislation Commission (vide par. 124 of U.G. 62 of 1952) which enumerates seven basic categories of employment. An attempt has been made to subdivide manufacturing and transport employees into skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled categories. This is illustrative rather than precise, since the classification was based on the workers' job description and remuneration and was not checked by an inspection of the work performed by them or of employers' classification of skill. For illustrative purposes the public service sector has been subdivided into professional, clerical, skilled, semi-skilled and labourers. Public services include medical and health services,

Secondary industry absorbs three-eighths of Baumannville male wage-earners, of whom two-thirds are labourers. The semi-skilled are industrial operatives and machine minders, while three-quarters of the skilled are drivers.

Almost one-quarter of the men are employed in the public services - Government, Provincial and Municipal employment and the professions. One-eighth are engaged in transport enterprises as drivers, conductors, signal-men, stokers, dock- and railway labourers. One-sixth are engaged in commerce as independent caterers, retail traders, pedlars, shop-assistants and delivery "boys". Less than one-sixteenth of the men in personal service activities are a hotel chef, boot- and shoe repairers, tailors, laundrymen and gardeners. Baumannville has no men employed as domestic servants or service workers in flats and hotels.

Two-thirds of the women on the other hand, are engaged in personal service; just over one half being washerwomen and the others domestic servants. One-fifth of the employed women are in the public services, all but two being professional workers. A little over one-tenth are independent caterers, hawkers and pedlars.

Classification of Occupations.

Because a wide variety of unrelated occupations are grouped together in each of the seven economic categories of employment, an attempt has been made to analyse employment by the specific nature of the worker's occupation. In order to maintain conformity with published data, the classification adopted by the Department of Census has been followed,[8] although it is not altogether satisfactory. Table 38 then, presents a total picture of the nature of the occupational activities on which men and women are engagod.

TABLE 38 DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS, MALE AND FEMALE, BY INDUSTRIAL GROUPS

Industrial Group:	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Industrial Occupations	47	29.7	-	-	47	17.3
Transport Occupations	35	22.2	-	-	35	12.4
Commercial Occupations	16	10.1	13	10.0	29	10.1
Professional (incl. clerical)	33	20.9	25	19.5	58	20.2
Personal Service	10	6.3	91	70.5	101	35.1
Other (labourers n.e.c.)	15	9.5	-	-	15	5.2
Unspecified	2	1.3	-	-	2	0.7
Total	158	100.0	129	100.0	287	100.0

/ Occupations .....

education, religious, art and science, defence, and other public government, provincial and municipal services, except transport.

8 Occupational Classification of the Native Population 1936 (U.G. 12/42) pp. 78-85. (1) Agricultural; (2) Mining; (3) Industrial; (4) Transport and communications; (5) Commercial; (6) Professional, entertainment and sport; (7) Personal service; (8) Other. Only those classes which apply here have been used. 'Other' was found to be labourers of miscellaneous types, mostly cleaners in shops, offices, etc. Drivers, wherever employed, are classified under transport.

Occupations of Baumannville Men.

Three-tenths of the Baumannville male workers pursue industrial and building occupations. They are working in many different types of industrial establishments - food processing, textile, cigarette, engineering, furniture, printing, leather and rubber industries, while seven were employed in a small factory producing musical instruments. Of these forty-seven workers, only four are considered to be skilled, eight semi-skilled and thirty-five labourers. Slightly more than one-fifth of the male workers are engaged in various transport and communication services. Almost half of these workers are motor drivers (ten commercial vehicle, four chauffeurs, one taxi) and, apart from the six railway labourers and seven delivery boys, seven may be considered as semi-skilled workers - firemen, lift attendants, switchboard operators and "mechanics".

The Baumannville occupational distribution of men could thus be summarised as follows: thirty-three (21 per cent) are professional and clerical workers; sixteen (10 per cent) are salesmen in wholesale or retail trade or independent traders, ten (6 per cent) provide personal services; nineteen (12 per cent) are skilled workers, fifteen (10 per cent) semi-skilled workers and sixty-five (41 per cent) labourers.

INCOME

The monthly earnings of both men and women show a very considerable range - as shown in Table 39. The lowest male wage earned was less than £2.10.0 per month and the highest was between £45 and £50, while women's earnings ranged from less than £2.10.0 a month to between £30 and £35.

Earnings of Men.

As usual, men's earnings are considerably higher than women's, mainly because of the very narrow field of employment for women and particularly because so large a number of the women engaged in various types of personal service are part-time workers. The median earnings of men are between £10 and £12.10.0 and of women between £5 and £7.10.0. Four men earn over £30 per month. Forty-five (28.5 per cent) of the men, but only seven women (5.4 per cent) earn more than £15 per month. On the other hand only 10 per cent of the men, but 66 per cent of the women, earn less than £7.10.0 per month. The modal male income group is between £10 to £12.10.0 per month, while that of women is between £2.10.0 to £5 per month.

As a group, the professional and clerical workers are considerably better remunerated than other workers, three-quarters of the men, but only half of the women in this group of workers earn over £10 per month. It is, however, significant that two professional women earn between £30 and £35 per month, compared with only four men earning over £30 per month. The range of women's salaries is from £5 to £34, while those of men from £2 to £48. Even the professional and clerical occupations resulting in comparatively modest earnings, however, are considered as carrying considerable prestige.

Men engaged in various transport occupations are next in order of earnings. Nearly a quarter of these workers receive over £20 per month. This includes the skilled group of motor vehicle drivers. None in this group earns under £5 per month, the modal earnings being between £10 to £12.10.0 per month.

/ Two-thirds .....

TABLE 39 EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS, MALE AND FEMALE, BY INDUSTRIAL GROUPINGS

Earnings in Pounds per Month	Professional or Clerical			Commercial			Personal Service			Transport	Industry	Labourers	Total Male		Total Female		Grand Total	
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	M	M	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 2½	1	-	1	-	3	3	-	24	24	-	-	-	1	0.6	27	20.9	28	9.8
2½ to 5	1	-	1	-	3	3	1	31	32	-	1	-	3	1.9	34	26.4	37	12.9
5 to 7½	1	7	8	4	1	5	1	16	17	2	1	3	12	7.6	24	18.6	36	12.6
7½ to 10	3	3	6	3	4	7	3	11	14	4	12	5	30	19.0	18	14.0	48	16.7
10 to 12½	1	5	6	3	-	3	2	3	5	10	15	5	36	22.8	8	6.2	44	15.3
12½ to 15	4	-	4	2	2	4	1	2	3	4	7	2	20	12.6	4	3.1	24	8.4
15 to 17½	8	5	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	14	8.9	5	3.9	19	6.6
17½ to 20	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	3	-	6	3.8	-	-	6	2.1
20 to 22½	4	-	4	2	-	2	-	-	-	7	2	-	15	9.5	-	-	15	5.2
22½ to 25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25 to 30	2	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	6	3.8	-	-	6	2.1
30 to 35	2	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.3	2	1.5	4	1.4
35 to 40	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.3
40 to 45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
45 to 50	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.3
50 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown	3	3	6	-	-	-	2	4	6	3	1	2	11	7.0	7	5.3	18	6.3
TOTAL No:	33	25	58	16	13	29	10	91	101	35	47	17	158	100.0	129	100.0	287	100.0
TOTAL %	20.8	19.4	20.2	10.1	10.1	10.1	6.3	70.5	35.2	M 22.1 / T 12.2	M 30.0 / T 16.4	M 10.7 / T 5.9	100.0	55.1	100.0	44.9	100.0	100.0

Two-thirds of the industrial workers earn more than £10 per month, but of these only four earn in excess of £20 per month. It is estimated that eighteen of the forty-seven industrial workers earn more than the applicable minimum labourers' wages. Both from the point of view of industrial earnings and the nature of the work performed, Baumannville's industrial employees are in a superior position to the Union's African industrial labour force.[9]

The variation of earnings of the lower paid workers - the labourers - in industrial, transport and other miscellaneous occupations is a reflection of the prevailing wage-regulatory procedure. In Durban, basic minimum wages for labourers, prescribed by Wage Determination or Industrial Conciliation agreements, vary from 20/- per week in private hotels, boarding houses, flats and rooms to 41/6 per week for certain operations in the tanning industry.

In July 1954, thirty-two industries in Durban paid more than 30/- per week, fourteen paid 30/- per week and forty-eight paid less than 30/- per week.[10] In addition to the minimum wage, statutory cost-of-living allowances must be paid. All but eight of the industries pay the current Government rate. This provides for a cost-of-living allowance of 10/9 per week for basic wages of £1 or under; 13/9 for wages from £2.0.1 to £2.5.0 up to £3.8.0 for wages over £6.10.0 per week. Thus the monetary reward of an unskilled labourer in the thirty-three industries paying 28/9 is £2.2.6, in the sixteen industries paying 32/6 is £2.8.3 per week. Apart from a few unskilled workers in the tanning industry the highest minimum wage of an unskilled labourer in Durban is £2.18.3 per week.[11]

Municipal rates of pay for labourers are lower than those obtaining in many industries. The minimum rate is £4.4.7 per month plus a cost-of-living allowance (where no rations are given) of £3.2.4, which totals £7.6.11 per month. The second municipal rate is £6.4.7 plus a cost-of-living allowance of £2.14.0 with rations assessed at 17/4, giving a wage, in cash and kind, equivalent to £9.15.11 per month

However, the current trend in wage fixation is towards determining wages on the basis of the rate for the job, rather than

/ attempting .....

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9 Census of Industrial Establishments U.G. 30/1954, p. 126, Table XV(b) states African wages in industry to be £112 per annum for the year 1949/50. Report of the Industrial Legislation Commission, U.G. 62 of 1951 indicates 83.5% unskilled, 12.3% semi-skilled and 4.2% skilled. The Baumannville figures are 74.2%, 17.2% and 8.6% respectively.

10 Wage Det. No. 130 of 7th December, 1945 laid down the minimum rate of 28/9 per week and applies to 34 industries. This still obtains in 27 industries. Of the industries paying more than 28/9 per week, 14 have been determined by Joint Council agreement, 5 by Conciliation Boards, 24 by Wage Determination and 4 by awards. This information has been furnished by the Natal Employers Association.

11 40/- per week basic wage and 18/3 per week cost-of-living allowance, in the fish andleather industries.

attempting to define unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled work and laying down wage rates for such categories.[12]

It is, consequently, impossible to indicate a general minimum rate of pay for a labourer in Durban that applies universally. Nor is it possible to indicate arbitrary wage levels that differentiate between labourers' and semi-skilled categories of workers. In one industry a labourer may earn more than a semi-skilled worker in another industry. All that can be said is that labourers' schedule minimum wages may vary between £7.6.11 per month and £10.7.6.

The analysis of Baumannville earnings clearly reflects this position. Fifty-eight of the sixty-six workers deemed to be labourers earned monthly wages in excess of the above minimum rates. The significant fact is, however, that many of the Baumannville industrial and transport workers have had opportunities of rising above labourers. No less than two-fifths of the industrial workers and almost half of those in transport occupations earn more than labourers' minimum wages.

It must be borne in mind that Baumannville represents a highly stable labour force and that a very large number of workers have remained in the same employment for many years. This has obviously contributed to the growth of industrial skills. In comparison with figures applying to the African industrial labour force throughout the Union, the Baumannville study reveals a higher proportion of workers in semi-skilled and skilled jobs.[13] However, it must be stressed that the numbers involved are too small to draw any general conclusions.

Modest incomes are earned by those in trading occupations. Only one-quarter earn more than £15 per month, the highest income is £25 per month derived from an eating house. The sale of independent operations is very small; little capital has been accumulated and invested in the ventures. With the exception of a cartage contractor, the independent "traders" are all associated with the preparation and/or sale of food. Even salesmen earn wages under £22.10.0; one of them as little as £6 per month.

The two lowest-paid occupational groups for men are common labourers and personal service. In Durban as a whole, the 1951 Census recorded 13,030 'service workers in private households', i.e. domestic servants, out of a total of 20,544 service and related workers and 82,081 in the male African labour force. A large proportion of domestic servants of both sexes are, of course, housed on their employers' premises, while single men, not provided with accommodation, are frequently found to be in hostels. There is also evidence that the longer the residence in urban areas, the greater the shift from domestic service to industry.[14] These factors account for the absence of male domestic servants resident in Baumannville.

/ Earnings .....

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12 For instance, in the Industrial Conciliation Agreement of the Engineering Industry, eleven grades are laid down and within each grade specific operations are defined and specific rates of remuneration determined for each of these operations. Rates vary from 9½d. per hour to 3/9d per hour. The Fruit Canning Agreement provides for five grades of labour; grade four, for instance, having no less than 16 listed operations.

13 Vide footnote 9.

14 Native Urban Employment (Witwatersrand University), p. 867; R.H. Smith, Labour Resources of Natal, p. 61.

Earnings of Women.

The inadequacy of male wages to meet the household needs has forced most of the married women either to be full-time wage earners or to supplement the family income in a variety of ways. All of the professional and clerical workers, the domestic servants, and a few of the independent "traders" and washerwomen are full-time workers, the others do part-time work which varies from five or six hours per day to two or three hours per week.

For that reason it is unrealistic to compare earnings in different occupational categories. Needless to say the professional and clerical workers as already discussed earn very considerably more than any other group. Women traders are mostly hawkers and pedlars, operate on a very small scale and make very little. Nearly a quarter earn less than £2.10.0 and less than half earn more than £7.10.0 per month and even the largest income is under £15.

There are thirty-nine domestic servants and one "nanny" in Baumannville. It is interesting to note that no less than twenty-two of these domestic servants are employed by the Baumannville residents and are housed with the family. The usual Baumannville rate of pay for such domestics is £2 per month plus their keep, while those employed elsewhere earn from £3 to £9 per month. Baumannville is less than a mile from the many beach hotels and flats, most of which have most inadequate or insufficient accommodation for domestic servants. This proximity is of immense benefit to the residents and eliminates both time and cost in getting to and from work. The economic position of domestic servants is better than the cash payments as recorded since the value of food consumed on employers' premises was not estimated nor included. Furthermore, they are often recipients of second-hand clothing. The remaining personal service workers are mainly washerwomen, but include such other activities as dressmaking, executing orders for knitting and crochet, baking bread and "vetkoekies". The highest earnings of a washerwoman is £15 per month with husband's help and the lowest personal service earnings 10/- not counting at least one 'servant' of a Baumannville householder who only gets her keep.

Less than half of the personal service workers earn more than £5 per month and only five earn over £10 per month. The part-time workers - particularly the washerwomen - spend many backbreaking hours for an extremely modest gross and certainly an inordinately low return.

Comparison with other Urban Communities.

Because the small compact Baumannville community has so large a number of professional and clerical workers it might be assumed that its earnings would compare favourably with those of other African urban communities. The median wage of Baumannville occupied men is £12.7.6, that of women £6.10.0 per month. In a study of 987 families in Johannesburg in 1940, Miss Janisch found the median income of men to be £5, the range of individual incomes being from 10/- to £20 per month.[15] Baumannville is considerably better off

/ even .....

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15 M. Janisch: A Survey of African Income and Expenditure in 987 Families in Johannesburg, Johannesburg, Non-European Affairs Department, 1940.

TABLE 40 EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS, MALE AND FEMALE, BY AGE GROUPS*

Earnings in Pounds per Month	Age Groups										Totals			
	15 - 17		18 - 24		25 - 44		45 - 64		65 & over		Males		Females	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	No.	%	No.	%
Under £2½	-	2	1	3	-	13	-	6	-	2	1	0.7	26	21.6
2½ to 5	-	2	-	7	1	14	1	9	1	2	3	2.0	34	28.3
5 to 7½	-	-	5	8	4	2	3	12	-	1	12	8.2	23	19.2
7½ to 10	1	-	11	3	10	5	8	10	-	-	30	20.5	18	15.0
10 to 12½	-	-	9	2	14	3	8	3	4	-	35	24.0	8	6.7
12½ to 15	1	-	4	-	9	2	5	2	1	-	20	13.7	4	3.3
15 to 17½	-	-	3	-	7	3	4	2	-	-	14	9.6	5	4.2
17½ to 20	-	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	6	4.1	-	-
20 to 22½	-	-	-	-	12	-	3	-	-	-	15	10.3	-	-
22½ to 25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25 to 30	-	-	2	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	6	4.1	-	-
30 to 35	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	2	1.4	2	1.7
35 to 40	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.7	-	-
40 to 45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
45 to 50	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.7	-	-
50 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS: No	2	4	36	23	64	44	37	44	7	5	146	100.0	120	100.0
TOTALS: %	1.4	3.3	24.7	19.3	43.8	36.6	25.3	36.6	4.8	4.2	100.0		100.0	

* Includes only 146 males and 120 females whose earnings and age are both known.

even considering the general increase in wages since 1940.

In 1949 a study of Orlando Township, Johannesburg, revealed that 6 per cent of all occupied persons of both sexes earned above £20 per month and three-quarters between £2 and £14 per month.[16] Baumannville by comparison, has 10 per cent of its men and women workers whose incomes are known, earning over £20 per month and three-quarters under £15 per month. The distribution is not markedly different from the Orlando study. In comparison with the sample survey of a squatter's camp near Cape Town, however, where the average wage of occupied men was £3.9.7 per week, the Baumannville position is less favourable.[17]

Earnings and Age.

Normally it might be expected that increased age and experience would bring with it an increase in earnings. Several investigators[18] have found, however, that in the Union little monetary recognition is given to the increased experience of African workers. Table 40 shows the relationship of age and earnings in Baumannville.

Of the men aged eighteen to twenty-four: seventeen out of thirty-six, or just under half, earn less than £10 per month; of those aged twenty-five to forty-four: fifteen out of sixty-four, or just under a quarter; of those aged forty-five to sixty-four: twelve out of thirty-seven, or just under a third. On the other hand, only two out of thirty-six of those aged eighteen to twenty-four, sixteen out of sixty-four of those aged twenty-five to forty-four, and six out of thirty-seven of the forty-five to sixty-four age group, earned £20 or more per month.

In short, earnings tend to rise with age up to the twenty-five to forty-four category, then decline. The decline, however, leaves earnings appreciably higher in the forty-five to sixty-four than in the eighteen to twenty-four age group.

Just over three-quarters of the women aged eighteen to twenty-four, two thirds of those aged twenty-five to forty-four, about three-fifths of the age group forty-five to sixty-four, and all those over the age of sixty-four, earn less than £7.10.0 per month. Approximate average earnings for the three age groups eighteen to twenty-four; twenty-five to forty-four and forty-five to sixty-four were found to be £5.3.0; £6.14.0 and £6.4.0 per month respectively. Women's earnings seem therefore to increase slightly with age, but decline again with old age.

/ Earnings .....

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16 Jacqueline Eberhardt. Survey of Orlando Township. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand, 1949.

17 "Living Conditions in a Squatter's Camp near Cape Town, 1952", M. Lipschitz & N.M. Greshoff. Race Relations Journal, Vol. XXI No. 4, 1954.

18 Ellen Hellmann, Sellgoods, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1954.

TABLE 41 EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS, MALE AND FEMALE, BY HIGHEST STANDARD PASSED. *

Earnings in Pounds per Month	Highest Standard Passed																Totals			
	None		Sub-Stds		I - II		III - IV		V - VII		VIII - IX		X - XI		Over XI		Males		Females	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	No.	%	No.	%
Under £2½	-	8	-	1	-	2	-	3	1	10	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	0.7	25	21.4
2½ to 5	-	2	-	-	-	2	1	7	1	18	1	2	-	1	-	-	3	2.1	32	27.3
5 to 7½	1	1	-	-	4	2	1	4	4	11	2	5	-	-	-	-	12	8.3	23	19.7
7½ to 10	3	-	-	-	1	2	7	6	14	5	5	5	-	-	-	-	30	20.7	18	15.4
10 to 12½	4	-	5	-	4	-	2	-	13	3	6	5	-	-	-	-	34	23.4	8	6.8
12½ to 15	3	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	9	3	3	-	1	-	-	-	20	13.8	4	3.4
15 to 17½	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	7	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	14	9.7	5	4.3
17½ to 20	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	6	4.1	-	-
20 to 22½	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	6	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	15	10.3	-	-
22½ to 25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25 to 30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	6	4.1	-	-
30 to 35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	2	1.4	2	1.7
35 to 40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.7	-	-
40 to 45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
45 to 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.7	-	-
50 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS: No.	11	11	6	2	13	8	18	20	63	55	28	20	6	1	-	-	145	100.0	117	100.0
TOTALS: %	7.6	9.4	4.1	1.7	9.0	6.8	12.5	17.1	43.4	47.0	19.3	17.1	4.1	0.9	-	-	100.0		100.0	

* Includes only 145 males and 117 females whose earnings and education are both known.

Earnings and education.

It would seem reasonable to suppose that education would be a means of obtaining a better income, both because it may prepare one for the professions and more skilled trades which are relatively well-paid and because it should better equip people to deal with the complex modern world. Here, again, this expectation has not always been fulfilled for Africans in the Union. With so few skilled occupations open to Africans, the demand has been for 'brawn, not brain'. Table 41 indicates the relationship of earnings to education.

There is no marked difference in the earnings of those with different educational attainments until the group who have passed Standard X or XI is reached, but the latter group is hardly large enough for any conclusions to be drawn from its characteristics. Up to that educational standard, the median earnings of all groups are under £12.10.0 per month. Fourteen men with Standard VIII or IX education earned less than £12.10.0 per month, while one who had passed only the sub-standards earned between £15 and £17.10.0, and two with Standard I or II education earned between £20 and £22.10.0. On the other hand no man with less than a Standard V education earned more than £22.10.0 per month.

It is, therefore, apparent that the standard of education is not the determining factor of the level of earnings. There is, in fact, a disturbing "wastage" of education in relation to income. No less than ten out of a total of thirty-eight men who had passed Standard VIII or IX were found to be employed as labourers or in the lower categories of semi-skilled work. These made up about one-seventh of this occupational stratum.

In the case of women, with only three fields of employment: the professions, petty trade and personal service, it is obvious that there is a direct relationship between education and earnings. Of the nineteen women earning over £10 per month, only one had a lower educational qualification than Standard V. The very limited field of female employment and the available opportunities for girls as teachers and nurses have played a very considerable part in encouraging parents to continue their daughters' education to the Junion Certificate level. There are eleven girls and seven boys at boarding school, for whom comparatively high fees have to be paid. There appears, in fact, to be less "wastage" of education among women than among men. Nevertheless "waste" does exist. One-eighth of the women wage-earners engaged in personal service (almost entirely domestic servants) had passed at least Standard VIII.

When workers are classified on the basis of the estimated relative skill of their jobs, just over half (eleven out of twenty-one) of the high skilled males (professionals and semi-professionals), but only just over one-seventh (ten out of sixty-seven) of the lower skilled labourers, had passed at least Standard VIII. Similarly among the women wage- and salary-earners there was a marked rise in educational attainment from personal service to the professional grade: only just over half of the former but all of the latter group had passed at least Standard V.

A few examples will serve to illustrate the points made. One man of thirty-six who has passed Standard V is employed by the Municipality, spraying and disinfecting for £6.6.11 per month. At the other end of the scale is a man of thirty-eight, who has passed Standard VII, is a dock labourer and earns £22 per month; that is, more than many teachers. Another, with only Standard V, is earning

/ £20 .....

£20 per month as a motor driver. A fourth man, of twenty-two, who has passed Standard VIII, is a male nurse earning only £8 per month. These examples illustrate not only educational "waste", but also the very great range of incomes of men with the same educational attainment or in the same occupational group.

Income from Other Sources.

Besides income from wages and salaries, and from the profits of independent 'businesses', Baumannville residents receive income in the form of pensions and other social service grants, rent from land or buildings, income from lodgers, remittances from grown-up children living outside Baumannville and from other sources. This income has not been counted separately, but contributes to the figures of total household income given in the tables below. The amount is unlikely to be large. The amounts paid by lodgers is usually £1 a month. Not many Baumannville residents have land or buildings from which to draw rent, and not very many of those members of the family living away send money home. Few pensions and, according to the Bantu Child Welfare Society, only four Maintenance grants for a total of twelve children are being paid in Baumannville.

The illicit sale of Native beer, however, makes a considerable contribution to the income of the people of Baumannville. In the nature of the case it is very difficult to get accurate information on such an item, and income from beer-brewing and -sale has therefore been excluded both from earnings and from total household income. The economic importance of beer-selling in Baumannville makes it desirable to get some - even if a rather inaccurate - idea of the income derived from this source. Out of an estimated total of seventy-seven brewers[19] some thirty-two admitted that they brewed, and nearly all these quoted their gross or nett incomes from the sale of beer and occasionally stronger drink, such as brandy. Nett incomes range from about 10/- to £25 per month. About half were less than £10 per month and four or five amounted to £20 or more. Probably these figures tend to underestimate the takings - or the profits - of brewers. On a conservative estimate the majority of brewers probably make some £5 - £15 per month profit, while a small number - which would include those selling European liquor - get £25, £30 or £40. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to emphasize the enormous possible margin of error in these estimated figures. No check was made on income figures, but they are deemed of sufficient accuracy to indicate the household incomes and picture the standard of living of the people in Baumannville.

THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE COMMUNITY

Information has so far been given in respect of earned and other incomes of Baumannville residents, but no calculation of the total income of households has been made, nor such totals related to household size.

Household Incomes.

Households, not families, are chosen as the economic unit because all the persons living in the house draw from the common pool of income. In one house only were these two separate economic units; for the purposes

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19 Estimate based on lists furnished by three persons familiar with the people of the community, independently.

of this section they have been treated as two households, giving a total number of households for which data are available as 114, instead of 113.

In the absence of complete and accurate information on the amount of income derived from beer-selling, it unfortunately has to be ignored. This section, therefore, considerably overstates the amount of poverty in this community. Nevertheless it shows what the incomes of Baumannville households would have been had they relied - as many of them of course do - on legal income alone.

While households differ in size some general facts about them are important. Over half (53 per cent) of the households, containing 44 per cent of the people, have incomes of less than £20 per month, and 72 per cent of the households containing 63 per cent of people receive less than £25 per month. The average household income is £22.13.0, and the median £18.13.0 per month. There is a marked but irregular tendency for household size to rise with income.

While the cost-of-living for Africans on the Witwatersrand in January and May, 1954 was undoubtedly somewhat different from that for the residents of Baumannville in June, 1954, Miss Gibson's statement that £23.10.4 was the minimum monthly income on which a family of five (two adults and three children) could maintain health and decency nevertheless provides a standard for comparison.[20]

The average size of the 114 Baumannville households was 6.3 persons, so that if the cost-of-living on the Witwatersrand and in Baumannville were identical at the times of the respective surveys, Miss Gibson's figure would have to be increased by about a quarter, to about £29.7.6, to provide comparable basic minimum income for Baumannville households. Even if a 20 per cent differential in cost-of-living in favour of Baumannville is made by comparison, about seven-tenths of all households and about three-fifths of the people in Baumannville would have less than the minimum income.

Below the Poverty Line.

Hayward figured out the minimum necessary for Africans to live according to their standards of diet and clothing.[21] The poverty line for a male adult becomes 76/- per month.[22] When by use of computed differentials in basic needs, women, children, old and young are translated into their equivalency in male adults, the Baumannville

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20 Olive Gibson: "The Cost of Living for Africans", Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1954. pp. 32 ff.

21 Majorie G. Hayward. The Concept of Poverty. (Mimeographed M.Com. thesis presented to the University of South Africa). Revised to cost of living November-December, 1951 by the Department of Economics, University of Natal, and further adjusted to June, 1954 by extrapolation.

22 Edward Batson in the various reports of 'A Survey of Greater Cape Town' published by the University of Cape Town since 1938 uses a "Poverty Datum Line" which, adjusted to allow for the cost-of-living in Durban in June, 1954, would be about 115/-, but it applies to all races and if used here would greatly intensify the extent to poverty.

TABLE 42 ECONOMIC STATUS OF BAUMANNVILLE HOUSEHOLDS IN RELATION TO THE HAYWARD POVERTY LINE

Percentage of Poverty Line	Monthly Income per Equivalent Male Adult (nearest shilling)	Households No.	Households %	Persons No.	Persons %	Average Number of Persons per Household
150 plus	114/- and over	28	24.6	138	19.1	4.9
125 - 149	95/- to 113/-	11	9.6	67	9.3	6.1
100 - 124	76/- to 94/-	19	16.7	123	17.0	6.5
Unknown, above Poverty Line		5	4.4	33	4.5	6.6
TOTAL above Poverty Line:		63	55.3	361	49.9	5.7
Poverty Line 76/-:						
75 - 99	57/- to 75/-	14	12.3	104	14.4	7.4
50 - 74	38/- to 56/-	17	14.9	127	17.6	7.5
25 - 49	19/- to 37/-	15	13.2	102	14.1	6.8
0 - 24	0/- to 18/-	3	2.6	17	2.3	5.7
Unknown, below Poverty Line		2	1.7	12	1.7	6.0
TOTAL below Poverty Line:		51	44.7	362	50.1	7.1
GRAND TOTAL:		114	100.0	723	100.0	6.3

Note: The total number of "equivalent male adults" corresponding to the 723 persons given in the fifth column is 606.1.

households and people are distributed in relation to this poverty line as shown in Table 42.[23]

Incomes per equivalent male adult range from nothing to 321/- per month. The average income is 88/-, the median 79/-, and the two quartiles 51/- and 120/- respectively. With reference to the Hayward Poverty Line 55 per cent (sixty-three out of 114) of the households, and 49.9 per cent of the people, are living technically above the poverty line. Though this shows a percentage of poverty far above that found in most poverty surveys in English cities, the figures are based on legal income only, which means that they overstate the extent of poverty in the community to an unknown degree.

A few examples will serve to give some life to these rather dry and technical statistics. There is the household of an African professional man, earning only £8 per month, out of which he pays £1 in rent, and £2 to a servant. Out of the remaining £5 he has to support himself, his wife, and sixteen-year old son. His nephew also lives here, but is away during term-time, at school outside Durban. Another household, composed of four women (besides the titular head of the house, a widow who is away most of the time, but pays the rent) and eight children,

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23 This is real poverty including nothing but bare necessities. £1 per month has been deducted for rent, balance represents available income. The incomes of children are included in entirety in household income whether paid in or not, but no contributions in kind are included.

subsists on a total income of £20 per month, earned by three of the women. In a third household the sole legal income is £2.10.0 per month from doing laundry, but there are five children, three of them in their teens, and the breadwinner herself to feed and clothe. In circumstances such as these the temptation to sell beer must be very strong indeed. Those who resist it are probably usually inspired to do so by firmly-held moral or religious principles.

The households mentioned so far have been some of the poorest. Higher up the economic scale, but still about 20 per cent below the Hayward Poverty Line, comes a household consisting of a man, his wife, both of whom earn, the latter's brother who pays 15/- a month for his keep, and three small children. The total household income is £13.5.0 per month. More than 50 per cent above the Hayward Poverty Line is the two-person household of a domestic servant-cum-washerwoman, deserted by her husband, and her little grand-daughter. The grandmother earns £8 per month, and receives £2 a month from the little girl's mother, who lives in another part of Durban. With more than double the Poverty Line income is the household of a man in white-collar employment. The household income is £51 per month derived from the earnings of both husband and wife, as well as from rent from land, maintains these two, a niece, and three grand-children.

One important cause of poverty that exists in Baumannville is low earnings. The earnings of virtually all men in Baumannville are sufficient to support themselves alone above the Hayward Poverty Line of £3.16.0 per month. As a glance at Table 39 will show, if their responsibilities include a family, it is quite a different matter. For a householder with a wife, but no children the Poverty Line would be £7.17.0 to which must be added £1 for rent and about 10/- for transport, making a total of £9.7.0 per month; about one-quarter of the males earning less than this. For a family of five, (man, wife and three children, aged, say, twelve, eight and three respectively) the Poverty Line would be £14.13.0. Again adding £1.10.0 for rent and transport, the required income would be £16.3.0. About three-quarters of Baumannville men earn less than this. In many cases, therefore, the women are compelled to work in order to raise the family income above the Poverty Line.

The women who must maintain households by their own efforts are in greater difficulties because their earning power is so very limited both because many can only work part-time due to their family and household responsibilities and because pay for such work as they can do is so very low. The Poverty Line for a woman is £3.3.0. About one-third of the women earners in Baumannville would fall below this line. If rent and an allowance for general housekeeping expenses be added, half to two-thirds of the women earners would be unable to maintain themselves and one child under the age of five even at the level of the Poverty Line.

Earners per Household.

In such a situation as is found in Baumannville, several wage-earners in each household are to be expected. There do not seem to be enough, however, to carry the load.

Table 43 relates the number of earners to household size (lodgers are excluded in both cases).

The modal number of earners per household is two, but one-third of all households have only one earner. The average number of earners per household is 2.1; there is exactly one earner to two non-

/earners .....

TABLE 43 NUMBER OF EARNERS BY SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

No. of Persons in Household	Number of Earners							Total			Av. No. of Earners per Household	Av. No. of non-earners per earner
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	house-holds	persons	earners		
1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1.0	0.0
2	-	8	4	-	-	-	-	12	24	16	1.3	0.5
3	-	4	4	1	-	-	-	9	27	15	1.7	0.8
4	-	6	4	1	-	-	-	11	44	17	1.5	1.6
5	1	7	9	2	1	-	-	20	100	35	1.8	1.8
6	-	6	4	1	1	-	-	12	72	21	1.8	2.4
7	-	2	3	3	-	1	-	9	63	22	2.4	1.9
8	-	2	10	1	3	-	-	16	128	37	2.3	2.5
9 - 10	-	1	4	3	4	-	1	13	123	40	3.1	2.1
11 - 12	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	5	57	12	2.4	3.8
13 +	-	-	1	1	1	2	1	6	84	25	4.2	2.4
TOTALS:	1	38	44	16	10	3	2	114	723	241	2.1	2.0
Av. No. of Persons in Household	5.0	4.6	6.1	7.9	8.7	11.6	12.5		6.3		-	-

earners in the population as a whole. Twelve out of the thirty-eight households with only one earner contain six or more people.

There is a marked, though irregular, rise in the average number of earners per household as the number of persons per household increases. The former, however, increases much less rapidly than the latter, so that the number of non-earners per earner increases steadily up to a household size of six and irregularly with larger households. It would seem that the larger the household the more likely it is to be poor. There is, in fact, an inverse correlation of -.216 between economic status and household size. This is significant at about the 3 per cent level.

The economic status of the lodgers would seem to be somewhat better. Since they usually pay only £1 or £2 for their board and lodging they are likely to be able to live quite comfortably off the rest of their income. As far as food is concerned, however, except insofar as they buy extra food for themselves or for the family they lodge with, they will have as adequate or inadequate a diet as the rest of the household.

HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES

The economic data collected in this study dealt almost entirely with income. Detailed information on household expenditures not only gives a check on income data, but provides a far more realistic a picture of the standard of living of the people in a community. Only a small sample of data on expenditure is available.

Household Budgets.

One of the research team made a small-scale pilot study in which four households recorded their expenditures over a period of seven days and also estimated their total yearly expenditure for the various budget items. So small a sample, especially since it was biassed towards the upper end of the income range and prepared by better-educated persons who could be relied on to keep more accurate records of expenditures can only be illustrative. In three of the four households weekly expenditures exceeded weekly incomes both for the week recorded and on the basis of annual estimates. One of the households had made a very large expenditure on account of the purchase of property which has not been taken into account in this analysis in order that a fairer distribution of usual expenditures could be shown. Table 44 gives by various items the percentage of actual expenditures during the week recorded and also the percentage distribution of the estimated yearly expenditure.

It is likely that in poorer households the proportion of income spent on food would have been considerably higher and the proportion spent on savings and insurance very much less. The weekly expenditure on food in these four households ranged from 12/- to 31/5 per week per head, during the actual week of the investigation. The miscellaneous expenditures include such unusual items as regular remittances from one of the four household heads to maintain children of his living in the country. There are wide variations in some items among the four families, for example, transport costs averaged about 5 per cent of expenditures, but weekly transport costs of the four families were 3/8, 6/7, 7/8 and 15/7. The larger amount of the last family was because they owned a car. The extent to which these families are in debt is not recorded, but the excess of expenditure over income which was reported cannot go on without accumulating indebtedness, unless, of course, there are sources of income which were not acknowledged.

/ Savings .....

TABLE 44 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES BY BUDGET ITEMS FOR ONE RECORDED WEEK AND ESTIMATES FOR THE YEAR OF FOUR BAUMANNVILLE HOUSEHOLDS AVERAGED

Budget Item	Per cent Distribution for:- Recorded Week	Annual Estimate
Food	17.7	32.0
Rent	3.6	2.4
Fuel	1.2	1.2
Transport	3.6	4.8
Furniture	6.0	6.0
Clothing	20.2	10.7
Church	-	1.2
School	2.4	1.2
Recreation	1.2	3.6
Savings & Insurance	25.0	25.0
Medical	-	2.4
Miscellaneous	19.1	9.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Savings.

Information was obtained from the 112 main families on their participation in insurance and savings institutions. Despite a general picture of small incomes and large families at least two-thirds of the Baumannville families hold various types of insurance policies. Just over one-third (thirty-three families) hold life insurance only, covering either one or more members of the family; one-fifth (twenty-three families) hold burial insurance; while almost one-seventh (seventeen families) have both life and burial insurance. Only thirty-nine families make no contribution to any form of insurance. It is also noteworthy that the instalments on these policies are regarded as an imperative expenditure and in many cases tend to take precedence over other forms of household spending.

Information was obtained from 103 families in response to the question: Where do you keep your savings? One-quarter (twenty-six families) stated that they had no savings. The Post Office Savings Bank is most frequently used - forty-four families have accounts there, twenty-four hold their savings at a bank and eight have Building Society Savings Accounts, while twenty-one families indicated that they keep their savings at home. As some families engage in more than one practice - maintaining some savings at home and some at a savings institution, and others very occasionally use both Post Office and bank, the above totals exceed the total number of persons questioned.

While information was sought on the saving habits of the residents and of ther ability to save, no attempt was made to ascertain the total amounts of savings and insurances. The fact that two-thirds of the families have savings, that three-quarters of these families use banks, building societies and the Post Office and that two-thirds of the families hold life and/or burial insurance is striking proof of both saving habits and the support of contemporary economic institutions.

In addition to these Western methods of saving or providing for times of crisis, a number of Baumannville people belong to small-scale,

/ informal .....

informal mutual benefit societies more akin to the Bantu tradition. These societies are known as mahodisana or stockfairs and are well-known in African urban society. They have been described by Kuper and Kaplan[24] and by Hellmann.[25] Their chief feature is the payment by each member of a fixed sum each week or month, and each in turn receiving all the subscriptions. In stockfairs, but not in mahodisana, there is usually a beer party over and above this, the profit from sales going to the member in whose house the stockfair was held on that occasion. In Baumannville most of the clubs conform to the mahodisana pattern. The usual size of these societies in Baumannville is four to eight members, though there are a few of twenty to thirty members. Membership is not confined to Baumannville. One or two of the larger ones seem to act as embryo banks, lending out money at interest to members. There are thirty-four female and four male mahodisana or stockfair members in Baumannville. These societies provide only a short-term form of savings, but they enable members to get relatively large sums of money all at once so that they can make some big purchase, which would not have been possible from current income. With stockfairs, at least, the social aspect of the society is scarcely less important than is the economic.

Property Ownership.

Some information on the material possessions of Baumannville residents throws further light on their standard of living. Seventeen out of 112 households have a piano, seventy-one a radio or radiogram, and twenty-six an ice-chest. Only three, however, have electric stoves. A number of households had more than one of these items. In general the standard of furniture in the houses is fairly high, and certainly does not suggest a poverty-stricken community. Eighty-four Baumannville main families said that they had bought their furniture new, sixteen had bought it used, four some of it new and some used, and four did not know or could not remember whether or not the furniture had been used when it was bought. Of these 108 families ninety-six had bought their furniture on the instalment system, seven for cash, three partly for cash and partly by instalments, one partly by auction and partly by instalments. One did not know how their furniture was bought. The great preponderance of buying by instalment is what one would expect in a poor community.

Of these 112 main families twelve owned cars, two of which were used as taxis as well as for private transport and two for other business purposes. Of these 112 families thirty-nine own land, twenty-seven with and twelve without title deeds.

The facts about savings, insurance and property seem entirely inconsistent with the analysis of household income. The latter data depict a poor community, the former one with a fairly high standard of living.

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24 Hilda Kuper and Selma Kaplan: "Voluntary Associations in an Urban Township" in African Studies, Vol. 3, No. 4, December 1944, pp. 176-186.

25 Ellen P. Hellmann's article in Bantu Studies, Vol. VIII, No. 1, January 1934, pp. 39-60. Also Chapter XVIII "The Native in the Towns", by Ellen P. Hellmann, M.A. in I. Shapera, Ed. "Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa: An ethnological survey", Cape Town, Maskew Miller Limited, 1946, p. 411.

This major paradox of the Baumannville community seen in the contrast between the facts of poverty and the appearance of affluence must be explained in the main by beer-profits, which cannot be calculated in household incomes. If the inadequate data already presented is applied it reduces the proportion of households below the poverty line very materially. The analysis of legal incomes showed 45 per cent (fifty-one) of the households to be in the poverty classification according to the revised Hayward standard. It seems likely that the extra income derived from selling beer is sufficient to raise almost all the brewing households in the 57/- to 75/- group above the poverty line. Several of the households in the 38/- to 56/- group and perhaps a few in the two lowest groups could also be brought out of the poverty class. If this amounted to twenty families the number below the poverty line would be reduced to thirty-one or 27 per cent. The certain minimum would be the twelve non-brewing households below the poverty line, that is 10 per cent. The range must be between 10 per cent and to be generous 33⅓ per cent, perhaps 25 per cent is a reasonable estimate of the proportion of households really below the poverty line. This would make the picture of the standard of living in Baumannville much more consistent. There is also, however, the matter of values to be reckoned with, it may be in some cases that it is worth going short on food or other so-called necessities to purchase a radiogram or a dining-room suite.

CONCLUSION

Though this chapter started with the assumption that to understand a community much must be known about the economic life of its people, at its close it appears that much confusion has been turned up. Perhaps more truly it should be said that many paradoxes have been revealed.

The labour force is a large proportion of the population especially among the women and the older people, as low wages require. The younger group stay long in school and yet the bulk of the unemployed are young. People work at a great variety of occupations with a high proportion in the professional-clerical group though education does not always pay off in type of job or in income.

While many people are at work the household incomes are low except that beer-brewing pulls many above the poverty line. Much of the burden of responsibility falls upon the women who work as hard as they can for very small incomes, as well as caring for their families, their houses and their lodgers. When beer is brewed it is usually their job.

In spite of this disturbing and illegal practice which many deem necessary in order for their households to live, the community maintains a considerable measure of prestige, respectability and influence. The appearance of the people and their homes shows an adaptation to city life and the adoption of western standards. Their practices and their use of the established institutions shows further their efforts to be like the others in the world about them. If they had a better chance through fairer recompense for their efforts even greater evidences of urbanization and the acceptance of western culture might be manifest. At the very least the larger community would profit if they could afford to be more completely law-abiding and had more money with which to purchase the things the city has made them want.

CHAPTER 7

SCHOOLING - PAST AND PRESENT

This chapter deals with the formal education, that is schooling, of the Baumannville people. The informal aspects of education will be presented in a later chapter.

There are five major purposes which this section is intended to fulfil with respect to Baumannville as a living community of thinking, feeling and acting human beings.

1. To analyse the views of education entertained by the Baumannville parents and the levels of aspiration - academic and vocational - these parents hold for their children.

2. To outline the formal educational facilities available to the residents of Baumannville for the realisation of these role-expectations and aspirations and for the further education of those who have left school.

3. To show the educational levels of the members of the community, including school education and further education after leaving school.

4. To determine the degree of literacy in various languages in Baumannville.

5. To point out educational problems and needs of the community suggested by the analysis of the data.

VIEWS OF PARENTS ON THE ROLE OF FORMAL EDUCATION

A wide variety of views on what they expected schooling to do for their children were held by the parents of Baumannville. These views have been classified under five headings for clarity of exposition.

Positive View.

> "The value of education is not underrated by the Native community. On the contrary, its value and importance is frequently so exaggerated as to make education appear to have a magical virtue".[1]

The value of education is not underrated by this community. When asked "in what ways do you think school education is bad for your children", one parent answered with alarm: "How can this be?" This parent represents many others who do not and cannot think of any ways in which school education is bad for their children - at

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1 E. Hellmann, "Problems of Urban Bantu Youth", (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, Monograph Series No. 3, 1940), p. 23.

least, "not in these days", as another parent put it. "The times in which we live are for educated people", said another. "Education is not bad"; "not bad";"no, it's very good for children to be educated"; "it is very good" said tens of other parents.

Even though a very few parents saw some conditional faults in the education of their children, they pointed out that these did not necessarily make education bad in any intrinsic sense. "I don't think it is bad, not unless children get bad friends in school. Education itself is very good", said one parent. "In spite of children's individual misbehaviour, it is good", said another. On the whole, the parents show striking analytical ability in distinguishing between the intrinsic qualities of education,which are held to be "good" and its extrinsic or conditional qualities which are dependent on how individuals adjust themselves to the school environment. Indeed "the value of education is not underrated by the community".

"Magical" View.

Yet, what of Hellmann's further assertion that "on the contrary, its value and importance is frequently so exaggerated as to make education appear to have a magical virtue"? It would seem that much of the data collected reflects this view. For instance, one professional parent, who is well above the average educational level of the community,has this to say:

"If you have education, you have everything. If he (educated child) is lazy, you have a hope that when he feels like doing anything he will always have something to do. And then he will have good earnings. Much education brings good wages. This means happiness. We are all after money. But if he becomes a doctor, it is not only for the money I want him to get, but also the experience".

On superficial examination, this statement would seem to represent the zenith of idealistic optimism concerning the role of education in an African community. Such a role would be that of an open-sesame to a life of unbounded activity where one "will always have something to do"; adequate means of subsistance in "good earnings"; "happiness"; "experience" - in a word, "everything" to be desired in life. Such a view, as Hellmann says, is a "magical" view of the role of education - a view in which there is no adequate empirically demonstrable connection between the means (education) and the end (a life of activity, wealth, happiness and "everything"). She quotes the Interdepartmental Commission on Native Education, with approval:

> "It is therefore a belief in the magic of education itself to raise the individual into a higher and rarer atmosphere of the gods that may be looked upon as one of the most important motives actuating the Native in his desire for education".[2]

To Hellmann and the Commission, statements of the expected role of education such as the one quoted above savour of idealistic optimism characteristic of "a belief in the magic of education" - statements apparently detached from the realities of the South African situation. Admittedly, there is an element of unreality about such statements. The crucial problem here is to find out, by examining the statements themselves, why they are made at all - apparently contrary to experience.

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[2] U.G. 29/1936, p. 147, quoted in E. Hellmann, op. cit., p. 23.

In view of the fact that the realities of the South African situation consistently and forcefully impress on the African the fact that education is not an open-sesame to a life of unbounded activity, wealth and happiness, that education has no "magical virtue" as a passport to abundant living in South Africa, where the open sesame is <u>colour</u> which alone has "magical virtue", it is unrealistic to think that an African makes such statements because he would attribute "magical virtue" to education, or entertain "a belief in the magic of education" as the open-sesame to the 'higher and rarer atmosphere of the <u>white</u> gods'.

A closer examination of this statement and other views of Baumannville parents on the role of education will show that they do not savour of idealistic optimism, but rather of optimistic idealism. They do not indicate "a belief in the magic of education", but an expectation, ideally entertained, "despite the colourbar". In their orientation to education, the parents are in the spell of idealism, not of "magic"; wish-full thinking, not witch-full thinking. This is no peculiarity of this community. All human communities entertain certain role-expectations with regard to the functioning and goals of their major institutional systems. Such role-expectations are held above the level of performance and achievement of any institutional system - so that the functioning of the system becomes an approximation to expectations. Only in utopian communities can we expect role-expectations to correspond to the functioning of institutional systems, and Baumannville is no utopia. The conflict between role-expectations in this community and the functioning of African education within the social system is "normal" in the Durkheimian sense. It does not warrant a special explanation in metaphorical terms of "magical beliefs".

The indicative terms in which many of the responses, which are obviously detached from reality, are expressed were, in fact, intended to be imperative. The way in which the question was phrased partly accounts for this elliptical statement of role-expectations. This interpretation was tested by the writer on a number of parents in the course of the fieldwork. When asked "in what ways do you think school education is good for your children", one parent gave the following answer:-

Parent: "After school they get nice jobs".
Interviewer: "Does education, in fact, enable children to get nice jobs after school?"
Parent: "Well, not really; not always. I know of one boy in the location here, for example, who passed B.Sc. (Hygiene) at -- (University)-- in --(year)--. He cannot get a job. He is just staying at home. But some educated Baumannville children have really good jobs".
Interviewer: "But you spoke as if education enables any educated person to get a nice job?"
Parent: "Well, that is what education should do".

In each of the experimental dialogues a careful pursuit of a response in indicative terms invariably ended in the reduction of the statement to imperative terms of this sort, clearly expressing an implicit role expectation rather than a naive "belief in the magic of education". Most of the positive views expressed were, in fact, meant to be imperative or normative - the functions that education <u>ought</u> to fulfil

/ <u>Utilitarian</u> .....

Utilitarian View.

The view of many Baumannville parents represents a conception of education as an agency of vocational preparation, as a means to "good jobs", to "better earnings" and to "better living".

In view of the fact that only 15 per cent of the adults who have left school have had vocational preparation through education, the utilitarian view expressed concerning the function of education cannot be taken as a statement of the function that education, invariably, fulfils; but, as a statement of the function it is expected to fulfil. It is expected to be an agency of "job-training", the schools should "teach for working". The presence of some vocationally trained persons in the community lends a measure of reality to these expectations, so that they are not entirely divorced from experience. Parents expect that education shall do for their schoolchildren what it has done for these fortunate ones; that education "will help them to get better positions in their work, better wages, and better living".

"A better living", however, may not be assumed to be measured in purely materialistic terms. There are moral and aesthetic norms such as honesty and decency - education "prepares children to earn bread honestly", be it thick or thin. It is a "preparation for decent occupations".[3] The Baumannville parents look up to the school to teach their children certain skills coupled with moral norms to earn a decent living.

There are three types of motives underlying the utilitarian role-expectations - self-interest, child-interest, and African community-interest. Only two parents, however, entertain these role-expectations for their own benefit. One expects that education "will help them (children) to support me"; the other, that "it prepares them (children) for financial usefulness to parents". Whether the infrequency of this investment-motive reflects a genuinely altruistic outlook on the part of the parents according to which child-care is viewed as its own reward, or a fatalistic outlook according to which it is futile to expect material rewards from children because the children either will not or cannot afford to reciprocate child-care with parental-care, is uncertain.

The motive underlying the utilitarian role-expectations of most Baumannville parents is of the altruistic type - centred in child and community interests. With respect to the child's welfare, education is expected "to give them bread to sustain them when they grow up", "when they grow up, they can help themselves, that is economically"; education is "good for the future" - the children's own future. However, that future is not envisaged as an utopian paradise. It is seen as frought with unpredictable contingencies, such as the death of parents and unsuccessful marriage of girls. Education is expected to insulate the children from the shocks that may arise in such situations. "It assures them a means of earning a living, even when parents are dead"; or "when married, it (marriage) may not suit her, she might have to go back to work. It (education) is better than anything".

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3 It is not easy to say how far this expectation of "decent occupations" is within safety limits of the resentment that the Minister of Native Affairs has expressed with regard to what he calls "white-collar ideals" among "Natives".

With respect to community welfare, it is expected that education will "prepare them for some useful profession" - thus enabling them to make needed contributions to community welfare. "As civilisation is progressing", says one parent, "they have to meet the needs of their people."

Liberal View.

This view represents a conception of the liberalising function of education; that is, education as an agency for producing the "cultured man" or the "man of knowledge",as distinct from the "specialist man", the "expert" or the technician. In concrete terms, it expresses the role of education in equipping the child with knowledge and values other than those which will be immediately relevant to carrying on his vocation.

The liberal role-expectations are expressed in terms ranging all the way from the humble joy of literacy, good manners, good character, effective social interaction to academic sophistication.

"Illiteracy is a curse", says one unschooled parent, implying that education will lift the "curse" from her own children and, presumably, from the children of the community. "In school", says one parent who has only passed standard II, the children will "learn how to read and write and not bother people about the writing of their letters". This is a minimum to be expected from education, but is not limited to the mother-tongue. Education is expected to give the child a lingua-franca, especially for occupational purposes, "to teach them to read and write English, then a child can speak with his master at work."[4]

There is also an expectation in Baumannville that "education polishes a person, gives him manners". Although no adequate specification for manners are expressed here, one parent expected that education would enable the children to "talk nicely", others merely expected education to "teach them (children) manners", "to bring them up to have manners", and so forth.[5]

Implicit in the expectation that education will "build up personality, enable children to distinguish between what is good and bad", is the norm for character-building. Education is expected to enable them to "think and judge better ... to help in ethical judgments"; "it is good for their character, makes them know what is good and what is bad". Certain forms of "bad" behaviour from which education is expected to save the children were specified: for instance, "having babies unmarried", "drinking", "stealing" and being "hooligans" or "rogues". Since all of these are found in the community, parents are looking to education to serve as a preventative and a remedial agency for such "social ills".

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4 There is, implicit in this, an interesting stereotype in the association of "English" and the "master at work". But this is in place in South Africa - "English" being symbolic of the "white man" in the stereotype.

5 However, in view of the process of acculturation of the African in the Western style, it may be supposed that the "manners" envisaged are those current in Western society.

Some Baumannville parents realise that education must play a role in the inter-group contact situation. It is expected to "give them (children) knowledge that will enable them to live useful lives and interact with other racial groups without inferiority feelings and suspicions". It should "make them understand their neighbours in the world, that is, other peoples". It is expected to be a lever by means of which the African may elevate himself to a cultural par with other peoples. It is to be both a liberating and liberalising influence which dispells irrational inferiority feelings and unfounded suspicions. "What can you do with an uneducated person? An educated person is a free person - free from ignorance" of himself and of other people. In this sense, education is expected to contribute to the establishment of harmonious inter-personal and inter-group relationships.

Knowledge "about things and about living" is part of the ideal. Hence, one parent expects education "to give children knowledge about the world and things in general". This view has been stated in one of the most sophisticated terms, "to extend one's intellectual perspective", an expectation that education will make of the African child not merely a technical expert, but a "cultivated man" with a broad outlook on life, devoid of pettiness and narrowness - an effective citizen.

Mixed View.

A number of parents expressed views which combined utilitarian and liberal expectations with regard to the role of education. The majority expect education to produce out of their children men and women who are skilled in some vocation yet, at the same time, are tempered with culture, that is, with knowledge of themselves, of things, of other people, and of the acceptable ways of acting.

The expectation here is that education "gives them (children) knowledge which makes them fit for life in the world, and helps them to earn a good salary later. It also gives them culture. It is good for their character, makes them know what is good and what is bad". In these terms, education is expected to be an all-round agency for the psycho-social adjustment of the child to his total environment. The picture of the product of education implicit here is that of the well-adjusted person - neither a narrow specialist nor an academic snob. Such a person commands social "prestige and capacity to earn good money", because education has made him "straight and (given him) preparation for decent, honest living"; "education is good. It is essential for character and employment"; "teaches good habits, prepares for work" - "all Africans should have compulsory education".

Finally, education is expected to "train children morally, mentally, spiritually and politically". This probably sums up the role-expectation entertained by the Baumannville parents regarding the education of their children. It is viewed as many-sided, fulfilling in one systematic and established process a number of complex but inter-connected functions. The goal of this process may be interpreted as the production of well-balanced personalities, adequately adjusted psycho-socially to the needs and demands of their environment and of their time.

Parents emphasize different facets of this complex process of education but, taken as a whole, the Baumannville community envisages the entire process, none would differ with the two parents who said: "the present times are for educated people": "education is life".

/ Distribution .....

Distribution of Views.

How are the utilitarian, mixed and liberal views distributed among the Baumannville parents? Is the educational level of the family[6] a distributing factor? The relevant data was obtained from ninety-five out of 113 main families. The distribution of educational views expressed in these families, by educational levels, is shown in Table 45.

TABLE 45 DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ON EDUCATION IN BAUMANNVILLE MAIN FAMILIES BY FAMILY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Family Educational Level	Utilitarian Views	Liberal Views	Mixed Views	Other Views	Total	%
Less than Standard V.	9	5	5	3	22	23.2
Standard V or higher.	12	13	23	7	55	57.8
Unknown.	4	4	7	3	18	18.9
TOTAL	25	22	35	13	95	100.0
%	26.3	23.2	36.8	13.7	100.0	

Whereas the liberal view is proportionately equally popular among parents on both educational levels (approximately two in ten on each level holding this view), the utilitarian view is proportionately twice as popular among the less educated parents (four in ten) as among the more educated (two in ten); the mixed view is not only approximately twice as popular among the more educated parents (six in ten) as among the less educated (four in ten), but it is also the modal view of the community.

The mixed view is clearly characteristic of the more educated and since it is predominant in the community it shows a balanced view of the role of education in the preparation of its progeny for life in an urban environment. This sophisticated urban African community expresses a view comparable to that held in highly urbanized communities as is to be expected in view of the relatively high educational level of the community and its exposure to urban influences for over thirty-five years.

/ ASPIRATIONS ...

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6 This is measured here by the educational level of the more educated spouse, on the assumption that the views of such a spouse in a family are likely to be dominant on matters of education and that the views expressed by the respondent spouse (who was not always the more educated) were largely coloured by the views held by the more educated spouse.

ASPIRATIONS OF PARENTS FOR THEIR CHILDREN

In addition to having expectations concerning the role of education in the lives of their children, the Baumannville parents also hold aspirations concerning the academic and vocational levels of achievement that they should like their children to attain.

The aspirations, both academic and vocational, are sometimes expressed in specific terms and by others in general terms. In the case of academic aspirations, the specific terms are school standards, the parents of more than 80 per cent of the children in main families want them to reach Standard VII to IX. In the case of vocational aspirations the specific terms are definite professions like the medicine, religion, teaching and nursing.

The general expressions of aspiration have been stated in terms of contingencies. The children may attain to any academic or vocational levels, depending on the continued ability of the parents to finance their education, on the ability of the children to scale the educational ladder, and on the decision of the children to continue their schooling.

Academic Aspirations.

In order to identify the parents who have planned various academic levels of achievement for their children, we want to know whether or not the educational level of the family (again indexed by the educational level of the more educated parent in a family) is related to the level of aspiration expressed by the parents. Table 46 gives the number of children for whom various academic levels have been planned by the educational level of the family.

TABLE 46 DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN BY ACADEMIC STANDARDS PLANNED FOR THEM BY PARENTS ACCORDING TO FAMILY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Family Educational Level	Below Std VII	VII-IX	X-XI	XI+	What Parent can Afford	Child to Decide	Total	%
Less than Standard V.	-	7	7	-	2	14	30	22.7
Standard V or higher.	1	40	22	19	1	4	87	65.9
Unknown	-	8	1	2	-	4	15	11.4
TOTAL No	1	55	30	21	3	22	132	100.0
TOTAL %	0.8	41.7	22.7	15.9	2.3	16.7	100.0	

A little over half of the parents on the lower educational level expressed general academic aspirations, specification being left with the children and economic circumstances, while an overwhelming majority of the parents on the higher educational level expressed specific aspiration, the most frequently stated level being Standards VII - IX.

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While the more general formulation of aspiration would seem to represent high and liberal levels of appreciation, since this formulation occurs predominantly among parents on the lower educational level, it may more truly indicate a feeling of inadequacy on the part of parents in planning for the future of their children in the educated world about which they feel they know little - sometimes, less than their children. Furthermore, owing to their lower economic status, some of these parents reveal a consciousness of the probable limitations that this may impose on the realisation of specified academic aspirations. Their aspirations are subject to economic hazards - "as far as parent can afford". As a result of these factors, they tend to see the future educational progress of their children, as if it were "through a glass darkly".

Perhaps as a result of their superior education and economic means, the parents on the higher educational level face the future educational progress of their children with feelings of adequacy and certainty. They know some of the requirements of the world, and are abler to help their children in their effort to meet those requirements - hence, their greater specificity. They know what they want from education for the good of their children. Most of these are expected or desired to reach the VII - IX Standard. The average academic attainment of adults in Baumannville is Standards V - VII. It would appear from this that the aspirations of these parents for their children - the median falls in the Standard X - XI category - are somewhat higher than their own attainments.

In all probability, the educational level of these parents serves as the bottom line for the desired level of attainment of the children. That is, they desire that their children shall not be worse off than they, but that they shall be a stage or two or three better than their fathers. The modal expectancy standard, VII - IX, shows an element of realism because this is the school-leaving level for most Africans who proceed to the few vocations and professions open to them - teaching, nursing, midwifery, domestic science, the trades, carpentry, tailoring, motor mechanics, etc., and, to some extent, religion. This level is preferred because of its direct connection with the vocational training of the children and, hence, with the vocational aspirations of the parents for their children.

Vocational Aspirations.

The greater bulk of the Baumannville parents have specified a number of vocations for which they desire their children to be trained. There are three points to be noted about their specifications.

Firstly, the range of vocations specified is limited to a few vocations. In this, the Baumannville parents reveal a realistic adaptation to the economic situation in South Africa, in the sense that their aspirations do not transcend the range of vocations ordinarily accessible to Africans. This may be a conscious or unconscious attempt on the part of parents to insulate their children against frustrations resultant upon aspirations to and efforts towards vocations that are traditionally reserved for the whites in South Africa.

Secondly, the levels of their aspirations are high with reference to the criteria which the parents expressed namely, decency, respectability, and social usefulness. The ecclesiastical, medical, pedagogical, and nursing professions, stand high in terms of service and also in prestige in any community, and these are the African parents' aspirations for their children in the South African situation.

/ Thirdly .....

Thirdly, the levels of their aspirations are also relatively high as judged by economic standards - especially the medical and the nursing professions. In so far as this is true, these professions may be considered as relatively status-enabling in terms of "good earnings" which are part of the role-expectations of the Baumannville parents. In this connection, also, the parents show consistency between their role-expectations and their aspirations.

Some parents, however, have left their vocational aspirations unspecified. These are ultimately to be determined by the children themselves according to the dictates of their tastes and aptitudes. But, in the absence of vocational guidance services in African schools, the delegation of the choice of vocation to the child, though perhaps liberal and well-meant, is subject to the hazards of the child's failure to appreciate the limitations of his aptitudes and the rigidity of the South African socio-economic structure.

Among the factors relevant to the choice of the vocations for which the children should be prepared, the academic level of the more educated parent in a family would be expected to be important. Table 47 gives the data.

TABLE 47 DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN BY VOCATIONS PLANNED FOR THEM BY PARENTS ACCORDING TO FAMILY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Family Educational Level	-- Vocations Planned -- Religion	Medicine	Nursing	Teaching	Teaching & Nursing	Others	Child to Decide	Total	%
Less than Standard V.	-	1	6	13	4	9	3	36	27.3
Standard V or higher.	6	10	23	24	4	10	4	81	61.4
Unknown	-	1	3	9	-	1	1	15	11.4
Total No.	6	12	32	46	8	20	8	132	100.0
Total %	4.5	9.1	24.2	34.8	6.1	15.2	6.1	100.0	

The family groups of both high and low education have quite specific ideas of what they hope their children will do, in each case only a very small proportion of parents indicate that they are satisfied to leave this decision to the children themselves. Those of higher education aspire to a greater extent to have their children in the higher prestige professions, religion and medicine, and are about equal in their consideration of nursing and teaching. Those of less education focus their aspirations on teaching and on miscellaneous occupations. The greatest concentration of aspirations are in the teaching profession which accounts for more than one-third, nursing is next with one-quarter. These are the two areas of prestige and economic status most accessible to the African population.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Here is an inventory of the institutions providing educational opportunities for the people of Baumannville. The information has been collected through interviews with organisers and/or principals of the

/ educational .....

educational agencies which are immediately available to Baumannville people because of their geographical accessibility.

Nursery School Facilities.

In one corner of the Baumannville area is a well built Nursery School of modern design with a capacity of 100 children and three qualified Nursery School teachers. It was built and is operated by the Durban Girls College Old Girls Guild. It operates as a rule to capacity though the enrollment varies somewhat from time to time. It admits pupils from the neighbouring parts of the city, but gives first preference to Baumannville children provided admission is applied for in time. There is a standard Nursery School programme, lunches are provided for the children and some medical services. A monthly fee of 2/- which is very reasonable is charged. The two to six year olds in Baumannville seem well provided for in the Nursery School.

Infant School Facilities.

Two blocks from Baumannville in Somtseu Road is an Infant School covering the 1st Year or Sub A. to Standard II with a capacity of 200 pupils and four qualified Infant School teachers. No child of seven to ten years of age in Baumannville can lack of Infant School facilities with this school so close at hand. The policy in this school also is to give first preference to Baumannville children, provided they apply for admission in time.

Primary and Secondary School Facilities.

Next-door to the Infant School is the Loram Secondary School which combines primary facilities (Standards III to VII) and secondary facilities (Standards VIII to XI). It has a capacity of 856 children and has twenty-five teachers. While children come from other parts of the city to this school, there seems to be no evidence that Baumannville children have been turned away, although there are Baumannville children of the ages served who are not in school. There appears to be no problem of lack in Primary and Secondary School facilities.

University Education.

Baumannville is singularly privileged to be placed nearer the Non-European Section of the University of Natal than any other Native Location in Durban. Here are facilities for both full-time and part-time study. From the point of view of geographical accessibility, the matriculated Baumannviller cannot plead lack of University facilities as an excuse for failing to continue his education into the college level. The only relevant plea may be financial, but the presence of Non-European bursaries and the Fee-Remission Scheme should make some difference even in regard to the financial plea. The Non-European Medical School of the University of Natal is located in Durban and training is available for nurses in King Edward VIII and McCord Hospitals.

Educational Facilities for Adults.

Night School Facilities: Two blocks away from Baumannville are two large Night Schools, one at Somtseu Road, using the South African General Mission Church, and the other in Taylor Street, using the Standards III and IV block of buildings. These two schools, whose classes range from Sub. A to Standard V, also give preference to persons from the neighbourhood, including Baumannville. In this

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case also, the presence in Baumannville of persons either with no schooling or with inadequate schooling cannot be attributed to lack of Night School facilities. Other explanations must be sought.

Technical School Facilities: Facilities are provided for Non-Europeans at the Sultan Technical College in the various technical training programmes. In addition, academic classes are available from Standard VI up to Standard X level. There is a special class in sewing for women. Classes may be opened in other trades or crafts if at least ten persons desiring such training enroll and if accommodations are available. The present additions to the College buildings will make available all the space that is needed for such classes.

Adult Education Facilities: In Durban adult education facilities are provided by the Natal African Adult Education Institute. The Institute helps communities to organize adult schools to plan programmes fitted to the locality, and carry on activities growing out of the needs of the people in a variety of forms such as lectures, demonstrations, discussions, debates covering a wide range of home and community problems including home economics, sanitation, hygiene, mothercraft, needlework, cookery, poultry raising, citizenship and the like.

In Durban the Institute carries out a programme on six days in the week at the Y.M.C.A. in Beatrice Street. This is within easy reach of Baumannville. Out of a total enrolment of over 200, however, the Institute had only twelve persons from Baumannville on its roll. No programme has been located within Baumannville. The Organiser is satisfied that the Institute has had sufficient publicity in Durban through the press and private conversations and consultations. The enrolment fee is only 5/- per annum and the attendance fee 1/- per lecture. The failure of Baumannvillers to utilise the facilities of the Institute cannot be attributed to geographical or economic inaccessibility or to ignorance of the programme.

FORMAL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

The picture of the schooling of Baumannville children is not particularly different from any other community, most go to school, they progress at various rates, a few go away to school and some leave school too soon. The details, however, are to be given in this section.

Children at School.

Children start their schooling at different ages. The age-group two to six contains one-third of the children, but a little over half of them are not yet in school. The number of children between the ages seven and seventeen which has had no schooling is very small.

There is no compulsory education for Africans so that school attendance is voluntary, nevertheless in Baumannville almost three-quarters of the child-population are at school. This attests the confidence of the community in the school as an agency for the induction of the younger generation to the social heritage of the civilised world, and as a means of facilitating their psycho-social adjustment to their environment.

School Progress.

Are children making normal or expected progress in the school standards? The usual entrance age into the infant school is seven years, the seven and eight year olds will be in the two sub-standards; the nine and ten year olds in Standards I - II, the eleven and twelve year olds in Standards III - IV, etc., etc. How far do Baumannville

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TABLE 48 DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE IN SCHOOL BY AGE GROUP AND BY STANDARD PASSED, MALE AND FEMALE

Age Groups	Nursery M	Nursery F	Sub-Std M	Sub-Std F	I – II M	I – II F	III–IV M	III–IV F	V–VII M	V–VII F	VIII–IX M	VIII–IX F	X–XI M	X–XI F	XI+ M	XI+ F	Unknown M	Unknown F	Total M	Total F	Total	Ab. Exp	Acc Exp	Bel Exp
2 – 6	12	* 19	10	9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	22	29	51	19	31	–
7 – 8	–	1	12	* 11	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	13	14	27	3	23	1
9 – 10	–	–	11	2	10	*13	–	4	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	19	41	5	23	13
11 – 12	–	–	2	1	3	6	6	* 8	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	12	16	28	1	14	12
13 – 14	–	–	–	–	2	1	8	3	1	*9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	13	24	–	10	14
15 – 16	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	2	8	9	3	* –	–	–	–	–	–	–	16	11	27	–	3	24
17 – 18	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	8	2	4	–	* –	–	–	1	–	12	12	24	–	–	23
19 – 20	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	4	1	3	1	–	–	* –	–	–	7	7	14	–	–	14
21 – 22	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	1
23 – 24	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	1
25 – 29	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	1
Total	12	20	35	23	16	22	19	17	24	32	7	7	2	–	–	–	2	1	117	122	239	28	104	104
Grand Total	32		58		38		36		56		14		2		–		3		239					
Above Expectation	–		19		3		4		2		–		–		–		–		12	16	28			
According to Expectation	31		23		23		14		10		3		–		–		–		44	60	104			
Below Expectation	1		16		12		18		44		11		2		–		–		59	45	104			

* Indicates the normal age-standard level.

children fall behind the expected standards; have some children proceeded faster than expected; or do they stay in the usual pattern? Table 48 gives the general picture of the distribution of the children in school by standards by age and sex.

Baumannville children start well at school. The majority of these in the sub-standards progress according to expectation or above expectation. At the Standard I and II level the majority is still progressing according to expectation, but the number of those above expectation decrease considerably, and continues to decrease until at the Standard VII and IX level no pupil is above expectation. The crucial point seems to be Standard III and IV level where half are either according to or above expectation and half below expectation. Thereafter the number below expectation increases considerably until at Standard X and XI level it includes all who have proceeded to that High School level. On the whole the girls seem to do slightly better than the boys though the numbers are very small for generalization.

The educational level at which most of the scholars fall below expectation is the Standard V to VII level or thirteen to fourteen age group and continues rapidly until, beyond the fifteen to sixteen age category, every scholar is a level or two below expectation.

On the whole, however, 56 per cent of the Baumannville school population are progressing normally or better than expectation and 44 per cent are retarded by one year or more. Since these are different children it cannot be said whether this is a regular pattern or the younger children are getting a better start. It highlights a problem, however, which requires a co-operative inquiry by educationists, psychologists, economists and sociologists.

Place of Schooling.

To what extent are Baumannville children removed from the urban environment to study in Boarding Schools or elsewhere? Is there a particular age level at which they are removed? These facts are shown in Table 49.

TABLE 49 PLACE OF SCHOOLING OF BAUMANNVILLE SCHOLARS BY AGE AND SEX

Age Groups	Number at School in Durban			Number at School in Boarding Schools			Number at School Elsewhere			Number: Place of School Unknown			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
2 - 6	22	29	51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51
7 - 10	32	29	61	-	-	-	3	3	6	1	1	2	69
11 - 14	17	21	38	1	3	4	4	3	7	-	2	2	51
15 - 17	16	13	29	2	1	3	2	-	2	3	-	3	37
18 - 24	7	6	13	4	7	11	1	1	2	1	3	4	30
25 - 29	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total No	95	98	193	7	11	18	10	7	17	5	6	11	239
%			80.8			7.5			7.1			4.6	100.0

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Of those two to six years of age not a single boy or girl has been removed from direct parental care in Baumannville. All who are at school are in their own neighbourhood in Durban - at the local nursery school or the infant school.

At the seven to ten age-level six (2.5 per cent) of the school-children have been removed to continue their schooling elsewhere, probably living with grannies, aunts or other relatives at the place of family origin in the country. Seven more follow from the eleven to fourteen age group when early truancy-problems begin to emerge. All together, however, only 7.1 per cent are sent elsewhere to attend school.

The 7.5 per cent who are away at boarding school begin with the eleven to fourteen age group, though the bulk are between eighteen and twenty-four. On the whole 80.8 per cent of those in school are making use of the school available to them in Durban.

Reasons for Leaving School.

Forty-five persons between the ages of fifteen and twenty-nine have left school, twenty-four boys and twenty-one girls. A number of reasons were given, the most frequent were: lack of money (eight males, three females), to find work (two males, one female), lack of interest in school (one male), poor health (two males, four females), poor health of parent (one male), misconduct (one male, four females), and miscellaneous other reasons (nine males, nine females). The first two reasons, not mutually exclusive are purely economic and when put together they constitute the major reason. Among the girls, however, ill health and misconduct seem most significant.

EDUCATION OF THE ADULTS

How much schooling have the adults in Baumannville had? Have they done anything to compensate for their deficiencies? These are the questions to be answered in this section.

Persons with No Schooling.

Of the 449 adults who are not presently at school, there are forty-eight who have had no schooling constituting only a small proportion (10.7 per cent). In the younger age-group (eighteen to twenty-nine) there are only four; in the middle age-group (thirty to forty-nine) fourteen; in the older age-group (fifty and over), twenty-one; and in the "unknown" age-group, mostly "old-timers" who do not know or remember their age, nine. There is a direct relationship between age and no-schooling, the older a person is the more likely he has had no schooling.

Three-eighths of the unschooled population are males and five-eighths, females. The unschooled are not only predominantly older, but also predominantly female. The predominance of unschooled females is among the middle-aged and older people. This is in part because of the disparity between females and males in these ages as well as less opportunity for schooling in the days when these people were of school age and for those in the country education was chiefly for boys. In the younger ages not only are the sexes more nearly equal, but reasons for lack of schooling are different. It is not uncommon for urban African parents to consider the school as a sanctuary for girls - a refuge from the "evils" of city life which often strike at the female more than the male. Hence, if a parent is faced directly with a choice of sending either a daughter or a son to school,

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the chances are that he will send the daughter. Moreover, a son can be an economic asset to a poor urban family, far earlier than a daughter.

Half of the females with no schooling are relatively recent arrivals (0 to nine years). This suggests that the unschooled Baumannville adult is likely to be an old female of relatively recent arrival in Baumannville and, in all probability, country-born. Among the unschooled Baumannville adults of longer residence (ten years and over) there is no significant variation between the sexes.

School Achievement Levels.

The distribution of adults whose education is known according to the educational standards at which they left school, by age-groups for males and females is given in Table 50.

Three-quarters of these adults have left school by the end of the primary school, Standard VII. A slightly larger proportion of women have left at each level up to this point. The men continue to the higher levels in slightly larger proportion. The greatest differences, however, show up between the age groups. By the end of the primary school 95 per cent of the oldest group have left school, 80 per cent of the middle aged group, but only 60 per cent of the youngest group of adults.

A computation of the average number of years spent at school by the three age-groups shows the same differences. The average number of years spent in school by the eighteen to twenty-nine age-group is 9.3 years - equivalent to Standard VII; by the thirty to forty-nine age-group, 8.2 years - equivalent to Standard VI; and by the fifty and over age-group, 6.8 years - equivalent to Standard IV as the average school-leaving level. The younger generation has tended to stay longer in school than the middle; and the middle has tended to stay longer than the older. There is increasing length of exposure to and height of attainment in schooling - with the "generations" - in Baumannville.

Further Full-time Educational Achievement.

How many of the adults, dissatisfied with their school-achievement, have undertaken further full-time education of some sort academic, technical or professional? Have the school-leaving standards of such persons had any functional relevance in predisposing them towards undertaking or not undertaking such full-time further education? This data is given in Table 51.

Less than one-quarter of the adults have undertaken full-time further education. Of the 107 persons who left school at standards below the Vth, not a single one has undertaken full-time further education of any sort. Their low level of academic achievement provided no incentive for advanced educational achievement.

Above Standard V there is a tendency for an increasing proportion of persons on each level, to undertake further full-time education. At Standard V - VII approximately one in ten, at Standard VIII - IX two in ten, and at Standard X and over three in ten, have undertaken some further full-time education. In general it would appear that there is a rise in interest in further full-time education with the level of schooling originally attained.

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TABLE 50 SCHOOL LEVELS AT WHICH ADULTS HAVE LEFT SCHOOL BY AGE GROUPS AND SEX

Age Groups	Sub-Stds.			Stds I - II			III - IV			V - VII			VIII - IX			X - XI			XI or above			Unknown			Total			%		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
18-29	-	1	1	3	4	7	5	7	12	36	31	67	22	23	45	3	1	4	1	2	3	1	-	1	71	69	140	43.8	37.1	40.2
30-49	-	4	4	7	8	15	6	13	19	19	34	53	10	9	19	3	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	46	68	114	28.4	36.6	32.8
50 +	7	4	11	6	5	11	13	13	26	16	24	40	2	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44	49	93	27.2	26.3	26.7
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.6	-	0.3
Total No.	7	9	16	16	17	33	25	33	58	71	89	160	34	35	69	6	1	7	2	2	4	1	-	1	162	186	348	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total %	4.3	4.8	4.6	9.9	9.2	9.5	15.5	17.7	16.7	43.8	47.9	46.0	21.0	18.8	19.8	3.7	0.5	2.0	1.2	1.1	1.1	0.6	-	0.3	100.0	100.0	100.0			

TABLE 51 FULL-TIME FURTHER EDUCATION ENGAGED IN BY ADULTS BY STANDARD AT WHICH SCHOOL WAS LEFT, TYPE OF FURTHER EDUCATION AND SEX

Standard at which School was Left	Types of Full-Time Further Education																Total No. Adults
	No Further Full-Time Education		Technical Education		Nursing		Teaching		Other Professions		University Education		Other		Unknown		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Under V	45	53	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	107
V - VII	52	65	2	2	-	1	5	11	1	2	-	-	1	-	10	8	160
VIII-IX	24	24	-	-	1	5	6	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	1	69
X - XI	5	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
XI or Above	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2*	-	-	-	-	4
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total by Sex	127	143	2	2	1	6	12	15	1	3	1	2	1	-	16	16	348
Total No	270		4		7		27		4		3		1		32		348
Total %	77.6		1.1		2.0		7.8		1.1		0.9		0.3		9.2		100.0

* also teacher training.

Further Part-time Educational Achievement.

In addition to full-time further education many Africans who have left school have undertaken part-time further education. Only forty-nine persons (14.0 per cent) of the adult population which has left school have undertaken any further part-time education - three-fifths are men and two-fifths women.

The type of part-time further education engaged in by Baumannville adults is quite different from the types of full-time further education. The former is obviously of the remedial type - making up for past educational deficiencies. Elementary and high school are the predominating types. In addition some in technical classes and one in university classes add to the probability that the motivation for part-time further education is to be able to meet the requirements for getting ahead. Full- and part-time further education together involve somewhat more than one-quarter of the adults who have left school. So far as it goes this would seem to indicate a response to the pressures of urban life.

LITERACY AMONG THE ADULTS

The complicated problem of languages and communication in South Africa makes literacy more than the usual matter of reading and writing. A Native who was brought up in one of the Native languages to function in the present world must also be able to speak that world's language which happens to be divided into two languages.

Languages known.

There are six languages represented in Baumannville; namely, Zulu, English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Sotho and Swazi. Of the adults who had left school the languages of 406 were ascertained, only eighty-one (20 per cent) were confined to only one of these languages, this was chiefly Zulu. The other 325 persons (80 per cent) are multi-lingual, 59 per cent being bi-lingual knowing Zulu and English chiefly, and 21 per cent knowing three or four languages, chiefly Zulu, English, Afrikaans and some other Bantu language.

As Table 52 shows, only a small proportion of the adults who know only one language are young persons. It will also be noted

TABLE 52 NUMBER OF LANGUAGES KNOWN BY ADULTS BY AGE-GROUPS AND SEX

Age-Groups	One Language known			Two Languages known			Three or More Languages known			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
18 - 29	5	8	13	52	49	101	18	17	35	149
30 - 49	9	30	39	26	43	69	18	12	30	138
50 +	9	20	29	30	39	69	12	9	21	119
Total No	23	58	81	108	131	239	48	38	86	406
Total %			20			59			21	100

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that multi-lingualism is a characteristic of the younger adults, the number of multi-lingual adults tending to decrease with a rise in age. This tendency may be related to the wider contacts of the younger adults, their greater capacity, and probably inclination, to learn, their higher educational level, and the pressure on them to be able to communicate in the world in which they must live and work.

Usage of Languages Known.

Only forty-eight (12 per cent) of the 406 adults are illiterate, that is, can only speak some language, chiefly Zulu, without being able to read or write it. Half of these are fifty years of age and over; three-eighths - thirty to forty-nine years; and one-eighth - eighteen to twenty-nine years. Three-fourths of the total illiterates are females. As these females are largely elderly persons, their illiteracy may be attributed to their lack of opportunity in rural backgrounds, where the emphasis is on boy-education.

In addition, the facts in Table 53 show that only twenty-four of these adults can only read and speak some language - chiefly Zulu and English. The vast majority 334, that is 82 per cent, of the Baumannville adults who have left school are totally literate. They can speak, read and write one or more languages, chiefly Zulu and English. The numbers of these persons diminish with a rise in age.

TABLE 53 LITERACY IN VARIOUS LANGUAGES OF ADULTS WHO HAVE LEFT SCHOOL BY AGE-GROUPS

Age-Groups	Speak, Read, Write					Speak & Read Only					Speak Only					
	Zulu	Eng	Afr	O	T	Zulu	Eng	Afr	O	T	Zulu	Eng	Afr	O	T	T
18-29	65	57	6	5	133	5	5	-	-	10	1	3	1	1	6	149
30-49	64	42	2	7	115	4	1	-	-	5	8	6	2	2	18	138
50 +	45	35	-	6	86	6	2	1	-	9	13	7	1	3	24	119
Tot No	174	134	8	18	334	15	8	1	-	24	22	16	4	6	48	406
Tot %					82					6					12	100

O = Other; T = Total.

Total literacy in Afrikaans occurs only in the younger and middle age-groups. There is also a slight excess of females over males in all age-groups in this population.

On the whole, it would appear that age is a primary factor in literacy in Baumannville; and sex, a less important one. Illiteracy is confined chiefly to the older adults; the ability to speak, read and write one or more languages is a characteristic of the younger adults.

The high incidence of multi-lingualism in Baumannville (80 per cent) and the extent of literacy (82 per cent) together give a picture of a markedly urbanised community, that is, well adjusted to the inevitable cosmopolitanism and the literacy requirements of those who dwell in the cities.

NEEDS AND PROBLEMS

The Baumannville community is not only interested in education as an ideal but it is also an educated community. A large majority of the adults have had at least some schooling and are literate and a large proportion of the children are in school.

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A number of gaps in the education of this community, however, still need to be filled. Educational facilities near the community are not used to their capacity and there are those who should be using these facilities. Firstly, among the adults there is a residue of persons with no schooling and some illiterate persons. The immediate problem of the community is to awaken these people to the need for night school education provided a few yards from where they live. Facilities are also available for children to start school early and to continue school longer. Secondly, there is the problem of early school-leaving. The ideal here is to ensure that children stay at school until they are qualified academically to take up some vocational training; and the immediate problem is to inspire them with such an ideal to counterbalance the lure of earning money as soon as possible and in some cases to devise ways of making the necessary means for continued schooling available to the children. Thirdly, a small number of persons who have left school early, have continued their education in part-time and correspondence classes. The majority, however, seem to be satisfied with the amount of schooling they have had or do not know how to get what they need. Perhaps here, the immediate problem is that of time and incentive - "moral" and economic. With regard to the latter particularly, a high level of education does not always result in a high wage-level. As the people of this community have no control over this, it would be well for the community to weigh more heavily the social valuations of continued education.

Finally, from the point of view of the community as a going concern, it would appear that time and energy invested in an indigenous programme of the Natal African Adult Education Institute, would pay considerable dividends. This is essentially a community-welfare programme designed to stimulate and harness individual and collective initiative for the socio-economic uplift of one and all, hence of the community as a whole. The ultimate benefits of the programme of the Institute cannot come to Baumannville until the people take the initiative and incorporate the elements of the programme into the web of their community life.

CHAPTER 8

RELIGION, MEDICINE AND MAGIC

The attitudes and actions of the Baumannville residents are to be considered in this chapter with reference to the following:-

1. The extent to which the residents are actively interested in the Church as revealed in membership, mobility, attendance, and participation in Church associations and offices.

2. The extent to which they find the Church adequate in helping them adjust to situations of uncertainty, stress and strain; and the extent to which they seek help beyond the Church from Western medical techniques, as applied by the doctor, and from traditional medico-magical techniques, as applied by the inyanga.

3. The working adjustment that they have achieved between the indigenous medico-magical techniques and the exogenous Western medical techniques in dealing with situations of stress and strain.

4. The attitudes in which they approach the inyanga, with special reference to whether they approach him in the attitude of traditional belief or in an attitude of radical scepticism.

RELATIONSHIPS TO CHURCHES

Krige has pointed out that "the real, vital religion of the Zulus is their ancestor-worship".[1] Although Baumannville is 75 per cent Zulu, no person in this community professes ancestor worship as his real, vital religion. Out of a total of 113 main families interviewed, only three had respondents who confessed to resorting to ancestor-propitiation[2] in such crises as illness and bankruptcy. The majority were reported as belonging to some organised Christian Church, and a few as being without religious persuasion, or as "unknown"[3] with regard to religious affiliation.

This is partly to be expected as fifty-three (47 per cent) of these main families were directly selected, for residence in this community on the criterion of marriage by Christian rites. This was part of the official policy with regard to Baumannville from 1915 to

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1 E.J. Krige, "The Social System of the Zulus", (London: Longman Green and Company, 1936), p. 283.

2 That is, occasional appeasement of ancestors, e.g. through goat slaughter, when persons are dogged by a series or persistence of certain vicissitudes.

3 These are persons whose religion could not be ascertained because of refusals, inaccessibility for interviewing, ignorance of interviewers re the religion of these persons, etc.

1934. Forty-four of these were thus directly selected during that period; and nine are descended from main families thus originally selected. The other sixty (53 per cent) main families which entered Baumannville after 1934, though not officially selected on the criterion of marriage by Christian rites, were also largely Christian. This criterion seems to have continued to operate, as a matter of preference, beyond the time when it had been relaxed or eliminated from official policy. These were consequently partly selected as Christian families. Considering that ancestor-worship has been and still is a target of Missionary Christian teaching, its non-appearance, at least on the surface, in this group of families which are largely Christian, is understandable. It is, however, conceivable that ancestors enter the private lives of the members of these families at many critical points in the form of such ceremonies as amadina[4] and ukubuyisa[5]. There is need for further research in this matter.

Churches represented.

There are twenty-five churches with which the residents are affiliated. For a small community of 113 households this total would appear much too much - giving an average of about five Baumannville households per church represented. The multiplicity of churches represented here is probably in line with the tendency towards "overchurching" in power-minority groups reported by Simpson and Yinger. In such groups, the numerous churches afford, in addition to their spiritual ministrations, channels for self-expression, recreation, adjustments to life-crises, economic and other compensations which are not readily accessible to minorities in the secular social organisations.[6]

Of the twenty-five churches, ten are "Mission Churches" of white denominations and fifteen are "African Independent Churches", using Sundkler's typology. The relative preponderance of African independent churches is in line with the general trend of the development and proliferation of these churches traced by Sundkler to the application of the "colour bar" in Christian Churches in South Africa and the growing need for self-expression and independence from white domination among Africans.[7]

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4 That is, feasts, usually involving goat-slaughter, held in memory of any departed member of the family, including children. These may be held in normal conditions not involving stress for the living members - several such feasts may be held, in time, for the same member of the family.

5 That is, a ceremony, involving beast-slaughter, held a year or so after the death of an elderly member of the family, to call or bring-back the spirit of the departed into the family circle.

6 G.E. Simpson and I.M. Yinger, "Racial and Cultural Minorities", New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953, p. 525.

7 B.G.M. Sundkler, "Bantu Prophets in South Africa", London: Butterworth Press, 1948, Chapter II.

The church membership of the residents, however, does not reflect much sensitivity to this trend, for 75 per cent of those who belong to churches belong to the Mission type. Although, in the general population, some African independent Churches like the African and Bantu Congregational Churches (represented in Baumannville) and the Shembe Church (not represented in Baumannville) have large memberships, the majority of African Christians still belong to Mission Churches. In this sense Baumannville reflects the general African situation with regard to membership in the two types of churches. Furthermore, the selective process referred to, carried out under the supervision of white officials, might have been biassed in favour of couples married by Christian rites in Mission Churches of white denominations rather than those married in African independent churches, or in favour of couples married by Christian rites in officially recognised African independent churches, rather than in those which are not officially recognised. The relative proportions of members of these three categories of churches in this community would seem to suggest this.[8] But we have no further evidence on this point.

Church Membership.

Of the total population of 775 persons, 77 per cent are known to be affiliated with some church as shown in Table 54. Since eight

TABLE 54 CHURCH AFFILIATION OF POPULATION BY TYPE OF CHURCH AND BY SEX

	Mission Churches		Independent Churches		No Religion		Unknown		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Males	196	55 / 44	81	22 / 52	13	3 / 65	67	19 / 44	357	100 / 46
Females	249	59 / 56	75	18 / 48	7	2 / 35	87	21 / 56	418	100 / 54
TOTAL	445	57 / 100	156	20 / 100	20	3 / 100	154	20 / 100	775	100 / 100

of those for whom "no religion" is indicated and half of those whose church affiliation is "unknown" are young children, the picture of church membership is even better than this Table indicates.

In general, there is very little "irreligiosity" or churchlessness in this community. Undoubtedly this reflects the influence of the original criterion of selection and that the Christian families' preference in the sub-families and lodgers - related or unrelated - which live with them.

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8 However, this probable explanation cannot be stretched very far as the selection applied only to main families in households and not to sub-families which constitute a substantial part of the population.

We turn now to examine the internal stability and mobility of church membership.from baptism to the present of church populations in this community. Have the Mission Churches had a firmer grip on their baptised members than the Independent Churches? Have the latter been losing, for any reason, baptised members to Mission Churches? Has there been movement to apostacy and to which type of church mainly? Table 55 casts some light on these questions.

TABLE 55 SHIFTS IN CHURCH RELATIONSHIPS OF PERSONS EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

Number of Persons	Mission Churches		Independent Churches		No Religion		Unknown		Total			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	No.	%
Present Membership	115	161	46	52	9	3	31	32	201	248	449	100.0
Baptised	116	163	45	49	3	2	37	34	201	248	449	100.0
In same Category as Baptised	93	121	34	30	2	2	29	32	158	185	343	79.4
Baptised and lost	23	42	11	19	1	-	8	2	43	63	106	20.6
Gained from Other.	22	40	12	22	7	1	2	-	43	63	106	20.6
Nett Gain/Loss	-1	-2	+1	+3	+6	+1	-6	-2	-	-	-	-

There has been a measure of religious mobility in this community. Altogether, this movement involves 20.6 per cent of the adult population who have been moving between the two church-types, into apostacy and from the "unknown" category. This movement has resulted in a slight net gain of four members to the Independent Churches and a slight net loss of three members to the Mission Churches - all too small to be significant.

The fact of the stability of church membership emerges clearly, for 278 (74 per cent) of the total church members are original members who have remained in the churches in which they were baptised. The Mission Churches 214 (77.5 per cent) are baptised and sixty-two (22.5 per cent), affiliational members; in the Independent Churches sixty-four (65.3 per cent) are baptismal and thirty-four (34 per cent), affiliational members. The Mission Churches have a larger original membership than the Independent Churches.

This partly accounts for the numerical superiority of the membership of Mission Churches in this community. As Sundkler points out, the Independent Churches have tended to thrive on accessions from the Mission Churches, but the Mission Churches have succeeded better than usual in retaining their original membership in Baumannville, so that the Independent Churches have a smaller

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membership drawn from this community. The factor of selection and the possible bias in favour of Mission church members already noted add to the prestige and strength of the Mission churches.

The greater stability of Mission church membership may be explained by the following factors:- 1) "traditional" family belongingness to these churches as a result of their historical priority to the Independent churches; 2) the more formal organisation of these churches offering a more clearly structured situation for the pursuit of sacred and secular goals in a fluid urban environment; 3) considerations of prestige issuing from the close relationship of these churches to the white denominations: and 4) the relative stability of this community as a result of its long standing in an urban environment. It would appear that, for the Mission Church members, these and other factors tend to off-set the importance of the positive factors attaching to membership in Independent churches. But, for those now in Independent churches the position is the other way round; and the Independent churches are sufficiently meaningful to them in terms of their personality and group needs and aspirations.

Church Attendance.

An analysis of church attendance by sex shows that women attend far more regularly than men. In the church membership, aged five years and over, women constitute 61 per cent of the regular church-goers; 44 per cent of the irregular church-goers; and 40 per cent of those church members who never go to church. Again, 62 per cent of the women church members attend regularly and only 7 per cent never do. The basis for these percentages as well as the distribution of church attendance by age-groups is given in Table 56.

TABLE 56 FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF CHURCH MEMBERS FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY AGE-GROUPS AND SEX[9]

Church Attendance	Age-Groups			Sex		Total	
	5 - 19	20-39	40+	M	F	No.	%
Regular	112	66	91	106	163	269	53
Irregular	59	76	55	107	83	190	38
Never	9	21	15	27	18	45	9
Total No.	180	163	161	240	264	504	100
Total %	36	32	32	48	52	100	

Only 9 per cent of the church members do not attend church at all. A total of 91 per cent church-goers - regular and irregular - would suggest that the majority of the church members in this community take their religion with a measure of seriousness. The majority of the regular church-goers come from the younger and the older age-groups. Together these constitute 76 per cent of the regular church-goers.

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9 Regular attendance = one or more times per week.
Irregular attendance = once a fortnight to less than once a month.
Never = not at all (not even on Christmas Day).

The middle-aged, when life-responsibilities are at their peak, are slack in church attendance. Those who attend irregularly or never make up 60 per cent of this group of church members.

We must now enquire into whether or not education is a factor in church attendance in this community. The figures are given in Table 57 for those whose educational background is known.

TABLE 57 FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF CHURCH MEMBERS EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Church Attendance	Standard II or Less		Std. III through VIII		Standard IX or More		Totals			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	M	F	No.	%
Regular	32	42	104	50	35	48	55	116	171	48
Irregular	32	42	81	39	36	49	82	67	149	42
Never	13	16	21	11	2	3	22	14	36	10
Total No.	77	100	206	100	73	100	159	197	356	100
Total %	21		58		21		45	55	100	

The general tendency is for frequency of church attendance to increase with a rise in educational standard. Regular or irregular attendance was reported by 84 per cent of the least educated, 89 per cent of the moderately educated and 97 per cent of the most highly educated. The least educated and the most educated are about evenly divided between regular and irregular attendance, but in the group between, half of the church members claim regular attendance. Since this group is numerically the largest, those who are moderately educated form the bulk of the regular church-goers.

Academic sophistication does not seem to increase religious scepticism as is often the case. Perhaps the better educated become more sensitive to the frustrations imposed upon Africans in South African life and seek to compensate by participation in religious exercises at least from time to time.

Is there a difference in the attendance of Mission church members and of Independent church members? Table 58 shows the church members by frequency of attendance in the two types of churches.

TABLE 58 FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF CHURCH MEMBERS FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY TYPE OF CHURCH

Type of Church	Regular Attendance		Irregular Attendance		Never Attend		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Mission Churches	207	55	139	37	28	8	374	100
Independent Churches	62	48	51	39	17	13	130	100
Total	269	53	190	38	45	9	504	100

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The members of Mission churches have a slightly higher proportion in regular church attendance than the Independent churches. The members of the two types of churches are proportionately equal in irregular attendance. The members of the Independent churches have proportionately almost twice as many non-church-going members as those of Mission churches. On the whole, it would appear that the members of Mission churches (92 per cent regular and irregular) take church membership slightly more seriously than their neighbours who belong to the Independent churches (87 per cent regular and irregular).

In general, Baumannville impresses one as a community which takes its religious life with seriousness, only 3 per cent of her population are without religious affiliations, and only 9 per cent of the church members never appear in church. This is to be expected in a community faced with the problems of adaptation to the urban way of life especially since it consists of members of a minority group in the South African social structure.

Church Participation.

The extent to which Mission and Independent church members participate in the associations and offices of their churches, is shown in Table 59.

TABLE 59 DISTRIBUTION OF 111 CHURCH MEMBERS ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN CHURCH ASSOCIATIONS OR OFFICE BEARERS BY TYPE OF CHURCH BY SEX

Type of Church	Association Members				Office Bearers				Total			
	M	F	T	%	M	F	T	%	M	F	T	%
Mission	12	44	56	50	13	17	30	27	25	61	86	77
Independent	5	9	14	13	7	4	11	10	12	13	25	23
Total	17	53	70	63	20	21	41	37	37	74	111	100

Of the 111 church participants, eighty-six (or 77 per cent) are in Mission churches and twenty-five (or 23 per cent) in Independent churches; 23 per cent of the Mission church members and 19 per cent of the Independent church members are in the participating group. In both church-types, approximately two persons in ten are participating in church associations and offices. The ratio of persons participating in church associations to those in church offices is seven to three in Mission churches and six to four in Independent churches. This shows no significant difference between the two church-types in this connection.

The Mission church participants are predominantly female. Whereas there is a preponderance of females (54 per cent) in the total population and in church membership (53 per cent), the participants in Mission churches are 70 per cent female, two and a half times as many women as men. In these churches it would appear that church associations and offices are primarily women's concerns. The participants in the Independent churches are, by contrast, about half and half male and female, although slightly more women are members of associations and slightly more men are office holders in these churches.

The small figures involved here seem to reflect a tendency in Independent churches pointed out by Sundkler. Since the low colour-bar

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ceiling in the Mission church situation does not exist in the Independent churches, there is an appreciable measure of scrambling for self-realisation and expression in church associations and for self-distinction in the highest church offices. Sundkler has drawn attention to the proliferation of the Independent church through splintering partly to provide more positions of leadership. In these churches, associations are not viewed simply as polite clubs for women bored with the week's domestic drudgery and church offices are not just safety valves for wives who must, for six days in the week, calmly endure the jurisdiction of their husbands; but rather these associations and offices are matters of vital interest to men - ladders for climbing to self-realisation and distinction in positions of responsibility and authority without banging their heads on the rigid colour-bar ceiling.

An analysis of the age distribution of the association members shows that forty-eight are aged forty and over, fifteen are twenty to thirty-nine, and seven are fifteen to nineteen; of the corresponding age-groups in the total church membership, these represent respectively 29 per cent, 9 per cent and 9 per cent. There is a decided tendency for church association members to be recruited from the older church members. The extent to which younger church members are left out of church associations is really remarkable. Only seven youths, aged fifteen to nineteen compared to sixty-three adults have a place in church associations. This is not so much due to apathy on the part of the youth as it is due to lack or inadequacy of associations for the youth in African churches, both Mission and Independent.

Reference to the educational levels of the church association members shows that the majority (seven-tenths) are on the Standards III to VII level; two-tenths on the Standard VIII and over level; and one-tenth on the Standard II and below level. This is a reflection of the community and its average educational level. The less educated, who feel inferior, also tend to be overlooked and are little inclined to thrust themselves forward in any situation which includes their betters. The best educated, on the other hand, tend to be critical in associations where lay-opinion may be expressed, often feel superior, have novel ideas and expect to assume leadership. When it is realised that the best educated tend to be younger, it can be understood why their aggressiveness in church associations is not welcomed. The moderately educated are neither disquieting nor threatening. They form a natural conciliatory group. Then, too, from this group come the most regular church-goers which is further indication of the logic of their greater participation in church affairs.

In summary, it must be said that the churches hold an important place in this community and in the lives of its members. Almost all the people claim membership in some church and most of the church members say they attend services at least occasionally. This high "religiosity" may well reflect the striving of a people to achieve spiritual and moral anchorage within a materialistic and shifting urban environment and to meet those personality needs which may be satisfied through the pursuit of transcendental ends.

While a small proportion of those who are members of the churches belong to their associations or their officiary, the prestige factor in those relationships may be of great significance. The all but complete absence of young people in church associations testifies to an inadequate appreciation of their service-value.

There remains the question of the subjective orientation of the members of this community to the Church. What do they think and feel is the role of the Church in their lives? This is the theme of the next section.

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THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

The conceptions that the people of this community have regarding the actual role of the Church in their individual lives were expressed in the most varied terms, with numerous nuances of perception and orientation. For convenience of description, we may subsume these conceptions under two broad categories, although the responses were not always as clear-cut as these categories would suggest: 1) the functional - those which indicate that the Church has a valued role in the lives of the individuals; and 2) the non-functional - those which indicate either that the Church has no valued role because it is irrelevant to the lives of the individuals or that the Church has a role which is not desirable for the lives of the individuals and is consequently resented by them.

The Church as Functional.

The conceptions of the Church as functional are the most numerous and the most varied. The majority of the people hold that the Church has a valued role, but with reference to different aspects, situations and circumstances of their lives. One common denominator underlying them all, however, is the idea - implicit or explicit - of crisis. Whether the function of the Church is held to be related to the spiritual, the otherworldly, the moral, the bodily, the material or the circumstantial aspects of their lives, these people indicate that they find the Church functional whenever crises arise.

Many hold that the Church has a spiritual function in their lives, performed through prayer and exhortation. This function is related to occasions of spiritual stress and strain. The Church helps with "prayer when I am in distress", says one, "this gives me consolation". "Yes, the Church is of help to me. When my heart rises up in trouble or misfortune or I am cross, the Church makes it down. And the Church makes my heart glad", says another. "Yes, the Church is a great help. They preach as if they know what is happening in your own house. You forget your troubles and come out of Church fresh", says yet another. These responses are illustrative of the views of many concerning the role of the Church in their lives. Such statements point to a psychological function of the Church in times of spiritual crises or stress and strain; and the Church performs the function of effecting emotional tension-release or catharsis.

Others hold that the Church has a spiritual function in a slightly more otherworldly sense. The Church offers "prayers in time of trouble, brings Communion to sick person's house. If a small unbaptised child is sick, they come and baptise at home. Clergyman visits in sickness", says one. These functions are appreciated as part of the preparation of a person "in the valley of the shadow of death" for that "journey from which no traveller returns". "I must know where I am going when I die. They (the Church members) pray for me", says another. "Yes, the Church will pray for you and give you good hope that when you die you have a place in Heaven". This spiritual function of the Church transcends the present and extends to the other-world. There is no doubt that, with these and many other people, considerations of life after death, especially in times of illness, are very critical and emotionally-charged considerations: and the Church is trusted to arrange for the smooth passage of the individual's soul.

With some, however, the main preoccupation is not so much with a safe passage into the next world as with remaining as long as possible in the present one. These hold that the Church has a therapeutic

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or healing function - physical and psychological. "I know for sure", says one, "that I'll be healed whether sick or not when I go to Church". Another gives an interesting anecdote from personal experience:

> "I have found the Church to be really helpful. It's like this. I have developed some sort of neurosis. I have tried doctors and izinyanga; but when I turned back to the Church, I found the Church could help me. They laid hands on my head and prayed, invoking the devils thus: 'Where do you come from?' There was no answer, but I felt a feverishness. 'You cannot keep in this body, for it is a temple of our Lord'. Something was moving all over my body. 'Get out of this man in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth'. I felt something soothing - I was at rest. The neurosis did continue after this, but with less force than before. I felt I am getting healed. I am still having attention from the Church. The lay preacher also blessed some holy salt for use with my meals and for vomiting. When I say the prayers he gave me, and vomit in the morning, something strange comes out. It is thus that I know the power of healing of the Church".

Many others have testified to this function of the Church, in varying details. Says one, "if you don't turn up at church, they come to see whether you are sick, and if you are, they help you". With others, this function is appreciated in the conducting of Christian burials. "Yes, the Church offers prayer for the sick, consolation in times of bereavement, and a Christian burial of the deceased". Such are times of crises and the help of the Church in tiding people over them is appreciated.

Still other people hold that the Church has a moral function in their lives. "It gives comfort, help and moral support through faith: it makes for a good heart". "Yes, it gives prayers and moral support in temptation", says another, even the one who puts it, "the church helps me forgive my enemies; but it is hard for me to forgive Mr. and Mrs. X and Mr. and Mrs. Y". Another who otherwise sees no good in the Church says, "I am only a church member because such membership keeps me controlled and well-behaved. When I behave I bear in mind that I am a church member: there are things a church member should not do, you know". For many, then, the Church is a normative agency of moral control and support. It postulates certain norms to which they feel they must adhere in their conduct. This is particularly true with respect to pre-marital sex behaviour. Asked what their attitudes were regarding pre-marital sexual intercourse, many condemned the practice on the grounds of the moral teachings of the Church. Admittedly, some were overwhelmed by a feeling of its inevitability in view of biological urges and the urban environment; but even these did not fail to postulate, ideally, the norm of pre-marital chastity. The most compromising of them suggested caution about the production of illegitimate children on the biblical grounds that, as one said, "a bastard may not enter into the Kingdom of God".

From the point of view of others, the Church combines material and spiritual functions, especially in terms of the ministries of sympathetic church members. "They pray for us and help us with money and food", says one. "They come and pray, give groceries in illness", says another. This distributive thinking about the Church is even clearer in the following two responses. "They come and pray for us and sometimes make a collection for us. Church members sometimes wash husband's clothes", says one wife: "They come and pray for us,

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and they give us money; sometimes they come and sleep in our house after a death." Implicit in all this is the important point of the carry-over of the spirit of human fellowship in the Church to the day-to-day relations and problems of living in the community. Here the spirit of communion in the Church shows itself in the spirit of good Samaritanism in the bonds of fellowship. In so far as this is general, religion in this community is not merely a cold matter of "the cloister" but a warm matter of "the hearth".

The sacramental function of the Church has been implied in a number of statements. One respondent puts it this way: "The Church is most important. If you don't go to Church all the time, then the priests don't know you. And if you get sick and want a priest to come, and if you are dying and want a priest, then he doesn't come unless he knows you go to Church ...".

For some, though few, the Church has a total function embracing the whole personality. "Yes", says one, "the Church is my home: I have been brought up in its teachings and I believe in it not for this or that reason or benefit: I believe in it as a whole - with all my heart". "Church-going is life", says another.

The Church as Non-Functional.

Those who hold that the Church is non-functional, in the sense of its being irrelevant, to their lives view religion not as an institutional or a public affair, but rather as an individual or private affair between an individual and a deity. People of this type distinguish between a relationship to the Church, on the one hand, and a relationship to God, on the other. The former relationship they consider non-functional, meaningless and futile, or utterly insignificant - to some, "a waste of time". The latter relationship they consider functional, meaningful and worthwhile. "My belief in God is a help in time of trouble - not actually belief in the Church", says one. "No, the Church has no help to give, except to accompany me to the cemetry when I am dead: instead, I help the Church; and my help comes from my spiritual communion with God", says another. "I don't think the Church is of any help - only God", says yet another. "It is of no use on these occasions (of crisis); their prayers don't help. I let them come, though".

Those who hold that the Church is non-functional, in the sense of performing functions that they consider undesirable or that they resent, centre their criticism on the Church's pre-occupation with financial interest. "The Church always wants something from you: it offers no help"; "the Church helps you nothing; instead the Church wants money all the time". The resented role of the Church implied here is that of taxing its membership instead of ministering to their spiritual and, from the point of view of some, their non-spiritual needs as well. "It's not a help. The Church has no money to help you if you are sick"; "the Church has never done anything tangible for me"; "No, they don't help us - they should. They don't give you soap or mealie meal when your husband dies!"

LOOKING BEYOND THE CHURCH

From the individual's subjective point of view, religion is just one institutional system ministering to the need for psychological adjustment to otherworldly reality as well as to the need for psycho-physical adjustment to situations of stress and strain in the every day world. Whereas religion may be adequate (some Baumannvillers do not think so) in the adjustment of individuals to other-worldly reality, it may not be expected to be adequate in the adjustment of individuals (or groups) to the variety of situations of psycho-physical stress and strain.

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On this basis the questions are raised: what do the people of this community do when the Church has failed them in such situations? Do they prostrate themselves before the Jaggernaut of Fate? Or do they run hither and thither seeking for help beyond the Church? If so, whence cometh their help?

No Help beyond the Church.

Many people in this community say they do not see any help beyond the Church in times of stress and strain. "When the Church has failed", says one, "the alternative is death: there is no help beyond the Church". "Only God can help"; "there is no substitute for prayer", say two others. Many more go on in this strain - expressing implicit and ultimate faith in the Church. Yet some do not look beyond the Church because they believe that when the Church has failed, "only you can help yourself. I prefer to sit and work out troubles alone - no one else, just you alone can help", as one puts it.

The Old and the New.

The rest, however, do look beyond the Church: to Western medicine, as practised by the doctors, nurses, chemists, hospitals; and to Bantu medicine and magic, as practised by the izinyanga through herbs and manipulation of the superempirical and as including the ancestral cult.[10]

The simultaneous employment of these two systems - one, indigenous; the other, exogenous; and both having direct reference to the same general problem of psycho-physical adjustment to situations of stress and strain - in the on-going community is a problem because there is no principle of relationship, and hence no natural compatibility between the two. From the theoretical point of view, any observed relationship between an indigenous and an exogenous system of techniques is an adjustive achievement, implying some previous effort - conscious or unconscious - at working out an operational relationship between the two. This essentially involves a process of finding a place for the new system of techniques in relation to the traditional, with a minimum of social dislocation of community life. Ultimately, it involves choice between many alternatives. This process may involve such alternatives as complete rejection or complete acceptance of the exogenous techniques or selective borrowing from them with all the necessary or inevitable modifications in the indigenous techniques.

That Western medical techniques enjoy a considerable measure of acceptance among the Africans, requires no documentation. The problem, therefore, is the working relationship Africans have achieved between Western medicine and the traditional Bantu medico-magical techniques. The extent to which the people employ one or the other or both of the technological systems in dealing with situations of stress and strain is shown in Table 60 in terms of the testimony of 118 respondent-family spouses.

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10 A few stated the following sources of help: friends, relatives, neighbours, employers, the Local Advisory Board and the Government.

TABLE 60 EXTENT OF CONSULTATION OF THE DOCTOR, INYANGA AND ANCESTORS BY 118 RESPONDENT FAMILY SPOUSES

Sources of Help	Family Spouses	
	No.	Percent
Church only	33	28.0
Western Medicine only	27	22.9
Inyanga and/or Ancestors	6	5.1
Combination Doctor and Inyanga/Ancestors	10	8.4
"Don't know"	42	35.6
T o t a l	118	100.0

Of the forty-three (36.4 per cent) persons, in this population, who look beyond the Church for help, more than three-quarters (33) constitute the exclusive clientele of one or the other of the two technological systems. With these the problem of achieving a relationship between the two would, at first glance, seem not to arise. Ten of the forty-three call on both Western medicine and Bantu medico-magic. With these the problem of the achieved relationship can be raised.

More than one-third of the persons (42) gave a "Don't know" response. Is it likely that 36 per cent of responsible mothers and/or fathers in this community do not know where they went in the past or where they will go in future to seek help when faced with problems of psycho-physical adjustment to situations of stress and strain? It is obviously unlikely that this is, in fact, the case. Why then this "evasion of the issue?

It can be assumed that these persons, like many others in the community and elsewhere, would, at least for certain ailments, avail themselves of the services of Western medicine. And if this was the only source of help they could tap, it is difficult to account for their "Don't know" responses. But if, at the same time they had views on the possibilities of Bantu medico- magical techniques of the inyanga, and possibly a predisposition towards consulting him, this type of response would be understandable because they are members of a predominantly Christian community and belief im traditional medico-magical techniques has been a target of Missionary Christian teaching, hence there would be a reluctance to admit resort to these techniques; they are members of an educated community and belief in traditional medico-magical techniques, in the era of rationalised Western knowledge, is associated with a "primitive" level of social development and "superstitious beliefs"; and hence admission of belief in and use of these techniques is considered incompatible with the respectability of an individual as a Christian and/or as an educated person.

There is some further evidence which casts light on the question of the genuineness of the "Don't know" and other responses. When asked if there were diseases they thought an inyanga could cure, the 118 respondents gave the answers recorded in Table 61.

This Table shows that the number of persons, in this population, with whom the problem of the working relationship between the two technological systems can be raised is not as small as it appeared to be in Table 60. Of the twenty-seven who say they consult the doctor only, about half also have positive opinions on the efficacy of Bantu medico-magic. Of the thirty-three who say they seek no help beyond

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TABLE 61 OPINIONS ON THE INYANGA'S EFFICACY AMONG 118 RESPONDENT FAMILY SPOUSES

Extra-Church Help alleged to be sought from:	Total	Opinions on Inyanga's Efficacy	Number of Persons
Doctors Only	27	Positive Negative Don't know	13 8 6
None Except Church	33	Positive Negative Don't know	16 9 8
Don't knew	42	Positive Negative Don't know	31 4 7
Others	16	Positive Negative Don't know	9 5 2
Total	118	Positive Negative Don't know	69 26 23

the Church, again about half have positive opinions on Bantu medico-magic and, presumably, on Western medicine also. And of the forty-two who claim not to know what help they can seek beyond the Church about three-fourths have positive opinions on the efficacy of Bantu medico-magic and, presumably, on Western medicine as well. The "don't know" responses that persist are only seven and these may still be non-committal responses.

Resolving the Conflict.

Whatever restraints some members of this community may have about admitting the use or a predisposition towards the use of Western medicine and Bantu medico-magic, both technological systems appear to be in use in this community simultaneously to at least some extent. This implies that some kind of relationship has been achieved between the two. It now remains to discover what type of relationship this is.

There are three possible relationships: equal alternatives in which anyone chooses either inyanga or doctor for any problem as he reasons in each specific case; selection in terms of the degree of sophistication of the individual in which the more Westernized would choose the Western medicine and those still largely dominated by traditional culture would choose the Bantu medico-magic; and, selection in terms of a differentiation in areas of operation by which the Western doctor would be chosen where causes are clear and scientific procedures are called for and the inyanga where super-natural elements of one sort or another seem still to be involved. It has already been shown that the second possibility does not apply here. The first could not maintain unless choices made could be shown to be unstructured and if the choices are made on some

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principle the third type of relationship must exist. To explore the possibility of a principle, the respondents were asked to name the illnesses or conditions for which they would consult an inyanga and those for which they would consult either an inyanga or a doctor. The replies are inventorised with the frequency with which each was mentioned in Table 62. While the two areas are quite distinct, if it is assumed that our respondents could have defined a special medico-surgical problem area for the doctor, in contrast to that defined for the inyanga (this data was not elicited), the two technological systems are not altogether unrelated or insulated from each other; they overlap in the either-or column.

TABLE 62 PROBLEM AREAS OF THE INYANGA AND THOSE OF EITHER DOCTOR OR INYANGA

Frequency of Mention	Inyanga's Problem Area[11]	Frequency of Mention	Inyanga/Doctor's Problem Area
41	Ufufunyana*	8	Veneral Disease
18	Idliso*	8	Stomachache
18	Uthando*	6	Headache
14	Umbulelo Umeqo*	3	Snake-bite
9	Inhlanhla*	2	Blood-purification
4	Iqondo*		
4	Izilonda*	2	Vomiting
4	Ukhakhayi*	2	Sprains
4	Uku6ethela*	2	Fractures
3	Amahla6o/Izibo6o*	2	Fevers
3	I6ulawo*	2	Dropsy
3	Ilumbo*	2	Diphtheria
3	Isilumo*	1	Appendicitis
3	Inyoni*	1	Nose-bleeding
1	Isivalo*	1	Rheumatism
1	Ukwe6uza*	1	Accessive Biles
1	Elimination of Enemies (e.g. through witchcraft)	1	Ringworms
		1	Bilharzia
1	Locating lost objects (through divination)	1	Eye-trouble
		1	Ear-trouble
1	Fortune-telling (through divination)	1	Kidney trouble
		1	Pimples
		1	Hiccups

/ Many .....

11 Where available, Bryant's translations have been used and indicated in brackets. See: A.T. Bryant: "A Zulu-English Dictionary", (Pinetown: The Mariannhill Mission Press, 1905).

* Ufufunyana: A type of neurosis supposed to be caused by "possession" with numerous spirits sent by an enemy or an unsuccessful lover: often occurs in adolescent women: some of the symptoms being a feeling of heaviness on the shoulders, unfounded fears (anxiety), hysteria, desire to die and a compulsion to "run away" - often irresistable to the patient - in order to destroy oneself.
Idliso: food poisoning identified through localised dull pains and/or growths chiefly in the thorax but sometimes in the abdomen too.
Uthando: creation and/or maintenance of love between two persons through 'treatment' of personal belongings of the loved party or through oral introduction of medicine.
Umbulelo Umeqo: disease caused by a certain class of poisonous or injurious medicines placed in a kraal, along paths, etc. by an umthakathi, for the purpose of causing fatal disease in those who

Many of the respondents, whether they confessed confidence in the Church or in the doctor, think certain psycho-physical and vicissitudinal problems may be referred to an inyanga rather than to a doctor. People consider that these conditions involve questions of causation which transcend the limits of science as in fact they do, hence their explanation and treatment are sought on a different plane where they consider the inyanga, the insanusi, the magician (and the priest) are the final authorities. On this plane, explanation is chiefly in terms of witchcraft and/or accusations and treatment chiefly through magic.

In so far as the izinyanga, consciously or unconsciously operate with scientific (or, perhaps, pseudo-scientific) concepts and techniques, they overlap the area in which doctors operate.

It is common knowledge, however, that doctors sometimes have to deal with serious cases complicated by izinyanga trying to treat diseases beyond their ability.

The working relationship between Western medicine and Bantu medico-magic in Baumannville is clear. The two systems of techniques constitute a system of unequal complementary alternatives. For problems of psycho-physical adjustments believed or known to be reducible by the knowledge of Western medical science, the

/ doctor .....

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* continued

should come in contact with them. (Bryant)
Inhlanhla: creation and/or maintenance of luck (e.g. in getting and keeping a job) through vomiting with certain 'white' medicines or application of certain powders on one's brow so as to be likeable.
Igondo: calculus or 'stone' in the bladder supposed to be the result of the youth having had illicit connection with a girl from whom he contracted the disease. (Bryant)
Izilonda: 'incurable' sores all over the body supposed to be caused by sitting on article or putting on clothing that has been 'medically' treated by enemy or umthakathi.
Ukhakhayi: fatal depression of baby's crown supposed to be caused by inhaling odour or fumes of charms probably intended to bewitch adults.
Uku6ethela: to set up a stake for charming off evil, lightning, witches (Bryant) - by placing 'treated' pebbles at strategic places in/round a kraal.
Amahla6o/Zibo6o: sharp piercing pain in the side near the breast supposed to be caused by amadlozi (Bryant).
I6ulawo: any pain or ill caused in one's limbs by the injurious medicines of an umthakathi, especially painful swellings of the joints (Bryant).
Ilumbo: evil work of a surprising nature upon a person, as abathakathi are supposed to do when they cause a man to be insane or dumb or a wild beast to come to them from the forest and become their co-operator in nefarious practices. (Bryant).
Isilumo: regular painful menstruation arising from some chronic disease of the womb. (Bryant).
Inyoni: gastric disease of babies showing in blue-green stools, somehow associated with the 'blue-bird' accompanying lightning.
Isivalo: disease caused by medicine used for 'closing the womb' of a woman so that she no longer bears (Bryant) or has placental complications at delivery.
Ukwe6uza: (drying and peeling off of the cuticle).

doctor is consulted; for problems known or believed to be outside the scope of scientific knowledge and consequently amenable to explanation and treatment through categories and techniques not used by the doctor, the inyanga is consulted; and for problems known or believed to be within the scope of competence of either, either is consulted. When either is baffled by a problem normally supposed to fall within his area of efficacy, it is conceivable that the other may be consulted, as a second or last resort. "Melika's case", quoted by Sundkler, illustrates this flexibility clearly.

This is the case of an African woman who, faced with a complicated situation of psycho-physical stress and strain, sought serially and sometimes simultaneously the help of the hospital, the private practitioner, the inyanga and two Zionist churches - all in seventeen months. He comments:-

> Melika's case is of course no exception. It would be an exaggeration to call it typical of the Zulu society as a whole; but that it is typical of a growing mass of undernourished, infected, desperate Bantu in South Africa, nobody with any knowledge of the medical situation among these Africans would deny.[12]

We must hasten to add, however, that the priority apparently enjoyed by the inyanga in his allocated problem area is not accompanied, in this urban Christian and educated community, by "unimpaired" or implicit faith in the status-role in which he operates. Rather it is accompanied by an attitude of radical scepticism directed not just to this or that inyanga, but to the status-role of the inyanga as a whole.

This radical scepticism does not seem to be of the same order as the scepticism which inevitably tinges traditional belief in the status-role of the inyanga. Evans-Pritchard, for instance, has observed an attitude of scepticism in the orientation of a more tradition-bound people than those in Baumannville, the Azande, to witch-doctors. In his account this scepticism is superimposed on a firm, traditional faith in the status-role of the witch-doctor; and, in the final analysis, it has the function of confirming and stabilising the underlying faith by ensuring - through "oracles" and "tests" - that the "unimpaired" traditional faith is well-placed, that is, on reliable witch-doctors.[13]

In Baumannville there are many people who disbelieve in witch-doctorhood; and their disbelief has not left "the main belief in the prophetic and therapeutic powers of witch-doctors unimpaired". It has made deep inroads into their traditional orientation to the cult of witch-doctorhood. This is not the traditional scepticism which Evans-Pritchard suggests is "included in the pattern of belief in witch-doctors", nor does it reinforce this belief, but rather undermines it. Unlike the Azande, the Baumannvillers can and do "consider what their world would be like without witch-doctors" - and many think it would be far better. Their scepticism indicates a break with traditional beliefs. And, unlike the Azande, there is every "incentive to agnosticism". For those who believe, pragmatic proof has been necessary and their belief hangs on this pragmatic proof, not on a traditional commitment to such a belief.

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12 B.G.M. Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 222 - 223.

13 E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande"; London: Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 185, 193, 194.

This experimental attitude towards the inyanga emerged clearly in most of the responses and may be considered characteristic of the community in general. The following responses illustrate the point.

Pro-Inyanga Responses	Anti-Inyanga Responses
1. Izinyanga are helpful. My husband was suffering from some nervous and mental disorder. I sent him home to an inyanga. He is better now; we are expecting him back home any time.	1. I lost my first child when I had consulted an inyanga. I have no use for izinyanga any more.
2. Last year I was pregnant. I got ill. The doctor said it would pass off. He could not understand when I tried to tell him. He made light of it. So I went to an inyanga. She gave me medicine and I got cured. Until then I never believed in an inyanga. Now, after this, I have to believe.	2. To be true, I used to go to the izinyanga. I went and went for many ailments. But I am not well yet. I have learnt not to trust them.
3. (Husband) I have faith in the izinyanga. My faith in them is due to the fact that I was once cured by one when I consulted one.	3. (Wife) I have lost faith in the izinyanga because I was never cured by them when I consulted them.

Many other respondents have thus weighed the izinyanga on the pragmatic scale - and found them wanting, never condoning or rationalising their failures, but taking them for what they prove themselves to be worth in helping the people adjust to situations of psycho-physical stress and strain. Even those who have given "don't know" responses have done so on the basis of pragmatic evidence. They have been confused and rendered undecided by the successes and failures of the izinyanga in certain practical cases. "Shortly after the desertion of my husband", says one woman, I had a nervous disorder called ufufunyana. An inyanga cured me. My daughter's child had muscular convulsions; an inyanga burnt some herbs in the house and made the child inhale the smoke. The convulsions gradually stopped, but two or three days later the child died. So I don't know".

The lack of evidence - observed or experienced - in the lives of many of these people does not necessarily imply that they trust the izinyanga until they prove themselves inefficient. On the contrary, these people choose to remain "on the fence" until the izinyanga's performance shifts their attitudes towards either side of the fence. "I can't say for sure", says one man, "I only hear people talk of many things but they haven't come within my personal experience. So I can't confirm or refute".

There are also, in this community, people who are far too impatient with the izinyanga to consider empirical evidence proving or disproving their efficiency. "Izinyanga are all Bantu nonsense", says one. "But if a man believes drinking water will cure him then it will cure him ; same with the izinyanga. It is just what a person believes, not what the inyanga can do".

/ Some .....

Some maximise the operation of chance or luck in any medical treatment - Western or Bantu. "It all depends on the luck of the patient. In any disease a European or an African doctor can help, depending on the luck of the patient". "It all depends on the luck of the patient. It is the same with white doctors - they succeed here and fail there".

Others condemn the izinyanga on the basis of an unfavourable comparison with the izinyanga of old.

> "Among the old Zulu there were good izinyanga. God must have taught them because there was no civilisation, just as dogs cure themselves by eating grass. But the knowledge is no longer handed down, and I am afraid of the modern izinyanga. I may be playing with my life. Izinyanga exploit our people these days".

A former inyanga compares the modern inyanga with the old and with the doctor:-

> "In the olden times the izinyanga had cures. I can tell you true. Some izinyanga found out in dreams about this root and that one and plants and ways to cure sickness. I was an inyanga in those days. I had no dreams myself. I was not a big one. But others taught me. But their knowledge was in darkness. Now the Europeans have brought us light on these questions. They do not dream - they think and it is clear. My son will be a doctor - not an inyanga. Izinyanga are good only for a people in darkness. They are no good if we have light as we do".

CONCLUSION

Although many Baumannvillers express positive opinions on the efficacy of the inyanga in his area of operation, yet he is on his last legs in Baumannville. Even those who still look up to him for help, watch his performance, not with the traditional faith but with profound scepticism. By the others he is categorically rejected. In either case he is pitted against the technologically superior doctor and is expected to demonstrate his efficiency in his area of operation or is rejected as an anachronism - albeit once "good for a people in darkness" but now "no good if we have light as we do".

This is an inevitable result of culture contact. Beliefs that were taken for granted in traditional Bantu society are being gradually subjected to re-examination in the light of new knowledge coming from culture contacts. The process is that of evaluating a traditional technological system "found in dreams", as one respondent puts it, in the light of a rational technological system developed through scientific experimentation and validation.

If the former must survive, it must prove just as efficient as, or complementary to, the latter. Will it? It would appear likely that, pending the development and extension of psychiatric medicine to the Bantu, the izinyanga, like creaking doors, may continue his operations for some time because many of the psycho-physical disturbances constituting their problem area are more functional than organic; and are in reality subjective problems in the minds of the people which they handle.

It is conceivable that the therapeutic part of the problem area of the inyanga may ultimately be taken over by the psychiatrist; and the philosophic part of it, by the priest - as Westernisation and

/ Christianisation .....

Christianisation of the Africans increase. The development of African Independent churches, especially the Zionist type, is an interesting phenomenon in relation to the problem of the future of the inyanga as these tend to cover much of the area traditionally covered by the inyanga in his role as therapist and philosopher.

CHAPTER 9

RECREATION AND THE USE OF LEISURE TIME

Adequate facilities for wholesome recreation are recognized as essential for the happiness and well-being of people in urban communities. Native Africans under the conditions of their traditional life, like all simple rural peoples, had a far less clear cut distinction between work and play. Recreation was a part of their daily lives with occasional special activities such as tribal dancing, beer parties and hunting. As the Africans have settled in the cities, the old patterns of living are no longer possible, recreation must be specially planned and is artificial in cities. Have the Africans adapted themselves to these Western urban patterns? How people spend their leisure time reveals much about the people and in this situation adds further evidence regarding adaptation of the people.

The problem of recreational facilities provided by the Municipalities in South Africa is complicated by the enforced separation of the racial groups which makes the duplication of facilities necessary. Durban has done reasonably well for the Africans. This chapter deals with the recreational facilities of various kinds which are available to the Baumannville people and the use they make of them, the associations in which the people participate, and the activities in which individuals engage in their leisure time.

AVAILABLE RECREATION FACILITIES

Not only are there public facilities provided by the Municipal Native Affairs Department and paid for largely out of the profits from the sale of Native beer which is a municipal monopoly, but there are also facilities provided by service agencies supported by philanthropy and commercial enterprises.

Public Facilities.

Within 600 to 700 yards of Baumannville are located the Somtseu Road recreation grounds. These are the most extensive for the use of Natives in Durban. They contain six football fields, a fully equipped cricket pitch, six tennis courts and a tennis pavilion, a full-sized banked cycle track, a Ngoma dance arena with a large, enclosed grandstand and open stands seating some 6,000 spectators.

Here is the home ground of the City Blacks, Baumannville's own football team which is enthusiastically supported not only by the people of this community but also by the Natives of the city and by Europeans as well. Athletic contests are frequent, the annual Bantu Fair is held on these grounds and occasional dance exhibitions draw crowds from long distances.

About a third of a mile from Baumannville, on the edge of the Somtseu Road Native Men's Hostel grounds, is Farrell Hall. Here films are shown, concerts given, and dances held. It is also used for more serious community activities such as political meetings, sessions of the Advisory Board and elections. Programmes here are participated in largely by the men from the hostel and the nearby railway workers hostel. Although it is available to Baumannville people for special

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uses and for general participation they feel, however, that it is too far away and does not belong to them as they participate very little. There was frequent expression among the people that they would like to have a recreation hall of their own within the confines of their community. No facilities are actually in Baumannville because it is very small as far as Native locations go. The Municipal Native Administration Department does put on a film show once a month in Baumannville, projecting the pictures on the wall of a house. This and meetings of the small clubs composed of Baumannville people make up the recreation within the community.

About a mile from Baumannville is the section of the Ocean beach set aside for African use and bathing. Not far away is one of the Municipal Beer Halls. Both of these are well patronized and among the participants are those from Baumannville.

Across the centre of the city is the Brooke Street Library set up by the Municipality for the use of Non-Europeans. Though it has a great general collection of some 29,000 volumes and a membership of about 3,400 adults and 1,500 juveniles, only 5 per cent of the adults are Africans and few (if any) children. How many of these were from Baumannville could not be determined and only one or two of those interviewed mentioned using the library.

Available to the Africans are general programme concerts by the Municipal Orchestra, the museum and art gallery, sports events and horse racing. In the latter there is considerable interest.

Other facilities.

The Bantu Social Centre operated by the Y.M.C.A is located in the central part of the city and carries on an extensive programme of club activities, especially for the youths, physical activities such as boxing and weight-lifting, and general social programmes with indoor games, concerts, dances and the like. Welfare departments of industries which employ many Africans have some activity programmes.

Also centrally located is the Belton Hall which is available for dances and other special events. The Non-European cinemas are also located in this same area.

USE OF LEISURE

During the interviews with the head of households or their wives the question was asked: "How do you spend your spare time?" While the replies covered the activities of only a small proportion of the total adults, the scope of activities is most interesting.

Many activities.

Sixty-eight of the women said that they sewed in their free time while thirty-nine mentioned knitting. Ten men and eight women swim, ten men and five women dance and two husbands and one wife mention tennis playing as a spare time activity. One of the more popular activities appears to be choral singing which is participated in by thirteen men and fourteen women.

While a few said that they had no spare time, and this is easy to believe especially in the case of the women who carry such wide responsibilities. Most mentioned something, among the items were: cycling, playing football, billiards, playing draughts, visiting with friends, going for drives in car, playing the piano, going to the beach, going for a picnic in a hired lorry. One man acts in radio plays on the Zulu programme.

/ Going .....

Going to church or participating in church activities were emphasized by eight families. No less than fourteen people, including one man who helps his wife, mentionedwork about the house such as cooking, washing and mending as one of, or as the only way in which they spend their spare time.

In seventy-four of the households, one or more of the adults spend time watching athletic contests or more accurately football games although one also mentioned tennis tournaments and another cricket. These are almost entirely Bantu teams especially the City Blacks.

Gambling.

Out of ninety husbands thirty-nine confessed to gambling and out of 116 wives, thirty. While one gambles with dice and another in a lottery, the rest follow the horses. The great interest of people in the city in the long season of horse racing has captured some of the Baumannville people. While a few bet fairly large sums, two pounds or more, as often as weekly and may wager £50 or more in the course of the year, the majority bet a few shillings once in a while which might add up to as much as five pounds in a year. While the total amount might be a significant drain on the resources of a community not too well off, several individuals confessed to success in their betting by paying for pianos and other household equipment and by hitting the "jack pot" to the tune of £200.

Visiting.

The frequency with which field-workers found guests in the houses when they called seemed to indicate that this was a sociable community and that there was a great deal of intervisiting. Chapter 4 reported intervisiting with relatives both within and outside of Durban and it revealed the coninuing solidarity of families. Here it is friendliness between neighbours which is important.

Each person interviewed was asked about the number of families that were known by the members of his or her family. The extent to which the replies reflected only the individual's acquaintance is not known, but they reported as follows:- One knew no families; five knew one family each; eight, two families each; thirteen, three families each; thirteen, four families each; ten, five families each; forty-three, six to ten families; and nineteen, eleven to fifteen families. Just over half were acquainted with six or more families, but a quarter knew only three of fewer families.

MEMBERSHIP IN CLUBS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Much of the recreation in which Baumannville adults participate is self generated by the clubs and associations to which they belong. The largest participation is in football clubs, principally the City Blacks. There are fifty members, two of whom are women, at the house of one of whom the Victorians Club meets and who takes flowers to the big matches and places them on the table with the trophies. Both this club and the City Blacks are members of the Durban and District African Football Association which has over 140 member clubs in the Durban area. The Association has had enthusiastic leadership from Baumannville over the years.

The second largest number, some forty-four, belong to the Baumannville Cultural Club, an organization of long standing which

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meets from time to time in the houses of members for talks, music, and the like. There are a few members of other cultural societies, a small local sewing club, some are members of other sport clubs and a number belong to social clubs.

About one-third of these eighteen years of age or over belong to some sort of a club or association, nearly half of the men, but only one-quarter of the women. The older the age group, the less the participation and the differences with age are greater among women than among men. This is not an uncommon pattern of participation.

INDIVIDUAL LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES

The three individual pursuits which were found to be more general and so particularly investigated - reading newspapers, magazines and books, listening to the radio, and seeing films, are not only recreation, but as mass media of communication have important educational implications. Whether one carries on these activities with a definite educational purpose or not, the accumulation of information, the building of attitudes and the formation of opinions goes on in the process. The extent to which people subject themselves to these influences is quite as important as the degree to which they follow these pursuits in their leisure time.

Reading Newspapers.

A morning and an evening daily paper in English, the "Natal Mercury", and the "Daily News" respectively are published in Durban. "The Sunday Tribune" is Durban's Sunday newspaper in English. These are classified for the purpose of this chapter as European newspapers not only because they are published by Europeans, but because they are intended to appeal primarily to Europeans and especially the English-speaking people. The only African newspaper published in Natal is the weekly Ilanga lase Natal. Several Indian newspapers are published in Durban and a very few Baumannville people reported reading them. Various other European newspapers published in South Africa, especially the Johannesburg Sunday Times, weekly editions of overseas newspapers, and some other African newspapers especially religious papers are available in Durban.

Ninety per cent of the Baumannville households have newspapers. Usually when there is a newspaper around, several people read it and often its news items get into the conversation. Of the 157 men whose reading habits are known, 116 read newspapers (forty-five of them daily, fifty weekly or less, and twenty-one with unspecified frequency). There is no significant difference in the extent to which men of different educational levels read newspapers. When the educational level is held constant, however, there is a marked rise with economic status in the proportion of men who read newspapers within the groups who have attained Standard V to VII and Standard VIII or higher. There is no difference within the group within which the men have attained less than Standard V. This suggests, however, that low school attainment is a deterrent to newspaper reading. Of those below the poverty line, nine read papers daily and twenty-three weekly; above the poverty line thirty-one read newspapers daily and twenty-five weekly.

For the women, as for the men, extreme poverty and very poor education tends to prevent newspaper reading. For them, even a newspaper is a luxury. For those who are better educated and less grindingly poor, education is much more related to newspaper reading for the proportion which reads newspapers increases with education. As often stated, the economic status of women is equivocal. Of the

/ 175 .....

175 women whose habits are known 109 read newspapers, thirty-six daily, fifty-four weekly and nineteen with unspecified frequency.

Magazines.

A great variety of magazines are available in Durban, South African and English and American from overseas. The most popular and widely known South African magazine is the "Outspan", a pictorial, and the two most popular African magazines are "Drum" and "Zonk " which are both written in English and reflect the outlook of the urbanized and Westernized Bantu, especially their "society" life and politics. These two African magazines predominate among Baumannville magazine readers. Seventy per cent of the households have magazines, seventy-three of the 157 men read magazines, and seventy-six of the 175 women, which is a slightly higher proportion of the men. Nine-tenths of all magazine readers of both sexes, however, read the African magazines. About one-sixth of the men and one-seventh of the women read magazines from overseas, and one-sixth of the men but one-third of the women read the European South African magazines. Monthly magazines are read monthly and there is no difference in frequency of reading of the various types of magazines.

Men's reading of magazines is more related to education than to income, perhaps because magazines are, on the whole, slightly more sophisticated reading than newspapers. Otherwise the pattern is much like that for newspapers, both low income and poor education seem to be real deterrents to magazine reading. Among the women, more education means more magazine reading and income makes little difference.

Use of Books.

There are readers of books in 78 per cent of the households. Ninety of the 157 men read books, a larger proportion than reads magazines, and seventy-five of the 175 women, just about the same as the proportion which reads magazines. Here again more education and more income seem to mean more book reading for both men and women, though income seems to be more significant with women. (Perhaps this means more leisure for reading books for it takes more time than other reading).

An attempt was made to find out the types of books people read. While the information is by no means complete, it gave some indication of where interests lie. About two-fifths of the readers of books read religious books and about half of those confine their reading to the Bible, the others add church literature, hymn books, prayer books or the catechism. The second most popular category is light fiction with a quarter of the readers. Just under one in six reads thrillers or adventure stories. About one in ten reads school books of unspecified types and the same proportion a miscellany including books in Afrikaans and books on domestic science. History and biography has one reader in twelve as do also specialist books on various sciences and arts and literature. Plays and poetry has one reader in fifteen and about the same proportion read books in the Bantu languages. Only four persons reported reading books on social problems and politics, one on sports and one on philosophy. About one in seven did not specify the sort of books they read.

The reading habits of Baumannville people tend strongly to confirm evidence already presented in this report, to the effect that religion is an important factor in the life of the community. Almost one-quarter of the book-readers read only religious books. Fifteen people said they read their Bible daily. In a number of homes,

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fieldworkers observed the predominance of religious books and both husbands and wives indicated that their only reading was religious books.

While studies of reading habits and library circulation usually have shown a predominance of fiction often to as much as several times as great as non-fiction, the facts gathered in Baumannville seem to indicate that the reading of fiction and non-fiction approaches a fifty-fifty ratio.

Books observed in peoples houses present a wide variety of interests. One clerk with teacher's training had a set of the thirteenth edition of the Encyclopaedia Brittannica, the twenty volumes of the International Library of Famous Literature, a large box of miscellaneous books and some fifty school and childrens books on a shelf in the kitchen. A cafe proprietor has some fifty to sixty books on his shelf. He "likes adventure stories and his wife is keen on South African history". A third man and his eldest son read from their book-case: education, geography, encyclopaedias, criminal law, Zulu history, Alan Paton: Cry the Beloved Country, Chaucer, Wordsworth, poetry - modern and classical, Latin. A fourth man has among other things Marcus Aurelius, Machiavelli, Spinoza and Shaw on his shelves plus one P.G. Wodehouse. This is the man who admitted reading philosophy. A tailor buys science and chemistry books and novels such as Pride and Prejudice and Drums of Dr. Fu-Manchu. These are examples of reading of better-educated Baumannville for all but one of them have had at least a Standard VII education and some a great deal more. On the other end of the scale one woman is a keen reader of Tarzan books and two young men are buyers of comic books.

The Radio.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation broadcasts from Durban throughout the day a programme in English and one in Afrikaans. Each day from 9.30 to 10.00 a.m. a programme in Zulu is broadcast including plays, health talks, quizzes, songs, etc. In addition, two commercial radio stations are readily received in this area - Springbok Radio and the English programme from Lorenço Marques.

There were seventy-one households which owned radios, but eighty-two household or 73 per cent which reported that at least one person listened to the radio. The difference is doubtless to be explained by the practice of people going to neighbours' houses to listen to the radio - one informant said he listened to programmes coming over the radio in the house next door, through the parting wall. Of the 157 men, ninety-six or 61 per cent listen to the radio and of the 175 women, 114 or 65 per cent. There is only a slight increase of listening by both men and women with increased education and somewhat more of an increase with higher incomes. It seems likely that it may all be wrapped up in the fact that for the most part it is necessary to buy a radio to listen and they are expensive.

Of those who specified the radio programmes to which they listened the Zulu programme was the most popular, listened to by about two-third of the men and three-quarters of the women. Springbok and Lourenço Marques (classified together for purposes of the study) are next in popularity for both sexes, 53 per cent of the men and 55 per cent of the women listening to these two programmes. The English programme of the South African Broadcasting Corporation is listened to by 46 per cent of the men and 35 per cent of the women. Other programmes, including the local Afrikaans and overseas broadcasts, have only a few listeners. The level of educational achieve-

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ment seems to have little or no affect upon the choice of programmes. The poorest educated, however, stick more closely to the Zulu programmes.

The Cinema.

Slightly less than half of the households (48 per cent) have members who go to the pictures. Only fifty-one of the 157 men and forty-four of the 175 women said that they attended the cinema. Those below the poverty line do not go; above the line educational backgrounds seem to be more related to the attendance of men, but both education and income seem equally influential in the attendance of women.

Only three-fifths of those who attend the cinema specified the type of pictures they chose and these were in their own general categories. On the whole they were as 'low-brow' as the tastes of cinema goers in most countries. Thrillers and adventure films including Tarzan, detective, cowboy, adventure and war pictures were at the top with forty choices. Musical films with twenty-seven choices came next. Drama, educational and historical had seven choices, love and romance five, funny films four and religious films two. Five persons said they went to see better films. Some fourteen informants said that they disapproved of attending the cinema , one Methodist going so far as to state that he was not allowed to go by his church, saying: "Thou shalt not sit in the seat of the ungodly". There is a little evidence that the advent of the 'talky' struck a blow at the cinema-going of the older, less-educated Bantu.

About three-fifths of the cinema-goers indicated the frequency of their attendance, twenty or about one-third went weekly, twenty monthly, fourteen seldom, and six "quite often". This tends to strengthen the general impression that the community is not much interested in the cinema, perhaps because the facilities are inadequate.

CONCLUSION

This brief survey of the recreational and leisure time activities of Baumannville people raises more questions than it answers, but it does picture rather normal city people of less than affluence who endeavour to fill the spaces between their work and home responsibilities with some fun and the pursuit of various interests which have been aroused in them. The people who live in this community have already adapted themselves in this area of their living to the general patterns prevailing in the urban centers of the Western world. It seems clear that they have made the most of their opportunities - what they might do were the pressures of life lessened and more opportunities were made available, is another question. This is a picture of the adults of Baumannville. A survey of the recreational activities of the children and youths might reveal greater differences, but that information was not obtained.

CHAPTER 10

ATTITUDES TO OTHER RACIAL GROUPS

Baumannville is an African community well separated from other parts of Durban, but its members inevitably come into contact with persons of other racial groups - Europeans, Coloureds and Asiatics (mostly Indians) - all of which (except the Coloureds who are only 3.7 per cent of the total population) are well represented in Durban.

CONTACTS WITH OTHER RACES

Some of these contacts are made within the neighbourhood. Baumannville has thirty-one Coloured residents (3.9 per cent of the location's population); European police make intermittent raids, going from house to house in search of illicitly-brewed beer; European officials, salesmen and social workers are in and out of Baumannville during the day and often at night. A large Indian community is separated from Baumannville by only a fence; and Indians, especially women and children, make free use of the Baumannville thoroughfares.

Other contacts are made outside. Every weekday, about a third of the residents leave Baumannville to go to work, most of them for European employers. The other residents leave the precincts at least occasionally and they can hardly avoid contacts, even though superficial, with Europeans and Indians. Many of the Baumannville Africans have had encounters with Indian traders, bus-drivers and landlords.

Baumannville household heads and their spouses were asked to talk about their contacts with the three main non-African races of Durban. Of the 171 who replied to questions, twenty-three (13.5 per cent) admitted only infrequent contacts with the other three races and only three individuals said that they had many contacts with the non-African races. The great majority admitted only casual contacts with the other races. The mean degree of contact was 5.2, measured on a scale where no contact with the three other races is represented by 3 points, and "many" contacts with the other races by 9 points.

This rather scant evidence suggests that the contacts made by Baumannville people with other races are neither extensive nor intense. The existence of legal and social barriers to free racial intermingling in South Africa makes the establishment of substantial inter-racial contacts difficult to achieve. As long as contacts of the Baumannville residents with other races are on their present low level, however, prejudices against these races can be expected to persist, for while intense contacts tend to reduce prejudice, casual contacts seem more likely to increase it.[1]

/ Degree .....

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1 Gordon W. Allport: "The Nature of Prejudice". Addison-Wesley, Cambridge 42, Mass. 1954. p. 263-364 and p. 280-281.

Degree to which Contacts are Desired.

Not only do the Baumannville residents tend to have little contact with other races, but most residents do not desire contacts with these races. Household heads and their spouses, totalling 193 persons, replied to social-distance questions with results set out in Table 63.

TABLE 63 PERCENTAGE OF AFRICAN RESPONDENTS FAVOURING CONTACTS OF AFRICANS WITH OTHER RACES IN SPECIFIED SOCIAL SITUATIONS

Social Situation	With Coloureds	With Europeans	With Indians
Children at school	33	34	22
Living next door	31	31	22
Dancing together	29	19	15
Intermarrying	19	7	5

N = 193

The table shows that never more than one-third of the respondents favoured any suggested type of contact with the other races. Inter-racial contacts, however, are more favoured in some social situations than in others. The respondents are most favourable towards children of their race and children of the other races attending school together, and towards living next door to members of the other races. They are less favourable towards dancing with members of these races; and few favour intermarriage. One might say that the more intimate the contact proposed, the less favourable the respondent becomes.

Relationship between Contact and Race Attitudes.

If the replies to the social-distance questions are an indication of race attitudes, then those favouring inter-racial contacts may be considered as more tolerant than those disfavouring contacts. If this assumption is accepted, then the correlation between contact scores - social distance scores will give an indication of the dependance of tolerance on contact. The correlation is positive, implying that people who have more contacts with other races tend to be more tolerant towards these races.[2]

Indians over the Fence.

Some people in Baumannville live closer to the neighbouring Indian community known as Magazine Barracks than others. Figure 9 shows the arrangement of houses in Baumannville.

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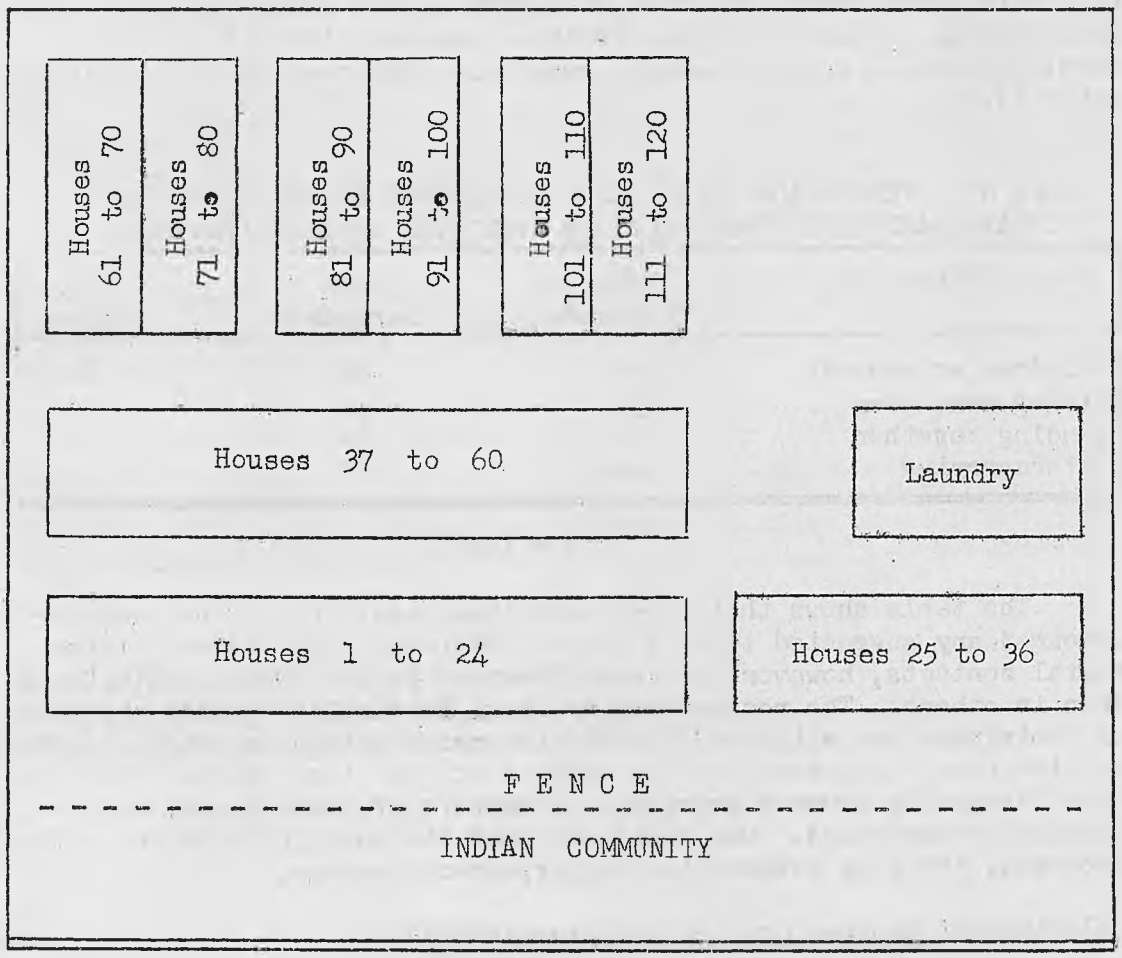
2 The correlation coefficient was computed by means of Kendall's TAU coefficient. Cf. L. Festinger and D. Katz: "Research Methods in the Behavioural Sciences". The Dryden Press. New York, 1953. pp. 569 - 572. The coefficient was .13; the standard error .052. The coefficient was significant at about the 1 per cent level.

FIGURE 9 DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSES BY THEIR NUMBERS IN BAUMANNVILLE



Only a fence separates the backyards of those living in houses 1 - 36 from the Indian community, and it may be that their proximity to the Indians, with its consequent greater opportunities for contact, leads to race attitudes different from those of other people in Baumannville. One of the housewives living in the row next to the fence said: "We in this terrace are the only ones who deal with the Indians - mostly over the fence. Only the women and children deal with us. They borrow salt and sell us little things. The children are sometimes rather a nuisance, coming in at our back entrance, asking for this and that. Sometimes the mothers come, too; but they only stand here in the yard. We never invite them in. We would never give them tea or entertain them. The people further in Baumannville have nothing to do with them. It is only we in the terrace here".

Figure 10 shows differences in race attitudes between the people living next to the fence and the people living further away.

The people living in houses 37 - 60 and those in houses 61 - 120 agree fairly well in their race attitudes, but the people in the houses next to the fence have different race attitudes. Those by the fence in houses 1 - 36 are more favourably disposed towards having African children at school with Indian children, are slightly less willing to live next door to Indians, but much less inclined than other people in Baumannville to be tolerant in their attitudes towards dancing with or marrying Indians.

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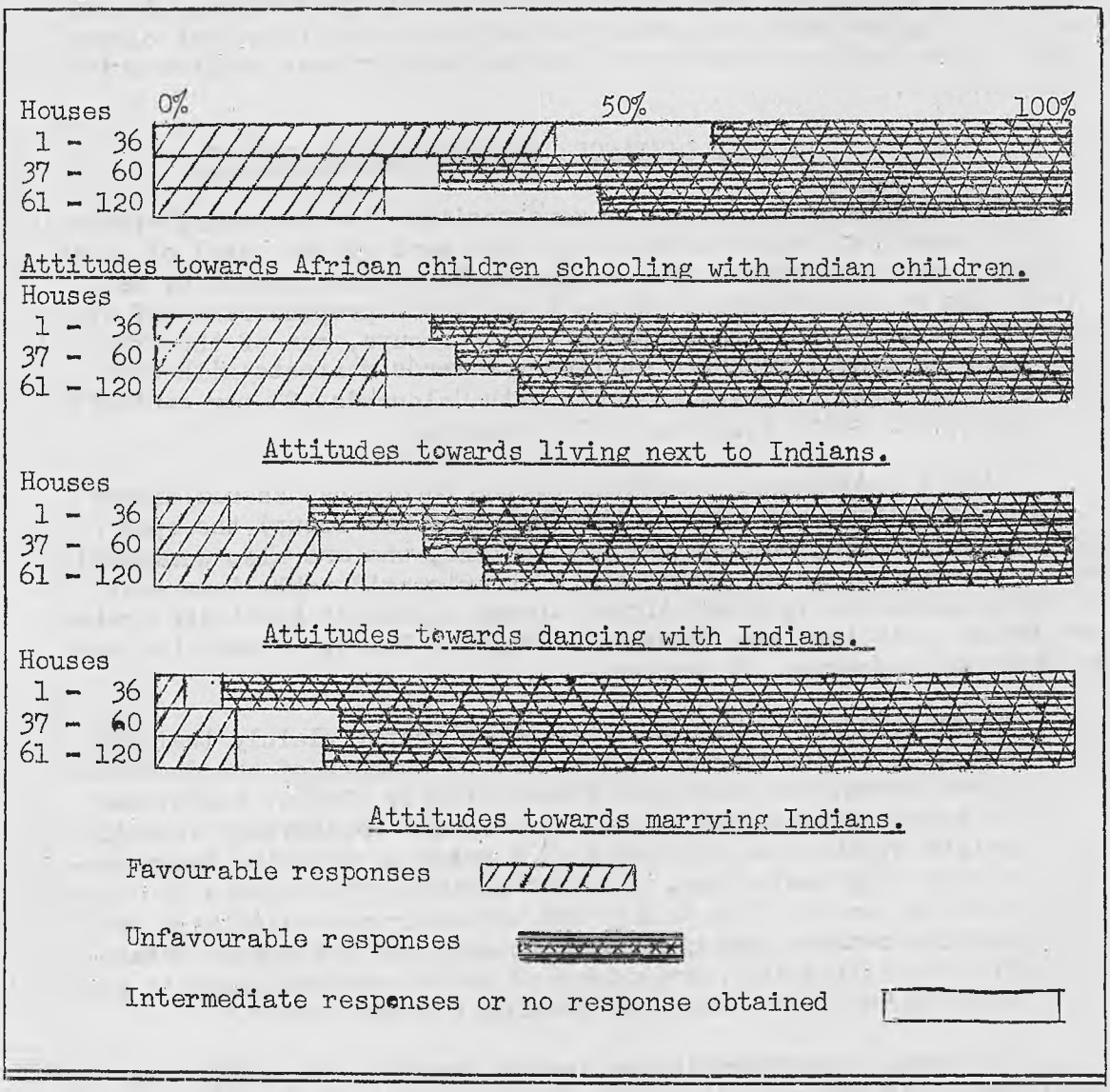
FIGURE 10 DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS INDIANS BY PEOPLE LIVING IN DIFFERENT BLOCKS OF HOUSES



The explanation of these differences in attitudes, however, may not be simply in terms of contiguity to the Indian location. Different rows of houses represent different levels of socio-economic status. A smaller proportion of households along the fence engage in the illicit sale of beer than in the rest of Baumannville. The people along the fence tend to be younger; one-quarter are under the age of thirty-five compared to less than one-fifth elsewhere. Since the general tendency in Baumannville is for the people aged thirty-five years and over to be more tolerant than their juniors as will be discussed later, the age of the people nearest the Indian community may help to explain their idiosyncratic attitudes.

In general the people in Baumannville who have most contacts with other races are also those who seem most tolerant towards these races. Those living closest to the Indians, then, either do not have more contacts with them, or there is a qualitative factor in the contacts. Regarding the former, it can be said that proximity to the Indian location may foster just that degree of casualness of contact that confirms and exacerbates racial prejudices. Regarding the latter,

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which is more probable, the nature of the contacts made would provide the critical evidence, which unfortunately is lacking. At any rate, sufficient doubt has been cast on the proposition that closeness to the Indian community is a determinant of race attitudes in Baumannville.

SOCIAL DISTANCES OF OTHER RACIAL GROUPS

The people of Baumannville were positive in expressing approval or disapproval of other races, only 6 per cent of the total of 2,316 opinions expressed about other groups could not be classified as favourable or unfavourable. While there was a preponderance of disapproval of contacts with people of other groups, out of the 772 responses showing favourable attitudes towards contacts with each group 28 per cent approved contacts with Coloureds, 23 per cent with Europeans, but only 16 per cent with Indians.

That the Africans, dominated by the Europeans, should direct counter-hostility, not against the Europeans who occupy the apex of the social pyramid, but against the Indians, who are also dominated by the Europeans, is an occurrence of some considerable interest. Africans elsewhere in South Africa appear to direct hostility against the prime dominator, the European. This, at least, is what the work of MacCrone suggests. He writes:-

> "Such evidence as is available shows pretty plainly that the reaction to domination on the part of members of the dominated black group, has taken the form of fairly violent resistance or counter-domination ..... In a recent preliminary investigation of the race attitudes of a group of educated Bantu carried out by the writer, the most striking finding was the tremendous amount of hostility and aggressiveness displayed by all its members against the white man, and the way in which this hostility and aggressiveness had become canalized in particular onto the Afrikaans-speaking European group."[3]

The racial configuration of Durban, however, is unlike that of any other South African city - 40 per cent of the total Indian population of the Union of South Africa is living in Durban and there are roughly equal numbers of Africans, Europeans and Indians.[4] The inevitable competition which exists between the Natives and the Indians makes the latter targets for African hostility.

Attitudes towards Indians.

The strongly intolerant attitudes of Durban Africans towards Indians, reflected in the responses from Baumannville people, received overt expression in the race riots of January 1949. In these riots, described as "one of the most devastating outbreaks of mass violence in time of peace within a state subject to the administration

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3 I.D. MacCrone. "Race Attitudes". Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 689.

4 "Geographical Distribution of the Population" (Population Census, 8th May, 1951). Special Report No. 200. The Government Printer, Pretoria, p. 3 and 7.

of peoples of Western European origin",[5] Africans attacked Indians and their property and 142 people lost their lives according to the official report.

As a group, the people of Baumannville do not seem to have been actively involved in the riots. An official of the Municipal Native Administration Department stationed at Somtseu Road was an eye-witness of the assault by the Africans on the Indian community, Magazine Barracks, which adjoins Baumannville.[6] He reported that a large impi of Natives from Somtseu Road and Umgeni Road smashed the windows of the Indian Magazine Barracks in the course of two unsuccessful attacks, one of which was made from Baumannville. The Indians retaliated by throwing stones into Baumannville. Subsequently, stones were thrown from Baumannville into Magazine Barracks, causing much damage to windows. The authorities were satisfied that the stones were not thrown by the people of Baumannville, but by customers who came to Baumannville to buy beer while on their way out of the location.[7]

When an Indian organisation asked for a thick brick wall to be built between Baumannville and Magazine Barracks so that Indian families and their property might be protected, the Municipality stated that it did not regard Baumannville as a menace to the Indian community. It also stated that it did not consider the illicit sale of beer in Baumannville a responsible factor in the racial disturbances.[8] The Municipality officials eventually agreed to further the building of the wall; but mainly to prevent the illegal transfer of European liquor from Magazine Barracks to Baumannville. Money for the wall was at last voted in February 1955.[9]

The tension between Africans and Indians seems to have continued. In 1953, the Municipality reported strains between Africans and Indians, especially in regard to commerce, transport and evictions of African shack tenants by Indian landlords. The Africans were said to be ready for violence. In September 1953, a minor outbreak occurred. Africans set fire to eight Indian shops and damaged and looted at least six others, at Cato Manor in Durban. The police fired on the crowd, killed one African and arrested others for looting, rioting and burglary.[10]

/ African .....

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5 Kenneth Kirkwood: "Failure of a Report". Race Relations, Vol. XVI. No. 4. 1949, p. 104.

6 Report from the Superintendent of Somtseu Road Location to the Manager of the Municipal Native Affairs Department, 2/5/1949.

7 Letter from the City and Water Engineer to the Town Clerk, 24/2/1949.

8 Letter from the Manager of the Municipal Native Affairs Department to the Durban Indian Municipal Employees Society, 8/3/1949.

9 Correspondence between the Municipal Native Administration Department and the City and Water Engineer, 1948-1955.

10 Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa. General Assembly. Official Records. Eighth Session. Supplement No. 16 (A/2505 and A/2505 Add. I).

African stereotypes of Indians throw light on the rationalisations for the intense disfavour in which the Indians are held.

TABLE 64 OPINIONS ABOUT INDIANS EXPRESSED BY BAUMANNVILLE RESIDENTS

Opinions		Total per cent of opinions
Behave badly:-		
Exploit Africans	8	
Sleep with African women	4	
Not to be trusted	1	
Behave badly in other or unspecified ways	10	23
Tend to be successful:-		
Interested in money	18	
Clever	1	19
Repulsive:-		
Unclean	7	
Hated (reasons unspecified)	10	17
Apart:-		
Selfish, exclusive, hold themselves superior	8	
Different from Africans	7	15
Human:-		
Good, kind, sympathetic, friendly	8	
Not different from Africans	5	13
Other:-		
Miscellaneous	10	
"Don't know" responses	3	13
Total of 396 opinions	=	100%

The stereotypes in Table 64 were the responses of 191 Baumannville household heads and their spouses to the question: "What three ideas come into your head when you think of an Indian?" The average number of responses per informant was 2.06.

The most striking point in the expression of opinions about Indians was that 10 per cent of the responses were expressions of unrationalised dislike, for example, "I despise them but I don't know why"; "I hate them". With reference to none of the other groups did such expressions reach more than 2 per cent of the responses.

About a quarter of the stereotypes expressed related directly to the economic role of the Indians such as, they "exploit Africans", are "so fond of money", "the overchargers", "make a living off Africans", "we are devoured by vultures". Above all else, the Natives, in Baumannville at least, feel that the Indians get the best of them in any sort of business deal.

/ Following .....

Following the 1949 riots, a Commission of Enquiry considered various suggested explanations for the manifest tension between Africans and Indians, among them allegations that Indian shopkeepers exploited Africans.[11] Although the Commission has been criticised as having failed in its interpretation of the riots,[12] it seems to have made a careful examination of the grievances against Indians voiced in the personal evidence of African witnesses. While the allegations appear to have some substance, for in the Durban area during the two years ending 31st December, 1948, convictions for selling at excessive prices were - 162 Indians, 64 Europeans, 21 Natives and 3 Chinese, the Commission concluded that they had been exaggerated. It reported that "the Native prefers to make purchases at the Indian store, where he feels more at home than in the European emporia because he is treated more courteously by the Indian store-keepers". It also pointed out that Africans might misunderstand the Indian method of trading: "without bargaining, haggling, and other forms of circumventing the adversary, a sale loses much of its savour. To the Native, on the other hand, commercial callidity is plain fraud".

The Commission investigated several other sets of circumstances which they thought might explain economic tensions between Africans and Indians: rack-renting, bad treatment of African passengers on Indian-owned buses, and the greater success of the Indians in industry and business.[13] The Baumannville people were apparently far enough removed from any direct experiences in these areas so that they did not think of mentioning them among their opinions. More direct relationships would seem to be the basis for stereotypes.

Several non-economic reasons for the tension between Africans and Indians were weighed by the Commission which suggested that the Africans regarded the Indians as strangers. A number of the "Different from Africans" stereotypes were along these lines, for example: "Foreign animals from overseas with long hair. They don't belong to us"; "A foreign nation in South Africa"; "Want them to go home". The Commission noted that African complaints about miscegenation were exaggerated, nevertheless 8 per cent of the respondents gave stereotypes of this sort. Legislation favouring the Indians while restricting the Africans may have prompted stereotypes that the Indians were fortunate - "very lucky", "better off than us". Attitudes of superiority on the part of the Indians were resented by a number of respondents; in the stereotypes reflecting this, however, there is no evidence that the superiority attitudes resulted from nationalistic events in India, as the Commission suggests they did.

/ Some .....

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11 Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Riots in Durban. U.G. 36 - 49. Published by Authority. pp. 11 - 19.

12 Maurice Webb: "The Ricts and After". Race Relations. Vol. XVI. No. 4, p. 92.

13 For instance: "Whereas the Indian can be classified into three almost equal groups of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, over 80% of the Natives are unskilled and only some 4% skilled ..... In 1943, there were 428 Indian working proprietors as against 18 Native ..... Indians cater for 86% of all non-European transport services". Memorandum on "The Durban Riots" by the Department of Economics, University of Natal, 1949, pp. 4-7.

Some of the grounds for tensions suggested by the Commission do not find direct expression in the stereotypes collected in Baumannville - namely, African fear of the "explosive fecundity" of the Indian in Natal and the feeling of social stigma when working under the direction of Indians who tend to secure the better paid, senior posts.

It seems that the hostility felt by Baumannville respondents towards the Indians has largely an economic rationale, even though the sharp practice attributed to the Indians may not be so extensive as alleged.

Attitudes towards Europeans.

The Baumannville respondents favoured Europeans more than Indians, but less than Coloureds. Only a quarter of the responses favoured contacts of various kinds with Europeans, however, so it can be said that on the whole contacts with Europeans were disfavoured. The Europeans evoked a variety of stereotypes from the people questioned. Table 65 gives an inventory and distribution of these opinions.

TABLE 65 OPINIONS ABOUT EUROPEANS EXPRESSED BY BAUMANNVILLE RESIDENTS

Opinions	Total per cent of opinions	
Sympathetic and Useful:-		
Helpful	19	
Good, kind, sympathetic, friendly	11	
Not different from Africans	6	
Have other favourable traits	10	46
Dominating:-		
Oppressive, discriminating	21	
Hold themselves superior	5	26
Not likeable:-		
Have miscellaneous unfavourable traits	9	
Hated (reasons unspecified)	2	11
Tend to succeed:-		
Gifted	5	
Fortunate	2	7
Other:-		
Miscellaneous	8	
"Don't know" responses	2	10
Total of 394 opinions =		100%

The table of stereotypes brings to light an interesting ambivalence of attitude towards the Europeans. On the one hand, Europeans are seen as oppressive and discriminating: "they are sitting on our necks", "they separate the races"; possessed of a variety of unfavourable traits for instance, selfishness, impoliteness,

/ unreasonableness ....

unreasonableness, lack of sympathy, stinginess; and thinking themselves superior to Africans: "aloof and condescending", "they put themselves very high", "they make you be respectful too often".

On the other hand, Europeans are regarded as helpful: "Come with white hand open", "brought us from dark to light", "they taught us to be clean and they gave us God and Justice"; good, kind, sympathetic and friendly; having other favourable traits as well, for instance, cleanliness, honesty, culture, orderliness, unity, "character", politeness; gifted; "they are old in mind", "see far ahead", "a clever people"; fortunate in their circumstances and to be envied: "got heaven in the world".

The stereotypes of Europeans suggest that Africans think whites have power which they sometimes abuse, or sometimes use beneficially. In any case it is a power which the Africans envy.

Attitudes towards Coloureds.

Of the three racial out-groups considered by the respondents, the Coloureds were the most favoured. This is perhaps not surprising, since the Coloureds are descended from Africans as well as from Europeans. Although most respondents clearly indicated whether they favoured or disfavoured contacts with Coloureds, there was a tendency for more indeterminate responses to be given about the Coloureds than about the other two racial groups.

TABLE 66 OPINIONS ABOUT COLOUREDS EXPRESSED BY BAUMANNVILLE RESIDENTS

Opinions	Total per cent of opinions	
Defective in character:-		
Fond of drink	17	
Indolent	5	
Fond of fighting	3	
Have other character defects	16	41
Not identified with Africans:-		
Hold themselves superior	14	
Lack racial identity	5	
Hated (reasons unspecified)	3	22
Identified with Africans:-		
Akin to or not different from Africans	11	
Good, kind, sympathetic, friendly	7	18
Do not tend to succeed:-		
Poor	2	2
Other:-		
Miscellaneous	14	
"Don't know" responses	3	17
Total of 376 opinions	=	100%

/ The .....

The list of stereotypes suggests two main types of attitudes towards the Coloureds. Firstly, a large proportion of the respondents give stereotypes alleging personality weaknesses and depravity of behaviour. The Coloureds are scorned as drunken, lazy, belligerent and unsuccessful in making a living. They are said to be fundamentally defective in character: weak, immoral, bad, unstable, incorrigible. All sorts of derogatory epithets are used to describe their behaviour; they are called profane, thieving, gambling, prevaricating, irresponsible, reckless, extravagant, helpless, insincere, rough, rowdy, cheap, stubborn, menial, full of sex, spoilt, unreliable, noisy, fumbling, shuttling, degenerate, hollow, difficult to control and forward.

Secondly, the Coloureds are resented because they arrogate themselves above the Africans, although their race is ambiguous and although they have ties of kinship with the Africans. Coloureds are "neither one thing nor the other", "half-breeds"; they cannot "boast of any race at all". They nevertheless have a blood-bond with the Africans: "they have our blood", they are "our children", "cousins", "nephews and nieces", "our step-children" - "they are borne by our sisters". For these reasons, their attitudes of superiority are vexing. "They pretend to be like Europeans"; "they despise us and call us Kaffirs"; "they forget Africans are their mothers; just because they are white, they say we are nothing".

As Table 63 showed, however, the Africans prefer relationships with Coloureds to the other groups. While they would as soon have their children mix in school and live next door to Europeans as Coloureds, when it comes to dancing or marrying, they would much prefer the Coloureds.

Attitudes and the Social Hierarchy.

In South Africa, the four principal racial groups have different positions of privilege and power. The Europeans dominate the other races. The Indians and Coloureds are more fortunately situated within the social hierarchy than the Africans; they are restricted less by such legislation as the pass laws and the liquor laws and their incomes are on the average higher, the ratio between African, Coloured and Asiatic (Indian) incomes is roughly 1 : 1.5 : 3.[14] The races could be ranked in the following descending order of economic and political power: Europeans, Indians, Coloureds, Africans.

In Natal, unlike the other provinces of the Union, there is a small proportion of Coloureds and a large proportion of Indians. African hostility in the provinces outside Natal is directed chiefly against the Europeans, as the passage quoted above from MacCrone indicates and the recent race riots in Port Elizabeth and East London suggests. It seems that when hostility is directed to races above the Africans in the social hierarchy, it is towards either Indians or Europeans, never primarily towards the Coloureds. Whatever the real power of the Coloureds, the Africans in Baumannville appear to regard them as either inferior to or on a par with themselves. While the stereotypes of Coloureds stressed character defects, they also recognized an affinity between Africans and Coloureds. If Africans

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14 "The National Income and the Non-European". Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa. op. cit. p. 347.

generally throughout the Union have similar attitudes towards Coloureds, an hypothesis to explain why African hostility is directed principally towards Indians in Natal and principally towards Europeans elsewhere in the Union could be formulated.

Such an hypothesis would be that when hostility is directed upwards in the social hierarchy, it fixes largely on the large group recognized as next above in terms of apparent power and privilege. In Natal, the Africans would regard the Indians as next above themselves in terms of power, with the Europeans further above and would disregard the Coloureds because of identification with them, though these are negligible because of their small number; consequently the Africans would direct their hostility chiefly against the Indians. In the provinces of the Union outside Natal, though the Coloureds stand between Africans and Europeans in the apparent ascending order of power, and Indians are not significant because of their small number. If Africans identify themselves with the Coloureds or regard them as inferior, according to the hypothesis, hostility would be directed chiefly against the Europeans.

In propounding this hypothesis, two assumptions have been made. One assumption is that proportionate smallness of a racial group reduces that race's position in the apparent social hierarchy. The other is that Africans generally do not regard Coloureds as higher in the social hierarchy.

Both assumptions can be tested; and evidence from other parts of the world can be adduced to prove or disprove the hypothesis that supra-ordinate contiguity determines the direction of the main channel of hostility when it is directed upwards.

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS AND RACE ATTITUDES

When Baumannville respondents are divided into groups on the basis of differences in characteristics such as age, education and the like, differences in race attitudes between the groups appear. Some of these differences give further insight into understanding this community.

Sex Differences.

On the whole, the opinions which the women expressed of other groups were more conservative and less intense than those expressed by the men. Of the total opinions regarding contacts with other races, 27 per cent were favourable for men, but only 19 per cent for women.

When it came to the voicing of stereotypes, the predominant expression of disapproval of Indians, that they were primarily interested in money and that they exploited Africans, was expressed in one-third of the men's opinions and in one-quarter of the women's. With reference to Europeans, one-quarter of the men's stereotypes were that Europeans discriminate and are oppressive, but only one-sixth of the women's views were of this kind. The paradoxical reactions to the Coloureds, however, were shared in about the same proportions by both men and women.

Age Differences.

Time and again it has been found that young people tend to be more conservative and dogmatic than older people. Baumannville is no exception, for the respondents aged eighteen to thirty-four years were found to be more intolerant of interracial contacts than their elders.

/ The .....

The proportion of opinions favouring interracial schooling was 21 per cent for the younger group as against 32 per cent for the older adults. In the case of interracial marriage, the favourable responses of the younger people reached only 5 per cent, the older group, though still only in small numbers, expressed more than double the proportion of favourable opinions, 12 per cent.

Differences in length of residence in Baumannville.

Those who have lived long in Baumannville are more liberal than those who have come more recently. The opinions of those who had resided in the location for less than twenty years were only 18 per cent favourable to interracial contacts, but the residents of twenty years and more expressed 28 per cent favourable opinions.

This does not appear to be a function of age as it might be thought, for when the responses of twenty-four residents aged fifty-five to fifty-nine are examined separately, the ten who had lived there less than twenty years were found to have expressed 14 per cent favourable opinions, while the fourteen of twenty and more years of residence made a response of 27 per cent favourable to interracial contacts.

Educational Differences.

Approximately one-fifth of the forty-six respondents who had passed no higher in school than Standard II favoured inter-marriage with other races, while only about one-tenth of the 145 respondents who had passed a standard higher than Standard II favoured inter-marriage. However, the fact that the worse-educated respondents are more tolerant than the better-educated respondents may be a reflection of the fact that younger respondents are more intolerant than older. The older subjects are not as well educated as the younger, the average standard of education passed by residents in Baumannville declines from 7.1 for those aged eighteen to twenty-four years to 2.1 for those above the age of sixty. Indeed, when age is held constant in the group fifty-five to fifty-nine years, it appears that the worse-educated are as intolerant as the better-educated. The percentage of responses favourable to interracial contacts was the same for the six respondents who had not attained Standard III and for the eighteen respondents who had attained an education of Standard III or higher. So it is possible that the educational differences detected in Baumannville race attitudes are attributable to age differences rather than to degrees of schooling.

Occupational Differences.

People in different occupational categories had different race attitudes as shown in Table 67.

Those in "personal services" show the least tolerance; but this is predominantly a female group. The few males in this classification actually show a higher rate of tolerance. The "labourers" are mostly men which would seem to account for their being the group of greatest tolerance.

The attitudes of those in the other three groups, "professional and clerical", "skilled workers", and "commerce and trade", cannot be accounted for by differences either in age or in sex. It would seem that the highest trained and the better off were much less tolerant than those who come most in contact with the population.

/ Age .....

TABLE 67 FAVOURABILITY TO INTERRACIAL CONTACTS BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Occupational Group	Number of respondents	Percentage Favourability
Personal Services	40	15
Professional, Semi-Professional & Clerical	30	19
Skilled & Higher categories, Semi-skilled	21	24
Commerce and Trade	22	29
Labourer & Lower categories, Semi-skilled	21	31

Age and sex seem to be the factors of clearest significance in determining the degree of intolerance shown by the people. It is noticeable that when the respondents were classified into sub-groups whether it be according to proximity to the Indian location, sex, age, length of residence, occupation or education, not one of the sub-groups showed a predominantly favourable attitude towards contacts with other races. One can only speak of a certain sub-group, say, the group of respondents above the age of thirty-five, as being less intolerant than another sub-group. While such respondents were less intolerant than others, they cannot be considered as being actually tolerant. Only a negligible proportion (2 per cent) of the 193 individual respondents interviewed about their attitudes towards contacts with other races were completely in favour of contacts with the three other races.

CONCLUSIONS

The people of Baumannville are hostile towards racial out-groups. They have only a moderate amount of contact with other races and desire no more. Intermingling of Africans with other races is not likely to increase unless the social situation changes radically and the Africans of Baumannville do not at present favour such intermingling. A diminution of intolerance, then, is not to be expected until more intense inter-racial contacts take place.[15]

The patterns of prejudice in Baumannville are indicated by the variables analysed. Men were less intolerant than women; and in the patriarchal family system of the Zulus could be expected to impose their views with more force than the women. However, though less tolerant than the women, the men cannot be regarded as anything but hostile to other races. The more intense hostility of the women can perhaps be traced to resentment against their inferior cultural role.[16]

/ Younger .....

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15 Gordon W. Allport. op. cit. p. 281.

16 Gordon W. Allport. op. cit. p. 262.

Younger people are more intolerant than older. If their attitudes remained static, one would expect Baumannville to become more intolerant than it is now. There is evidence, however, that living in Baumannville for a long period leads to some diminution of intolerance. If length of residence is a factor independent of age, as it seems to be, then even if the younger respondents do not become less intolerant as they get older, their intolerance might be reduced by having lived longer in the community. The association of long residence with less intolerance could be attributed to an increase in security with consequent lessening of frustration and prejudice.

The least intolerant of the occupational groups are the labourers. This class could be expected to exert less influence in the community than the professional and clerical group, which demonstrates considerably more intolerance. Those in trade are second lowest in prejudice, however, and might, on account of their comparatively wider contacts, exert more influence in the community, especially if African business enterprise should expand, for prejudice and discrimination stands in the way of acquiring customers for conducting a successful business.

Even if the race attitudes of the less intolerant classes become general in Baumannville, the community would still be a very intolerant one. The frustrations of a subordinate group could be dissipated within the group itself, but the strong hostility towards out-groups which the Baumannville Africans show, suggests that their frustration finds its expression outside their group. While all three out-groups are contemned, the two that are economically and socially the most powerful in Natal, namely the Europeans and the Indians, attract more hostility than the Coloureds.

CHAPTER 11

COMMUNITY SPIRIT AND SOLIDARITY

In the preceding chapters the facts about Baumannville, and some interpretations of those facts, have been presented. This final chapter attempts to give a more qualitative impression - of the spirit of Baumannville and the contributions of its people to their own community and to the wider community of Durban.

The Daily Cycle.

The day begins early in Baumannville. From five o'clock in the morning housewives are up, lighting fires and stirring the breakfast porridge. Parents, children, grandparents, relatives and lodgers all share the morning chores, rolling up sleeping mats and stowing away the improvised sleeping arrangements that enable ten to sixteen people to find accommodation for the night in a two-roomed cottage, and restoring some sort of order to the home. By six o'clock Baumannville is humming with activity. In many houses there is pressure to get started on the long journey to work. On foot, on bicycles, on the municipal buses the workers set off for the warehouses and offices in the centre of the town, for the industrial areas of Congella and Mobeni, for the European flats and houses on the Beach and the Berea. A steady stream of human beings emerges from the location entrance, reinforced a little further along the road by a tributary of Indian workers from the Magazine Barracks and itself swelling the main flow of the hundreds of Africans pouring out of the Somtseu Location.

Towards eight o'clock comes the second exodus, as the school-children, boys with well-scrubbed faces and girls in green linen uniforms, make their way to the Loram Primary and Secondary Schools, a ten-minute walk away. When the three- to six-year-olds have arrived safely at the Nursery School, some brought by mothers or grandmothers, some independent spirits making their way on their own, the daily migration subsides and the township becomes predominantly a woman's world.

The morning is given over to the traditional women's occupations. The only men to be seen are the old men sunning themselves on the verandahs, the unemployed, an occasional shiftworker or the few whose occupational activities are carried out in broken periods during the day. Within the houses women are engaged on the usual household chores. The many whose income is derived from laundry work converge with bundles and baskets and their precious electric irons upon the laundry, which presently resounds with chatter, an occasional burst of song, the running of taps and the slish-slosh of damp fabric against the washing-troughs. By ten o'clock line upon line displays a heterogeneous collection of European household linen and wearing apparel. All day the laundry pulsates with life, but elsewhere in the mornings the township is quiet, its streets almost deserted. In many backyards women are busy with another traditional woman's occupation - the labour of beer-brewing, sometimes in illicit quantities.

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After noon the tempo quickens again. Workers from adjoining industrial and transport undertakings patronize the popular brewers during their luch-hour. An occasional washerwoman returns on foot with her bundles, or, if it is still near enough to her pay-day, she may arrive in a ricksha. There is little motor traffic - an occasional delivery van, a taxi or car bringing an infrequent visitor, a Native Administration Department vehicle. Soon after two school "lets out" and the children come home, filling the Baumannville streets with laughter and shrill young voices. They play in the streets because there is nowhere else to play. They skip, they chase each other, they play an unorthodox variant of soccer with a tennis ball, they ride in soap-box cars when benevolent brothers or friends will push them. The station wagon in which the field-workers came each day was a source of much curiosity and interest, and the team was constantly beset with young admirers begging them to "rev" the engine and "upiepiep" (hoot).

Between five and six o'clock the workers return, an apparently endless flow of men and women footslogging along the winding road that leads to the location. There is little idling at street corners. They may stop to greet a friend or to buy cigarettes at the small shop near the location entrance, but on the whole they are intent on getting home, to eat and to rest. Again the streets are empty; the home, and especially the kitchen, becomes the centre of activity.

Evenings are short in Baumannville. When the next working-day begins soon after sunrise, the workers are not long following the sun to bed. Fathers sit back with the evening paper, the children huddle round the table under the single electric light to do their homework. In summer young girls sit on the verandahs, braiding each other's hair. The womenfolk, busy to the last moment, clear away the evening meal and prepare for the next day. There is little visiting during the week, though someone may drop in to listen to the news or the serial on a neighbour's wireless. The younger, livelier element tends to seek its amusements in the town or to join the courting couples who haunt the dark, less-frequented end of the location towards Argyle Road. In the houses where beer is not sold, all may be dark and silent by eight o'clock. But lights continue to shine and voices to echo in the houses where the enclosed back verandahs serve as beer-parlours until nearly eleven, when there is a hasty move among the customers to beat the curfew. By 11.30 Baumannville is asleep.

During the week the drinking parties are relatively orderly, long rows of Africans seated on hard benches quaffing their "concoctions" out of traditional drinking-bowls or more up-to-date tin cans. The weekends are considerably more boisterous. Parties are larger and rougher, music from a gramophone or concertina blares from the houses. An occasional fight starts in the street in spite of the rapid intervention of the NAD policeman on duty. The non-drinkers and the cautious lock their doors. Throughout the weekend there is a constant coming and going through the main location gate until late at night. Some of this traffic is supplied by the residents of Baumannville, on their way to church, to the sports grounds or to visit married children in the distant locations of Lamont and Chesterville, but the great bulk is made up of the single men from the Somtseu Location and the Railway Barracks, who come not only for the drink, but for the human contact and companionship which is less easy to come by in the city.

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COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Even though Baumannville is a very small location, with considerable tribal homogeneity, generalizations about what "Baumannville thinks" or "Baumannville feels" are open to the charge of grave distortion. There is no "typical" Baumannville resident any more than there are "typical" representatives of the European suburbs of Greyville, Umbilo, Greenwood Park or the Berea, or any other rural or urban area. Earlier chapters have tried to describe the rich diversity of attitudes, beliefs and activities in Baumannville, and at the same time to show that there is a discernible pattern of living, that certain elements in the culture are repeated from person to person, from house to house.

To what extent do its inhabitants have a sense of personal identity with and allegiance to Baumannville? This seems largely to be a function of age. Many of the older generation stressed that they were "from Baumannville, not from Durban". Only rarely and incidentally were indications given of a sense of "belonging" to the wider and to many the impersonal community of Durban. "Durban isn't part of me", "Baumannville is my home - I only work in Durban", "I don't belong to Durban", "I haven't been to town or out of Baumannville for weeks" were some of the comments on the subject offered by older residents. The younger and more sophisticated people seemed to identify themselves with the corporate life of Africans in Durban rather than with their own location. Schools, sporting associations, vocational and cultural groups all claim their loyalties and tend to draw them away from Baumannville. It is not difficult to see why this age difference exists. When the older folk first came to live in Baumannville, it was their world. Since there was no other family location, relatives and friends all lived close at hand. Distance was more significant, so that "going to town" assumed the proportions of an expedition and not just a seven-minute bus-ride. Finally there were far fewer societies, entertainments and organizations to encourage participation in the larger community. In the old days, Baumannville was enough. Today both work and leisure take people out of the location.

What then are the things that Baumannville still does together, that create its corporate life and bind the people together? Opportunities for communal activity are restricted. The location is too small. There is no hall. There is no church within the township. There are no recreation grounds. There is only one small shop. But in spite of these obstacles Baumannville residents have continued to develop corporate activities and to create associations that serve the community.

The Laundry.

Provided as a facility for the many women who take in washing as a part-time occupation, the laundry is also an informal gathering place during the day. While the women work they exchange news, gossip, views on moral conduct. On certain evenings it functions as the official meeting-house for the township. Men and women gather in the laundry, to hear the reports of the Location Advisory Board members, to discuss the formation of a new welfare organization such as the Bereavement Society, to meet the field workers of this survey for the first time. They have to bring their own chairs or perch on the edge of wash-tubs; if the meeting is crowded, they may have to stand behind the dividing wall that separates the washing from the ironing sections.

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The lack of a community hall was stressed again and again to the field workers. It is one of the great grievances of the Baumannville residents. Theoretically they can apply for the use of the Farrell Hall at the Somtseu Location, but this is seldom done except for such functions as weddings. Some people do attend the socials and cinema shows held there, but on the whole Baumannville people say that they do not feel at home there and they do not approve of their girls venturing into the single men's location.

The Nursery School.

Besides the laundry and the shop, the only other public building in Baumannville is the Nursery School built and run by the Durban Girls' College Old Girls' Guild. It is an airy, pleasant, modern building, with large play-rooms, a covered verandah, well-equipped kitchen and garden complete with slide, jungle gym and swings made from rubber tyres. The staff comprises a qualified European nursery school teacher, two African assistants, an African trainee, a woman cook and a male general kitchen helper. The children's activities are similar to those conducted in European nursery schools, including regular medical check-ups and attention when required. The trim appearance of the school building and grounds, the vivid colours of the miniature furniture and the children's clothes, and most of all the obvious zest, vitality and happiness of the pupils, combine to make the Nursery School a bright spot in the otherwise rather drab location.

When field work was being carried out the Nursery School had a total enrolment of 96, about two-thirds of whom, according to the Nursery School records, had their homes in Baumannville. Priority of admission is given to children of working mothers and Baumannville residents.

Yet the Nursery School cannot altogether be said to be a Baumannville institution. It was originally situated in May Street and catered for children from all over Durban. Its location in Baumannville was largely a matter of administrative convenience. The Baumannville people took no part in getting it started and still have no direct share in its administration. Their initial attitude to it was one of suspicion and doubt, though with increased familiarity this has changed to feelings of pride and gratitude. "At first we did not want it. We used the land to grow mealies and we didn't like giving that up. But after a few months we saw it was good for us and for our children. I can go to work and not worry. And they teach my child nice habits and nice ways". "My daughter works. I think I was the first person who took a child from Baumannville to the May Street Nursery School. I used to be strong then. I carried my grandchild the whole way there and back. Sometimes I would take a ricksha. The mothers today are very lucky". "I am very happy about the Nursery School. I can wash in the laundry all day and don't worry".

In spite of this change of heart there is still only limited participation in the Nursery School activities by the Baumannville parents. A Parents' Committee was set up but had lapsed at the time of this study; however, it has since been resuscitated (June, 1955) and there is some hope that it will become an active body. There is no organized group of part-time helpers and no opportunity is provided for parents to participate in the School's programme, except for paying the very modest fees of two shillings per month for each child attending, occasionally making some small contribution for some specific purpose and attending the end-of-term mothers' social. Some members of the community have spontaneously offered their help:

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the grandfather of one of the pupils does the gardening and some of the residents who live nearby act as voluntary caretakers, preventing frequent attempts to use the children's playground as a short-cut by visitors from the railway yards which lie just beyond the fence. Parents are on the whole good about paying for damage to School property.

Since it is private property, the Nursery School is used for no other purpose, although its large play-room would make an admirable place for youth club activities and would do very well for a community hall. It seems a pity that this fine building cannot serve all sections of the Baumannville population.

The Baumannville Cultural Society.

The Cultural Society is a genuine Baumannville achievement, although it tends to cater more for the intellectual elite than the general run of residents. Started in 1944, it has had its ups and downs, its record book showing peak years in 1946 and 1949-50. Activity has rather tailed off since then, to some extent due to the fact that three of the most active members have left Baumannville and two others have recently died; also perhaps because the younger people of Baumannville are more absorbed in outside activities than were their parents.

Membership of the Society is open to all who are interested; no membership fees are levied at present, earlier attempts to collect them having proved fruitless. Membership seems consistently to have averaged about forty; at the time of the survey twenty-one or 12 per cent of the men and twenty-three or 10 per cent of the women informants indicated that they were members of the Society. Members are not individually circularized about meetings, but notices are published in the weekly paper "Ilange Lase Natal". Indian and European visitors are often invited to attend. Meetings are intended to be held monthly, but at present the Society meets somewhat irregularly. Owing to the lack of a hall, meetings are held in the homes of members in turn; attendance has fluctuated between twelve and twenty during the past two years.

In its heyday the programme of the Society included the reading of papers, social and musical evenings, book reviews, and lively discussions and debates. Speakers have included Baumannville residents, prominent Africans in the educational, welfare and general cultural fields and interested Europeans.[1] In 1947 a Baumannville member read a paper on "How to go about Getting a Life Partner and Running a Home on a Budget". In 1950 two debates were held - one against Lamont Cultural Society on the issue that "Western Civilization has brought more harm than good to the African people", one against Chesterville on "The place of the woman is in the home". In the first half of 1955 three lectures have been given, all by Africans - one on careers for African youth, one on England by an African Y.W.C.A. worker recently returned from a training course ("It was so lovely ..... I now feel I know England like my own hand"), and one by an African teacher on "The

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1 Among the latter are Professor K. Kirkwood ("The Present Political Position in the Union and its Affect on African People"), Mr. Maurice Webb ("A South African Looks at East Africa"), Mrs. Mary Asher ("Race Relations"), Mr. A. Goldberg ("Parliament and How it Works").

Psychology of a Child from One to Seven". One of the visitors wrote in the record book, "This is the most progressive and homely society I have seen, most educative and enlightening to the hungry mind".

The Sewing Club.

The Baumannville Sewing Club was formed under the aegis of the Cultural Society and for some years met regularly once a week at members' homes. At one time enthusiasm was so keen that "sometimes we couldn't all get into a house". Considerable assistance was given by an interested European woman, who taught and demonstrated various types of handwork, but she unfortunately had to give up her activities several years ago due to illness; after this the Sewing Club languished. Today it meets only sporadically, when some inducement such as the Bantu Fair creates an outlet for the sale of the members' products, and only a handful of women now participate. It was stated that "with the chance of making big money (i.e. beer-brewing) the women are not as interested as they used to be in working for months for small money".

The Quiz Contest.

For the last two years (1953 and 1954) Baumannville has won the quiz contest organized by the Durban and District Road Safety Association, covering a wide variety of general knowledge as well as information about road safety, against teams from Chesterville, Lamont, the African staff of the Institute of Family and Community Health, the Adult Education Institute and the Umlazi Village. As well as holding the floating trophy, they are the proud possessors of a miniature which is on display in the home of the team leader. Baumannville is justifiably proud of this achievement. "We are getting ready for the third quiz and we think we have the finest team. Baumannville is small but we have the brains".

The Baumannville Boys' Club.

In 1953 a well-known European Durban business-man conceived the idea of starting a Youth Club to cater for the needs of adolescent African boys, and a young Baumannville man, whose family have a fine tradition of community service, was asked to interest the youth of Baumannville. There was an eager response, showing the need for an organization of this kind, and the club has continued to be popular. Meetings are held weekly at the Farrell Hall, and there are between thirty and forty members, most of whom come from Baumannville. Club activities were at first organized by the European sponsor and a Native Administration Department welfare worker, but this work has now been taken over by the Baumannville committee member. Like the adult Cultural Society, the programme includes debates, quizzes and talks, a recent one being given by Mr. Masinga of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. On evenings when no formal activity has been arranged, the members play ping-pong, Chinese checkers and draughts.

Economic Activities.

In the economic field Baumannville still shows marked community solidarity. Families have retained the traditional attitudes of hospitality and sharing in spite of the encroaching Western spirit of competition and defensiveness. Kinsmen are welcomed as temporary visitors or even permanent members of the household. There is a strong sense of neighbourliness - people are usually willing to lend kitchen utensils, food and money, to look after children or invalids, though there are some complaints that it is not like it was in the good old days. "I still can borrow things from a few friends, but

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it is not the same as before. Then I could go to any house and borrow an egg or a tomato and return it next day". "It's not the same as it was. It's not as friendly. People haven't got time".

The most important economic organization was probably the Baumannville African Women's Association, formed by the Location Superintendent in 1944 to assist the running of the laundry. With the Superintendent's aid, the Association was able to secure a regular quota of soap, which was scarce during the war, at wholesale prices and resell it at a profit, which went to swell the society's funds. In spite of a lively career during the late forties, by 1952 the Association was bankrupt and defunct, and a new Laundrywomen's Association was formed with the intention of running the laundry on a collective basis. It planned to advertise and thus extend its clientele, to distribute the work equally and pay the women regular wages. In so doing it hoped to counter the wasteful system of individuals covering the same areas in the collection and delivery of washing, and to reduce the evils of beer-brewing by assisting the women to earn a legitimate regular weekly income.

Since its inception the Laundrywomen's Association has acted as a channel of communication to the Native Administration Department on all matters affecting the laundry. It has appealed for the provision of hot water and for the extension of the hours for which the laundry is open; it has advised on the charges levied and on the repairs required. Meetings are held regularly once a month in the laundry, properly conducted by a Chairlady and Secretary. The earlier Association's policy of buying soap in bulk has been continued. Every fortnight ten of the members contribute 14/6 for this purpose; there are about forty-two women working as laundresses, so that the contribution recurs for the individual only once in eight weeks. In spite of the obvious saving, the scheme is not very popular among the members. "It's difficult to find 14/6 all at once to pay for the soap". "I know it's cheaper, but I never seem to have more money than for one or two bars of soap".

In spite of its high hopes, the Association has not so far succeeded in its objectives. The women continue to work individually, to duplicate each other's journeys in fetching and returning laundry and have failed to combine to demand higher remuneration to meet increased costs. Hence in spite of the excellent facilities provided by the laundry, the net income derived by washerwomen from their individual efforts is in most cases very small. Only by greater collaboration, it seems, can Baumannville's second biggest industry be made to pay.

About 1949 an enterprise known as the Food Club was formed with the object of buying food in bulk and thus at reduced prices. At its peak it had thirty member families each of which paid 2/6 on Fridays. A lorry was hired for 5/- on Saturdays and two office-bearers of the club would attend the auctions at the market and buy large quantities of fruit and vegetables, which were equally divided among the contributors on Saturday afternoons. In spite of the very real benefits it conferred, the Club failed because of the difficulty of finding reliable members who could attend market regularly. When the one purchaser who had been its mainstay accepted full-time employment, the Club collapsed.

Baumannville has a number of the small-scale personal savings clubs known as stockfairs which are not uncommon among urban Africans. According to the information collected in this study, thirty-eight belong to stockfairs, made up mostly of Baumannville people although membership is not limited to Baumannville. The function of these

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stockfairs is to act as a thrift club or compulsory savings society; members pay in a regular amount each month, seldom less than £1 and often as high as £5, and each in turn receives the total amount collected. In the past the member whose turn it was to receive the contributions gave a party, but the social aspect of the stockfair has almost entirely disappeared and it is essentially an economic undertaking. In some cases members merely get their contributions back in a lump sum, in others where the money has been invested or lent out, interest has accrued. One woman who belonged to a Baumannville stockfair with sixteen members after paying one pound per month for sixteen months received £21.11.6. But even where no profit is made, the participants feel that there is an advantage in being forced to save, and that a lump sum in cash enables them to make large-scale purchases, such as furniture, radios and expensive clothing, which they could never do independently out of the amount they contribute each month. One informant said that she had joined a stockfair in order to save up to build an extension to her house. It is not always easy to keep up the contributions, especially if one loses one's job before one's turn to receive comes round. "I could see I was making a failure, I could see I could not pay the rounds", said one who had fallen by the wayside despondently.

The stockfairs to which the Baumannville people belong vary greatly in size, small ones having about four members, the largest reputed to have thirty-one, each paying in £4 per month. Thirty-four of the thirty-eight members and organizers are women. One of the most opulent societies, the woman organizer of which was nicknamed "the Money Brains Trust", has seven members, each of whom makes a monthly contribution of £10.

The most recent evidence of community solidarity in economic matters comes from the formation of the Baumannville Bereavement Society early in 1955. Baumannville has always had a tradition of universal assistance in major disasters. A death in a household means a sudden accumulation of heavy expenses in connection with the funeral, mourning clothes and so on. There was at one time "a sort of helping hand association", known as the Baumannville Burial Society, organized to provide against such contingencies. The initial entrance fee was 2/6 and the monthly membership fee 1/-. "If someone died, all the shillings went to the family. But it didn't work out very well". When the moving spirit of this organization died some five years ago, the association disintegrated, and in the event of a death house-to-house collections were initiated by friends of the deceased without any proper organization. Early in 1955, at the request of several residents, the Advisory Board called a meeting in the laundry to revive the old Burial Society, and the Baumannville Bereavement Society was formally constituted, with a Chairman, Secretary and three committee members - all male. "I don't understand why they elected five men - Mrs. X, Mrs. Y and Mrs. Z. would have been very useful", was the comment of one of the office-bearers. There is no entrance fee for the new society, and no monthly dues are paid. On the death of a resident, the committee organizes the collection on efficient lines, afterwards issuing duplicated lists signed by the Chairman and Secretary recording the contributions of every household. Four deaths have occurred since the new society was inaugurated, and on each occasion contributions were made from 114 of the 118 households, ranging from threepence to 5/-. The first collection yielded £4.10.6 and the most recent £10.5.1. The sense of "community" is strong. "Somebody said Baumannville has gone to the dogs. It isn't true. Maybe it is not the same as it used to be, but could this happen if we had gone to the dogs?" "Everybody helps. It would be wrong if they didn't". "We are really only one big family". "I don't know the people, I never visited them. I just give".

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Sport: The City Blacks.

It is in the field of sport that Baumannville finds its greatest opportunities for the expression of group solidarity. Soccer is enthusiastically supported by the African urban dwellers, some 140 teams being affiliated to the Durban and District Bantu Football Association. League matches are played throughout the season at the adjacent Somtseu sports grounds and the attendance on a Saturday afternoon varies from five to ten thousand. At a really big match it may go up to fifteen thousand. The younger men of Baumannville have, from the inception of organized African soccer in Durban, been keen players. A Baumannville team, the Lions, was one of the first football teams to be formed in Durban, and always played in the First League. In the mid-forties the club experienced various difficulties and was dissolved, and in 1947 a new club, the City Blacks, was organized. The City Blacks at present has forty-three members, adults paying 7/6 and youths not in employment 5/- per annum. From the start, the club has had a team playing in the First League, but with the increase in membership and enthusiasm, it is now able to enter a second team in the Reserve League as well. A place in the team is greatly coveted and competition is keen. Membership of the team bestows considerable prestige. The players are the heroes of the township boys, the centre of admiration of the girls and the universal pride of the Baumannville residents.

Baumannville supports the City Blacks with great enthusiasm. The team, in full regalia, is escorted to the Somtseu Grounds on Saturday afternoons by a small army of singing and jubilant young adherents, who are not satisfied to sit on the stands, but crouch as close to the touch lines as the officials permit. Adults from Baumannville endeavour to sit in a solid block and yell their advice and acclaim to their gallant representatives. A goal is greeted with wild shrieks of joy. In 1954 the City Blacks attained the distinction of being the winners of the First League - no mean achievement in competing against forty-one other teams. The rejoicing in Baumannville was great. The team paraded through the township, followed by hundreds of singing supporters. A great celebration followed; every householder spontaneously contributed, a goat was bought, slaughtered and roasted, and the members of the team were feted and praised. "When the City Blacks play we are all one. They are our own boys".

PARTICIPATION OF BAUMANNVILLE RESIDENTS IN AFRICAN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES IN DURBAN

When Baumannville was first set up as a controlled area of residence for married couples, urbanization of Africans was a relatively new phenomenon in Durban. The African population of Durban at the time (1916) was estimated to be 20,800, while in July 1954 the population was 155,642.

In the course of these years African community life has greatly developed. Many facilities have been provided within the locations by the Native Administration Department, by interested European individuals and associations, and through the initiative of the people themselves. In addition there has been a steady growth of organizations serving Durban Africans irrespective of their geographical location. Many of these organizations were initiated by Europeans especially for the Africans - the Bantu Child Welfare Society, the Bantu Blind Society, the Brandon Bantu Hostel; others which catered originally for European needs have extended their activities to include the African community, like the Y.M.C.A. In all cases, however, the significant development has been the increasing participation of Africans in the policy-forming, direction and administration of these associations. Especially in the recreational field Africans have rapidly assumed responsibility for

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their activities. In these associations, and in the areas of African education, general community service and attempts to improve race relations, Baumannville residents have played a conspicuous part.

Health and Welfare Organizations.

Baumannville residents have been closely associated with the work and development of the Bantu Child Welfare Society. The senior African case worker of the Society is one of Baumannville's most beloved and respected members. Her late husband, one of the Baumannville leaders and a national figure in African affairs, was a member of the Executive for over ten years and did a great deal to promote the interests of the Society, particularly in its early days. One Baumannville woman (now deceased) was a member of the Case Committee for a number of years, another (at present an office-bearer of the Laundrywomen's Association) served for a period on the Infants' Home and the Case Committees. There are several Baumannville families who have been members of many years' standing, regularly attend general meetings, and are keenly interested in and loyal supporters of the work of the Society. It is very difficult for African voluntary welfare workers to play an active role in the committee and case work of the Society, since most of the interested men and women are in full-time employment and much of the Society's work must of necessity be done during the day.

Baumannville has contributed to the development of the work of the St. John's Ambulance Brigade among Africans. One Baumannville couple were both members of the first training course in first aid offered by St. John's, and three women hold the long service medal and have been actively associated with the work of the Association for periods of from seventeen to twenty-six years. The woman with the longest period of service has participated in the development of training programmes, and holds the rank of Member-in-charge of African Cadets. Other Baumannville inhabitants are active members of the St. John's Brigade, attending parades and undertaking voluntary duties at sports meetings and public gatherings.

The Red Cross Society also has some support from Baumannville. One housewife, who has given years of loyal service, attends weekly meetings and states her rank to be "union mistress". It is estimated that at least twenty members in Baumannville are qualified first aiders. A few Baumannville girls are at present attending weekly classes. Red Cross members are regularly appealed to for assistance in cases of cuts, burns, abrasions and the usual minor accidents that occur in families.

During the war a Baumannville detachment of the Durban-wide Civilian Protection Service (which covered all racial groups) was formed. "We had a fine team of reliable men and women. We stayed right through the night on duty. When necessary some of the first aid women and a few men went on duty to the nearby school. Then we went to our work. Sometimes we were very tired. We were lucky. We had a fine European in charge. After the war we received a beautiful testimonial from the Mayor". After the war some of the Civilian Protection Service members joined the St. John's Brigade.

Character-Building, Recreational and Sporting Organizations.

In 1929 the training of African women to lead the Wayfarer movement (the African counterpart of the Girl Guides) was started by Mrs. McCord, wife of Dr. McCord of the McCord Zulu Hospital. One of Baumannville's leading women, then a newly-qualified teacher, was among the four women selected for the initial training course.

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With a break of only four years ("when my babies were too small") she has continued active participation in the movement. She holds the rank of Captain, has been awarded the long service medal, and is at present associated with the training of brownies. From its modest beginnings the guide movement among Africans in and around Durban has shown remarkable development and within the immediate future African women are to be promoted to Assistant Commissioners. The movement is organized through the schools, not the locations, so that there is no Baumannville company, but several of the Baumannville girls have been brownies and guides. The same position obtains with regard to scouting, but no Baumannville man has assumed a position of responsibility in the Boy Scout movement.

Baumannville residents have taken part in the various social and cultural activities of the Bantu Social Centre since its inception in 1933, although membership has fallen off badly since the Y.M.C.A. took over the Centre in 1952. Baumannville has in the past been represented on the main committee and its sub-committees, but there has been no Baumannville member of the Central Committee since 1952.

In organizing sporting facilities for Africans in Durban, Baumannville has made a useful contribution. For seven years one of its residents was President of the Durban and District Bantu Football Association, the largest and most successful sports organization, which organizes the various leagues and arranges for touring teams. During the winter season of 1954 it chartered a plane to fly a local team to play in the Belgian Congo. There have always been Baumannville representatives on the Central Executive of the Association and its sub-committees. At present Baumannville supplies one member of the Executive and one member each on the Discipline and the Appeals Sub-Committees, as well as the full-time Secretary. One of Baumannville's sportsmen has twice been Vice-President of the Natal Inter-Race Soccer Association which includes Africans, Indians and Coloureds, and has served as a committee member for many years. In other fields Baumannville sportsmen have shown leadership and ability. The township has provided captains of an African tennis team ("The Primroses"), athletes and cyclists. Pioneering efforts still continue: one young man is endeavouring to introduce soft-ball for Baumannville boys and girls, while another is promoting the adoption of baseball by Durban Africans.

Trade and Professional Associations.

Field work revealed almost negligible participation of Baumannville men and women in trade union or professional associations. One man is a member of a typographical union; he does not attend meetings, having joined with the sole purpose of obtaining the sickness benefits. His wife is a member of a Nursing Association. Another householder is a member of the Motor Industries' Council. Membership in the Natal Bantu Teachers' Union has shown a considerable increase within the last year, and most of the Baumannville teachers are members. One of the women teachers, a school principal, hold executive office.

General Community Services.

The Durban Joint Council of Africans and Europeans was founded about 1924 and elected its first Non-European Chairman in 1950. Three Baumannville residents have made notable contributions to its work. One, at the time a research worker in the Department of Economics of the University of Natal, was for a number of years Vice-Chairman. The other two - one Principal of a secondary school, the other a member of the Native Representative Council - both served the Council as members and office-bearers for many years.

/ When .....

When the African Parents' Association, a province-wide organisation with a current membership of over 500 throughout Natal, was formed in 1939 to foster co-operation between the educational authorities and African parents and to find suitable employment for African children, it had the enthusiastic support of several Baumannville parents. These sympathizers have since died or their children have left school, and there are at present no active members of the Association from Baumannville.

In 1929 one of the leading Baumannville women, attending a lecture given by a friend who had just returned from a period of study in the United States, determined to found a Bantu Women's Society. "I talked to my husband and said, 'We must start a women's club. We married women are rotting away. The only place we have to go to after we are married is the Church'. So my husband helped me and we started the Bantu Women's Society. It was not only for Baumannville - any woman in Durban could join. We first met at the Congregational Church in Beatrice Street once a month, but we found meeting wasn't enough, so we had to decide what we would do".

Among the things the Bantu Women's Society did was to campaign for an extension of the Municipal Child Welfare Clinic services to Non-Europeans, and to ensure the success of this venture by house-to-house visiting to spread favourable propaganda. They tackled the Provincial Education Department to ask for facilities for secondary education for African children, and organized a march of protest against the proposed extension of the pass system to women in 1937. "We decided to march together from the old Bantu Social Centre in Victoria Street to the Native Commissioner to put our case. I think there were nearly one thousand women who marched. We wanted it to be orderly but there were so many of us that the town just stood still. The traffic had to stop".

In 1937 it was felt that the Society should join with other women's organizations and it affiliated with and became the Durban branch of the newly-created National Council of African Women. In this capacity it has continued its activities and sends representatives to the meetings of the European National Council of Women in Durban and delegates to the national conferences of the African National Council, although recently it has been sadly depleted by the deaths of many of its leading office-bearers. Great efforts are now being made to re-activate the Society. "We must try and hook in the young people. It is their future, and we old ones cannot work for ever". African women community workers have been co-opted on to the African Affairs Sub-Committee of the Durban Branch of the National Council of Women. One of Baumannville's school principals now serves on this Committee, whilst previously a prominent social worker held office.

Church Organizations.

In addition to participation in secular organizations, Baumannville men and women are active members of church associations (called manyano, isililo and amadodana) and forty-one actually hold church office. Association members are found largely among the older women, but both sexes hold offices in roughly equal proportions. One informant is "Chairman of Saving Work" in the Independent Order of True Templars, an interdenominational religious organization. He also belongs to the Methodist Young Men's Guild and is a steward in the Church. Another is recorder of the Methodist Parliamentary Debating Society and member of the Zululand Missionary Committee and the African Methodist Institute. One elderly man is a lay preacher. Several of the women belong to the Mothers' Unions of their respective churches (one is treasurer of her branch) and teach in the Sunday Schools.

/ Political .....

Political Organizations.

There are at present extremely few people in Baumannville who are members of political parties, and none who hold office. Only a handful of informants stated that they were members of a political organization. One cannot assume, however, that there is complete apathy towards current political developments, for a very high proportion of householders regularly subscribes to either or both European daily papers and to the African weekly, and a number of residents listen to news broadcasts and political commentaries, and attend discussion groups on current economic and social affairs. Beyond following national events with some attention, however, residents show little political activity. A number disclaim any interest in politics whatsoever. "I'm not interested in politics". "I never think about it". "I am not interested - it's men's business". (from a housewife).

The African National Congress, the only African political organization of any importance in Natal, does not arouse much enthusiasm. Many are indifferent towards it. "I don't care about the A.N.C.". Others profess ignorance. "I know nothing about it". "I have no good information about it". Those who are aware of its activities generally think it ineffectual. "The A.N.C. doesn't help anybody". "Sometimes we go to their meetings and they promise this and that; but it doesn't happen". "The defiance campaign, now, they talk about. Stupidity. They achieve nothing, only bad records and gaol sentences". "It's not much use. The present Government will abolish it". Even many of those who approve of the Congress are cautious or take a defeatist viewpoint. "I used to belong to the African National Congress until Dube died.[2] I must have joined about 1924. In those days it was going strong in Natal and Zululand ..... In Dube's time it was a force; but now the Government refuses everything. I don't care for ..... (a local leader) although I am his friend. He talks like the Communist Party, banging tables and making force". "The African National Congress expresses my views well, even though they are not listened to. The African's present political position is like talking down a dummy telephone, but at least it serves to keep one's courage up". On the whole, the people seem apathetic towards the African National Congress, perhaps because they feel that under present circumstances it can achieve little. It is possible that the latter sentiment explains the lack of interest towards all political activity in Baumannville.

Baumannville Leaders.

It is thus clear that Baumannville plays a significant part in the many African welfare, cultural, educational and recreational activities of Durban. As with other communities, much of the work rests on the shoulders of a gallant few. It may be worth tracing the record of community service of a few of the Baumannville leaders.

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2 John L. Dube (1871-1946), one of the most outstanding of Natal's African leaders, was the first President of the African National Congress (or South African Native Congress, as it was then called), from 1912-1914, and President of the Natal section of the Congress from 1914 until his death. Dr. Dube founded the well-known Ohlange Institute (an African High and Technical School near Durban) in 1908, and from then until his death held the post of Principal there.

One middle-aged Baumannville woman is principal of a school, member-in-charge of Cadets in the St. John's Ambulance Brigade, Captain of Girls Guides, executive member of the Natal Bantu Teacher's Union, member of the African Affairs Sub-committee of the National Council of Women, on the executive of the Baumannville Cultural Society and organizer of the Sewing Club. An elderly woman has in the past been associated with the Bantu Women's Society, the National Council of African Women, the Bantu Child Welfare Society, the Parents' Association and the Cultural Society; although she no longer holds office, her influence continues to be felt. A younger worker is Secretary of her Church Mothers' Union, Secretary of the National Council of African Women, Secretary of the Laundrywomen's Association, and a former member of both the Case and Infants' Home Committees of the Bantu Child Welfare Society.

Among the men, a teacher is Secretary of the City Blacks, on the executive of the Durban and District Bantu Football Association, member of the Cultural Society and the Natal Bantu Teachers' Union, and in addition runs the athletics at his school. Perhaps the most remarkable record of all is that of one of Baumannville's younger householders, who has lived in Baumannville for only three years. He is Secretary of the Baumannville Native Advisory Board, Secretary of the Combined Locations Advisory Board, Chairman of the recently-formed Baumannville Nursery School Advisory Committee, Secretary of the North Coast Bantu Welfare Society, Secretary of the African Literary Committee - an organization which endeavours to encourage and assist the publication of African literary work - member of the Baumannville Cultural Society and the Bantu Social Centre, and was formerly an executive member of the Durban and District Bantu Football Association. In addition to these activities he is busy taking piano lessons (classical music), instituting a committee to organize baseball among Africans and taking the initial steps to form a Baumannville Boys' Choir. There seems little ground for the fear expressed by some of the older people in Baumannville that, with the passing of the "old guard", the location will want for able and experienced leaders.

SIGNIFICANCE OF BAUMANNVILLE AS A DWELLING-PLACE

The building of Baumannville, or rather the Married Natives' Quarters, in 1916 was a pioneering venture in Native administration for the Durban municipality. Family housing for Natives was an innovation, and the inhabitants of the first sixty houses were regarded as the lucky elite of Durban Africans as far as housing was concerned. This investment has paid ample dividends in supplying Durban with the nucleus of a stable labour force and with many of the most talented members of the African community. From Baumannville have come national political figures, men and women in academic and professional callings, journalists and administrators, as well as the many hundreds of solid, ordinary folk employed in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in industry and transport, in domestic service and in petty trade. Over the years Baumannville has built up its own traditions. "While Lamontville and Chesterville and Cato Manor are making history, Baumannville has a shining past", said a householder who has lived there for thirty years. Over 150 of the present population have been there over twenty years. Children and grandchildren have been born and reared there. The newer locations may have more spacious and better-designed houses, they may be less congested, more open, more attractively situated, may offer more amenities; but to its older inhabitants Baumannville means "home".

/ There .....

There are many advantages which Baumannville still has over the other locations. The greatest is its situation. It is adequately served by Municipal transport. It is close to the places of work; it has the costly Somtseu recreation grounds nearby; there is an elementary school and a high school close at hand; it is a few minutes walk to the beach; it is not far from many of the churches and the educational, social and cultural activities of the city.

Yet there is general agreement that Baumannville is not what it used to be. Until the mid-1940's Baumannville was regarded as Durban's model African village, and it was frequently shown off to officials from other municipalities and to overseas visitors. To-day it has deteriorated physically; it is dreary to look at, with its rows of unpainted shabby houses, its broken fences, its lack of trees and gardens, and over all a shroud of dust from the railway yards. Most of the residents have had to make the best of the situation by improving the interior of the houses. According to their means they have painted, scrubbed and polished, and furnished their homes with conventional European furniture - bedroom and dining-room suites, carpets, vases with fresh flowers, pictures (mostly off calendars) and radios. But it is not easy to make a comfortable home when overcrowding is so acute that it is a very exceptional household which can afford the luxury of a living-room. Everywhere else there are combinations of bedroom-cum-living-room, or even bedroom-cum-dining-room-cum-living-room; with the larger households the houses have virtually to be used as dormitories.

But the deterioration seems to have taken place, not only in the physical environment, but in the soul of Baumannville. The authorized introduction of domestic brewing and its abuse by a number of householders has had an adverse effect on the atmosphere of Baumannville. There was a bad period in 1950 and 1951 when drinking excesses led to disturbances of the peace, brawls, fights and frequent liquor raids; but firm handling by the authorities and the reaction of the more law-abiding Baumannville families has ameliorated the situation to some extent. Nevertheless, the people are aware that there is something amiss with the spirit of Baumannville. They do not much like speaking about it. When they do, this is what they say.

"The people are not as friendly as they used to be". "People are too busy to-day. They have no time for friends". "We used to be able to leave our washing out all night. Nobody ever stole". "We never used to lock our doors, to-day no home is safe". "Daughters are better at a boardingschool than in Baumannville to-day". "It is not a nice place for young girls". "We have no people in the village who are real leaders to-day and can take up matters as they come up". "The Advisory Board is really a Staggering Board. It does nothing". "Young people to-day only care for pleasure. They don't work for Baumannville". "People to-day only want to make big money". "Things aren't different in Baumannville from anywhere else. Everything is getting worse". "The change in Baumannville came when brewing was introduced". "It used to be a quiet place before brewing and shebeens started". "We hardly ever had a liquor raid before 1949. After that we were greatly troubled". "The week-ends are bad. The place is crowded with men coming for beer". "It is noisy and nasty". "Our children have no future. Too many mothers brew for business and neglect their children". "How can I bring up my children to be honest Christians and respect our teaching and way of life? They see too many evil things". "Sundays were lovely days. Everybody dressed in their best and whole families went to church. To-day it is the worst day of the week. It is full of strangers and much noise".

/ This .....

This is the past and present of Baumannville. What of the future? The older leaders strove for amenities and services for their own small community; younger Baumannville looks beyond the location limits, enjoying facilities and joining associations which serve the entire African community of Durban. Baumannville is too small to absorb their energies and talents. The older men and women look back nostalgically to the past, to the "good old days" of neighbourliness, a richer home life, dignity and serenity. They have lived through a period of transition from the traditional patterns of Zulu tribal life to the strange new ways of the urban environment and achieved with more or less success a synthesis of the two. But the young are urban dwellers, city-born and bred, with different aspirations and different conflicts to be faced. The future of Baumannville as a residential area depends on factors which are beyond the control of its men and women. But it is certain that there is sufficient idealism and desire to serve the African people, experience in organization, and reserves of energy and enthusiasm in Baumannville to build, if need be, a new community endowed with vitality and strength and the promise of continued leadership among the Africans in Durban.

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