BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

A Study of the Working Life, Social Ties and Inter-Personal Relationships of African Women Migrants in Domestic Service in Durban.

VOLUME 2

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

Volume II

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P A R T T H R E E

THE PERSONAL LIVES OF FEMALE DOMESTIC SERVANTS IN DURBAN

CHAPTER NINE

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: THE BIOGRAPHIES OF FOUR DOMESTIC SERVANTS

African women working as domestic servants in Durban may be visualized as standing between two worlds in more than one sense. By virtue of the nature of their employment, domestic servants, possibly alone of all the members of the Republic's heterogeneous community, move within and between the various racial substrata of South African life. As employees in the homes of European, Indian and Coloured employers, they spend the greater part of their lives in intimate contact with their employers but are debarred by cultural and racial divisions and by segregation from any true participation in the sections of South African life in which their employers move. All the familial and purely social relationships enjoyed by African servants must be rooted in the African community. The paradox lies in the fact that the nature of their work, particularly that of resident domestics, keeps them to a great extent in the geographical environment of their employers - in the areas of the city set aside for the exclusive use of racial groups other than their own. Many servants are, therefore, largely isolated by necessity from the very community in which they can and must build enduring social ties. How African women domestic servants deal with this problem, on what basis they interact with other Africans and the nature of these interactions will be discussed in the pages which follow.

The other sense in which these women stand between two worlds arises from the fact that the majority are migrants to the city[1] and straddle two contrasting social worlds - the rural and the urban. Like male migrants discussed by Mayer (1961), they participate in two different social structures at one time. While largely absent from the rural community in which they were born and reared, and in which their close kin and possibly children still live, they maintain their social

positions and roles in this structure through intermittent home visiting and monetary contributions. At the same time they spend the greater part of their lives in town and forge for themselves a niche in the urban social structure by continued participation and involvement in it. The relationship of these two sets of social roles or statuses will be considered in this, the final section of this study, and a detailed analysis will be made of the bases upon which female domestic servants build up meaningful social relations in town. The problem of where they finally settle, in town or in the country, will also be considered.

In this chapter, as a background to the analysis of the personal lives of African women in domestic service, we present brief studies of the leisure-time activities, family background and the network of social relations surrounding four representative domestic servants. All were full-time employees but differed in that three were living on the premises of their employers and one, the final woman discussed, was a resident of Kwa Mashu African township who travelled by train to her place of work in Durban each day. We will see the extent to which each woman can be said to have stood 'between two worlds'.

NOMUSA B-. THE HOMEGIRL:

Nomusa B- was a single 24-year old domestic servant employed in Durban North. Although she had been in the city for only five years, she was one of the most sophisticated and Westernized women encountered during the course of the study. Coming from a second generation Christian home situated on a rural re-development scheme near Dundee, she had attended a Mission school until the end of her Junior Certificate year when she unfortunately failed the final examination. Deciding not to continue her studies she left for Durban in order to join her elder sister, Julia, who had been in domestic employment in the city for about seven years.

Nomusa gained her initial training in domestic demands from this sister whose employers allowed the younger woman to

remain on their premises for some months. At the time when she was interviewed, Nomusa had been working for her current employers for over three years. She was a skilled employee who spoke English fluently and bore a good deal of responsibility for cooking and child-care in the household.

The relationship between Nomusa and her employers was one of warmth and mutual respect. The presence of three young children in the home drew servant and housewife together and, while the framework of a clear master/servant relationship dominated their interaction, employer and employee were on close and even familiar terms with each other. Nomusa took a vital interest in the doings of the European family and the mistress in her turn showed an interest in, and knew a good deal about, Nomusa's personal affairs. She had met those of Nomusa's relatives who lived in town and allowed her mother or sisters to stay with Nomusa on the premises when they visited the city. All in all Nomusa's interaction with her employer brought her a good deal of satisfaction in emotional terms and was certainly of great educational value to the African woman. Nomusa asked the European woman's advice in problems with her lover. At one stage, when her younber sister, Phylda, was staying with her for a month, the three women spent a good deal of time discussing and planning her wedding celebrations and trousseau. Although she herself had no children at the time of the study, Nomusa often remarked that she would know how best to rear and feed her own children from the experience she had gained in caring for her employer's children. She and her friends and kin discussed the dress, actions and remarks of their employers amongst themselves, and all tried to emulate the pattern presented to them by their European mistresses and their families.

Home Background and the Kinship Matrix:

Ties with her home and family loomed large in Nomusa's life. She visited Dundee during her annual leave and, in addition, made two or three weekend visits to her home each year. She wrote to her parents frequently and quite often sent money or gifts to them. She met or visited those of her family who were working in Durban on the average once a week and telephoned them between meetings.

Nomusa's home background, in contrast to that of the majority of domestic servants, was one of great security. Despite resettlement, the nuclear family to which she belonged formed part of what may be described as a localized minor lineage. This is shown in Figure 9. Nomusa's father (No. 1 on Figure 9) and his two brothers (Nos. 2 and 3) had been allowed to occupy adjacent sites when moved from their traditional lands into the planned settlement and her father had had sufficient land to allocate a small building site to two of his sons, Elias (No. 6) and Gilbert (No. 8), when the latter had married. The families of these men thus formed a corporate and close-knit unit within the Dundee resettlement area. In addition, Nomusa's father's sister (No. 4) had married a local man and lived close to her brothers. A number of the young and middle-aged men of this kin and neighbourhood group and a few of the single women worked either in Dundee or Durban and the older members of the kin group and the majority of the women remained at home cultivating the land and keeping the unit intact with the help of money and material goods bought and sent home by the migrants. The family had close ties also with the rest of the local community. Nomusa's brothers had married spouses from within the neighbourhood and her sister Phylda was betrothed also to a local man. Nomusa had, however, no maternal relatives in the Dundee area since her mother hailed from Harrismith. Nomusa's father had met her during an early migratory labour trip to that area. Nomusa saw little of this side of her family and what she knew of them was second-hand information gained through her mother.

As a family the B-s were well-off and even prosperous. Nomusa was thus not forced to work. She is an example, rather, of a young Westernized woman who came to Durban of her own free will in order to seek adventure and to "see the world". In doing this she did not, however, run away from home or desert her family. She came with her parents' consent and even encouragement since, as they did not regard town life as necessarily corrupting or evil, they felt that a spell of working in Durban would provide their daughter with valuable experience in Western ways. They seem to have regarded it, in fact, in the light of a finishing school to her formal education, and as a preliminary to marriage. In any case,

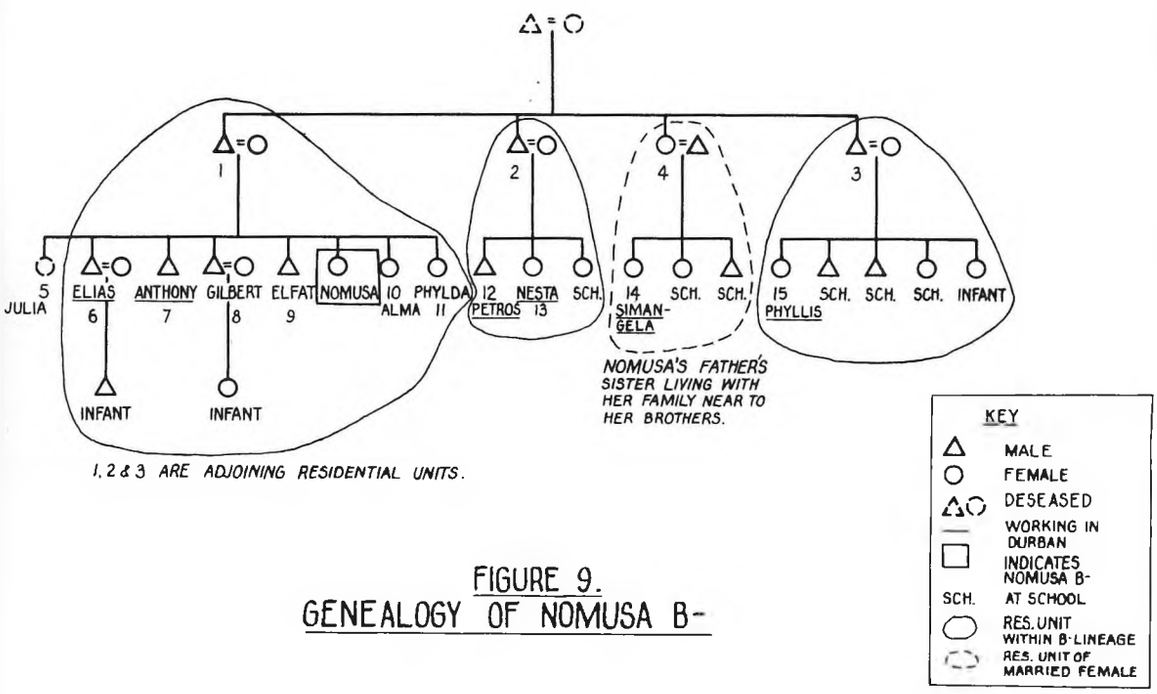

FIGURE 9.
GENEALOGY OF NOMUSA B-

since a number of her brothers and her elder sister were in Durban also, they had been sure that she would be well cared for and controlled. They did expect, however, that she would return home to marry in due course.

The members of Nomusa's close kin who were living and working in Durban are indicated in Figure 9. Julia. (No. 5), her eldest sister, had died about a year before Nomusa was contacted. Her two brothers, Elias (No. 6) and Anthony (No.7), were working in Umgeni Road, the one at the South African Board Mills and the other at a cane spirit factory nearby. Elias took over his father's job at the South African Board Mills and later found the job for his younger brother. Petros (No. 12), the son of Nomusa's father's brother, worked with Elias, and the three lived together in the Kwa Mashu men's hostel. Petros' sister, Nesta (No. 13) was employed as a resident domestic servant in a different suburb of Durban from Nomusa. She and Nomusa were the closest of friends. If they could not meet each week they telephoned each other and had long talks. At the time of the first interviews with Nomusa, she and Nesta were trying to persuade Phyllis (No. 15), the daughter of Nomusa's youngest brother, and Simanyela (No. 14), the daughter of Nomusa's father's sister, to come to town as both had just left school.

The remainder of Nomusa's siblings lived permanently at home. Gilbert (No. 8), was barred by influx control from working in Durban. He made a living at Dundee, however, by driving a removal truck bought by Elias. Elphat (No. 9) was also at home and although he had at one time been employed at a rubber factory near Howick, he had been afflicted by mental derangement and could no longer care for himself. The first of Nomusa's younger sisters, Alma (No. 10) was inclined to be sickly and her services were needed by her mother to help in the fields and in housework. The last sister, Phylda (No. 11), did not wish to work since she was to be married soon.

Personal Life in Town:

Nomusa's personal life was dominated by the long and full hours of her work and by the distance of Durban North

from town. The poor bus service made it virtually impossible for her to leave the immediate neighbourhood of her employer's premises except on her free afternoons when she had about four hours or more free at a stretch. She kept a note of her daily activities for nearly a year - from April, 1963 to March, 1964. Her diary for June, 1963 appears in Appendix IV. Her activities and social relationships may now be analysed in some detail.

(a) Leisure-time Activities:

Nomusa spent the greater part of her free time during her working days on the premises of her employer. Although one of the reasons lay in the difficulty of leaving Durban North, she did not appear to crave company and excitement as did many of the other servants investigated. She seldom visited even neighbouring servants and in most cases it was one of her particular friends who visited her in the evening after work. About once a week she had visits from her lover.

Nomusa had no difficulty keeping herself amused. She was one of the few servants who could read both English and Zulu with ease, and her regular and long letters to her mother, sisters and friends, took up a lot of her spare time. She was also a highly skilled needlewoman and dressmaker. During the early part of 1963 she was, for instance, kept busy making new dresses for herself and her family for the wedding of her younger sister, Phylda. She also made a considerable part of her sister's trousseau - sheets, pillowcases and embroidered doilies. A typical entry in her diary of this period reads -

> "Day off on Sunday afternoon, stay at home by myself no one visit me. I was busy sewing mummies dress for the wedding.
> Evening still sewing till late at night.
> Went to bed at 11.30."

At all times of the year friends and kin often brought her material to make up for them. As a rule they paid her between R2 and R3 for this service. In some cases she did not charge them anything and explained that she did the sewing because she enjoyed it. She copied the styles from old dresses brought to her or even cut out simple frocks

basing the style on her memory of her employer's clothes.

The pattern of Nomusa's week was broken on Thursdays and Sundays - her free afternoons. She was very much a creature of habit and the ways in which she spent these days were largely predictable. On Thursdays she invariably went to town. She sometimes made an appointment with her cousin or some other friend to meet at the bus terminus. Sometimes she met a friend by chance on the bus. Either alone or in their company Nomusa wandered around the shops, making small purchases or merely 'window-shopping' as she called it. During the month she seldom had much money to spend but these days took on the nature of exploratory expeditions, and upon the experiences of her window-shopping, her plans for spending her salary at the end of each month were made. She wrote, describing such a trip to town -

> "I went to town, met my friend Florah doing her window shopping. She asked me to help her looking for some nice shoes for she wanted to buy some at the end of the month. We saw one at Telfords and she promise to buy it at the end of the month."

On one or two occasions Nomusa mentioned visiting her brother, Elias, on the way to town or else she called on her lover. Since, however, these men were usually on duty at this time, this was not a regular feature of her Thursday afternoons. At about 5.00 p.m. she invariably returned to Durban North, either to go on duty again in order to wash the dishes after her employer's meal, or merely to rest in her room discussing the day's adventures with a neighbouring servant.

Sunday afternoon was the time when the B- family gathered, since most of them were off duty then. They met as a rule at Nesta's place of work in Sea View, as it was easier to get to than was Durban North. Nomusa enjoyed these afternoons and often spent the night with her cousin, as she did not have to be back at work until Monday morning. Her diary shows that during the period of research she spent on an average of three out of every four Sundays in this way. The exceptions were when she was either feeling ill or received visits from her lover and this kept her at Durban North.

The following excerpt from her diary gives the flavour

of these family meetings. On Saturday 25th of May, 1963, she wrote -

> "I was ironing my dress for to were it on Sunday that I was going to see my cousin who came to Durban on the 24th of May to look for a job. She stays in Seaview with my other cousin....".

Of the next day she wrote:

> "Day off Sunday. I went there so I found her there with my other cousin Nesta who is working for Mrs. Satan of 15 Willims Gowe Drive Seaview. Her boy friend was there to. There were having a drink. An I found that she got some fat fowls for me an my cousin Nester. The one she is got for me was coming from my mother. And she was so pleased to see me there. A little later a friend of mine Florah came there visiting my cousin to for she is just working nearby here, with him was his 4½ year old daughter called Ihandi. So we all sit and chat having a drink and funns from my cousin. For she was telling us about what she saw on his way to Durban from Dundee. I leave here at about 8 o'clock, at night catching the bus at the bus stop 4c from here to town, from town to my place 8½c."

Nomusa B- is thus an example of a domestic servant whose free time, although spent in a similar manner each week was not characterized by membership of formal associations and whose social relations were informal and not bound by the ties of association membership. She did not take any interest in sport or in public entertainments. Although she mentions being invited to the cinema by her lover and attending a rugby match at Kwa Mashu with her brother, these were not regular features of her life. This does not mean that she was particularly conservative or that she disapproved of the many recreational activities of town; merely that her contacts and friends did not draw her into these fields.

(b) The Social Network:

Having sketched briefly the pattern of Nomusa's personal life we may now turn to an assessment of the content and intensity of the relationships she shared with her friends and kin. Our discussion will be based on Table XLIV which appears in Appendix IV and which sets out the persons with

whom Nomusa had meaningful contacts over a six-month period.[2] Chance meetings with persons whom she did not regard as either kin or close friends have been excluded, as she herself did not regard them as worthy of note.[3] Table XXXVI below summarizes the basis of interaction between Nomusa and each of the 12 contacts. The small number of people is striking and what is immediately apparent is that the vast majority of her planned meetings and visits were with or from the same group of kin, and that all her contacts outside the immediate vicinity of her employment were either with these relatives or with their close friends and work-mates.

TABLE XXXVI

BASIS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN NOMUSA B- AND 12 OF HER MEANINGFUL CONTACTS

BASIS OF INTERACTION	NO	%
Close kin	5	42
Clanship	1	8
Neighbourhood friends and work contacts	3	25
School friend	1	8
Contact through kin	1	8
Lover	1	8
TOTAL	12	99.9

Friends:

Nomusa mentioned only four female friends in her diary. Two were her immediate neighbours, the third a woman working in Durban North area with whom she had been to school in Dundee, and the fourth was a friend of her cousin, Nesta. In addition to these women she mentioned another school friend who was working as a nurse at Nongoma and with whom she corresponded regularly.

While her diary records frequent meetings with the two neighbouring domestic servants, Esther C- and Doris B- (Nos. 7 and 8 on Table XLIV in Appendix IV), Nomusa's friendships with these women were more a matter of proximity than of any real and lasting interest. She was thrown together with them

because both she and they disapproved of or were not interested in the other servants working in the vicinity. Esther C- worked over the road from Nomusa. She was an elderly woman with strong family ties in the townships. The two women visited each other's rooms in the evenings or during their lunch breaks when they discussed neighbourhood matters and their current problems. They never, however, planned joint outings or spent their free afternoons together, since these times were reserved for their immediate families. The friendship lapsed when Esther moved away from Durban North. For about four months she paid occasional visits to Nomusa but after this they ceased to see each other altogether. Gertrude's place in Nomusa's life was taken by Doris B- who had moved into the job in the house next door to Nomusa some two months before Gertrude left. She was a younger woman than Gertrude but also of a quiet nature and was not drawn to mix with the other women working in the neighbourhood. She and Nomusa shared an amicable, if again undemanding relationship which served merely to provide companionship for both of them in their spare moments.

Agnes C- (No. 9 on Table XLIV in Appendix IV), Nomusa's school friend and 'homegirl' worked about a mile away from Nomusa. They visited each other about once a week or telephoned each other in order to pass the time of day and exchange news of home. Nomusa described their friendship in the following terms: "We feel at home together and can discuss old times and our homes at Dundee." It is unlikely that they, and particularly Nomusa, would have made the effort to meet had there not been this link between them. The other domestic servant mentioned by Nomusa as a friend was Florah B- (No. 10 on Table XLIV in Appendix IV). Since she worked next door to Nesta, Nomusa usually saw her when she visited her cousin. The women liked each other so much that they began to meet in town to 'window-shop' even when Nesta was not present. The cause and frequency of their contacts lay, however, in their link with Nesta, and it is again unlikely that this friendship would have flourished had it not been for Nomusa's kin tie with her cousin.

Nomusa's continued friendship and correspondence with her Nongoma nurse friend is interesting since it shows the

strength of the common school and home area tie. In the case of Agnes C- this tie was supplemented by proximity and common employment, but in the case of the nurse the social lives and interests of the friends were worlds apart. Nomusa valued the correspondence, as it opened for her a vista of longed-for professional life.

Nomusa's relationships with the majority of neighbourhood friends was clearly of only limited importance to her. Unless backed by some additional link such as that of home area, school or common friendship with kin, these relationships tended to be fleeting and to lack great depth. It is noteworthy that although she had worked in other areas of the city she had kept up no friendships with neighbouring servants met in these areas. When asked, she could not name any that meant anything to her! The only one of any interest was a certain Victoria C- (No. 6 on Table XLIV in Appendix IV) who had found her her present job and she had, in fact, belonged to Nomusa's mother's clan.

Nomusa's relations with men friends, while of great emotional importance to her, showed little variety or number at the time under review. She greeted men working in the area and passed the time of day with one in particular, who was a "homeboy", but she spent little time with any non-kin men except her acknowledged lover. At the time under review this was a certain Wilfred M- (No. 11 on Table XLIV in Appendix IV), a policeman who had been stationed at the Durban North Police Station. When he was moved to Stamford Hill their meetings decreased due to difficulties of travel. Their liaison, nonetheless, continued. Either Wilfred visited her on his day or night off, or else she caught the bus to Stamford Hill and they wandered round the streets and cafes together. Nomusa, while very fond of Wilfred, did not think in terms of marriage and certainly did not expect the policeman to marry her.

Kin:

The members of Nomusa's family who were in town formed a close-knit group which encompassed her life and left very little opportunity, or indeed need, for outside contacts. It

is these people - Nesta, Elias, to some extent Anthony and intermittently Phyllis and Phylda (See Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 in Table XLIV of Appendix IV) who formed the group which provided a backbone and framework for Nomusa's life in Durban. Her first thoughts and loyalty went always to this 'kin group' while it was merely opportunity which linked her to her friends.

The contact with these members of her family kept Nomusa home-oriented. Not only was she under the direct control of her eldest brother while in town, but since one or other of the relatives went home on leave each month, or else other rural kin visited the town-dwellers, she was kept in direct touch with her home. This emphasis on home was strong enough to be extended in such a way as to create bonds between Nomusa and non-kin from Dundee living in Durban and elsewhere.

Home orientation did not mean for Nomusa any rejection of a Western outlook or ways, nor did it entail any conflict of values or any necessity for situational selection. Since her family were Christian and highly Westernized, her experiences working as a domestic servant in Durban merely reinforced the basic worldview in which she had been reared and added to her facility in manipulating a Western technology, norms and ideas. Just as the nature of her upbringing and her education at a small private church school had enabled her to learn quickly what was required of her as a domestic servant, so this background ensured that she was open to the new ideas on dress, living and eating presented to her by working and living in close contact with her European employers. The warmth of the relationship between herself and the housewife was yet another factor which inclined Nomusa to emulate the latter's ways and both seek, and take, the European woman's advice in personal problems.

In the case of Nomusa B- then we have an example of a woman who was clearly orientated to a Western outlook, and one whose background and experiences in town had produced, not only a competent domestic servant, but a woman who, in herself, was highly Westernized and skilled in the manipulation and

enjoyment of urban life. Nomusa was a woman who, in Mayer's sense (1961 pages 8 - 10), could be said to be fully urban-cultured. The paradox lay, however, in the fact that she was not urban-rooted, and showed no signs of moving in this direction. Her major and crucial ties in town were with kin and even friends from her home area. In spite of the fact that she had been in Durban for over five years, she had been kept in close contact with, and dependence upon, her semi-rural Dundee home. Her network of social relations was one which, like those of Mayer's Red migrants (1961), may be described as a rural network 'displaced' or 'stretched' into the urban social environment, and one which operated to keep her 'encapsulated' within town and therefore home-oriented.

As a contrast to Nomusa we shall discuss next the personal life and social relations of a young woman who was both urban-cultured and urban-rooted. Goodness M- not only regarded town life with favour but denied emphatically that she could be happy living elsewhere. The majority of her meaningful contacts were with other townspeople and, since her father had abandoned his rural home and family early in life, she had no contacts whatsoever with paternal kin in the country. Indeed, her home background tells the story of the disintegrating effects of individualism and irresponsibility which may lead a man to neglect his family obligations and so leave his own children with no kin support from his side of the family. A comparison of the genealogies of the two women (Figures 9 and 10) will immediately show how the unity of the B- lineage led to the situation in which Nomusa was surrounded by paternal kin both in town and in the country, while Goodness was forced to rely on maternal kin for any help and support which she required, simply because her father had cut all ties with his family.

Goodness will be seen, furthermore, to be an example of a young woman who showed great personal sophistication and a tremendous facility for gaining the greatest enjoyment out of life and avoiding any serious responsibilities or involvements with people. In comparison with Nomusa she seemed far gayer and more polished. However, much of her sophistication was a veneer and her Westernization a matter more of dress and action than of outlook and values.

GOODNESS M-. THE GADABOUT:

Goodness M- was an unmarried woman of 19 years of age who had already borne two children of two and three years of age respectively. She had been employed as a domestic servant for only 14 months and her position in Stamford Hill was the second one which she had held during this period. Her basic knowledge of English and her sophistication had enabled her to adapt easily and rapidly to the demands of her European employers. She made a competent servant and was valued by her current mistress who had experienced difficulties with a number of less skilled employees before engaging her.

Goodness was not satisfied in her occupation. Her interests, inclinations and ambitions did not lie in continuing to work as a domestic servant. She considered herself quite capable of holding down a 'better job' - such as that in a factory, a shop or as a nurse-aide. She had wanted to become a nurse, but this profession was closed to her because she had had to leave school after Standard Six. She found the drudgery and long hours of work entailed by domestic service exhausting and claimed that if she could only find 'a place to live' she would try either part-time domestic work in flats or seek a non-domestic job.

The domestic position held by Goodness involved a good deal of drudgery unrelieved by any of the factors which normally made employment in Stamford Hill so attractive to female servants. Her relationship with the housewife was distant and formal, and her children were not allowed to live with her on the premises. Her employers kept a strict check on her visitors and even on her own activities when off duty. Her employment was thus unsatisfactory on a personal level. Her wages, however, were high for Stamford Hill, R10 per month, and she felt that she was learning, as she put it, "a lot about housework" and so equipping herself for a better job. When contacted she was searching for another job, and, with her relative sophistication and her command of English, it was only a matter of time before she acquired one. Indeed she disappeared from the area while fieldwork was still under way.

Home Background and the Kinship Matrix :

Goodness' sophistication was the result, not so much of

years spent in town, but of her whole background and upbringing. She was reared largely on a South Coast mission station although her father, who was something of a wastrel, disliked rural life and had left his home to work in a series of jobs in the small towns along the coast. He finally ended up in Durban, and Goodness' mother, although she did not really approve of town life, being extremely conservative in outlook, followed him. They established themselves in the slum area of Cato Manor, leaving their children on the mission station with their maternal grandmother. Although the latter was a traditionalist, Goodness visited her parents regularly in the school holidays and soon grew accustomed to life in Cato Manor. It was on one of these trips when she was about 14 years old that she fell pregnant. This put an end to her school career and she moved permanently to town where her mother cared for her and the baby. It was only after the birth of her second child and her mother's subsequent death, that she was forced to seek work in order to support herself and her children. Her father had remarried and his second wife refused to have Goodness and her children to live with her in her Kwa Mashu home. Goodness was forced to turn to her maternal kin for help. Her mother's two sisters each agreed to take one of her children to live with their families while Goodness sought full-time resident domestic employment. Her elder child was thus living with the one sister on the South Coast and the baby was cared for by the other sister who lived in Lamontville (See Figure 10).

Goodness saw very little of the children. She visited the South Coast about once in every three months and sent a little money to her mother's sister to defray the costs of rearing the child. She paid two or three visits per month to Lamontville and, on the whole, gave the mother's sister living there more help of both a financial and practical nature than she gave to the aunt living in the South Coast area. At the time that she was keeping a diary, her younger child was in hospital and she paid him fairly frequent visits. In all essentials, however, Goodness behaved as a young childless woman might. The care of her children did not weigh heavily upon her, for she knew that if she lost her job, or failed to give her mother's sisters money, they would still look after,

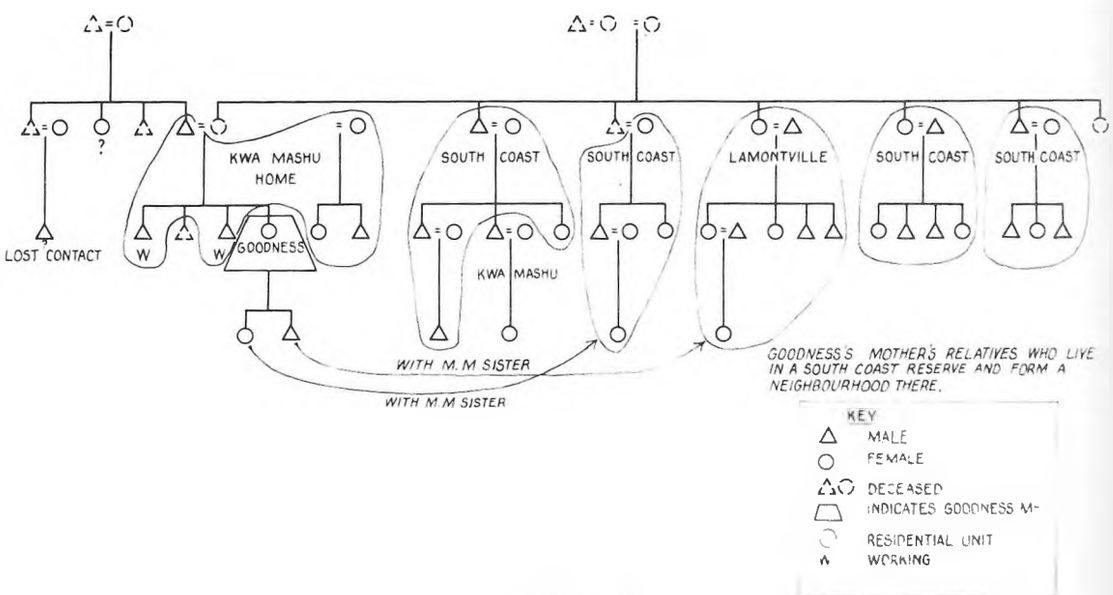

FIGURE 10.
GENEALOGY OF GOODNESS M-

feed and clothe her babies and give them the same love and attention which they gave their own children.

It is clear that Goodness had by no means the secure home background upon which Nomusa could rely. Her father had abandoned his paternal kin early in life and Goodness knew very little about them. Certainly she never visited them or ever considered that they might help her or offer her a home. While she saw her father fairly regularly, and he could be relied upon to lend her money if she were in dire need, he could not offer her a place to live due to his second wife's animosity towards her. Goodness' brothers were not married and even if they had been, she regarded it as unlikely that their wives would welcome her and her children. It was only her mother's family upon whom she could rely for any effective help and security. Even they, however, could not be expected to offer her a permanent home. Her only hope of a secure future and a place to live appeared to her to lie in marriage. Being young and attractive she had high hopes in this direction. She envisaged a future husband as wealthy and able to support her in all comfort without her having to work. For this reason she did not look upon her children's fathers, both of whom were young and had poorly-paid positions, as possible marriage partners.

Personal Life in Town:

Despite her full-time employment Goodness enjoyed a good deal of free time. She was given only Sunday afternoons and evenings as official time off, but her daily workload was usually completed by lunchtime on week-days. She was then relatively free in the afternoons and did not always have to return on duty to tidy the kitchen after the evening meal. Since Stamford Hill is not only near to town but lies also on the direct bus route to the city from Kwa Mashu, Goodness could easily leave the neighbourhood of her employment in the afternoon and also at night. She was thus far more mobile than was Nomusa.

Goodness kept a diary for about six weeks before she left her job in Stamford Hill. She wrote well and with ease, but chose to write in Zulu as her written English was not quite as good as her spoken English A translation of part of this

diary will be found in Appendix V.

(a) Leisure-time Activities:

Goodness spent relatively little of her free time on her employer's premises. She loved the entertainments provided by town - the cinema, dancing, sports and the hurly-burly of the city streets. She was a gregarious girl and liked to have company. When she was freed from her household tasks she was seldom satisfied to remain alone in her room reading or knitting, although she could do both well. If she had no definite plans for going out and if no visitors appeared, she soon got bored and wandered off in search of company.

She visited her father's home at Kwa Mashu at least once a week during the six-week period that she kept a diary. This was usually on her free Sunday afternoon, but she also went at night during the week if she had sufficient time. When one of her children became ill and was brought to Clairwood Hospital she spent much of the time she would otherwise have spent in Kwa Mashu,visiting the hospital.

When at Kwa Mashu, Goodness seldom remained at her father's house. The main reason for this, apart from her stepmother's unfriendly attitude, was that she wanted to attend the dances and church functions held in the township. She went to church only twice during the period, but laid great stress on these visits since she was at that time in love with an elder in the church. The dances were more regular events in her life. These she attended with a group of girl friends and was always excited at the prospect of meeting new people at the dance hall. Goodness appears to have been an accomplished dancer and professed a knowledge of all the modern steps.

On the few afternoons when she had to return to work she made time to go to the cinema in the centre of town. She did this three times during the six weeks. This is a high incidence when compared with the majority of servants, few of whom had been once in six months, and many never at all. Goodness was most enthusiastic about this form of entertainment and proved extremely knowledgeable on the subject of films.

When unable to make the long journey to Kwa Mashu or to visit the cinema, Goodness visited her many friends in town.

Some were in her immediate neighbourhood and these visits were informal and the women whiled away their time chatting, knitting and listening to the radio. Often the friend would accompany her "half-way home". In cases where the visits were paid to people living further afield, such as in Cato Manor, Goodness often spent the night with them and returned to the premises early the next morning. She received a fair number of visitors herself, and since the employers did not approve of her having visitors at night, most of these visits were made during the day. On the whole, however, most of her social life took place off the premises. Her friends and kin knew the reputation that her employers had for strictness.

(b) The Social Network:

Over the short period during which she kept a diary Goodness noted meeting and visiting a greater number and variety of people than did Nomusa in the whole course of her lengthy documentation of her leisure-time activities. Table XLV in Appendix V indicates the nature of the relationship which Goodness shared with the people whom she met during four weeks of keeping her diary. Her relationship with them can be seen to have been, with the exception of the other female domestic servants working in the neighbourhood of her employment, of a long-term nature. Apart from her kin some were old school friends and others members of a young set of gay township dwellers amongst whom she moved. Table XXXVII below summarizes the bases of contact between Goodness and the 20 contacts mentioned in sections of her diary quoted in the Appendix.

TABLE XXXVII

BASIS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN GOODNESS M- AND 20 OF HER MEANINGFUL CONTACTS

BASIS OF INTERACTION	NO	%
Maternal kin	8	40
Paternal kin	4	20
Neighbourhood friends	4	20
School friends	2	10
Lovers	2	10
TOTAL	20	100

Not only was this woman's social circle far wider than that of Nomusa, but Goodness herself made far more effort to visit her neighbours, friends or kin than did the first woman discussed. She was, in fact, often the main mover in her relationships with non-kin. In contrast, her contacts with her relatives occurred largely when they visited her.

Friends:

Goodness' friends were all young, sophisticated and of much the same outlook as herself. A few of the women she noted visiting in her diary were neighbouring domestic servants whom she had met only recently through coming to work in Stamford Hill. Her other contacts were largely men and women with whom she had been to school or else they were friends whom she had met while living in Cato Manor. Some of the women were domestic servants, but, like Goodness, despised this form of employment and were more often than not out of work and seeking non-domestic jobs. The majority had either parents or kin living in Durban who gave them, if not a permanent home, at least temporary shelter when they were out of a job. The men held aspirations to fill clerical positions and those with sufficient education who had been lucky enough to secure such jobs, were greatly admired and sought out by the women.

Goodness herself was popular with men and enjoyed their attentions to the full. Her children were born to different men and at the time of fieldwork she claimed to be about to become engaged to a third, despite the continued attentions of the father of the second child. She received, in addition, numerous visits from other men, many of whom she described as old school mates.

On the whole Goodness' friendships were characterized not so much by depth as by number. Unlike Nomusa, she did not value only one or two friends and limit her contacts to them. Instead she had many superficial friendships from which she received much satisfaction.

Kin:

Wider kin ties coincided to link Goodness very closely to two of her women friends, Thoko M- and Eunice S- (See Nos.3 and

2, Table XLV in Appendix V), whom she regarded as 'kin' because they shared her isibongo. Although they appeared in her diary only twice,Goodness felt that her friendships with them were deep and meaningful. She often arranged meetings with them at Kwa Mashu and it was largely with them that she attended dances in the township. During the period that she kept her diary the illness of her child involved her in visiting the hospital at times that she might otherwise have spent in visiting and meeting these two friends. On the whole, however, Goodness claimed to value their friendship more on the basis of their personalities and interests than on the basis of the kin ties she shared with them. She admitted that in her purely social relationships she tended to seek out people who were primarily of similar outlook to herself and was only secondarily influenced by kinship ties in this respect.

Goodness tolerated the attentions of her closer kinsfolk with a somewhat long-suffering air and was inclined to brush aside any suggestion that they meant a good deal to her. Although not overtly placing much store by her kin, even laughing at the older members, it is nevertheless clear that she relied upon them in the essentials of life. She could not have accepted full-time resident employment if her mother's two sisters had not taken her children to live with them. Probably of even more importance to her personally was the fact that she would not have been so free to gad about town and entertain men had she had to provide a home for the children. At this stage of her life her sons presented something of a burden which she was only too willing to farm out to relatives.

The vital part played by kin in her life can be seen very clearly from her diary. At the time when her child was in hospital it was her kin who rallied round her and offered her their condolences and assistance. Her father and brother visited her more often than usual and even her father's second wife paid a visit to enquire after the child.

Goodness is a typical example of a young, gay, sophisticated townswoman. She laughed away any suggestion that she should wish to live in the country instead of in town. She described even her occasional visits to the South Coast

reserve to see her elder child as 'a bore'. All her friends were townspeople and it was to the townships that she looked for her future. Her sophistication, however, was not so much a matter of education and Westernization, as that of a facility for town living learnt through her early years visiting and living in Cato Manor. Her early childhood on the mission station, while it had included a good basic education, had been tempered by the years spent living with her pagan grandparents and so 'out of' touch with Christians in her home life. She had lacked the consistent Christian and Western influence with which Nomusa's home life had provided her. In this sense Goodness' sophistication was superficial and not based on a completely Western-oriented background. In addition to this she had gained little from her few experiences of domestic employment apart from a superficial view of Western life. She had never experienced the close and warm relationship with an employer's family which Nomusa had and which may be potentially instructive to a domestic servant.

Both Goodness and Nomusa are examples of domestic servants who were urban-cultured. The one was an out-and-out townswoman who despised domestic work, and the other, despite her rural ties and family links, was a woman who enjoyed being in town and who enjoyed her employment as a domestic servant also. The next servant to be discussed, however, presents the picture of a truly rural-orientated woman, who, through force of circumstances alone had been forced to come to town and to seek employment. In contrast to the other women she will also be seen to have had literally no kin either in town or in the country on whom to rely in the crises of life. As a result her social relations in town took on a pattern dominated by the neighbourhood of her employment and her membership of church.

MARIA N-, THE CHURCH-CENTRED ORPHAN:

Maria N- was a woman completely different in personality, outlook and interests from the two young women discussed so far. Although like them she was unmarried, she was considerably older, being somewhere in her late thirties when first interviewed, and had been in Durban for about 15 years. She was an extremely religious woman whose social life and contacts were dominated by her church membership. In contrast to both Nomusa and Goodness she had had no education at all and she gave the impression of being shy and unsophisticated. She spoke poor English and was only a mediocre servant. While the other two women always looked neat and smart even in their uniforms, Maria's appearance was invariably sloppy. Her dresses were long, old-fashioned and usually hitched up by pins and belts that did not match the clothes. She always wore a doek or beret and never appeared, even when off-duty, without some form of head covering, a sure indication of conservatism. Although employed in Stamford Hill within a stone's throw of Goodness, the two women did not know each other well, and were not interested in each other's existence. The membership of their social circles hardly overlapped and their selection of completely different friends from within the same area demonstrates clearly how separate may be the cliques which form amongst domestic servants in any one neighbourhood.

Maria had worked for her current employers for over six years. She was a full-time resident employee, and although there were no servant's quarters on her employer's property she shared a small wood-and-iron cottage which stood behind an adjacent house, with the servant employed in this house. The relationship between Maria and her employers was one of informality and warmth. The housewife spoke some Zulu, and over the years she and Maria had developed a system of communicating in mixed English, Afrikaans and Zulu. Servant and housewife were thrown into continual contact with each other, both by the small size and layout of the house and by the tendency of the housewife to share the domestic tasks with Maria. There was no separate laundry in the house, and the washing had to be done in the bathroom, and the ironing in the

communal living and family room. The latter led straight off the kitchen so that even when Maria was busy in the kitchen her mistress tended to be in the next room. The two carried on continuous conversations with each other. When Maria's female visitors called, she was allowed to have them either in the kitchen if she were working there, or if she was ironing and there was no one but the housewife at home, in the dining room with her. In these cases the housewife often entered the conversations between the African women, and had built up a joking camaraderie with many of Maria's friends.

Maria was only paid R7 per month. She complained about this but never sought to find a better-paid job elsewhere. In fact it is unlikely that she could have held down a job which made greater demands in keeping with a higher salary. In any case the employment situation in which Maria worked was one which suited her. She had a good deal of free time, an employer who did not "hurry" her and above all, the employer's premises were within easy reach of the Greyville Roman Catholic Church which she attended. Over the years she had built up a close network of ties with other Roman Catholic servants working in the area, and had even introduced her church friends into jobs in the neighbourhood. All in all, Maria was content with her employment, and unlike Goodness, did not have ambitions to find other jobs or to move 'up' in the world.

Home Background and the Kinship Matrix:

Figure 11 presents Maria's genealogy. What is immediately striking is the pattern of disruption in the family of her father which had led to her position as a 'kinless orphan'. She was born in a reserve near Greytown, the daughter of what she described as a 'dying house'. Her father bore only two daughters before his untimely death, and he himself had been the only issue of his father's first wife. His father's second wife had borne many children and Maria claimed that she had bewitched her co-wife and so caused the continued misery in the first 'house'.

Maria's mother was converted to Christianity and died when her daughter was about 10 years old. Maria's father died shortly afterwards and she was sent to live with her half

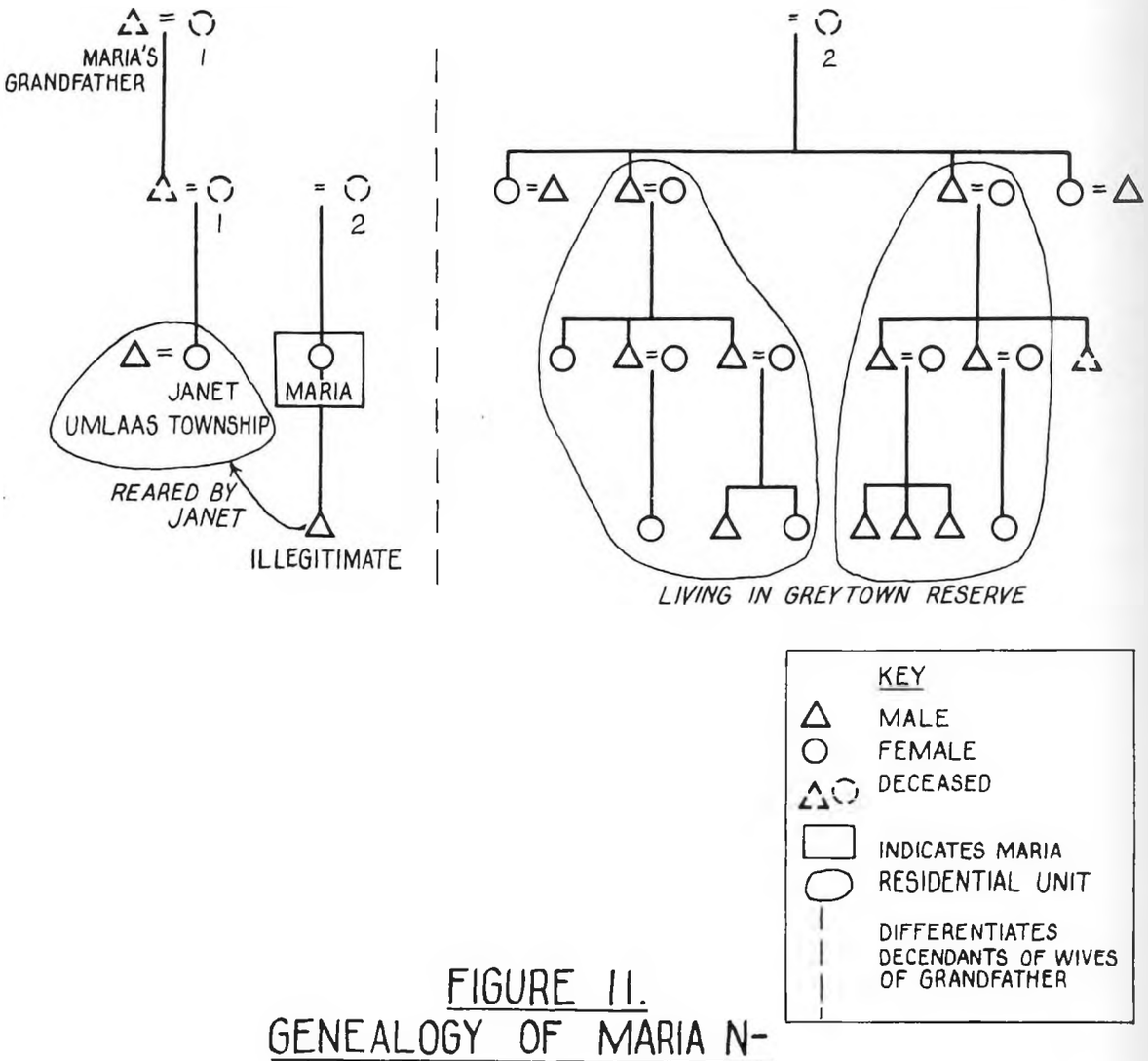

FIGURE 11.
GENEALOGY OF MARIA N-

sister, Janet, who was much older than herself, married and living in another district. Her pagan kin did not wish to have her to live with them since her mother had refused all contact with them before her death. Janet's husband decided to come to Durban when Maria was about 20 years old. She accompanied him and her half sister, but since she did not get on well with them soon decided to seek work and so a certain degree of independence.

Never having come into close contact with Europeans before, and not having attended school, Maria spoke only indifferent English, and had little idea of the expectations of prospective employers. The majority of her positions before the one in Stamford Hill had been with Coloured or Indian employers who spoke Zulu and who did not expect any skilled service.

At the age of about 22 or 23 Maria bore an illegitimate child. The father abandoned her before the birth, and the child, a son, was reared largely by Maria's sister, Janet. The latter had had no children of her own, and had come to claim that Maria's child was her own. Maria showed ambivalent feelings towards her son. As an ardent Roman Catholic she was ashamed of having had a child out of wedlock. When he was first born she seems to have been only too willing to let Janet care for him. Later, when she realised that she was getting older, had not married, or had any more children, she began to want to see more of him. Janet, however, objected and a rift developed between the two on this score.

As the years passed, this quarrel deepened, and at the time of fieldwork, Maria was hardly welcomed at the home of her sister who now lived in a nearby township. Although she tried to visit her son occasionally and took him small gifts, there was no effective contact between her and Janet's household - her only close kin in town, and indeed, in the world. Unlike Goodness, Maria did not know the people of her deceased mother. The only kinship ties which had any meaning for her were those with the children and grandchildren of her paternal great grandfather's second wife who controlled the family property in the Greytown Reserve (See Figure 11). She visited them during her leave, but although she was welcomed

by them she realised that she could never make a home with them. She often commented on her misfortune in not having relatives to surround her and provide her with security and help if needed.

One of Maria's greatest sorrows was that she had no home other than her employer's premises. She did not envisage herself as working all her life, but could see no alternative. She could not afford a house in the townships herself, could not rely on her son who regarded her sister, Janet, as his mother, and had no rights to a home in the rural areas. The only possible escape from work that she could see lay in marriage. This was found to be one of the preoccupations of her life. She had a succession of male friends during the course of fieldwork and had high hopes of each marrying her. She claimed that one of the reasons why this never materialized was her apparent inability to have another child. She spent a large proportion of her salary on various medical treatments and aids to fertility, both Western and traditional.

Personal Life in Town:

Maria found difficulty with writing since she had not had any formal schooling. It was necessary, therefore, to visit her each week and take a written account of her contacts and activities. This was continued for over a year in 1964 and 1965, although for certain months when she was too busy to be interviewed the records were incomplete. Representative sections from the diary for the months of March, 1964 and August, 1965 appear in Appendix VI.

(a) Leisure-time Activities:

Of the women discussed so far, Maria appeared to spend least time actually working. Not only was her employer relatively undemanding, but there were numerous occasions on which she was forced to interrupt her work. She was sent, at least once and sometimes twice a day, on errands to the shops or to the neighbours with messages from the housewife who was not strong enough to go out by herself. Since there were no toilet facilities on the grounds, Maria was also forced to leave the premises and visit the public conveniences nearby

whenever necessary. During these outings she lingered chatting to other servants on the streets or to the people sitting in the park or waiting for buses outside the conveniences. In this way she had become not only very well known in her immediate vicinity and made many friends, but she had also built up the reputation for always "being on the spot" when anything untoward occurred. She had also a legion of casual friends and acquaintances throughout the Stamford Hill area. She seldom spent her free time alone, as she could always count on visits from neighbours and herself spent much time with the other servants of the area in their rooms.

When "at home" Maria was an avid radio fan. After years of borrowing lovers' radio sets she bought her own on hire-purchase during the period of fieldwork. This not only provided her with constant entertainment, but also with anecdotes and topics for conversation. It was also potentially lucrative in that she had become an inveterate competition contestant. On one occasion she won R2 in this manner. Maria seldom spent her time reading or doing handwork. Although she could read a little Zulu she preferred to listen to the radio, and although she did try knitting and sewing she seldom finished any garment.

The dominating factor in Maria's life was her church membership. This provided her with at least one regular appointment each week, and laid the foundation for other formal activities and for the majority of her closer friendships. As a Roman Catholic she attended the Church of St. Emanuel in Greyville. Apart from the regular Sunday afternoon service arranged to meet the needs of local domestic servants, she attended various meetings and social evenings, organised by the church authorities. Before important festivals such as Easter and Christmas there were, for instance, alsmost nightly preparation classes and choir practices as well as church parties to celebrate these events. Once a year each church member was expected to hold a "party" perhaps in combination with friends, to celebrate his or her Saint's Day. These occurred fairly regularly and were attended by other members of the congregation, thus making outings for all and involving much preparation in terms of dress.

Maria also attended annual "missions" held by the Roman

Catholic Church outside Durban. These usually involved fairly long journeys. Maria mentioned one of these held at Cavel near Donnybrook which she attended towards the end of 1965. (See Appendix VI pages 40-41). Gatherings of this nature were of great interest and excitement to the church members and they entailed not only preparation, the excitement of the actual journey and event itself, but also provided a fund of experiences for future recollection and discussion. Since their main object was prayer and healing, they appealed particularly to Maria with her constant minor ailments and worries over infertility.

Finally, Maria attended informal groups arranged by church members among themselves. She belonged, for instance, to a "club" consisting of seven members, each of whom paid 50 cents per month into a general fund. This was then lent on interest either to members or to the friendsof members. The interest and capital were divided at the end of the year, giving each approximately R6 for Christmas spending. Apart from the savings aspect of the club, it provided the women with an opportunity and excuse for meetings. They met once a month to collect subscriptions and to discuss the lending and circulation of the money. A chairlady , treasurer and secretary were elected. The club was so successful that Maria thought they would increase the subscription to R1 per person per month.

(b) <u>The Social Network</u>:

Maria was the centre of a much wider network of personal friends than were either of the other two women discussed. The excerpts from her day-to-day records quoted in Appendix VI show contact almost every day with different people. Though many of these meetings were purely a matter of chance, Maria did, in fact, claim the majority of the individuals concerned as friends. She knew a good deal about them and showed great interest in them and their doings. Two factors may be said to be responsible for the wide spread of her personal relations. In the first place the fact that she lacked any ties with close kin made her completely dependent on her contacts with non-kin, not only for casual companionship but also for emotional security. Maria made a point of seeking as many 'friends' as she could, and even consciously explained her motive in doing

this as being her lack of kin. In the second place, of course, the high degree of free time allowed her by her employers left her far more opportunities for going about and meeting people than was the case with Nomusa and even Goodness. Maria's membership of a large church congregation, further, put her in an ideal position to meet people not working in the immediate neighbourhood of her employment, and the common church tie immediately forged a bond between her and these contacts.

Table XLVI in Appendix VI gives a detailed analysis of the nature of Maria's links with those of the people mentioned in the sections of her diary quoted with whom she regarded herself as being on friendly terms.

Table XXXVIII below sets out a more concise summary of the bases of interaction between Maria and these 39 contacts.

TABLE XXXVIII

BASIS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN MARIA N- AND 39 OF HER MEANINGFUL CONTACTS

BASIS OF INTERACTION	NO	%
Neighbourhood friends	13	33
Church friends	10	26
Neighbourhood and church friends	8	21
Kin	6	15
"Homeboy"	1	2
Lover	1	2
TOTAL	39	99.9

Kin appeared only six times. In three of these instances the people involved were her sister Janet, Janet's husband, and Maria's child who was living with them. The occasion of her contact was one of Maria's infrequent visits to Janet's home at Umlaas Township. Maria was not made welcome despite the gifts she took for her son. The three other people whom she claimed as kin all turned out to be clansmen, in fact, and on further probing it was found that her meetings with them had been a matter of mere chance and that Maria had mentioned them only because of the great value which she placed on the

possibility of claiming kin in town. With none of these persons did she share any long-term or vital association and their meetings were noteworthy only as examples of the fleeting and temporary link which a common isibongo can create between people who would otherwise be complete strangers to each other.

In contrast thus to Nomusa and Goodness, in whose lives kin played in the one case a vital, and in the other a supporting role, Maria's personal relations were, of necessity, with unrelated people. An important corollary of this was that her significant contacts were all with people of her own choice. The factors dominating this choice were, not surprisingly, proximity within the neighbourhood of her employment and church membership. In a number of cases these bases of interaction overlapped and in these instances Maria's friendship with the person involved was both long-lasting and deeply meaningful to her.

Maria was not, of course, on close and intimate terms with all the people listed above. It was possible at any one time to isolate four or six women who, due to the frequency and nature of their contacts with her and with each other, may be regarded as her particular friends. The exact personalities involved tended, however, to change with some rapidity due to the high labour turnover in the Stamford Hill area. Unless Maria and these friends shared common church membership, the individuals, once they left the area, soon faded from her network of regular contacts. If, however, she continued to see and meet them at church, the friendship often continued for much longer. Table XXXIX below lists Maria's close friends at the two periods of her life covered by the sections of her day-to-day records quoted in the Appendix. The nature of these close friendships, their duration and the reasons for their disintegration will now be considered in detail in order to give a clear idea of the changing pattern of Maria's network of personal social relations over time.

TABLE XXXIX

MARIA N-'S CLOSE FRIENDS DURING MARCH. 1964 AND AUGUST. 1965 *

MARCH 1964		AUGUST 1965	
SARAH Z-	(A1)	NORAH B-	(A5)
BEATRICE C-	(A2)	ELSIE B-	(A7)
CLEMENCIA B-	(A3)	ROSE M-	(A8)
MARIA Mb-	(A4)	MARIA Mb-	(A4)

* Figures refer to Table XLVI in Appendix VI.

In March 1964 Maria was clearly part of a local group consisting of herself, Sarah Z-, Clemencia B- and Beatrice C-. Sarah Z- (see Number A1 on Table XLVI in Appendix VI) worked immediately across the road from Maria. She was a woman of 25 years of age with two illegitimate children, the youngest of whom, a baby of about six months, lived with her on the premises of her employers. Although Sarah was not a churchgoer, the two women were thrown together since both had a good deal of free time on their hands. Sarah's job was not demanding and the presence of her baby made it difficult for her to go out a lot or to join the "gay crowd" of the neighbourhood. It was largely the baby which created the close bond between the two women since Maria, in her desire for a child, expended great love and attention on him. She often cared for him while Sarah was busy working or even away from her premises at the shops. Maria lent Sarah money for clothes and food for the baby and when Sarah was dilatory in refunding this she did not criticize her. Towards the end of 1964 Sarah took her baby to be cared for by her mother in Cato Manor and left Stamford Hill in search of a better-paid job. She and Maria kept in touch for some months although by the end of 1965 she was mentioned less and less by Maria either in her diary or in conversation.

Clemencia B- (See Number A3 on Table XLVI in Appendix VI) was the servant with whom Maria shared a kia during the early months of 1964. Although the one large room was divided by an iron partition, the women conversed through a hole in this and were, in any case, often to be found in each other's

section of the room. Clemencia was a middle-aged woman like Maria and also an ardent Roman Catholic. They had met at church and when Maria heard that the next-door job was vacant she was instrumental in getting it for Clemencia. Although she was kept rather busy during the day, Clemencia often joined Sarah and Maria in their rooms during her lunch breaks. Maria and Clemencia often left Sarah to go to church together later in the evening. At this time they attended not only the Sunday services but were going to church in the evenings also in order to practise singing for the Easter festivities. Their common church membership linked them together firmly and ensured that they spent a great deal of time in each other's company. Clemencia left her job in Stamford Hill during the early part of 1965 and "retired" to her home at Mariannhill. After this, she visited Maria about once a month when she came to town, and made Maria's premises her headquarters in Durban. Before she left the area Clemencia introduced Maria to another Roman Catholic servant, her cousin Rose (see below). This woman was destined to replace Clemencia in Maria's friendship.

Beatrice C- (see Number A2 on Table XLVI in Appendix VI), the third friend in the list above, worked in the house on the other side of Clemencia's place of employment, and though not a church member seems to have been friendly with Clemencia and Maria due to the proximity of their employment. She eventually left the area and was lent some money from Maria's savings club which she failed to return. Maria had to refund it as it was her responsibility. This cast a damper on their relationship, and they did not see each other for some time. In August, 1965, Maria, when questioned, said she had seen Beatrice about three weeks before - but showed no enthusiasm for her erstwhile friend. Here the friendship was one purely of convenience with no lasting ties to bind the women concerned.

By August, 1965, the close and daily connections between the four women had ceased, since three of them had moved away from Stamford Hill. Maria was by then friendly with two other women, Rose M- and Elsie B- (see Nos. A8 and A7 on Table XLVI in Appendix VI). The former, another Roman Catholic, worked fairly near Maria, though not in the same road. She always called for Maria on the way to church.

She also visited 'just to chat' during the day, and Maria valued her among her closest friends. Elsie worked opposite Maria and apart from proximity the link between them was forged by Elsie's desire to become a Catholic. Maria undertook to instruct her and introduced her to church. Thus, on most evenings Elsie and Maria met for 'catechism' and were often joined by Rose in their religious discussions. These meetings proved so time-consuming and rewarding that it is noticeable that Maria's other activities and contacts decreased considerably at the time. The three women were planning to hold their feast days together and this drew them closely together in common excitement and planning. They were also running the savings club between them.

The other women who featured frequently in Maria's diary were long-standing contacts. The first, Norah B- (Number A5 on Table XLVI in Appendix VI) was one of the first friends Maria made in Durban. She referred to Norah as "Aunty", a term of respect clearly indicating the nature of the relationship between them. Norah had helped Maria to find jobs when she first came to town. Even though she was working in Durban North during 1964 and 1965, her connections with Maria were still strong. Maria always consulted Norah on important matters and, in fact, treated her as she might the parents she did not have. Maria Mb-, the second woman mentioned (see Number A4 on Table XLVI in Appendix VI) was an old church contact of Maria's.She was in fact working for Maria's employer when fieldwork was started as she was filling in for Maria who had just had one of her many operations. She had a small baby and Maria was the "godmother" of this infant. After she left Stamford Hill Maria Mb- visited Maria frequently despite the fact that she found work in a hotel some way away from the area. Maria loved her godchild very much - again, the link with a friend being forged by her child.

Thus, although Maria's particular friends were both church and neighbourhood contacts, the former tended, over time, to predominate. The common church interest of successive friends provided continuity to Maria's network of personal relations which was given its framework, not by kin, but by membership of an association - the church.

Before leaving the discussion of Maria's personal relations, her contacts with men must be mentioned. During the period of investigation, she had a succession of lovers, each of whom she hoped would marry her. When they eventually left her she put it down to her inability to bear another child. Few of her lovers were Roman Catholics. She met the majority in the area of Stamford Hill where they were drawn from the ranks of the local shop assistants, messenger and delivery men. Petros C- (see Number B20 on Table XLVI in Appendix VI) who appears in her August, 1965, diary, was a delivery man employed by a large firm of cool-drink manufacturers. He and Maria had met when he delivered goods at her employer's home some four months previously. She claimed that he visited her approximately once a week although at the time his attentions were beginning to tail off slowly. Maria, aware of this, redoubled her efforts to have a child and to hold his affections. She was, in fact, hopeful of a successful issue to the affair, since she had purchased "very powerful" herbs from a medicine man referred to as an "Arabian"[4] who had a great reputation in the area at the time.

Maria N- was an example of a domestic servant all of whose significant contacts were with people living in town. Her lack of rural roots of an effective nature made it obvious that she would spend the rest of her life in town. Since it seemed unlikely that she would marry or be able to afford (or be allowed) a township house on her own, resident domestic service which combined a means of livelihood and accommodation was best-suited to her needs. Paradoxically Maria would have preferred to have settled in the country. She was nervous of town life and her limited knowledge of either European language hampered her in interactions with all non-Africans. Although Christian and Western in outlook she did not value 'town life' as such. She was by no means urban-cultured as were Goodness and Nomusa - only urban-rooted - and this through no fault of her own.

Maria's lack of a secure home made her dependent upon her employers to a very great extent. She was fortunate in that she had established a congenial and satisfactory relationship with the housewife for whom she worked. She

remembered, however, how insecure and unhappy she had been while working for previous employers and dreaded the possibility of losing her job. Her expectations of the future both in terms of a home and financial support all lay in employment. She is an example of a domestic servant for whom no future but that of 'dying in harness' can be envisaged.

Augustah M-, the last woman whose biography will be sketched in this chapter, was the exact opposite of Maria. She had grown up and been married in the country and still had close ties with the home of her deceased husband and with her own paternal home and with other rural kin whom she visited regularly. Nevertheless she was a woman completely at home in and committed to town life. She had been allocated her own house in Kwa Mashu township where she lived with her two sons aged 12 and 8 respectively, and where she had developed a wideflung network of friends and acquaintances. Her case is of particular interest since it indicates that it is possible for African women to be completely urbanized, that is, both town-rooted and urban-cultured, and yet still retain strong links with the rural area. In this it casts some doubt on the generally accepted idea of urbanization as an all or nothing phenomenon. It suggests that a woman may enjoy and value and be adept at both urban and rural life, and yet strike root where she finds it most convenient to found a home.

AUGUSTAH M-. THE TOWNSHIP DWELLER:

Augustah M- was a widow of some 50 years of age when first contacted. She had been in Durban for well over 25 years since she and her husband had lived in Cato Manor before this slum area was cleared and its inhabitants allocated houses in Kwa Mashu. At the time of the investigation Augustah regarded Durban in general and this house in particular as her home, and expected to remain in the city for the rest of her life.

She remarked that she could never live the life of the 'farms' again and was clearly expressing this feeling by the attention she was paying to beautifying her township house and garden. The fact that she kept her children in town with her instead of sending them either to her husband's or to her own rural home, may also be taken as an indication that she was committed to town life.

Despite the fact that she was living at Kwa Mashu, Augustah was a full-time employee, working between the hours of 7.30 a.m. and 4.30 p.m. She had worked for her employers for about six years and was valued highly by them as a competent and trustworthy servant. She had watched the children of the family grow to adulthood and shared a relationship of mutual respect and appreciation with the whole family.

Home Background and the Kinship Matrix:

Augustah had been born in the magesterial district of Umzimkhulu to a family of second generation Christians of Xhosa origin. She attended school until Standard Four after which she worked for a local African family and then for various European farmers as a domestic help until her marriage to a local man at the age of 23. Unfortunately her husband suffered persistent ill-health and he and Augustah decided to come to Durban in order to consult doctors and to attend the hospital. They joined her father and brothers who had been in Durban for many years, and the latter found them accommodation in Cato Manor. Augustah was soon forced to find a job to support herself and her husband, as the latter rapidly became completely bedridden and eventually died in 1939.

Augustah bore her husband two children, a son who absconded to Johannesburg, and a daughter, Irene, who was a resident domestic servant at the time of investigation. Irene was 22 years old and had borne an illegitimate child which had been sent to Umzimkhulu to live with the maternal grandmother. After her husband's death Augustah formed a liaison with a married man by whom she had her two younger sons. He lived with his wife and family elsewhere in Kwa Mashu but visited Augustah's home at least three times a week. He usually gave her R2 - R4 per month toward household expenses, and though

he could be relied upon to aid her when she was in need of financial help, his relationship with the household was tenuous and by no means provided the security which a husband might have done.

Augustah's experience of working in the country had stood her in good stead when seeking employment in Durban. Although her first domestic position was with a Coloured family she soon found employment in European homes through her town friends, and finally managed to secure a series of highly-paid non-domestic positions. She worked as a sewing assistant in two hotels and later as a counterhand in an African butchery. Although she enjoyed the work and prestige attached to these positions, the sudden and inexplicable illness of one of her children which she attributed to the jealousy of co-workers precipitated her decision to return to domestic work. Her experience of working in a world wider than that of the purely domestic, suggested to her that she should answer a newspaper advertisement in looking for a job. Later this experience enabled her also to put her spare time to good use through the buying and selling of small articles of food and clothing which she realized would be in demand in the township. Altogether Augustah was a highly intelligent and quick-witted woman who had benefited to the utmost by her experience in town. She put her whole mind to the problems of earning money in order to support herself and her family and thoroughly enjoyed her reputation as a successful breadwinner and family head.

Having sketched the picture of a highly competent urban dweller it may now be asked what was the exact nature of the link between Augustah and the rural areas and what was her relationship with her kinsmen and kinswomen, both in the reserve and in Durban. Certainly she had frequent contacts with the rural areas. Although she had refused to return and live with her husband's people after his death, she kept up fairly close contact with his family. She visited their home during her annual holiday and was, indeed, planning to hold and <u>ukubuyisa</u> ceremony for her husband there during her next vacation. However, she received no material support from her affines. Her ties with her home of orientation were far

stronger and of more meaning and potential practical assistance to her. Augustah's father had died about 10 years previously but her aged mother was alive and living in the paternal home in the Umzimkhulu Reserve. Augustah had visited her during her previous holiday. She also sent her mother fairly frequent gifts of money, food and clothing, particularly since her daughter Irene had taken her baby to live with the old woman. She was thus linked to her home through her grandchild and indirectly dependent upon it for the care of the baby.

Augustah named many kinsfolk both in the rural areas and in Durban with whom she had meaningful relations. Apart from the members of her husband's family she was, as Figure 12 (on page 295) shows, herself one of a large family. The siblings of this unit, however, by no means formed a united group as did those of Nomusa's family. The responsibility for the upkeep of the rural home had come to fall largely on the shoulders of the youngest brother, Meshack (No. 9 in Figure 12), since the eldest brother, Stephen (No. 1) took little interest in it. Stephen's wife had been sent back to her own people after losing her mind, and his sons (Nos. 10, 11 and 12) were all adult with homes of their own elsewhere. He lived a solitary existence on the premises of his employer, a garage owner who ran a small business just outside Durban. Augustah seldom saw him but felt she could always rely on him to help her if she were in need. Meshack worked in Durban and lived in a compound attached to the factory in which he worked. He made frequent visits to the home in the reserve in order to see that all was well with his wife and her four young children there. Augustah usually sent her gifts with him when he went home and so tended to see him fairly frequently although his work kept him on the other side of Durban from Kwa Mashu. Augustah's other three brothers, Zeblon (No. 2), Timothy (No. 3) and Shadrack (No. 8) were all dead. The first two had abandoned the family and Augustah knew nothing about their issue. Shadrack had spent most of his adult life in Johannesburg, and had only come to Durban shortly before his death the previous year. His widow was a Johannesburg woman, and though she and her children were reputed to be living in Kwa Mashu, Augustah saw nothing of them and showed no interest

in them.

It was with her three sisters that Augustah had closest ties. Two lived in Kwa Mashu, Janet (No. 6) was a widow with two teenage daughters. Augustah did not approve of Janet's ways of making a living - brewing, and possibly prostitution, and she described her daughters as "cheap with men". Nevertheless she still made it a point to visit them or send one of her sons to enquire about them at least once a month. She felt some responsibility to help Janet if she were in real need of assistance, although, as Augustah put it, Janet usually seemed to be able to find a man to "help out". Esther (No. 7), was married to a townsman and she and Augustah saw each other at least once every two or three weeks. The sisters felt obliged to send each other small gifts fairly regularly and always assisted each other in expensive or wearisome undertakings. Augustah's elder sister, Mathilda (No. 4) lived with her husband in an African reserve near Kokstad. Despite the distance between their homes Augustah and she kept up close contact with each other. They wrote letters at least once a month, and when Mathilda visited Durban, as she did about twice a year, she always stayed with Augustah. One such visit is quoted in Augustah's diary which appears in Appendix VII.

One other kinsman with whom Augustah had fairly close contact was Elijah (No. 10), the eldest son of Stephen. He lived in Kwa Mashu also, but at some distance from Augustah's home. She apparently never visited him - in fact she had not seen his recently-born and only living child, a girl of about six months. Elijah visited her about once a week on his way home, not so much on account of kinship sentiment but because he shared with Augustah and her lodger of the time an interest in horse-racing.

While Augustah was surrounded by a number of close relatives and it was possible for her to hear of them fairly frequently, she actually relied far less on kin ties for companionship and for practical aid in the problems of day-to-day living than did either Nomusa or even Goodness. On the whole her family were an extremely mixed group. Some were still based in a rural reserve, some were living permanently

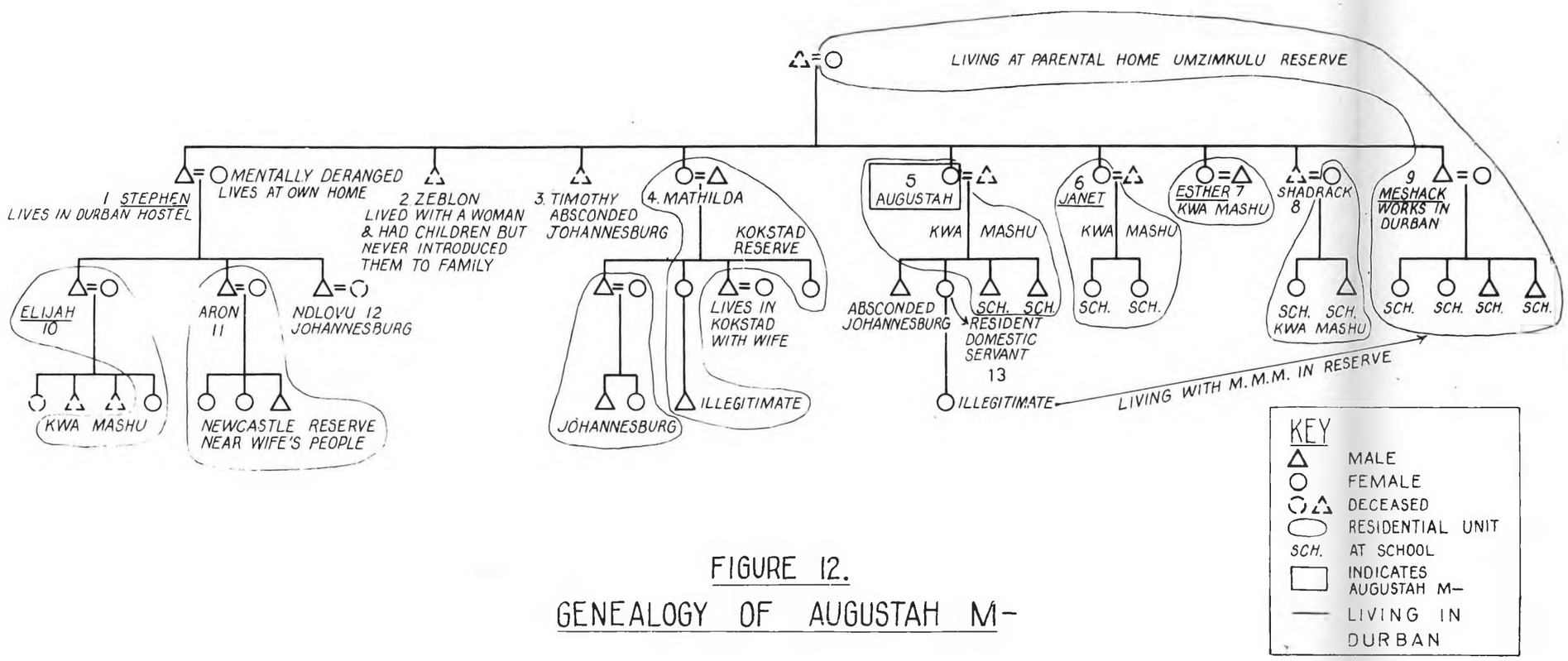

FIGURE 12.

GENEALOGY OF AUGUSTAH M-

in town, two had absconded to Johannesburg, and even those in Durban had infrequent contacts with each other. The only ties of any real depth were between the sisters of the family, and even here they were by no means as close as were those between Nomusa and her sisters.

One of the reasons for this apparent lack of unity between the siblings lies no doubt in the fact that all were middle-aged and the centre of their own families. Nomusa's siblings were largely single and she herself young enough to be placed under the care of her elder brothers. Another is the fact that Augustah, although a widow without stable male support, was quite capable of standing on her own feet in town and making a home for and supporting her children unaided. She had, in fact, been able to do this largely because of her right to a township house and also because of her great skill in making a living in the urban area and in adapting to the demands of city life. She was dependent, thus, on typically urban means of support rather than upon those characteristic of a rural small-scale society - kinship plus neighbourhood co-operation.

It was Augustah's home and her urban sophistication which put her in a very different position from that of the three resident servants discussed previously. She did not have to rely on kin, nor was she limited in the building up of non-kin contacts in town. Since she lived at Kwa Mashu her personal life was not dominated by her employment. Her friends were drawn from all over the township and indeed the city, and were not confined to the neighbourhood of her employment. These contacts were far more stable, furthermore, than are many of those made by resident servants who must then leave their neighbourhood friends behind them when they change employment. Although Augustah had changed her residence from Cato Manor to Kwa Mashu, the majority of her town friends had made similar moves and were all established firmly in Kwa Mashu at the time of investigation.

Unlike the other three women Augustah was by no means limited to domestic employment in her pursuit of a living. She was not dependent upon employers for accommodation in Durban and had, furthermore, proved her ability to hold down

a number of the highly-valued non-domestic positions in the city for which there is strong competition. Although Goodness had boasted that her talents lay in these fields also, she had not proved her ability to gain and keep one of these jobs. In fact, it is unlikely that she would have been successful since her sophistication was very largely superficial and her irresponsible attitude to life was not conducive to the hard work and concentration demanded by these positions. Augustah remained a domestic servant largely from choice rather than from necessity.

Finally, Augustah was unlike the majority of resident servants in that she lived with, and was surrounded by, her children for whom she herself provided a home. She was rearing and educating them herself and receiving from them the love and company of a normal family life. She was a woman who, though reared and married in the country, had been able to put down new roots in the urban area.

Personal Life in Town:

(a) Leisure-time Activities:

Despite the fact that Augustah worked shorter hours than did the three resident servants discussed, the time spent in travelling to and from Kwa Mashu and that taken up in the running of a home left her little time or energy during the week for social activities. She sometimes visited neighbours or her sister Esther on her way home from work, but since this meant that she only reached her house after 6.00 p.m. or 7.00 p.m. she seldom did it more than once a week and never unless pressed by some absolute necessity.

Augustah was not interested in the cinema, sports or in dancing. She claimed to be too old for these frivolities and in any case to have no time for them. She did not, however, seem to disapprove of them or try to debar her children from attending these entertainments.

It was over weekends, particularly on Sundays, that the greater part of her personal contacts and social interests had to be pursued. It was at this time that she visited friends and kin, and it was on Sunday morning that she attended church

services. Augustah was a member of the African Temple Church, a separatist sect which met on alternate Sundays in Kwa Mashu and Umlaas. Augustah always attended the service held in Kwa Mashu but was less regular in travelling to the other township. The sect held prayer meetings in the evenings during the week but Augustah usually felt too tired to attend these, particularly as they often continued late into the night.

One facet of her activities which cannot be neglected was her attempt to earn money above and beyond her monthly wage. As a widow earning only R16 per month she found it necessary to supplement this in order to make ends meet. She let one of her rooms which brought her about R2 per month, but in addition to this made varying amounts out of what she termed "selling". In her diary she noted for 31st August "I went to the Community Hall to buy oranges so that the children can sell them whilst I am away at work. I bought the bag at 30c - sold them at 2 for 1c." Apart from fruit she bought about six dozen little cakes each weekend from the baker near her place of employment and her son took them to sell at any big gathering in the township. She also made sour porridge at work and sold it to workmen and builders employed on building sites nearby. Money-making was one of her greatest interests. Note her conversation on 21st August: "I met a strange lady who asked me how much profit I make from the cakes I sell."

Finally, Augustah, when asked about her leisure-time activities mentioned the meetings she enjoyed with co-passengers on the trains. Although these can hardly be described as ways of spending her free time, she regarded them as periods of relaxation and enjoyment. Augustah described her daily activities to the investigator during weekly visits over a number of months. The record for August 1965 appears in Appendix VII.

(b) <u>The Social Network</u>:

Augustah's personal relations were dominated by acquaintances, friends, and in particular by those people with whom she was thrown into contact in the course of everyday life and work. While her kin in Kwa Mashu were always in the background of her life her daily interaction was with

neighbours, church members and contacts met during her daily trips to town. Proximity and opportunity were vital in establishing friendships though it is clear that if some other link, such as that of common church membership, or even common clanship, occurred between her and any fleeting contact, this link might draw the two together. Many of Augustah's friendships showed a high degree of permanence. Although she did not interact with these people consistently the ties remained and could be called upon in the case of a chance meeting or even in a situation of crisis.

In order to illustrate the general trend of her social relations Table XL below summarises the bases of interaction between Augustah and the people she mentioned meeting during August 1965.

TABLE XL

BASIS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN AUGUSTAH M- AND HER MEANINGFUL CONTACTS DURING ONE MONTH. AUGUST. 1965.

BASIS OF INTERACTION	NO	%
Church contacts	3	15
Neighbours	3	15
Train friends	4	20
Work mates	3	15
Contacts made through other friends	1	5
Kin	3	15
Clansmen	3	15
TOTAL	20	100

Augustah met close kin only three times during this period. She visited her younger sister Esther, received a call from Elijah, her eldest brother stephen's son, and Mathilda, her married sister, who was living at Kokstad, visited her when she came to Durban to consult the dentist. Clansmen figured in her meetings with three men belonging to her own clan or to that of her lover. The length and stability of her relationship with her lover caused the fictitious linkage between her and his family. All her other contacts

were with non-kin. They may be categorized as church friends, neighbours and work mates, although in some cases she was linked to one person in more than one of these ways. In one case the contact between her and a visitor to her house was the man's friendship with her lodger rather than with herself. What was the nature and intensity of her relations with each type of friend?

Augustah's church friends were made up mainly of the members of the African Temple Church who lived near to her home in Kwa Mashu. She was also on friendly terms with some of the members from the Umlaas section of the sect who regularly called on her on their way from the station to the house in which the services were held. Since the sect consisted at the most of about 20 to 30 members, it was possible for Augustah to know them all and claim them as friends. Certainly she felt that she could rely on them to help her as a body if she were in need.

Although these contacts formed a permanent and stable part of her network of social relations, they by no means dominated her personal life as did the church friends of the last woman discussed. Apart from at church meetings,Augustah had few actual contacts with church friends. If she met one by chance she always stopped for a chat but seldom visited them or invited them to her own home. The one exception was her friendship with Mrs. Mo- (No. 12 on Table XLVII in Appendix VII), and she was Augustah's close neighbour as well as her church contact. The two women called in on each other frequently and often borrowed foodstuff from each other. The one might care for the other's children on occasions and Augustah constantly remarked upon how lucky she regarded herself in having a congenial neighbour on one side of her. Augustah's other neighbour was a sophisticated <u>shebeen queen</u> of whom she thoroughly disapproved, and with whom she refused to have any contact whatsoever.

Augustah had fairly close contacts with other people living in the same vicinity of Kwa Mashu as herself. She was apt to meet them on her way to and from work and soon got to know them and their affairs fairly well. The most important factors in drawing neighbours together appearedto be common

outlook and personality and friendships based on these criteria often lasted despite moves in residence. Augustah mentioned visiting only those people living nearby of whom she approved. She also continued friendships made with people who had who had been her neighbours when living in the log cabins[5] or in Cato Manor. Thus, Mr. and Mrs. Maz- (Nos. 13 and 14 in Table XLVII in Appendix VII) although living on the other side of the township appear as fairly frequent contacts in her network of social relations. All Augustah's neighbours were characterized by her as "town friends" - that is contacts built up over years of living in Durban.

Another category of "town friends" and people whom Augustah felt were important to her were the contacts she had made with other township dwellers while on the way to and from work each day. She termed these people "train friends" and laid great stress on the pleasure that she gained from her contacts with them. "Train friends", she explained, "meet each day at the station to catch the same train to work." By arrangement they always sat in the same carriage. Not unnaturally they soon got to know all about each other and their respective families. Augustah carried over her contact with her train friends into her family life by inviting these women to any celebration which she held. Obligations of reciprocal help were accepted by her and her train friends as binding and this shows how potentially important these contacts were to her. Train friendships may be based either merely on common outlook - or on a firmer basis. For instance, Mrs. Ng-, one of the women Augustah claimed as a "train friend" was also a "homegirl" since she and Augustah are from the same reserve area (see No. 3 on Table XLVII in Appendix VII).

Augustah had built up ties with workmates over her years of employment in Durban. In contrast to the majority of her church and train friends these friends were male as well as female. They were individuals whom she had met not only working for the same employer as herself, but included also anyone who had worked in the same vicinity as herself. Thus Mr. N- and Mr. P- (Nos. 1 and 7 on Table XLVII in Appendix VII) both held positions in shops near to where Augustah worked in Durban. She met them either while on the way to work or in

the course of their duties serving behind the counter. Although only three contacts made in this way featured in her diary, Augustah could mention numbers of other similar friends made during her long working life in Durban. Many she no longer saw regularly but if she met one by chance or happened once more to be thrown into contact with an old "work mate", they soon picked up the threads of friendship and carried on as if there had been no break in the friendship. The ramifications of such friendships were wide but this basis seldom, taken alone, led to deep personal involvements. In the case of the P-s (Nos. 2 and 7), the fact that Augustah found a job for the wife and the proximity of their new township homes cemented the ties built up by having worked near each other. Similarly in the case of Mr. N- (No. 1), the friendship with Augustah developed when he became her lodger.

The frequency with which Augustah met her contacts differed greatly. Her "train friends" were her most frequent contacts by virtue of the daily routine which took them to town. Next most frequent interaction occurred between her and her church friends, while contacts with neighbours, work mates and kin were not only infrequent but had to be planned in advance. That these latter meetings occurred at all is indicative of the strength of the bond between Augustah and these persons.

All in all Augustah's various sets of friends seldom came into contact with each other, and Augustah herself provided the only link between them. In this her social network differed from that of the other women discussed. Nomusa's friends and kin tended to meet each other fairly regularly. All Maria's friends knew each other, and many of even Goodness' wide-flung contacts and kin met each other when their visits to her place of employment coincided. The nature of township life lends itself to what may be termed the 'atomization' of social life. Township dwellers are highly mobile and not restricted to the premises of employers as are many resident servants. They can manage to keep separate the various facets of their social lives. Some may do this purposefully, but for others it may be a matter of necessity due to transport difficulties and lack of free time. Augustah certainly had no

reason to wish her various sets of friends not to meet. There are, however, individuals who may desire to compartment their social relations. Her lover, for instance, took good care that his interaction with Augustah and her social circle did not overlap with that section of his social relations which encompassed his wife and family. In this respect Augustah's network of social relations was typical of urban dwellers of any race or culture.

Augustah M- presents us with the picture of a township dweller who worked as a domestic servant but whose whole existence was not bound up with, or dependent upon this type of employment. Her township home enabled her to live off the premises of her employers and to spread her network of social relations far more widely over the city than was possible in the cases of the resident servants discussed. She was a woman, furthermore, who could look forward to a secure future in the urban area since she not only possessed a home in town but was also surrounded by her growing children to whom she could look for support in her old age. In this she contrasts with the resident domestic servants discussed who may be likened to mere flotsam and jetsam tossed to and fro between country and town, and within the town upon the waves of the uncertain demand for domestic employment.

In concluding this chapter we may now summarize those trends and salient features of the lives and personal relations of female domestic servants which the four biographies have highlighted.

Nomusa B- would appear to contrast in almost every respect with the other three women discussed. She was an example of a woman who in herself and in her dependence on kin ties appeared to be almost self-reliant in town. Her warm and intimate relationship with her employer added a good deal to her comfort and security and reduced her need for outside friendships with neighbours or casual contacts in town. While the other three servants looked to friends for both companionship and practical aid, Nomusa was encompassed by her kin and

employment. Although sophisticated and Western-oriented, she was kept through her kin-contacts home-oriented, and because this was situated in a reserve, rurally-oriented at the same time. She may be described as being part of a kin-dominated 'home' group and as such her network of personal relations may be be regarded as a rural network 'stretched' to encompass her life in town. In this sense she must be considered quite definitely a woman 'between two worlds' and at the time of fieldwork one who was willing and satisfied to remain so.

Goodness M-, on the other hand, the child of a home splintered by irresponsibility and individualism, desired above all things to establish herself in town. Her contacts consisted very largely of casual friends met in Durban, of young, gay, and largely irresponsible teenagers. While they brought her companionship and often excitement and adventure, Goodness could not rely on any of these friends in time of need. Her relations with employers were fleeting and superficial and she was therefore forced to rely on her few kinship links for all practical aid. It was, furthermore, her maternal family who provided her with most help and since this was based in a reserve, it was very largely to the rural areas that she was forced to look for a home for one of her illegitimate children. She too, was a woman who stood 'between two worlds' although she was striving to establish herself completely in the urban social environment. Her general irresponsibility with regard to her children shows clearly her outlook on life, one very different from that of the stable and level-headed subject of the first case study.

Maria N-, although she no longer had effective ties with her reserve home, was essentially a rurally-oriented woman. Although a Christian she was uneducated, and despite years spent in Durban, had never developed a facility for dealing with the urban milieu. Paradoxically it was she who was forced to look to town for her future. Her complete lack of kin in town made it imperative for her to seek companionship with town friends and to develop ties of such a nature that she might expect practical aid from these friends if she needed it. It was church membership which provided this secure link with the majority of her close contacts. She is

an example of a townswomen but one with no roots in the city and no predilection or liking for town life. Unlike Goodness, furthermore, she longed to be able to care for her own child, but her early irresponsibility towards him had resulted in her loss of his affection and her rights to his care. Of the three women she stands out as the one who craved the emotional comfort of close friendship and the social security this brings with it.

Augustah M-, the non-resident servant, presents the picture of a rural-born but completely urbanized woman who did not make use of kin to any degree in her everyday life which was encompassed by her friends and neighbours in town. These contacts, built up over a number of years of living in and around Durban, had matured to the point of providing her with a stable network of friends. Her home in the township provided her with a secure base in town and thus enabled her to develop the pattern of social relationships common to urban dwellers the world over. Her employment while satisfactory on an emotional level, left her very little time to pursue any but the most pressing of her personal interests and obligations. She had little time to attend social functions and her church attendance proved to be the only real source of recreation in her life. It was this lack of free time which also limited her friendships and her interaction with her kin in Kwa Mashu. She is an example of a woman who has put down roots firmly in town and who must be regarded as completely urbanized but who still kept up her relations with rural kin. Clearly, thus, it is not always accurate to classify an individual as unurbanized or even double-rooted (Mayer 1961) if he or she lives in town but still maintains meaningful links in the country.

The pattern of Augustah's life and social relations may be taken as an indication of what can be expected of the social lives and orientations of future non-resident servants. The removal of all female domestic servants from the premises of their employers and the allocation to them of accommodation in the townships must serve to stabilize them in town. A fully non-resident domestic servant population will, of necessity, be an urban one and not, as is largely the case today, a predominantly migrant one.

CHAPTER TEN

LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES

It is clear from the biographies that the leisure-time activities and indeed a great part of the personal lives of domestic servants are affected by the framework and nature of their employment. This is most obvious in the case of resident servants whose work tends to keep them busy from early morning until fairly late at night. The personal lives of even non-resident servants are affected by their employment in that though they may leave work early in the afternoon, the time and energy expended in travelling to and from town sets a limit on the nature and range of their social activities in the townships. This was clearly true in the case of Augustah M-.

Non-resident servants are, on the other hand, living within the African community and usually, moreover, with their families - that is either with husbands or with parents who have township homes. Even those women who live in the Women's Hostel or rent rooms in the homes of other Africans experience close, intimate and long-term contacts with other Africans. Their preoccupations and the calls on their time tend to be far more directly related to roles such as those of mother, sister and daughter than is the case with resident servants who for a great proportion of their leisure time interact with neighbouring servants merely as 'friends'. The personal lives of non-resident servants tend, therefore, to be influenced first by family demands and only secondly by the characteristics of their employment. The latter in fact plays predominantly a negative or limiting role rather than a positive or formative role as in the case with the effects of employment on the lives of resident servants, the greater part of whose time must be spent in the neighbourhood of their employment and whose leisure-time activities must, of necessity, be largely of an informal and unorganized nature. The way in which non-resident servants spend their free time is similar to that of other township dwellers whose employment is onerous and time-consuming and much of whose time is taken up by the mere

necessities of living - household chores, shopping for their families and visiting nearby neighbours when they have time.

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE LIVES OF RESIDENT SERVANTS:

It is not only the long hours of work demanded of the majority of resident servants which curtails their leisure-time activities. The very fact that they are living in European, Indian or Coloured suburbs cuts them off from the African community living in the geographically isolated townships (See Fig. 6). As a rule it is only on their free afternoons that they can contemplate leaving the immediate neighbourhood of their employment. Visits to the city, let alone to the townships, are difficult to arrange at any other time due to the poor bus services for Africans in Durban. It is not only the distance and the time it takes to travel by public transport which is a barrier to the movements of servants; the expense incurred in bus or taxi fares is often prohibitive also. Nomusa, for example, spent all her free time in the vicinity of Durban North except for her bi-weekly trips to town and to visit her cousin on her free days. Towards the end of the month even these excursions tended to cease. At one point in her diary she remarked in explanation of this "I could not visit my cousin on Sunday as I had only five cents - not enough bus fare".

Naturally those servants who, like Goodness and Maria, work nearer the centre of town or on the bus routes to the townships are at less of a disadvantage in this respect than women who, like Nomusa, work in the furthest flung of the European suburbs. If, in addition to this, servants have a good deal of free time at their disposal during the day, as in the case of most Stamford Hill and Wills Road employees, they can, and often do, move about town and the townships to a considerable degree. They are therefore not so isolated from the rest of the African community as are servants working, for instance, in Morningside and Durban North.

This isolation places a great emphasis on interrelations

within the neighbourhoods in which the women work and live. This in itself has two dimensions. Servants are thrown into close and constant association with the other servants in the area. They must therefore decide with whom they wish to develop friendships and of what depth these will be. They are, however, also thrown into touch with their employers. These relationships may be crucial since it is often from employers that new ideas and norms are learned and also to them that servants look for aid in times of crises.

The second result of the isolation of resident servants is that they have, for the most part, little opportunity of attending club meetings and thus of becoming members of the associations which flourish in the townships and to some extent in the non-European section of the Durban central business district also. The servants tend to have friendships with a series of isolated people and in cases in which the friends of one particular woman are acquainted with each other, it is because of their common employment in the same neighbourhood rather than because of their common commitment to any club or association.

(a) Visiting and Informal Gatherings Within the Neighbourhood:

Taken all in all the majority of resident servants spent very little of their free time alone. During the day-time, when not able to leave the neighbourhood, they visited each other's rooms, met in near-by parks or merely collected in small groups on the pavements. In the evenings they collected in each other's rooms or entertained friends from outside the area in their own rooms. On the whole they agreed that they did not like to 'sit alone' and pitied women who had no friends to keep them company. In this respect the gregariousness of Goodness and Maria was far more typical of the women investigated than was the self-sufficiency of Nomusa. Few of the servants could read or write with the ease with which Nomusa could and on the whole, few could rely on a close and satisfying relationship with a small body of kin in town. The majority of servants looked, as indeed did Maria and Goodness also, to their neighbours for companionship.

It is not surprising therefore that so-called 'visiting' loomed large in the lives of most women. It broke the monotony of their daily routine and helped to pass the time during the long evening which would otherwise have been spent alone. The following entry from the diary of Ethel S-, a servant employed in Morningside, gives the flavour of these visits. "Night-time. I got out of work at 6.30 p.m. and I decided to go and see my cousin's baby at McCords Hospital. Unfortunately I did'nt have any bus fare. I sat down and knitted my jersey, as I was doing that my cousin Beauty came and visited me, we talked about the characters of boy friends compared with our parents' boy friends, their character plus the way they meet or deal with the girls, remembering our old days. Later my boy friend Amon came and pay us a visit, he asked for some ink, he wanted to dip his pen in so he can see if his new pen writes well, and all that was done. He asked me to go with him to his premises for a night visit. I did agree and we left my cousin Beauty to sleep in my place."

Visits were made to and received from both male and female friends and it was the latter as well as the former who spent nights with each other. This was both for the sake of companionship and also for safety since it can be dangerous to walk alone through the streets at night. Goodness was wont to make this kind of all-night visit and Ethel noted of another evening in the same month from which a section of her diary quoted above applies: "My cousin Thryphina visited me and we talked very much about our home, as we are the next doors at home. While I was talking to her I continued with my jersey. And she slept with me and walk very early to work".

Evening gatherings were always held indoors and seldom involved more than two or three friends since employers were, on the whole, antagonistic to large numbers of visitors being admitted to the premises at night. During the day, however, servants could often meet in larger groups in near-by parks and on the pavements. This was particularly the case in the cooler months when the warmth of the afternoon sun was preferable to their cold rooms. Ethel S- wrote in her diary: "I called Maggie after my lunch to go and sit in the park where we can talk with other girls. We sat there and we

talked about our employers, the wages we get in Durban compared with that of Johannesburg where girls get R20 for cooking and not doing washing, ironing, housework for only R10 or less".

Not all the women working in any one neighbourhood were on friendly terms with each other. Definite cliques tended to dominate the informal interaction of the servants in certain neighbourhoods. (See Volume I, pages 146 - 153). Thus those women in whose lives religion played a vital part were more regular visitors to each other than they were to their neighbours who either seldom attended churches or who frequented shebeens and sought involvement in the sophisticated town pursuits such as the cinema or sport.

It was during these visits and meetings that the gossip of the neighbourhood spread and the 'grapevine' operated. Women discussed everything which came within the limits of their experience. Employers and their actions were a recurrent topic of conversation.When new residents moved into an area their treatment of their servant was soon noised abroad. On the whole the neighbourhood servants knew far more about the activities of the residents of the areas in which they worked than did various householders about the activities of their own neighbours!

'Boy friends' were, of course, a constant source of interest and conversation. Much teasing occurred when women found new lovers and their treatment of and by these men were examined, commented upon, approved or condemned. Very little of the love life of women employed in the area could be kept secret. Similarly tales spread of the activities of lovers outside the area also. Many a slighted girl friend heard tales of her erstwhile lover in this way. The doings of people who had left the area often permeated back via old friends and contacts met by accident or design in town. Tales of occurrences outside the area also filtered via servants who had been away from it either on leave or on their afternoons off. The gossip aired and views exchanged at all gatherings made clear to an outsider in which position the wind of public opinion blew. No servant or employer, for that matter, could hope to escape its merciless exposure and commentary.

Women who were lucky enough to own radios or who had managed to borrow them from lovers or kin were always the centre of a small group of neighbours. The women enjoyed the various Bantu language programmes on F.M.[1] to the full and often commented upon them and discussed them in detail. Many like Maria entered competitions, and the excitement if a neighbour won a prize was very great. Since so small a proportion of the women could read even in Zulu the radio was the one way in which news from the world wider than their immediate community reached them.

The few women who could read took great pride in this achievement. Magazines both in English and in Zulu were found in their rooms. 'Bona', 'Zonk', 'Illanga Lase' an African newspaper were very popular. Some servants kept their employers' old newspapers and a few even kept cast-off paperback novels on their shelves. The most frequently encountered item of literature was, however, the 'True Life' series of photograph stories which feature African models and tales tailored to appeal to a purely African audience. Women who could not read often begged literate friends to read items of news to them and in many cases had to get these women to help them write their letters also.

All these meetings, talking and mutual aid drew the servants in any neighbourhood together. In cases in which visiting and meetings were frequent and involved most of the women and some of the men in an area, the interaction of servants developed the close-knit character of a small community. This was the case in Morningside. In Stamford Hill, Wills Road and even Durban North, where visiting was more restricted and did not involve all or nearly all the women working in the neighbourhood, the position was the reverse.

(b) Handwork and Other Leisure-time Occupations:

Few women sat idle during their free-time or while chatting to each other. Both knitting and sewing were popular and women enjoyed attempting intricate patterns and beautiful embroidery. Those who had attended Mission schools were particularly proficient in these fields but a number had

learnt their crafts from neighbours. Both Nomusa and Goodness mentioned their knitting a great deal, and even Maria tried to learn handwork.

Alterations to second-hand clothes was another useful and sometimes lucrative pastime. Servants were often given or they bought old clothes from their employers. These seldom fitted and an ingenious hand which could make them wearable was much in demand. Sewing machines were highly prized and women who owned them were sought out both to lend these machines and to make alterations. A number of women were buying machines on a hire purchase basis while others were saving to amass the amount needed for the down payment.

Embroidery and crochet work were used to decorate pillow-cases and tablecloths and these articles were highly prized. They were regarded as smart and indicative of a certain discernment and even, by some women, as a sign of respectability and what may be termed 'class'. Transfers and embroidery patterns were purchased or borrowed and particular patterns and designs became highly fashionable in any one neighbourhood. The pillow-cases which Nomusa mentioned making for her sister's trousseau are but one example of this type of handwork.

(c) Money-making Activities:

Many women put their knitting and sewing abilities to financial use. They took orders from neighbours and friends for garments and for alterations. For a new dress one might charge between R2 and R4 and approximately R1 for an alteration. Women with more initiative still bought either lengths of material or packets of wool at the sales and made up clothing in the hopes of selling it. They were usually successful in this as neighbours visiting them admired the still uncompleted garments which were then offered for sale. 'Fashions' flew through various neighbourhoods like lightning. In one case, for instance, one woman introduced a flair for foam-backed reversible coats which she herself made and sold for as much as R7. She had bought the material in bulk at a Christmas sale and estimated that she made about R20 profit in two months.

Money-making was an obsession with many of the older servants. Although none of the three resident women discussed in the last chapter showed this interest, it was one which dominated the lives of a good half of the women investigated. Many of these were widows or older women who had heavy family responsibilities and who could simply not make ends meet on their monthly salaries as domestic servants. By no means were all of their methods of making money as simple and innocuous as sewing and knitting. The selling of liquor is perhaps the best example of the illegal and highly lucrative sources of additional income.

Shebeen Queens flourished in all the neighbourhoods investigated. In the majority of cases the brewing and selling was done without the knowledge of the employers and exposure usually resulted in the dismissal of the servant concerned. While the risks thus were high, the potential profits were even higher and in homes like those in Morningside the large gardens and shrubs provided cover for the movements of clients in and out of the servants' rooms. Servants whose employers were out a good deal were in an ideal position both to brew and to sell. In most cases they brewed shimiyane and this made up the bulk of their sales but some also 'stocked' township distilled gavini and even a fair selection of cheap liquor bought from local bottle stores.

The rooms of the 'Queens' were well-known and may even be described as the hub of social activity in the neighbourhoods. Both men and women visited them in order to buy liquor and any newcomer to the area might even meet his neighbours there if he could induce one friend to introduce him to a 'Queen'. Not all domestic servants approved of 'drinking' and in any neighbourhood cliques developed of those who were anti-liquor (and usually religiously inclined) and those who were rather 'freer' in this respect.

In Stamford Hill and in Wills Road servants were found to be involved in the sale of dagga and in prostitution for financial gain. These activities, like that of liquor-selling, could be indulged in most easily by those women whose employers gave them a good deal of free time and who were not over-zealous

in their control of the servants' quarters. In all cases the risks of police prosecution had to be weighed against the possible profits and the needs of the women concerned.

II CONTACTS AND INTERESTS OUTSIDE THE NEIGHBOURHOOD:

On the days on which servants had sufficient time at their disposal to leave the neighbourhood of their employment, the majority caught buses into town and to the townships. Some visited kin and friends in other residential areas of the city, while on occasions all used their free days to consult doctors and healing specialists. Since few were found to attend any formal association, on the whole their free days were completely taken up by informal meetings and visits and by 'personal business' such as shopping or planning what to buy at the end of the month.

(a) Visiting Kin and Friends:

Visits outside the neighbourhood were made largely to kin, though a few were paid to old friends as well. Women who had recently left an area might revisit it as did Gertrude when she visited Nomusa after she had left Durban North. This was, however, not the usual pattern of visiting. It was the kin tie which held weight and assured women of a welcome. Nomusa's many visits to her cousins and brothers were characteristic of the way in which women spent their free days Many of the older domestic servants had married sons or daughters, particularly the latter, and were found to visit them regularly. A significant few had children living with kin in the townships and they hurried to visit their families whenever they could.

(b) Shopping and 'Window-shopping':

Shopping was another activity which took up a good deal of the women's time. Again Nomusa's diary typifies this aspect of the women's activities. Both where the servants had money to spend and where they did not, they were found often to go to town and wander round the shops. The shop windows

and open counters in the supermarkets provided an important guide to tastes and aspirations. Clothing in particular drew their attention, although furniture interested the older women and those with houses to furnish. Many of the shops in the Grey Street[2] area which are not large enough for open displays of goods hire assistants to stand outside on the pavements and display their wares. Customers are interested in this way and are then enticed inside the shop to buy goods or at least to to promise to buy them at the end of the month! All servants when asked what they would most like to buy could answer at once, giving an exact description of the article, its price and the place where it could be obtained!

(c) The Cinema, Dances and Public Sport:

Very few of the domestic servants involved in the study showed any interest in attending public functions such as the cinema, public dances or sports meetings. Goodness was one of the few who had both the time and the inclination for these diversions. The situation of her place of employment made it easy for her to reach the cinema in town and the long free afternoons made it possible for her to attend matinées. A few of the other Stamford Hill employees were similarly placed but, on the whole, few took advantage of the opportunity. The women who were free on Saturday afternoons could attend sports matches held in the townships. Only those, however, whose men friends or occasionally brothers were members of sports clubs ever did so. Winnie M-, a Stamford Hill employee, for instance mentioned attending rugby matches in Kwa Mashu with her sister whose lover was the organizer of a rugby team. Winnie was at the time also interested in one of the players. The interest, however, was fleeting and as soon as she found another lover she gave up going to these matches. Nomusa mentioned attending matches in the same township but it will be remembered that in her case also it was not a common occurrence. At one time boxing matches were held on Saturday afternoons in an open space near the Stamford Hill area and the servants from there congregated to watch. This was an informal affair however and women went to meet friends rather than to watch the game or because anyone they knew was playing.

On the whole, it appeared that the majority of the women did not have a great desire to attend any of these sorts of gatherings so that lack of interest was just as important a factor as was lack of time and money in their non-attendance. A number of the older women disapproved strongly of the entertainments such as the cinema and dancing, connecting them with the sphere of tsotsis and loose women. Others merely remarked that they were 'for children' and it would be undignified for an elderly woman to be seen attending them. Younger women who had been in town some time or who had had a Christian upbringing did not necessarily disapprove, but many did not move in circles which attended these entertainments. It appeared, however, that if such women met friends who drew them into these fields they soon found their feet in them. All they needed was the encouragement and company to embark!

III FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS:

One of the most striking facts to emerge from the investigation of the leisure-time activities of female domestic servants has been the minor part played in the lives of the majority by membership of associations. Studies of both male migrants and of townspeople in other urban centres in the Republic have indicated the vital part played in the lives of these people by membership of homeboy groups and social clubs. (Wilson & Mafeje, 1963, Mayer, 1961.) It has, in fact, appeared that in town, ties of common interest fostered and organized through association membership lay the foundation of much of the personal interaction between individuals. In the case of female domestic servants, however, relatively few of their ties were found to be developed through membership of associations. Only about 10% of the women interviewed belonged to clubs, and while, in their cases, this membership certainly added many friends to their network of social relations, it was only in a few cases that the weighting given to these friends was as heavy and dominating as in the case of Maria N-.

Resident servants find it difficult to attend the meetings of associations which are held far from the places

of their employment. The physical barriers to association membership should not, however, be overstressed. An important factor in the lack of interest shown in these groups by resident servants is to be sought in the peculiar circumstances of their employment. Many of the needs which associations serve in the townships are dealt with by the employers of resident servants. One of the most important sidelines of many church societies and associations is mutual aid. Resident domestic servants are usually helped by their employers in situations of crisis. Servants who, in particular, have been employed for long periods can rely on some assistance, both emotional and financial, from their employers. Their need is thus far less than is the case with township dwellers who must provide by themselves for all the exigencies of life. Similarly, the well-known home-boy groups which provide accommodation for male migrants are irrelevant in the situation facing resident domestic servants where accommodation is provided by employers with the job.

Another important function of associations, and of home-boy groups in particular, is that of providing opportunities for conviviality, warmth and friendship amid the impersonality of the city. In the case of resident servants the place where this is needed is in the neighbourhood within which they work. The cliques already mentioned and individual friendships with neighbours provide for all these functions. Women who are resident near to each other, because it is so difficult to leave the neighbourhood of their employment, are forced into each other's company. Companionship is to be found in the vicinity of employment thus in much the same way as is the case in hostels where room-mates are drawn together.

Though based largely on common interest, these cliques cannot be given the status of associations. Local membership tends to be far too small and fleeting. A number of neighbouring servants, perhaps three or four, might, over a period of time, be drawn together by an interest in, for instance, religion or even knitting. The link between such women was noted to be one of common outlook and value rather than an interest in pursuing a particular end. The members merely preferred each other's company to that of the rest of the

servants in the area. If one woman left her job, however, she soon drifted away from the others. In certain cases these cliques did serve as the basis for what may be termed planned saving. The women might all agree to give a portion of their wage each month to a particular woman. In this way, once every three or four months, the servants could expect to receive a lump sum which they used to finance some expensive undertaking or purchase. This plan was however, not formalised and the handling over of money was not accompanied by a meeting or entertainment as has been described for the so-called 'stokfel' groups which have similar functions (See Kuper & Kaplan, 1944 and Wilson & Mafeje, 1963).

It is possible for membership of formal associations to play a greater part in the lives of non-resident servants living in the townships than in the lives of women working and living in Durban itself. Lack of time and problems of transport within the townships, however, are again limiting factors and even township dwellers tend to attend clubs and associations which meet near their homes. This is the reason why many churches hold meetings in different townships and in different parts of one township on alternate Sundays. Augustah M- attended church services when they were held in Kwa Mashu far more frequently than she journeyed to Umlaas Township to worship. Many non-resident servants, moreover, who do only washing and ironing and char work for their employers, do not develop the close relationships with them that would enable them to borrow money from employers or to ask their assistance in times of need. They must thus rely on other means of assistance and association membership may provide this.

The type of association attended by servants was limited. Apart from savings clubs the only oth er associations which featured in their lives were those connected with religion.

Membership of Churches, Sects and Church Societies:

Although, as Chapter Twelve will show religion has a vital part to play in the lives of domestic servants, in all not more than 20 per cent of the women interviewed can be regarded or, indeed, claimed to be regular church-goers. The others attended services intermittently. Even those who attended regularly seldom managed to get to church every week. In the light of the difficulties which face domestic servants

wide limits have to be set on any attempt to set an arbitrary definition of 'regular'. Those women who went to church at least once a month and who attended either formal or informal religious meetings at least once in every two weeks have been included in this category.

(a) Attendance at Church Services:

The various churches and sects do try to organize their services at times which are convenient to most of their members. The pattern of African worship tends to be very different from that of European Christians in Durban. Sunday services in the townships begin only at about 10.00 a.m. or 11.00 a.m. or even at noon depending on the location of the church. This gives church members from far afield time to reach the church on foot if there are no buses available. Those churches which still meet in the Durban central district usually begin their services at only 3.00 p.m. A large part of their congregation is made up of resident servants who are only free after they have served the midday meal to their employers. Many of the African Independent Churches, particularly the Zionist sects,[3] hold their main services at night starting at about 8.30 or 9.00 p.m. when most of their members will have had time to gather. In many cases Saturday night services may be as important as Sunday services because more people can attend. Night services are not, however, limited to Saturday evenings but may be held any night of the week.

Another characteristic of African worship is the length of service. Few are under two hours in length while some may continue for three or four hours (see also Berglund, 1967, p.5). Night services usually continue into the early hours of the morning if no curfew forces their dispersal. Not all worshippers remain for the whole duration of this period. There is often a constant movement of late-comers and of members of the congregation who must leave either to catch buses or trains in order to get home or in order to return to work. Their actions are neither frowned upon nor, in fact, noticed unduly. Parents bring small children and babies to all services if they have no one with whom to leave them. The children are welcomed and expected. If they get tired they merely go to sleep, usually on their mothers' or sisters' backs or laps. Babies who cry are comforted. Any member of the congregation may take them outside, play with them for a while and then return them to the mother.

(b) Weekly Manyanos:

The religious life of resident domestic servants was centred not so much around attendance at formal church services, as on membership of church clubs and attendance at informal meetings held often within the neighbourhood of the servant's employment and at times when they were free.

The majority of the mission-organized and some of the Independent African churches organize clubs to which only women belong. These so-called Manyanos meet as a rule on one afternoon a week and are the equivalent of the European church's "Mothers' Union". The majority of their members are older women who are married or who have children. Members wear distinctive uniforms and the meetings consist of prayers, a sermon and may include individual testimonies and the airing of common problems. Manyanos vary in size from no more than 10 to 15 members to over 300 members. At one time resident servants formed the backbone of these groups which met in the various suburbs of Durban, many in the church halls of the European section of the denomination concerned. Now that the policy is to move the venue of all African activities to the townships resident servants are finding great difficulty in attending Manyanos due to transport problems and lack of free time.

Manyanos which meet in the townships tend to be dominated by township dwellers many of whom are not in full-time employment and who can attend meetings held on weekday afternoons.

(c) Youth Clubs:

Similarly on the European pattern many of the European-affiliated denominations try to organize clubs for younger members of the congregation. These may be mixed in sex or there may be separate groups for each sex. Activities include singing, dancing, film shows, etc. The meetings are usually held at night from about 7.30 p.m. onwards. Domestic servants have difficulty attending these functions unless they work near town and the meetings are held in the centre of Durban

and not in the townships. Only one of the women interviewed attended this type of group. It was run by the Anglican Church in the Greyville area near which she was employed. On the whole little interest was shown by the younger women in this type of organization and most complained that once they had borne children they were debarred from these organizations despite the fact that their friends of the same age and interests remained.

(d) Church Choirs:

A few of the female domestic servants were members of church choirs. This involved them not only in attending services when they could but also in choir practice once a week. These were held at night, usually on Wednesday or Thursday night. Choir membership involves participation also in a social group far more successful than those run without the backbone of singing. Picnics and various outings are organized for choir members who suggest and help run all social gatherings. Choir membership was highly valued by the women as the choirs of the churches concerned are held in particular esteem within the congregation. The women, thus, who were chosen for the choirs did their best to attend practices even if this put them to great inconvenience. One of their greatest problems was that the choirs go to various other towns to perform in singing competitions about four times in a year and many servants could not arrange with their employers to be absent from work on all these occasions. In only three cases were women found to be able to manage choir membership and still retain their employment.

(e) Irregular Religious Meetings:

Apart from clubs and associations which demand regular attendance an important part of the domestic servant's religious life encompassed irregular and informally-organized meetings and groups held under the auspices of the churches to which they belonged.

(i) Social evenings:

Social Evenings are arranged by both European-

affiliated denominations and by the Independent African Churches of the more orthodox type. These may involve preparatory prayers and then concerts, in which members of the congregation perform, or talks and discussions. At festivals such as Christmas gifts are brought by members both for the pastor and for each other. The servants belonging to the churches concerned set great store by being present at these 'socials' if they could. Since these were not regular occurrences the women could often make special arrangements to finish work early on the evenings involved and so managed to attend despite problems of distance.

(ii) 'Missions' and trips to other towns for the purposes of prayer:

So-called 'missions' were also organized by various churches. These were of two kinds. One consisted of a few faithful members who travelled to another town to meet members of the sister congregations there. The other was a much more elaborate affair. It resembled a revivalist meeting to which members of the congregation were invited. It sometimes included members of other denominations as well. Maria attended one such mission which was held over a long weekend at Cavel Mission Station. She paid at least R4 for bus fare alone. Healing played a great part in it and she noted in her diary that there was a large proportion of non-Catholics at the meeting.

Characteristic of Roman Catholic church membership was the holding of parties on members' Saints' Days. Members invited their close friends to celebrate with them and had to provide them with food, cool drinks and sometimes music. This presented problems for servants both in terms of where to hold the party and how to finance it. Often women were found to club together, particularly if one had a rented room or township house where the party could be held.

(iii) Bible study groups:

Both the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches encourage their members to form Bible study groups. These are sometimes

held under the auspices of the pastors but are more often than not purely informal meetings arranged by individuals and continued for as long as their interest holds and the opportunities continue to be available for meetings. Maria N- was teaching a neighbour catechism in the evenings after work. Catholic friends often joined them and the meetings were always ended with prayers.

(f) Independent Prayer Meetings and Groups:

Religious meetings are not the prerogative of churches and sects alone. Individual domestic servants from different denominations and African churches were found to meet regularly for informal prayer and worship in each other's rooms and in township houses. These meetings, held often with the neighbourhood and at times when the servants were all free, played a significant part in the religious lives of many women and in fact, were found to account for at least half of the religious activity of resident servants.

Prayers often developed purely spontaneously when religious women were together. An evening spent with a religious friend was usually completed by the singing of a hymn and public prayer. In some cases where three or four neighbouring servants shared religious attitudes, informal cliques developed and these groups were recognized as definite units by the rest of the community. The women concerned met at least twice a week, often wore church uniform on these occasions and might invite any friends or neighbours to attend as well. The main emphasis of these prayer groups was upon healing and the efficacy of prayer in solving personal problems. Non-members of the cliques could request the 'prayer group' to visit their own rooms for particular prayers if they were ill or in trouble. In this way these groups moved fairly widely around the neighbourhood and served to bring companionship and comfort to other people who, in themselves, were not sufficiently religious to belong either to churches or to the prayer groups on a permanent basis.

The interdenominational aspect of these prayer groups

was one of their most distinctive features. Each woman wore the uniform of her particular church or sect with great pride. These uniforms did not appear, however, to divide the group in any way. They were seen, rather, as a common badge of belief and a practical Christian life. Similarly, there seldom appeared to be any discussion of, or even awareness amongst women of different religious affiliations, of denominational differences either in ritual or dogma. The meetings were purely and simply for worship - to express the love of God and to make use of the efficacy of prayer.

It may be mentioned in passing that members of the Roman Catholic Church did not take part in these prayer groups. They met, instead, solely with other Catholics even if this meant travelling far from their places of employment. The tendency for Catholics to isolate themselves from other African Christians was well demonstrated in the case of Maria N- whose whole religious life was dominated by members of her own church.

Related to the neighbourhood prayer groups encountered amongst the resident servants are the small and localized Zionist sects which are to be found in many areas. These groups, usually appear to arise in much the same way as the prayer groups but, unlike them, subsume the whole of their members' worship. Within the neighbourhoods investigated these so-called '<u>Izioni</u>'[4] groups were regarded as religious units in their own right and even if, as was usually the case, they were affiliated to a mother church elsewhere, they enjoyed the status of a local congregation or cell. Members might be expected to attend the mother church at intervals and the leaders of the church visited the local groups on occasions, but, taken as a whole, these groups were highly independent in organization and ritual. They tended to develop around the figure of one or more local healer and their membership was highly mobile since it was dependent upon both the local labour turnover and also the vicissitudes of the local servants' health.

Members of these sects were linked together in the eyes of their neighbours by their regalia, the pattern for which

was often revealed to the leaders in dreams. The emphasis was on healing as was the case with the interdenomination prayer groups, but in the case of the Zionist sects the powers of the prophet to divine - to diagnose the causes of illness and misfortune - added a further dimension to the popularity and appeal of the sect. On the whole the meetings of these Zionist sects were held less frequently than those of the informal prayer groups, the members all collecting only on Wednesday and Saturday evenings. Nonetheless individual members often spent their time together and might 'pray' in each other's rooms each night before retiring. One aspect of the sects which differentiated from the informal prayer groups was the regular visits the members paid as a group to a river or to the seashore. Their gatherings were held at these places at least once a month when purification rites were carried out.

All in all prayer groups and small sects which meet in the servants' rooms on employers' premises, whether they involve, as is usually the case, women from different denominations or whether they are made up solely of the members of one particular denomination such as Catholics or Zionists, serve many vital functions for their members. Suffice here to stress that they are typical features of 'backyard' life. By their intimacy and their personal face-to-face nature they bring a sense of neighbourliness and community to what would otherwise be mere agglomerations of resident domestic servants who are, at night, cut off from township life.

C H A P T E R E L E V E N

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

I. EXPENDITURE:

Few domestic servants live solely on the wages they earn each month. In the majority of cases their commitments to families and their personal needs make it necessary for them to supplement their wages in some way. Women may come to town in order to earn money to send home, but as they become more sophisticated, more at home in the urban milieu and develop wider interests and friends, so their personal expenses increase. They may earn higher wages as their domestic skill develops, but their extra earnings seldom keep pace with their growing needs. A good deal of their leisure, particularly in the case of older women with growing children, is spent in attempts to make money and in the consideration of schemes to increase their income.

(a) Family and Personal Commitments:

Few women domestic servants provide only for themselves out of their salaries. Aged parents, younger siblings and children, even unemployed husbands and lovers make their claims. In the majority of cases, particularly where children are concerned, these dependants are living in the rural areas and money and often material goods such as food and clothing must be sent home to them. In the cases in which their dependants are living in town, however, servants may be faced with great problems in finding and paying for their accommodation as well as in providing for their care.

The financial burden of dependants who live in the country appears far less onerous than that of having town-based dependants. Although women who were supporting kin in the country acknowledged responsibility for sending money or material goods home each month, in only about 12 per cent of the cases were they, in fact, found to do this. The majority sent money home approximately only once in every four or six

months, or in answer to an urgent request. All, however, took home a good many gifts and a plentiful supply of food when they visited their homes during their annual leave. The actual amount of money which was sent home on each occasion varied tremendously and depended on the women's other expenses and the urgency of the need. As a rule it ranged from R2 to R4, although in some cases, women who belonged to savings clubs might send as much as R12 home when their turn to receive the 'jackpot' came round.

It is obvious that even in cases in which women send money home to the country fairly regularly it is seldom sufficient to meet all the expenses incurred in the feeding, clothing and education of the children they leave there. In this respect it must be realised that the rural families bear the greater burden of the rearing of these children.

Servants who either do not wish to leave their dependants in the country, or can find no relative in the rural areas willing to take responsibility for them are forced to rent rooms in the townships in which to house them. Resident servants incur an added expense in that, if their children are young, the women must find someone to live with them and care for them. While it is usually a fairly simple matter to persuade an older relative to do this, it means an additional mouth to feed. In addition, the older woman must often be clothed and even paid a stipend. In a few cases, kin or even friends with township houses are willing to care for children, but even so, their mothers must pay a substantial amount towards their keep. In general living in town tends to be far more expensive than life in the country. Both adults and children require more clothing and higher prices must be paid for food. These demands are constantly put to the servant, who cannot ignore them as they may do when the request comes only by letter from distant rural kin.

Quite apart from regular expenses incurred by family demands, servants complained that their relatives and even their close friends were inclined to ask for loans which they could hardly refuse without causing a rupture in the relationship. All feel obliged also to give kin and close friends small gifts either of money or food when they visit them, or

if the latter are involved in particularly heavy expenditure due to involvement in the performance of a ritual or the organization of a wedding or burial. Gift-giving is highly valued amongst servants, and while it may appear to be a drain on the individual's purse, it reaps its own long-term rewards in terms of reciprocity.

(b) New Needs:

All female domestic servants, even those of the most conservative outlook, spend money on the goods which are offered so abundantly for sale in city shops. Whether they send these goods home to the rural areas or whether they keep them for their own use in Durban, is immaterial. It is the nature of these purchases, their expense and the problems which may arise from hire-purchase arrangements which must be considered.

Budgets kept by servants showed that they spent at least half of their income on material goods.(See Appendix VIII) Clothes, linen and expensive items such as radios, record players, watches, sewing machines and even furniture were regular items on which their money was spent. Much use was made of hire purchase schemes although savings clubs enabled women to collect fairly large sums of money to use on these purchases. Most women were in debt to shops and to commercial travellers. Businesses within or near the neighbourhood where they work usually allow servants to have accounts which are seldom paid up. Certain of the large stores in town attempt, through apparently generous hire-purchase arrangements, entice customers with little ready cash to buy large numbers of goods of all descriptions on the understanding that the customer can pay over six months. If they fail to do so the article may be repossessed and the money paid lost, or the servant may be dunned. Some shops offer prizes to those of their customers of long standing who interest their friends in opening accounts. This is a highly successful incentive since in many cases domestic servants admire each other's purchases and are then prompted to open their own accounts by their neighbours. Women often develop a backlog of unpaid accounts at different stores which they eventually have great difficulty in paying off.

Women at different stages in their lives spend money in different ways. Thus the young women tended to rate dress the most important part of their outlay. This was one of Nomusa's preoccupations. Those women with dependants in town had to clothe them as well as themselves. School uniforms were an important item and one which created problems each new year. Often these had to be bought on hire-purchase and paid for during the remainder of the year. Cosmetics and toilet articles, such as soap, powder, Vaseline[1] or glycerine, face creams, and, in some cases, toothpaste and deodorant, were bought by most young women when funds allowed and were even thought to be vital to their attraction for the opposite sex.

The older women spent less money on personal clothing but still had to provide for their children. The greater part of money was expended, however, on lasting goods. They were always on the lookout for beds, cupboards and other items of furniture. These appeared to take on importance as they realized that they were never likely to marry but would have to provide homes for themselves. The high prices that were paid for these items indicated that they meant a good deal to their purchasers in terms of security and the prestige of having a well-furnished room or home in the townships or rural areas.

All women bought linen such as blankets and sheets for their beds. These were not provided by most employers, but the women emphasized their importance. They felt that these items impressed men friends with these signs of Western living. Cups, plates and cooking utensils were also acquired while primus stoves, though not very expensive, were highly prized. Sewing machines, radios and record players were the prestige items all women longed to own, and they envied their neighbours these possessions above all others.

Most of the women bought patent remedies for colds, headaches, upset stomachs and constipation. Aspirins, 'Vicks', Eno Fruit Salts, Milk of Magnesia[2] and mixtures to clear the blood headed this field. The cost of these items was paltry, however, compared with the large amounts of money spent by a fair proportion of the women in the general search for health and good luck. The advice of both Western and traditional

practitioners was sought and tried. While the izinyanga and izangoma are the most expensive, a number of European, Indian and Coloured quacks and fortune-tellers charged fees ranging from R3 to R15 for consultations and treatments. Where cures for illnesses were not speedily effected, the women went from doctor to doctor spending considerable sums each month on the assurance that they would be cured 'this time'.

Food was another item upon which money was regularly spent. The content and amount differed from servant to servant and with the employment situation. In cases in which meat and milk were readily available from household supplies, less money was spent on extra food. Additional extravagances such as sweets, fruit, and cool drinks were, however, bought on occasions, particularly to feed and impress lovers. Liquor may also be mentioned here, for although by no means all women drank strong liquor or home-brewed concoctions, those who did spent large amounts of money in this way. Some women provided liquor for men friends although they themselves did not drink.

Above and beyond expenses incurred in purchases, the normal expenses of day-to-day living soon mount up. Transport costs, for instance, are high for those women who travel extensively to and from the townships and even within Durban itself. This affects regular churchgoers in particular, whose visits to church services and meetings may cost them as much as from 30c to 50c per week, depending on their frequency and the venue of the gathering. Now that all African churches are to be moved to the townships women who before could walk to services or make only short and inexpensive bus trips will have to expend at least 25c on only one trip to the townships.

On trips to town or to church the temptation of buying small items of food such as sweets or cool drinks is ever present. Many women explained that "going to town" always cost far more than the mere bus fare. Church members were continuously dipping into their purses for membership fees and for church collections. Although offerings might not amount to more than 2½ cents to 5 cents on ordinary occasions, feasts and special collections might demand as much as 25 or 40 cents at a time. Fees were often in the region of R1 quarterly and had to be paid in order to keep up membership of the church.

Money placed in savings clubs, insurance schemes and burial societies must also be mentioned since although it involves a type of saving, it made regular and large monthly demands on the income of a number of women investigated. Neighbourhood savings clubs were purely informal and usually consisted of between three to five trusted friends who had agreed to contribute part of their salaries each month to a common pool. This was then given to each member in turn. Although the members met each month to make their contributions no large party appeared to be held as has been described elsewhere. (Kuper & Kaplan 1944, Wilson & Mafeje 1963). Seldom were these arrangements of long duration since one or other of the group either left the area or absconded without paying their share. It is interesting to note that men and women were sometimes involved in the same savings groups although in all cases the members of both sexes were domestic servants.

Insurance firms had an enormous following amongst the servants. Funeral policies were the most popular type of investment, although a number of women held long-term policies which were designed to provide them with large sums of money in the future. These policies while they promise so much, constitute a heavy financial burden for the women and may even involve them in the loss of their money. Few of the servants realized that the contract to which they agreed stipulated that they pay instalments regularly and if they should default they would lose all money already invested. The hazards of life and insecurities of employment seldom allowed women to keep these payments up for life or for the two or three years needed for the policy to mature. A much safer method of saving is through regular payments into a Post Office Savings or Building Society Account. A small minority of women did make use of these schemes. In most of these cases it was employers who had been instrumental in persuading their servants to save in this way.

All items of expenditure listed so far have been, with the possible exception of money spent on doctors and medicine, those which make fairly regular demands on the servants' wages. Sporadic expenses such as that incurred by weddings, deaths or visits home seldom found women prepared and they had to resort to borrowing. The majority did try to save some of their

salary for a few months prior to taking leave, but were seldom very successful. Visits home, in particular, involve great expense as gifts are expected by each member of the family as well as a substantial amount of food in the form of groceries, vegetables and fruit. In one instance a woman who was not going home for her annual holiday claimed that she could not afford to do so because she had no money to buy the presents expected by her family. Transport costs are also high in most cases and may involve the expenditure of almost a whole month's salary. (See Appendix VIII for an indication of the normal expenses of Maria N- and of her outlay in going on holiday.)

None of the women investigated were found to hoard money or to skimp and save as male migrants have been reported to do. (Wilson & Mafeje 1963, Mayer 1962). Even those who were the most scrupulous in sending money home still spent the larger proportion of their salaries on themselves and on the expenses of town life. In this respect it is clear that they were not in town only to save money, but, to some extent, for the advantages and enjoyments offered by town life itself.

II. INCOME:

An average income of between R10 and R15 is hardly sufficient to meet all the needs enumerated above. The budgets kept by selected women showed a recurrent inconsistency between the amount earned by the women as domestic servants, and their monthly expenditure. How the difference was made up was not easy to ascertain accurately. The women seldom remembered to enter gifts from kin or friends and were often too embarrassed to note financial help from lovers. In any case these amounts were often so small as to appear negligible to them. In many cases money-making activities were illegal and so not entered faithfully. Again the amounts earned were often so small and irregular as to slip the women's minds. The following general discussion will, however, highlight the ways in which the women were helped to make ends meet and the techniques which they themselves adopted to increase their incomes.

(a) Financial Help from Friends and Kin:

The servants relied a good deal on financial help from

men. Married women who were living with husbands either on the premises or in the townships received substantial, if sporadic contributions from their husbands. The majority of single, widowed or abandoned women who had lovers expected them to give them money or at least to help them when they needed money. The lovers were also expected to spend money on regular gifts for their girl friends.

A man who had made a woman pregnant, but who did not wish to marry her, could usually be relied upon to help towards her confinement if the traditional fee of damages was not paid to her parents. A few women who had been abandoned by their lovers and who had children for whom they had to care, claimed maintenance from the men involved. Although this was done through official channels it seldom bore fruit since the men changed their jobs frequently, and little check could be kept on them to ensure regular contributions.

It was not only lovers who were found to make financial gifts to the servants. Friends and kin of both sexes often marked important events in women's lives with similar presents. These were offered in recognition of the fact that individuals have need of money at such a time. Christmas, important celebrations such as sacrifices, family birthdays, trips home or the furnishing of a new house were always marked by some small gift. Thus Augustah M- and her sister Esther acknowledged the obligation to help the other if she were holding a party by baking a few cakes or sending money to defray the costs of liquor. Augustah noted also in her diary "At the station three ladies awaited me. They had a present for me which they meant to give me before I went home to make my party". Each of her 'train friends' gave her 25 cents.

(b) Church Assistance:

When in great need members of certain churches may have a special collection held for them. This is counted as one of the assets of belonging to these particular denominations and in this way churches act as mutual aid societies. It is when a death has occurred that this aspect of church activity and social welfare can be best studied. Six times during field-work a church fellow orthe dependant of a church friend of

one of the servants died. News of the death was speedily spread (via the grapevine of employers' telephones) and each church member was expected to try and go to the house of the bereaved family. There they spent at least one night - often two - praying and waiting for the burial. The whole congregation thus collected around and prayed with the family and individual members bought and cooked food to feed the family and the mourners. All contributed towards the coffin and funeral expenses. Though each person might contribute only between 25 cents and R1 a general sum of about R80 was usually collected in all. Thus much of the responsibility for the funeral was taken off the shoulders of the survivors. Many church elders in fact have permanent arrangements with a firm of undertakers who immediately arrange all details, and are paid by the collections from the whole congregation.

(c) Borrowing Money:

In situations in which women were suddenly faced with an urgent need for money which they did not possess, and they were forced to borrow it, resort was made to kin, friends, employers and money-lenders. One way and another most of the women were in debt most of the time. Many of these debts were not repaid and often those women who had been prepared to lend to their friends lost heavily since the latter did not, or could not, repay them. Women were surprisingly willing to lend money in view of the bad risk it appeared to be, and kinship obligations often involved the money-lending though not always its refund. Firms lending money at interest were patronized only as a last resort since defaulters are prosecuted without mercy.

Private individuals or groups such as that of which Maria was a member also lend money on interest, and the obligation to pay back is accepted as binding since, as a rule, only trusted friends of the group are allowed to make use of the facilities. The failure to refund the money might rupture a friendship as was true in the case of Maria and her friend Beatrice (See page 287). Interest on such loans is high. In one case a woman borrowed R10 and was expected to repay R15 at the end of the year.

The most successful way to avoid bad debts is of course to abscond and many women who left their jobs suddenly did so for this reason.

(d) Parties, Betting and Competitions:

So-called 'Parties' or 'Stokfels' are a recognized means of raising money for particular contingencies. They are sometimes associated with monthly savings clubs, but may be held independently by women who wish to amass a fairly large sum of money in a hurry. They involve the holding of a party to which all the neighbourhood is invited, but to which they have to pay a small entrance fee and have to be prepared also to spend money for their food, drink and entertainment. These parties were reported to raise as much as R100 if properly run and attended by open-handed guests.

Domestic servants accommodated on the premises of employers found great difficulty in holding parties of this type due to their potential size and rowdiness. Those who could rent or borrow rooms and houses in the townships for the purpose, did so. In one typical case a domestic servant employed in Durban North held her stokfel at the Kwa Mashu house of a maternal cousin. Each visitor or 'guest' paid 25 cents entrance fee and all food and drink was auctioned, guests bidding against each other for juicy pieces of chicken and glasses of beer. A band had been engaged and dancing soon began, men challenging women to dance with them and paying for the honour. Popular partners were auctioned and any women who did not wish to accept an invitation to dance had to pay a fine higher than the amount offered by the asker. Men and women good-naturedly caused the bidding to go higher and higher and challenged each other to do amusing things like dancing alone or singing a song. Those who did not comply had to pay forfeits. The party was a great success, everyone enjoying himself enormously. Unfortunately in the excitement some of the money disappeared and the servant made only R24 on the evening's activity.

Women continuously hoped to win money in competitions, lotteries or at the races. Those who had radios, followed avidly as did Maria N-, all programmes offering prizes. In two

cases, women did in fact win competitions, the one getting R2 and the other R4 for their efforts. This luck intensified the excitement and for a while nearly all the servants who had heard of their good fortune tried their luck. Lotteries were another interest, and in the townships fahfee was patronized a good deal. On one occasion there was a spate of chain letters in one neighbourhood which promised the women large sums of money if they kept up the chain. Though this involved the sending of 25 cents to someone else, it was continued religiously. The expected riches did not materialize, however, and the interest soon died down.

In Stamford Hill and Wills Road, women were found who patronized the races regularly. They claimed to win large sums of money and seldom seemed to lose. One woman in particular made R50 on the July Handicap[3]. It is interesting to note that dreams were the most frequent source of inspiration. In some cases women dreamt about certain numbers and then betted upon horses carrying these, while in others ancestors and dead friends told women which horse was going to win the races. Township women were noted for collecting bets from domestic servants who could not get away from work to attend the racing sessions. The latter, of course, took their commission.

(e) Other Money-making Activities:

Many servants proved themselves to be extremely ingenious in supplementing their wages by their own efforts. As described in the previous chapter, talents such as sewing and knitting were put to good use by selling the finished articles to friends and neighbours. In this way one servant amassed enough money to make the down-payment on a knitting machine. She left domestic work altogether and, retiring to the townships, made a living out of full-time knitting and sewing.

Part-time and non-resident servants were found to act as sales representatives for clothing and cosmetic firms. They interested servants in the areas in which they worked in these wares, and spent their free time visiting other areas nearby. The buying and selling of old clothes was another profitable activity since there is always a ready market for

second-hand clothing. In cases in which this was combined with the disposal of stolen goods it provided an extremely lucrative sideline to domestic work. Full-time servants seldom had sufficient time to devote to this type of activity although those whose employers were out all day did manage it on occasions.

Women who worked near building sites were found to make sour porridge or other cheap delicacies which they sold to workmen. The vigilance of employers again inhibited resident servants in this respect, but those who had their own primus stoves often went ahead with this type of sale.

It was the illegal means of making money which were the most lucrative. Brewing and liquor-selling headed the list although prostitution, dagga-peddling, the disposal of stolen goods and black-marketing also flourished. The women were occasionally apprehended by the police, and fined, but it appeared that their overall profits could more than stand these intrusions. Rosie M-, for instance, the main liquor-seller in Morningside, claimed to have made R30 in one month and R35 in another by selling gavine alone. This was quite possibly an underestimation since she made 100 per cent profit on each bottle sold. In addition to this the other drinks she offered her customers must have netted her a tidy profit. As proof of her earnings she pointed to the furniture in her room and the house she had built and furnished in Clermont.

Women intent on making money often combined various ways of doing so. Sarah Z-, for instance, worked for Coloured employers in the Stamford Hill area. She lived at Kwa Mashu where she acquired supplies of both dagga and gavine and took them into town with her to sell to servants and employers in that area. The former she bought in quantities costing R1 which she divided into 20 packages and sold at 10 cents each. Her profit was thus R1 or 100 per cent. She hid gavine in various ways about her person (for instance on her back pretending it was an infant) but since the police were on the lookout for this, she found dagga the safer and more lucrative of the two items. There was a ready demand for it particularly from Indian men working in Umgeni Road, and she was not faced with as much competition as in the sale of gavine.

Prostitution is discussed in a later chapter.[5] The profits from this type of activity varied greatly. In cases in which the prostitution involved relations with employers or males living in the neighbourhood in which the servants worked, these might be large, but intermittent. In cases in which the women regularly visited brothels or places known to sailors for providing easy access to women, they might earn as much as R8-R10 in one night from successive customers. One woman from the Wills Road area noted charging each man R1 or R1.50 and anyone wishing to spend the whole night with her had to pay at least R6.

C H A P T E R T W E L V E

COPING WITH THE WORLD THROUGH RELIGION AND MAGIC

An understanding of the religious life of women in domestic service can best be gained through a consideration of the practical functions of religious belief and ritual in their lives. For the women investigated religion was of practical and psychological value and although so small a proportion can be regarded as regular church-goers[1], there was not one woman who had not at some time, sought assurance and explanation from religious belief, and who had not found comfort and companionship in the membership of a church and in attendance at church services and other religious rituals. Many, as the last chapter has shown, had received substantial financial support by virtue of their membership of particular churches.

The overwhelming majority of the women were Christians if only nominal ones. Only four per cent of all the domestic servants interviewed were pagans. All the Christian women, however, held a firm belief and faith in the powers of the ancestors and in evil which can be manipulated by witches and sorcerers. While the orthodox Christian churches may deny the existence of these forces, the individual women amongst their members combined a belief in these traditional sources of power with their Christian faith. Their belief in and reliance upon magic was strong and so intermingled with their religious beliefs and practices that the two can hardly be dealt with separately. They will thus be discussed as part of one whole - the magico-religious.

I. DENOMINATIONAL DISTRIBUTION:

Despite the fact that only very few of the women investigated attended church with any degree of regularity, the majority named churches to which they had once belonged or in which they had been reared by their parents, and to

which they still felt themselves to be attached. Only 10 per cent of the women interviewed denied any church allegiance whatsoever. In the majority of cases the reason given for this lack of membership was expulsion from the church either because they had not paid their membership fees, or as a punishment for premarital pregnancy.

The churches to which the women belonged varied widely. In order to understand this and the pattern of church attendance, it is necessary to have some idea of the major types of African churches and the broad differences between them. A distinction must be made firstly between European-affiliated churches and the African Independent churches which have been founded and are run by Africans completely independently of the European churches. The former owe their origin to the missionary activity of the mother church by which they are still largely controlled. Their pastors have undergone a training similar to that of their European counterparts, and their ritual, liturgy and doctrinal beliefs are thus similar to and a direct and continuous heritage from the mother church. The differences between the various mission-originated churches are to be found largely in the history of the development of the founding church in Europe or in Africa and not in factors peculiar to the African situation.

The African Independent churches have in some cases split off from one of the former denominations and in others have arisen completely independently. They may, in themselves, be divided into two categories. On the one hand there are the so-called Ethiopian churches which follow closely the beliefs and ritual patterns of the churches in which their leaders and members were raised (Sundkler 1961, page 38). Their beliefs and ritual are thus, from the Western point of view, orthodox. In contrast are the African churches and sects which have added to their basic Christian outlook new and purely African elements of both belief and ritual. These churches may be briefly and for convenience sake categorized together as churches of the Zionist type. They are characterized by their emphasis on healing and health. Their leadership is charismatic in that the group arise and gether around the figure of a man or woman who is credited with powers of healing. They

vary in size from very large - some such as Isaiah Shembe's Nazarite Church, which constitutes a well-known corporate community - to groups which may have no more than five to ten members. Since they are not recognised by the government they do not benefit by subsidies and are not allocated land for church buildings in the townships. Most of those in Durban meet either at the homes of their leaders or on open plots, often by rivers or on the beach since water is vital for the purification rites which are an integral part of their ritual. Their very informality encourages continuous fragmentation as they grow in size and new potential leaders emerge.

The strength of the churches of the Zionist type and as far as this study is concerned, their interest lies in the fact that they include within their doctrine belief in the powers of the ancestors to affect and to help the living descendants and in an inanimate power which can be manipulated by the living for their own ends. The prophets or leaders of most of these churches and sects are credited with power to diagnose the cause of any misfortune. Through the combined prayer of the group and through sacrifices held under the control of the leaders, access is given to the ancestors and favour and protection against witches are provided.

Domestic servants when discussing their religious beliefs and church participation make a clear distinction between the denominations founded by European missionaries and the more orthodox of the Independent African churches on the one hand, and the churches and sects of the Zionist type on the other. This is a distinction commonly made by the whole African community and one which is based on the obvious facts of belief and ritual (Wilson and Mafeje 1962, page 95). It is valid also, however, on the functional level and is a distinction which will be seen to be basic to any understanding of the role played by religion in the lives of the domestic servants.

Table XLI sets out the distribution of the women investigated over the various denominations, churches and sects. The majority belonged to the churches which have stemmed from missionary activity. The two largest denominations represented were Methodist and Roman Catholic.

The Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican), the American Board Mission Church and the Lutheran Church claimed the next highest membership. In all only 20 per cent of the women claimed to be members of African Independent churches, and of the latter the majority were members of churches of the Zionist type which predominate in Natal (Sundkler 1961). The other independent churches to which women belonged were largely offshoots of churches which have their headquarters on the Witwatersrand and do not have very large followings in Durban.

TABLE XLI

CHURCH DENOMINATION OF WOMEN INVESTIGATED

	Church Denomination	Percentage of Women Investigated	
Mission-Affiliated Churches	Methodist	24	80
	Roman Catholic	23	
	Church of the Province of South Africa	11	
	American Board Mission Church	9	
	Lutheran	6	
	Full Gospel	3	
	Swedish Mission Church	1	
	Baptist	1	
	Assemblies of God	1	
	Apostolic / Presbyterian Church of South Africa	1	
African Independent Churches	Zionist Churches and Sects	14	20
	Ethiopian Churches	6	
	TOTAL	100	100

The small proportion of women who regarded themselves as Zionists must be commented upon. The figures alone are misleading since they give the impression that churches and sects of this type do not have great appeal. In fact at least half of the women who were registered at or even regular attenders of the other churches had visited Zionist meetings and even attended sects for longer or shorter periods.

This characteristic of worship will be considered in detail later in the chapter.

The picture presented appears to be one of great fragmentation. It might be supposed that there is as much exclusiveness and animosity within and between the different denominations and African churches and sects as there appears to be between the different denominations attended by Europeans. Quite the reverse, however, appears to be true. The African Christians and the churches themselves, with the possible exception of the Roman Catholic community, appeared, despite their differences in affiliation, to regard themselves as belonging to one fellowship. The domestic servants frequently attended churches to which they did not belong. Many had changed their church membership during their lives and appeared to do this with a minimum of distress. Above all, women who were regular church-goers (again with the exception of the Roman Catholics) often held meetings with friends from other denominations for the specific purpose of prayer and devotion. These informal cliques of religious women have already been described in some detail.

II. THE PART PLAYED BY CHURCH ATTENDANCE IN THE LIVES OF THE DOMESTIC SERVANTS:

(a) Partial Substitute for the Warmth of Family Relationships:

The pattern of church attendance amongst domestic servants has already been indicated in Chapter Ten and it is clear that, while these women do attend formal church services when they can, the major part of their religious life is bound up with their membership of small church societies, clubs and above all local interdenominational prayer groups. These operate in the neighbourhoods in which resident servants work, and meet at the times when they are free. The major worship of the Zionist sects is of this nature also. The small size of these local groups and sects makes for intimate face-to-face relations between members. As a whole, these units surround and encompass the individual in much the same way as does the extended family and the small local neighbourhood in the rural areas. Belonging to one of these groups

compensates thus for much of the isolation and loneliness possible in town life.

(b) Companionship and Help:

For the newcomer to town church attendance is one of the ways of getting to know people. Women who have no friends and few kin in Durban and who join a church or sect, are immediately drawn into the congregation and soon strike up acquaintances and often deep friendships with individual members of the church. Often women who have been church members at home seek out the nearest church of the denomination to which they belong, and their country membership card and possibly their manyano uniform provides them with a ticket to a full and rewarding social life in Durban. In any particular neighbourhood a newly-employed servant who might otherwise have taken a fairly long time to become integrated into the local community is quickly absorbed if she discovers that one of her neighbours belongs to the same church as herself. Women who show an interest in local prayer groups are also speedily provided with friends and their leisure-time and evenings become filled with visits from religious neighbours and with prayer sessions.

Common church membership and a general interest in religion thus serves to forge bonds between people, to vouch for the good faith and trustworthiness of strangers and to lay the foundations for the friendship and companionship so vital to the individual's happiness in town. In some cases, as was true of Maria N- church membership may replace kin and lay the foundation for all important social relationships in town.

(c) Practical Aid, Moral Support and Advice:

Along with comfort and companionship, church and sect attendance may provide the individual with practical aid (see Chapter Eleven) and with other less tangible but nonetheless important assets such as advice and support in times of stress and crisis.

Many of the churches and in particular the sects, encourage their members to bring their troubles to the pastor or leaders for advice. At times certain individuals will tell

the whole congregation of their problems and the pastor will advise them publicly. This not only provides guidance for the individual concerned, but is an indication to the rest of the congregation or group of how to deal with a similar problem. There is no necessary limitation of the problems raised to those connected with the religious sphere. Difficulties with employers and the authorities, with housing and even in relations with husbands and children are commonly aired. The manyano groups associated with the orthodox churches often deal with family problems and with difficulties peculiar to women. Members of the congregation may offer practical aid or suggestions to the persons concerned once the service is over. In this way members of churches and church groups pool their experience of dealing with the problems of town-living and are an extremely useful guide to women on how to act and comport themselves. Their educational or socializing function is clear. In situations of crisis such as the death of a family member church friends of the bereaved always collect to pray at the house or room of the bereaved. Not only do they collect money to help with funeral expenses, but in making many of the practical arrangements for the funeral they take a great load off the shoulders of the bereaved. Their continual presence until after the funeral or for some days and nights after the death, serves to bring comfort and sympathy to the living and to give them strength to continue living.

(d) Recreation and Emotional Release:

Church attendance can be viewed as a form of recreation - in fact as one of the few means of organized relaxation open to domestic servants. Women who could not read, were not good at sewing or knitting and those who did not have radios to entertain them soon got bored if they received no visitors. Membership of local sects and prayer groups gave women some definite occupation during the weekday evenings when no visitors from outside the area could be expected.

All religious activities provided also a release from the monotony of the housework and daily routine. Services and meetings were something to which the women could look forward

and something for which they could plan. During the services and prayer sessions pent-up emotions were given release in the singing and praying. Zionists might even dance or stamp as well. Even the orthodox prayer groups sang hymns and prayed aloud though this was carried much further by Zionists. Excitement and emotionalism ran high when leaders prophesied and the Holy Spirit was thought to enter the room. The cathartic effects of the resulting release of tension cannot be over-emphasised. Women were seen to go home relaxed and satisfied, even if they themselves had not featured in the prophecy or taken any leading part in the ceremonies. For servants, in particular, who cannot often get away from their work and who hardly find it intensely rewarding, these aspects of membership are vital to emotional stability. Public confession of misdemeanours is another aspect of the ritual of churches and sects which provides for the release of tension. The relief of forgiveness and the blessing of pastor or prophet are extremely important to emotional well-being and stability.

(e) Opportunities for Leadership:

Membership of churches and in particular of sects and prayer groups offers women opportunities for leadership. Few domestic servants, except those working in the few responsible positions and those working with less skilled workers, have much opportunity for asserting themselves or using their initiative in their work, and many feel cramped in their work situation. Leadership of sects and prayer groups gives them opportunities for control and manipulation of the lives and ideas of others. The prestige attached to the ability to prophesy and heal is enormous and the power wielded by such women is great. Similar functions are served by the possibility of becoming office- bearers in the manyano groups but in these groups the number of posts open are limited. Any woman who can prove some ability to "pray" and "prophesy" can soon gather round her a prayer group or sect.

(f) Group Identification and Status:

Ordinary members of the rank and file gain a good deal of personal satisfaction from church membership. Acceptance

as a member of a church or church society testifies to a woman's Christian character and to godliness which is held as a value by the majority of Christians, especially those reared in the country and on mission stations. Women gain a good deal of self-satisfaction from the ability to wear a church uniform which immediately declares them to be a regular church member.

The uniforms of churches, church societies and sects are varied and can be seen to serve many functions. They serve to differentiate the groups from each other and act as symbols of the unity of the church or sect. They provide the women with an identity amongst the otherwise anonymous mass of urban dwellers and serve to introduce Christians and the members of different local congregations of the same church or denomination to each other.

Grades of leadership within sects and churches are indicated by slight differences in decoration and colour. Within Zionist sects the imagination of leaders and individual wearers is given full reign in the exact patterning of crosses, stars and colours on their long flowing robes. The desire for display and an interest in colour and decoration are clearly to be seen in the variations of uniforms even within one sect. In general church uniforms are in great contrast to the often dull and uniform "overalls" worn by domestic servants. Older women who have little interest in dress as such, give great attention to their church clothes and robes and spend almost as much money on new garments as do younger women on fashionable clothes to impress their lovers.

(g) Health and Fertility:

Traditional Zulu religion is concerned essentially with the pursuit of health and fertility in man and beast (Krige 1936, 1963). Although healing is a feature of certain Christian denominations, it is certainly not a dominating aspect of Western Christianity as a whole today. The majority of African Christians, however, see the Christian religion as being intimately concerned with the pursuit of health and a great deal of their worship is felt to be an effective aid in time of illness and in the case of women, as a means also by

which fertility may be sought. The majority of African churches hold services which are directed specifically towards healing, and in any religious meeting prayers are invariably offered for the health and prosperity of the congregation.

This emphasis on healing is to be found in the mission-organized churches as well as in the rituals of the Independent churches. We have seen how Maria N- attended a healing mission organized by the Roman Catholic Church (pages 282-283). The African pastor of the Durban African Baptist Congregation is a world-renowned faith healer. Regular weekly healing services are held in the grounds of his church and these are attended by a vast number of people who are not themselves members of the Baptist Church but who seek his aid in curing and very often in seeking fertility. The small local prayer groups which occur amongst resident domestic servants and which mushroom in the neighbourhood units of the townships have been seen to lay particular emphasis on healing (see page 323) in their prayers and communal rituals. It is often the illness of one of the women in a particular neighbourhood and the apparent efficacy of the prayers of her neighbours which gives rise to a local prayer group. After one cure the group of women who prayed for the sick person are then invited regularly by their neighbours to attend them when they fall ill.

It is amongst the Independent African churches that healing and the pursuit of fertility are given full rein. In the churches and sects of the Zionist type in fact healing and the pursuit of fertility provide their very raison d'être. "I was ill for years .... nobody could help me.... then the Zionists prayed for me and now I am better.... I went to some Zionists when I did not have a baby after being married for over a year. The prophet told me there was a snake inside me. They prayed for me and told me what to do. Now I will soon have a son." These are typical comments on the nature and believed efficacy of prayer within the Zionists' sects. They show clearly also wherein much of the popularity of these groups lie.

The great strength of the Zionist churches is to be found in their open acceptance of the belief in the ancestors

and in witchcraft. Much of their healing ritual is directed towards the placation of the spirits and the control and defeat of witches. The leaders of other churches, though believing firmly in the efficacy of prayer in times of illness, attribute the cause of misfortune generally to the 'will of God'. Some speak of 'evil spirits' which are vaguely allied to the devils of the Old and New Testament, and which must be cast out of the individual before health can return or be assured. Though this is closer to traditional ideas it is yet not as satisfactory as a clear and unequivocable acceptance of the non-Christian causation of misfortune.

Why are the Zionist churches in so strong a position vis-à-vis the other denominations and churches attended by Africans in their search for health and fertility? In seeking an answer to this question it is necessary to consider the relationship between traditional beliefs and the Christian outlook.

III. THE INTERACTION OF CHRISTIAN AND TRADITIONAL BELIEFS IN THE WORLDVIEW OF DOMESTIC SERVANTS:

The cosmology of many Africans today and certainly in the world view of the domestic servants investigated, the universe and the place of good and evil in it, are explained on the Christian model, expanded to include, in certain circumstances, causation by witches and ancestors. Few of the African women gave any indication of being troubled by the conflict of the two cosmologies which seems so outstanding to scholars of Western Christianity and to the leaders of European churches. In their thoughts and lives each belief pattern or system and its accompanying ritual served its own function and each fulfilled quite different needs for the women concerned. There appeared, in fact, to be a clear compartmentalization of belief; each religious pattern existed and was called upon in different situations.

In the normal course of their daily lives the women investigated accepted and followed the beliefs and tenets of the Christian faith. The highly-religious women attended the services and other rituals of the particular denominations to which they belonged, visited their church friends and prayed

together with these friends. They discussed religion in abstract terms and, as Maria N- was seen to do, even instructed each other in the tenets of Christianity. Even the less religious women had what may be described as a Christian outlook and often spoke of the help that God or Jesus Christ had given them in their lives. It was, however, when inexplicable misfortunes struck the women or their families that their thoughts turned to the ancestors or to witches. It was at these times of crisis in their lives that they invariably looked not only to traditional explanations but also to traditional means of dealing with these situations. Once the crises were over, they returned once more to the pattern of Christian belief and worship. Indeed it is not suggested that the latter was neglected during crises, merely that traditional beliefs and modes of action were added to it. Thus a woman who was ill would continue to visit her church and invite her neighbours to pray for her, but she might, at the same time, seek the advice of a traditional doctor or pay a visit to a nearby Zionist sect. Orthodox Christianity served in the day-to-day lives of these women many of the functions already listed, but in times of crisis it was not always sufficient to meet the situation.

This 'situational selection' in the field of personal belief is facilitated by the very different nature of the Christian and the traditional worldviews. The ancestors were never and are not tended regularly in the same way as is the Christian God in whose churches services are regularly held each week or even each day. Rather the ancestors are placated in times of crisis, in misfortune, illness and death, and also occasionally in times of joy. Thus they may be thanked at births and good harvests and sacrificed to during rites of passage such as marriage or puberty rituals. Similarly witchcraft, though feared, is not a continual bugbear. It is merely an alternative explanation to ancestral intervention where unfortunate events cannot be accounted for naturally or within the realm of understanding of the individual. This pattern is easily superimposed on the Christian cosmology and the two world views may come to be fused and complementary to each other.

Many of the misfortunes of the people in this study involved illness or barrenness; other common troubles arose from the loss of their job, abandonment by lovers, as well as difficulties experienced with police or with the administrative authorities. Many misfortunes arose from the lack of sophistication and the ignorance of the demands and rules of a world dominated by Europeans. Misfortunes of this kind are largely those beyond the control of the individual. They are personalized and blamed either on spirits seeking revenge for neglect or upon jealous neighbours. The orthodox Christian faith offers no practical help in dealing with these situations. It can offer only 'the will of God' or perhaps 'chance' in explanation of them. This appears empty and vague to the average African woman. While it may suffice in a theoretical discussion, such an explanation offers little reassurance to the woman and no clear pattern of action in the event of misfortune. The church leaders suggest no concrete steps by which the position can be rectified or by which its reoccurrence can be prevented. The individual is thus left prey to fear and insecurity and, worse still, is not provided with anything upon which he can concentrate and so lessen the impact of misfortune on a brooding mind.

On the other hand, in situations in which either witches or ancestors are suspected, there is a clear mode of action before the afflicted person. A visit to an <u>inyanga</u> (herbalist) or <u>isangoma</u> (diviner) or perhaps to a Zionist prophet in order to ascertain the exact cause of the misfortune is indicated, followed by the performance of definite rituals or measures to alleviate the cause of the misfortune. The explanation of the misfortune provided by one of these 'doctors' is in itself a relief for although it may be worrying and even frightening to the individual, it brings with it release from uncertainty and the resulting action keeps the mind fully occupied. It is true that the remedy that the diviner, herbalist or Zionist prophet may suggest often creates fresh problems, such as how to perform a sacrifice in town and on limited funds. It nevertheless gives the individual plenty to do and it was found time and time again that these activities tided the women over difficult periods

in their lives. By the time the practical arrangements for the ritual were complete or the suggested medicine finished the women had often recovered from their illness, had found new jobs or men friends, or had otherwise solved their problems. If the proposed remedy had had no practical results it was the practitioner who was blamed and the women sought help elsewhere.

The combination of Christian and traditional beliefs was found to be universal amongst the female domestic servants. Although many women would not admit openly that they subscribed to these beliefs, their actions and attitudes showed that even they were not completely convinced that ancestors and in particular witches did not exist. Just as one may claim not to believe in ghosts or to credit other superstitions and and yet feel doubtful at a seance or on a dark night or when one walks under a ladder, so the women believed in these forces.

Even Maria N-, the devout Roman Catholic whose biography was sketched in Chapter Nine, felt it necessary to sacrifice a beast to the ancestors when she visited her old home in the country. She admitted to visiting izinyanga in secret in order to discover why she could not conceive and accepting medicines from them. At one time she suspected a neighbouring servant of bewitching her. She had also various marks of scarification on her shoulders. These had been caused by a technique of protective medicine which involves making small cuts in the skin and rubbing medicine into them. When she moved into her job in Stamford Hill she was told that a type of familiar - the dreaded impundulu bird - was flying loose in the area. She claims to have heard it rapping on her window at night and rattling the roof. It was rumoured by her neighbours that its owner had died and that it was looking for someone to whom it could attach itself. Maria was terrified; but an inyanga set her mind at rest by undertaking to make her immune from it by this scarification and the inoculation of protective medicines into her blood.

IV. ZIONIST CHURCHES AND SECTS AS A MEETING GROUND FOR CHRISTIANITY AND THE BELIEF IN ANCESTORS AND WITCHES:

Though a Christian and a traditional world view may be

said to be fused in the overall cosmology of many Africans today and each pattern can be described as existing and functioning in a separate sphere of their lives, this does not mean that the fusion occurs without problems or conflict. Belief in ancestors and witches has no place in the orthodox Christian churches, and in situations in which they are thought to operate and where the women are forced to look outside their churches for the diagnosis and treatment of illness, misfortune and evil, both emotional and practical problems occur.

Many of the women, particularly those who had been reared on mission stations and in close contact with the missionaries and staunch African church members, felt that by visiting izagoma or izinyanga they were associating themselves with heathenism and all the evils of barbarity. The holding of sacrifices and offerings to the ancestors, while not viewed in quite so stringent a light, were still often performed in secret lest these actions brought the open condemnation of church members and of church officials in particular. This need for secrecy presented the women with a number of problems. Few of them had any knowledge of what should be done in a placatory offering or of how the ancestors should be approached. They could not call on their Christian friends and church leaders, who would normally have led their religious activities, and were forced to seek help in another direction. This is where the Zionists come into the picture. They offer help both in the diagnosis of misfortune and in the carrying out of rituals to deal with the problem, and at the same time provide a cloak of respectability for the whole operation since they are definitely Christians and not heathen traditionalists.

The Zionists speak in terms of good and evil spirits. The Holy Spirit as well as, and often instead of, ancestors and witches is said to give them their powers. They use Christian ritual, sing Christian hymns as well as their own, read from the Bible and follow a Christian way of life. African women who regard the traditional with the horror and repulsion inculcated by missionaries can find assurance and security in the Zionist sects to whom they refer by the

euphemism of "spiritualists". They provide thus an invaluable service in that people who attend these sects are understood by all to be Christians and yet within their worship they provide protection for those who require it against traditional forces of evil. Their belief in the Holy Spirit enables them also to assure their members that some superior force is caring for them and as long as they continue to pray faithfully, will provide them with protection against the pitfalls of life. The prophet or leader of each sect, furthermore, is thought to have the power to divine and foretell the future. He can thus warn the faithful of any possible problems and suggest how they may best be avoided.

The great success of the Zionist movement as a whole can be seen to lie in the fact that the individual who belongs to a sect or who attends one for the first time is immediately drawn into group worship. Her problems and illness are diagnosed and explained. She is prayed for and advised on practical steps to take in order to retain or regain health and equilibrium and this is done by one and the same group of people. The sect as a whole takes, in fact, all the worry and responsibility off the shoulders of their members or of the person consulting them and simply deals with their problems along with normal worship. Women who were ill or who had suffered a series of inexplicable misfortunes often sought temporary comfort and aid in the meetings of neighbouring Zionist sects. Some subsequently changed their membership to these groups while others, once healed, left the sects and returned to their former churches or denominations. In this respect the Zionist sects fulfil functions similar to hospitals, doctors, diviners or herbalists in addition to those connected purely with religious experience and regular worship.

It may be suggested that the Zionist movement as a whole is developing a new brand of Christianity which meets the needs of many of the Africans who do not find in orthodox Christianity the answer to many of their intellectual, emotional and practical problems. In giving an honoured place to the ancestors and credence to the belief in witches, Zionists are acknowledging fears and problems which are felt

to be very real to the individual. They are, furthermore, offering a concrete solution to these problems and not merely adding to confusion and insecurity by the denial of the existence of these forces and by the condemnation of any belief in them. In addition the nature of much of their worship provides the individual with the intimate face-to-face relations upon which companionship, friendship and moral support can be based. In this way these sects provide an answer to many of the problems facing newcomers to town and in particular provide resident domestic servants with the meaningful human relations which they might otherwise lack living as they do away and apart from the rest of the African community. Although certain other churches serve similar practical functions it is only the Zionists who provide for all these needs within one group.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ANCESTORS AND WITCHES IN THE MODERN CONTEXT

Ancestors and witches as they are visualized by the African women in domestic service are not the exact counterparts of the spirits and evil-doers of the traditional Zulu worldview. Since their beliefs operate today in circumstances of social and cultural change it is not surprising that their image has been altered and redefined to meet new contingencies and problems of living.

(a) Ancestors as Personal Guardian Spirits:

The fact that beliefs associated with the ancestors and the rituals directed towards gaining their favour have taken on a new pattern in the modern context has been commented upon fairly frequently. Both Sundkler and Krige have noted that Christians perform ceremonies which are very similar to ancestral rituals. These may take the form of syncretic elements (Sundkler 1961) added to normal Christian services and worship or else may occur in their own right under the guise of innocuous 'feasts' or 'parties' at which beasts are slaughtered merely to 'feed the company' or to 'see that our father cares for us' (see, for example Krige 1936, footnote 6 on page 170). We have seen already how Zionists use their belief in spirits to intimate both the Holy Spirit and the ancestors. Apart from helping to accommodate traditional and Christian beliefs and ceremonies many of the new ideas and practices associated with the ancestors can be seen to be related to changes in the social structure of African society and to the distinctive patterns of social and family life existing amongst urban dwellers and characteristic particularly of the lives of female domestic servants.

The women investigated envisaged their ancestors as benevolent guardians with the power to help and aid them. It was only in times of trouble that they considered that the

spirits might be causing them harm. The majority of the women, though Christian, had at one time or another been involved in the performance of traditional ceremonies such as those occurring after birth, puberty or subsequent to the death of a close relative. Even those women who interpreted these rituals in overtly Christian terms felt that through the ceremony they had had some connection with 'the old people' and that it was a 'good thing' that it had been performed.

The nature of the links between the women and the ancestors which they felt to be important in their lives were strikingly wide. Many felt that their mothers were the effective ancestors in their lives. Widows looked to their husbands (see the case of Irene M- given in Appendix IX), and most important, women who had come from splintered homes revered the spirits of the men and women who had reared them and with whom they had enjoyed the most intimacy during life. In these instances the closeness of actual consanguineal or lineage ties was felt to be unimportant compared with the social bond created during life.

Elizabeth G-, a domestic servant employed in Morningside, explained her relationship with the ancestors as follows: "They all look after me but some more than others. If someone has been fond of you when alive they can be just as fond of you when they are dead". Elizabeth's father had died when she was still a baby and her mother had been forced to go to town to work. Elizabeth and her siblings had been reared largely by the wife of her father's younger brother and seldom saw their mother. It was to her aunt that Elizabeth gave all her love and affection and was distraught when the older woman died when Elizabeth was only 25 years of age. After some years Elizabeth began to have visions of this woman and came to believe that 'Aunty Gretta', as she called her, was caring for her and her illegitimate baby. Elizabeth revisited the home in which she had been reared and offered a small sacrifice to the spirit. Whenever she was in trouble or beset by problems and doubt as what course of action to follow she asked her 'Aunty Gretta' for guidance.

This is by no means an isolated example of believed contact between a woman and the spirit of a person who was not

one of her patrilineal kin. Gertrude S- whose medical and religious history is given in detail in Appendix IX experienced prolonged and persistent ill-health. A Zionist prophet finally diagnosed this as being the result of the desire of the dead child of her Mother's brother to be remembered by her childhood friend. Gertrude had been reared largely in the home of her Mother's brother and she and his child had been on particularly close terms. Clearly the ancestor cult as it operates today ritualizes the meaningful relationships in the lives of individuals. Since these are no longer bound up, particularly in the case of many Christian women, with membership of a closed lineage group, it is not surprising that the worship of definite lineage ancestors either as individuals or as a body is less strong than it was.

It must be stressed that the importance given to ancestors is by no means on the wane; it is merely that the traditional ancestor cult is being reinterpreted to meet changed social and structural conditions. We may disagree thus with Radcliffe-Brown (1952, p.164) in his suggestion that "The effect of the impact of European culture, including the teaching of the Christian missionaries, is to weaken in some individuals the sentiments that attach them to their lineage. The disintegration of the social structure and the <u>decay of the ancestor cult proceed together</u>" (emphasis added by author). It would be more correct to say that the ancestor cult rather than falling into decay is taking on a new pattern. In the town and among Christians the form that it assumes is one which is in keeping with a social structure characterized by mobility and change. The beliefs of today take the individual and his or her often-changing interactions with fellows as their point of reference rather than the lineage and its overall unity which was the focal point of the traditional ancestor cult.

In the light of the above suggestion it is by no means surprising that many of the ancestors who were thought to interest themselves in the lives of the women investigated were themselves women. Krige (1936, p.169) has suggested that in traditional Zulu society <u>ukubuyisa</u>[1] ceremonies were never held for women for, as she says, it was 'only male ancestors

who were important'. In this the predominant social and political importance of men in traditional society may be seen to be reflected. Today the situation is very different. There are many women in whose lives men, either fathers, brothers or husbands, play no vital or stable part at all. It is in their relations with other women, their mothers, their guardians and their friends, that these women seek security, long-lived affection and emotional stability. It follows logically thus, that in spiritualizing their meaningful social relations many women may give pride of place to females. The cases of Elizabeth G- and Gertrude S- quoted above, both illustrate this trend. Another case which illustrates the same pattern and which indicates also something of the nature and of the psychological functions of belief in ancestors is that of Dora S-.

A Morningside employee, Dora was dogged by a spate of minor misfortunes. Her lover quarrelled with her and left her, she lost some money from her bag, had a suitcase of clothes stolen from her, and slipped and fell while boarding a bus. Though at first she suspected witchcraft, when she realized that it was just over a year since the death of her mother, it occurred to her that it might be the spirit of the dead woman reminding her that the time was due for her spirit to be brought home. A visit to a neighbouring Zionist group confirmed this diagnosis, and Dora set about planning the ceremony.

Dora's home background had been one dominated by her mother. Her father had been something of a wastrel, and on his death his wife had taken her four small children and returned to her own people in another part of the same reserve. After the death of her parents Dora's mother and her unmarried sister had continued their paternal home. There had been no sons in the family. Dora and her siblings and the illegitimate children of her mother's sister were all reared together, and it was this home that Dora regarded as her place of origin.

Dora's mother had been a progressive woman who made money from the sale of bananas and other fruit and from small-scale trading. She managed to educate all her children well, and by the time of her death had built up a small but

flourishing business which her sister was continuing. The homestead was a prosperous one, proof being given by the fact that the family owned about five head of cattle, ten goats, and even some pigs. Dora explained that it was only natural that her mother should wish to continue to care for the home and should, thus, demand to be brought home as an ancestor with powers to do so. When asked if any similar ceremony had been performed for her father she answered that her mother had left her father's family and that he was, in any case, 'never important'.

Since Dora was not an only child and her three brothers were all in prosperous jobs, it may be asked why it was she upon whom the obligation of holding the ukubuyisa ceremony fell. Dora herself explained it by the fact that it was between her and her mother that particularly strong bonds of affection had existed. She was the youngest child and had been the last to leave home. Her brothers were 'spread over the whole of Zululand' and one, the eldest, had even returned to the home of his father where he was living and hoping to inherit land. It was clear, however, that Dora wished to make this offering to her mother herself, and indeed took the full burden of both planning and financing it upon her own shoulders. It provided her with a means to deal with a situation in which she felt that she was the victim of an unaccountable run of misfortune and also enabled her to reaffirm the relationship which had existed between herself and her mother. Finally, it gave her assurance that the spirit of her mother would aid and care for her and provide her with supernatural security in the future.

The nature of the relationship felt to exist between the women and the spirits which they thought to be particularly interested in them was extremely personal. This was possible since each woman approached only one or two spirits and these were always of people whom they had known intimately in life, and with whom they had shared strong emotional bonds. All spoke of their ancestors as if they were still alive or at least present with them in this world. The women may be said, in fact, to have continued their meaningful social relationships despite death, by spiritualizing the persons concerned. In doing this they attributed supernatural powers

to them and so gained personal aid in living and in times of crisis. It is from the individual and intensely personal nature of their ancestor worship that much of its emotional satisfaction sprang. The women looked upon their ancestors as guardian spirits ever at hand, willing and able to aid them so long as they were placated with fair regularity. The similarity of this pattern to the Christian child's image of a guardian angel or saint is interesting, although the analogy should not be taken too far.

(b) Practical Aspects of Approaching the Ancestors:

The particular ancestors connected with the women were thought to reveal themselves in various ways. Apart from intimating indignation by causing illness or minor misfortune they were often thought to reveal themselves either in person, through dreams or in the traditional manner, disguised as small snakes, lizards, and even green flying insects (see Appendix IX).

All manifestations required explanation and most were followed by some course of action. For diagnosis the majority of the women consulted Zionist prophets or other persons widely referred to as 'fortune-tellers' and 'spiritualists'. Very few of the women investigated had attended izangoma for these purposes. When asked the reason for this the women remarked that there are not many 'true' izangoma in town, and in any case those that there are, charge very high fees. Clearly the women felt also that they could consult Zionists or Indian and even European mystics without appearing foolish or leaving themselves open to the criticism of acting in an unChristian manner. These practitioners claim the power to 'tell fortunes' which is taken as the equivalent of a spiritualistic diagnosis. European women who read teacups are also revered. One woman living in Stamford Hill made a fair amount of money out of telling fortunes in this way. At least half of her clients were Africans who paid about 25 cents for her advice.

There are European chemists who offer diagnosis of illness and sell the medicines to bring about the cure. Their activities are more related to those of the traditional inyanga

but a few may question their clients as to their relations with the ancestors, and so acquire the reputation for extra perceptiveness where 'African illnesses' are concerned. Although many of these practitioners are charlatans who make vast profits out of their African trade, it must be acknowledged that they do perform a useful service in that they offer emotional and psychological security to many who feel that the more orthodox European doctors and hospitals do not understand the real nature or cause of their illness.

These situations in which illness or misfortune are diagnosed as due to ancestors pose many problems for domestic servants. In most cases placatory rituals must be performed at the home of the woman concerned or else at the home of the spirit involved. This usually entails a visit to the rural areas and means that the ceremony must be postponed until the woman's annual holiday. In some ways, this delay is of advantage, since the holding of a sacrifice is a costly affair and the women have to save for months before they could even consider undertaking the burden. A goat in the reserves costs in the region of R8 and a beast may fetch anything from R15 to R30. In addition grain must be purchased for beer and the guests must also be provided with a meal. Dora M- estimated that the ukubuyisa ceremony held for her mother cost her well over R40 - an undertaking of no small measure on a salary of approximately R15 per month.

The delay in the holding of rituals for the ancestors seldom appeared to create any distress or despair in the minds of the women. Their spirits are tolerant mentors who understand the difficulties of the living. So long as the sacrifices were planned they were thought to be satisfied and, furthermore, even willing to help the living in their preparations. Many women planned ceremonies for many months, and during this period were observed to be calm, cheerful, purposeful and quite unlike the nervous and worried individuals who had sought diagnosis for their ills.

In a few cases the women investigated were advised by Zionists to hold small intermediary sacrifices. These might consist of little more than a small gathering in the woman's room and the sacrifice of a chicken. These rituals were seen

as palliatives in situations in which it seemed unlikely that the woman concerned would be able to visit her own home for a considerable time. A similar step might be taken if it was clear that the woman could not visit her home either because it had ceased to exist or because she was on bad terms with her living kin. Again in this, the ancestors are not thought to be unreasonable. Similarly they do not always demand that a woman heal the breach between herself and her kin. On the whole ancestors are on the side of their worshippers and, being related so intimately to them and not to a lineage group as a whole, can afford to ignore family solidarity.

Along with the development of growing settled urban populations in the townships, there are arising more frequently situations in which the home of the ancestor concerned in a planned sacrifice was in the city itself. In this case the living are confronted with problems of a very different kind. It is impossible to sacrifice a beast on the premises of employers in the city of Durban, and even in the township houses it is difficult and often illegal. An extremely interesting and accommodative development in Zionist ritual has been the use of chickens for sacrifice. Chickens were never used in traditional Zulu sacrifices, but today they are regularly used in Zionist-organized ceremonies. Chickens can easily be brought to the premises of employers and killed in servants' rooms. They are cheap and are the only kind of livestock which township dwellers are permitted to keep. The Zionist leaders, who take their cue and biblical sanction from the offerings made in the Old Testament, often insist on burnt offerings. Thus one woman who was advised by Zionists to hold a small sacrifice on the premises of her employers was told to provide two chickens. One was burnt and the other provided the meal for the guests. A more detailed example of a sacrifice involving the killing of a chicken and one held in a township house will be found in Appendix IX.

(c) Witchcraft as a Practical Art Today:

The witch has always been viewed in Zulu society as a human who, through the manipulation of magic, attains his selfish desires at the expense of his fellows. The pattern

is essentially similar today but not unexpectedly, the fields in which the witch operates are much wider than before and his machinations are in many cases up-to-date and highly sophisticated.

Not only can witchcraft be sent by post (Wilson 1951) it can also be transmitted by telegram or even telephone. In the particular sphere of domestic service it is believed that a woman who has been dismissed from her job may leave medicines in the employer's home which will make it impossible for the housewife to see any good in the actions of subsequent servants, and which will make her dismiss them in turn until she begs the witch to return to her service. Similarly a servant intent on keeping her position may use witchcraft to blind the housewife to her faults. In some cases it is believed that this medicine so affects the housewife that she believes that any domestic accidents or omissions are the fault of the witch's co-workers. One of the domestic servants working in Morningside who was a successful shebeen queen was reputed to have procured medicines to blind the family for which she worked to the comings and goings of her clients, and to counteract the smell of the homemade liquor!

All the women believed firmly in the efficacy of magic and the majority had at some time used medicines. Love potions were the most popular of all types of magic, though protective charms and those directed to success in their employment were also in demand. What they regarded as the legitimate use of magic in their own case was usually condemned as witchcraft when used by others, particularly when the women suspected a neighbour of having scored off them in this way.

Women who employed magic themselves were quick to accuse others of doing the same. In a situation in which all manner of charms were easily and even cheaply available from herbalist shops and even hawkers, it is not surprising that the basis for the interpretation of evil in terms of bewitchment was always present and was often made use of.

(d) Witchcraft as an Alternative to Ancestral Causation as an Explanation of Evil:

The belief in and fear of witchcraft goes hand-in-hand

with the credence given to ancestral power. In fact, many of the minor ailments which beset the women investigated were put down to witchcraft before any idea of ancestral intervention presented itself to the sufferers. Evans-Pritchard (1937) has shown that in societies in which there is a pervading belief in witchcraft, actual fears that individuals have been bewitched occur in situations which are unusual or where the inexplicable occurs. Both he and more particularly Marwick (1965) have suggested that the persons who are immediately suspected of practising witchcraft are those with whom the individual is on bad terms, and particularly with whom he is in direct competition for some desirable object or position. In the cases of feared bewitchment that were noted amongst the servants these factors were clearly seen in action.

Resident servants tended to attribute unexplained misfortune to witchcraft and to suspect co-workers or holiday-substitutes with whom they were in direct competition for the employer's favour. The immediate predecessors of servants were also suspected since they were thought always to want their jobs back, and if they were seen in the neighbourhood the case against them was greatly strengthened. Servants living in the townships often suspected neighbours of bewitching them. They were rivals for houses, lodgers and for prestige. In cases in which housewives were business women, particularly liquor-sellers, they might be in competition with neighbours for trade, and in any case their heightened standard of living made possible by their profits was also thought to incur the jealousy of neighbours. The fact that individual families have no choice of where they are to live in the townships and of who their neighbours are to be, means that many people do not like, or even approve of, their neighbours. Tsotsis and shebeen queens may live next to respectable and quiet living or even traditionally oriented neighbours. Each immediately resents the other and if misfortunes occur they may project their dislike and suspicion of their neighbours into the belief that they have bewitched them.

In town kin appear to be seldom cast in the role of witches, but in tales of witchcraft occurring in the country homes of the women, jealous kinsmen and kinswomen often

featured. For instance, a number of women (see Appendix IX) stated that they had been forced into town by the actions of kin who resented their presence in the extended family or their influence with family heads. Co-wives who were barren or whose children did badly at school were said to have been bewitched. Splits occurred thus along 'house' lines, the one remaining in the parental home and the other moving to town. It may be mentioned finally that cases in which bewitchment had been proved - that is cases that had been taken to izangoma or Zionists for diagnosis - were found far more frequently to have originated and occurred in the country than they had in the town situation. This may be related to the structural necessity of lineage splits in the country.

Although witchcraft was much feared, individuals who suspected that they might have been bewitched seldom sought immediately to have their suspicions verified and the identity of the witch made known to them. Many minor ailments and cases of ill-luck were merely attributed to 'witches' and written off just as one might blame any temporary discomfort on a convenient scapegoat. The idea of a witch behind ill-luck served to explain why it hit the person concerned and not her neighbours. In this sense it served the function assigned to it by Evans-Pritchard (1937). It explained unfortunate events and if the misfortune or illness did not continue, provided in itself, a sufficient answer and end to the situation.

When misfortunes were more serious or long-lived, or when illness did not get better, individuals did consider it necessary to consult diviners or other persons equipped to diagnose and explain the real cause of the event and to suggest remedies. It was at this point that the distinction between the two possible causes of evil, witches or ancestors, was made, and it was invariably the practitioner whose advice had been sought who decided which was to blame. Although the author can offer no figures to back up the impressions gained from fieldwork, and in discussions with the women investigated, it would appear that specialists of the traditional type, the few izangoma and more numerous izinyanga or herbalists visited tended to diagnose misfortune more frequently in terms of witchcraft than in terms of ancestral

intervention. In contrast Zionist prophets appeared to see the ancestors behind many misfortunes, particularly those of a long-standing and really serious nature. While the fleeting misfortunes such as the loss of a job or a lover to another woman were invariably the work of a jealous neighbour, illness or the inability to have a child were usually the work of some spirit.

It is by no means surprising that the traditional specialists should have diagnosed so frequently in terms of witchcraft. The women who visited them were quite unknown to them and they had nothing to go on in their diagnosis as might a diviner or a herbalist who lives within the same community as his patient in the rural areas. The practitioner could, however, be certain that the patient could think of at least one or two people with whom he or she was on bad terms. In addition, a herbalist can prescribe medicines for, or counter-magic to witchcraft, but he is not thought to have the power to divine which ancestor is angry or what must be done to placate him. If he wishes to keep his patient he must, thus, diagnose in terms of witchcraft.

In the case of the Zionist prophet, however, while he may not know the person who consults him and his group for the first time, it often happens that one of the other sect members has introduced the sick person to the group and the prophet has already gained a fair amount of information about him from the friend. For members of the sects themselves, their whole spiritual background is an open book to be read by the prophet. Minor ailments and isolated accidents are naturally divined as witchcraft, since the situation is clearly over and done with and no prolonged action is necessary to deal with it, or indeed, would such an activity be fruitful. Protective magic against future assaults is indicated or else vengeance magic may be suggested if the victim continues to smart under the assault. Diagnosis in terms of the spirits, however, fits in with the whole worldview and emphasis of the Zionists. It very often creates the need for group rituals and prayer. These are the very life-blood of the sect. In fact, even witchcraft may be dealt with on a communal basis as when the whole sect collects to curse the witch who has been

afflicting their co-member. This ritual is, however, felt to be highly dangerous, and to emanate power merely by its performance, power which is not easily controlled. Being a negative and harmful ritual it runs counter to the whole Christian emphasis on good fellowship and love of 'thy neighbour'. Zionists prefer to preach the picture of a world dominated by love rather than one affected by hate. Here it may be suggested that their Christian background operates to incline them to blame misfortune on the ancestors in many cases rather than upon other humans. The ancestors can be placated and their anger turned aside - a witch can only be fought with his own tools and eventually killed.

Mitchell (1965) has suggested that during the course of a prolonged illness both witches and ancestors may be named at different times in explanation of it, but that the final diagnosis will probably be in terms of ancestral causation. The reason for this, he feels, is that there is very little that can be done about suspected witchcraft by people living in town. Smelling-out ceremonies are outlawed and cannot easily be held. Even if the witch is named, there are no legal or positive steps that can be taken against him apart from the practice of counter-magic. In cases in which the spirits are blamed, however, the individual can return to his home and sacrifice there in order to placate them. There is, in fact, something practical which can be done. Mitchell says: 'A man takes his ancestral spirits to town with him and if he sees their hand in the misfortunes that befall him he has the satisfaction of knowing that at least there is something he can do about it.' (1965, p.202).

While this is certainly an interesting and stimulating viewpoint, it cannot be said that the findings of this study show an exactly similar pattern developing in Durban. The domestic servants who attributed their misfortunes or illnesses to witchcraft, certainly did feel that there was something concrete to do in order to rectify the matter. The use of protective magic, counter-magic, and the Zionist rituals of cursing witches provided definite relief of tension. It is true that the witch could not be punished in a legal manner but this is not possible in the rural areas either, where

the local European magistrates keep strict check on the type of cases dealt with at headmen's and chiefs' courts. It could be argued,in fact, that a diagnosis in terms of witchcraft may even be more practical in some situations since the use of medicines or the cure of the Zionists ends the affair. The individual concerned is not involved in the often long-drawn out and expensive sacrifices and other rituals required to placate the ancestors. On Mitchell's analysis, furthermore, it might be expected that since a diagnosis in terms of ancestoral anger gives the individual more play and better opportunities for dealing with the situation, the belief in, and the resort to, diagnoses of witchcraft will decrease in favour of those in terms of ancestral intervention. This has so far not been seen to be the case. Marwick (1956) has on various occasions remarked on the persistence of witch beliefs in the modern context, and one cannot read the detailed description of the religious and magical beliefs of Africans in South Africa made by Sundkler without realizing that the belief in witchcraft, and the methods of dealing with it, are very much alive today. Marwick (1948) has, in fact, suggested that there is a linkage between the heavy anxiety load in modern Africa and the resort to witch beliefs and accusations.

The importance of Mitchell's remarks lie in the fact that by them he has stressed that in town ancestors and witches are <u>alternative</u> and equivalent methods of dealing with the same problems. In any one case of misfortune, as he says, the individual may at different times refer to both agents and may take the steps appropriate to both diagnoses. The women investigated were, in fact, found invariably to consult a series of practitioners in order to diagnose their ills. Thus if a woman consulted an <u>izinyanga</u> first he might suggest witchcraft as the explanation, and prescribe medicines for her. If the illness continued she would then visit one of the European or Indian doctors specialising in the African trade, and he might give her advice based merely on a Western outlook, but more often than not would include also some reference to supernatural causation. Her next step might take her to a Zionist group in which case the diagnosis might turn on ancestral anger. There is, however, nothing to say that this

would be the last diagnosis or that another specialist might not return her mind to witchcraft.

Both explanations of evil are thus important and probably functionally equivalent. Ancestral beliefs, which have changed to meet the needs of domestic servants in today's situation of change, provide them with highly intimate relations with spirits who are capable of giving them personal advice, help and moral support. The other side of this coin is the witch who represents all jealousies and conflicts inherent in the day-to-day lives of these women and their strivings to deal with the problems of life in town.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

STRIKING ROOT: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FAMILIES AND THE SEARCH FOR A HOME

In both traditional and modern African society the majority of women look to men for their ultimate security and for the provision of a home. The accepted norm is for a woman to marry and fulfil herself in the bearing and rearing of children. It is the responsibility of her husband, and later her sons, as members of a particular local lineage or as heads of individual families with rights to land in the rural areas or with a claim to a township house, to provide for her in her old age. Reality, unfortunately, does not always come up to this ideal. Just as many African women have been seen to be unable to rely on their fathers and brothers for a livelihood and security in the country, many of the women who have come to town in search of a new life have little hope of finding security in marriage or in a stable and continuous union with one man in town. The relations which domestic servants have with males other than members of their own families are transitory and unstable. While some of their liaisons may result in the birth of children, few offer any security to the mother and her offspring. These women are thrown on their own resources and must rear their children and establish a home by their own efforts. It is largely through employment that they provide the financial backing for themselves and their families, and through the manipulation of their various relationships with kin and friends that they find the means of establishing a home and providing themselves with a network of meaningful social relations in town.

The nature of the relationship which domestic servants were found to have with men as sexual partners and husbands and their role as mothers and the founders of new families and homes will be considered in this chapter. The women's interactions with wider kin and friends and the reliance placed upon both these categories of contact will be considered

in the following chapter in preparation for the final analysis of of the make-up and functioning of the network of personal relations surrounding female domestic servants in town which will end this study.

I. RELATIONS WITH MEN:

Relations with men played a vital part in the day-to-day existence of the women investigated. In the case of single women the majority of their contacts with men, with the exception of those with kin, "homeboys", and church friends, had a sexual connotation and it was only in the case of relations with kin that the possibilities of sexual interest were completely excluded. Some previous tie, such as that of common home area or of common church membership, was often a preliminary to a liaison.

The majority of the resident domestic servants investigated were single or unattached women. As Table XLI shows 68 per cent of the resident servants of all ages who were interviewed were unmarried. Of the women who had married, the majority were divorcees or widows, or else they had been abandoned by their husbands. Only four per cent of the women were living with or were being supported by husbands. The vast majority thus - 96 per cent - were women without the support of a husband. When in town these women were largely, if not wholly, responsible for their own livelihood, and many were responsible also for the care of a number of dependents. In the case of the sample of non-resident workers chosen from Kwa Mashu only 68 per cent were married women living with their husbands. The remainder were young single women, generally the daughters of the household in which they lived, older widows and divorcees who had been granted homes in their own right, or else women who were related to the families with whom they lived, and were renting rooms. Nearly one-third thus of even the non-resident employees investigated were also unattached women in the sense that they had no legal male partner or sexual companion.

TABLE XLI

MARITAL STATUS OF RESIDENT DOMESTIC SERVANTS INTERVIEWED DURING THE INVESTIGATION OF THE FIVE NEIGHBOURHOOD AREAS

MARITAL STATUS	% OF TOTAL
Single	68
Married	4
Divorced	4
Widowed	9
Abandoned	15
TOTAL	100

While so few, particularly of the resident servants investigated, were living with men under normal married conditions all had formed or had at some time been involved in either semi-permanent or temporary liaisons with men from which they derived both emotional and sexual satisfaction, and also to some extent financial aid or support. Some of the married women were also rumoured to have lovers and friction between husbands and lovers was known to lead to open conflicts.

(a) Attitude to Marriage:

Marriage is an ideal accepted by all single African women. It brings with it status and respectability. In addition to this, domestic servants see in marriage the possibility of a future in which they will no longer have to work, but can retire to a home provided by their husbands. This is usually envisaged as being in one of the townships although it is recognised that husbands may expect their wives to leave town and live with their parents in their rural home. This suggestion was not popular with many of the women investigated, particularly with the younger and more sophisticated who objected not only to leaving town, but also to accepting the position of a bride subordinate to her husband's family. Some of the women averred that they would prefer spinsterhood to a marriage under these conditions, and would not accept a "countryman" as a husband. On the whole,

however, all felt the need for the security that "a home" would provide.

Women who had been married but were widowed, divorced or had been abandoned by their husbands, while agreeing that it was "a good thing" to marry and envisaging marriage for their daughters, showed very little enthusiasm for the state of marriage itself and were loth to remarry. They tended to stress the difficulties and restrictions imposed upon a wife by her husband, pointing to the fact that most men kept other women as lovers and, while they expected this freedom for themselves, they denied it to their wives. "Husbands are always jealous and suspect you whenever you are late", said one woman. Another common complaint concerned the attitude of husbands to the financial activities of their wives, "They want to have <u>your</u> money and yet don't give you enough to run the home. If you are earning they expect you to use this to feed and clothe the family and not spend it on yourself". The attitude to remarriage was complex. Combined with the reluctance to lose their personal freedom many women felt that it was not completely "right" (moral) to marry after the death of a husband. Widows, for instance, claimed that it would be indecent to remarry, or at least doubted whether the families of the deceased husbands would countenance such a course of action. Some felt that their children would not like them to remarry and that a second husband would not care for his stepchildren. Many widows refused proposals of marriage, preferring to cohabit with the men concerned.

(b) <u>Isoke: The Lover or "Boyfriend"</u>:

The women referred to their lovers by the term <u>isoke</u> (lover). The men returned by referring to the women as <u>intobi yami</u> (my girl). These terms they translated loosely as "girl friend" and "boy friend", but understood by this a relationship which was long-term, public, and one which involved sexual intimacy. If marriage negotiations were to be initiated, the relationship would take on a new connotation and different terms would be used for the parties concerned.

Very few of the liaisons entered into by the women investigated led, in fact, to marriage. The majority of the

servants' lovers were already married to women living either in the country or in the nearby townships. On the whole their lovers were drawn from the ranks of older men who filled semi-skilled or even clerical positions and who had been working and had been in town for some years. The women had, in fact, little time for young and inexperienced countrymen who were often unmarried, but who did not earn high enough wages to give them presents and clothing. This type of man, many of whom were the women's co-workers, in any case had little time for "town women" and looked to the country in choosing their brides. On the rare occasions on which marriages were mooted, many problems presented themselves. Negotiations often had to take place between kin living in far distant parts of Natal and the lobola demanded by the woman's parents often postponed the marriage beyond the interest of the parties concerned.

Since marriage is an unlikely prospect in any relationship with a man in town what can the women be said to gain from their lovers? The sexual aspect of their relationship was of vital importance and satisfaction to the women. Living as they did under unnatural conditions allowing for no regular and legal sex relations, even if they were married, these women welcomed the possibility of finding satisfaction within transient relationships. All the women with whom this was discussed, admitted to enjoying masculine attention and voiced great surprise at and even disbelief of the idea of retaining virginity until after marriage and emjoying sexual relations only within this bond. Church-goers, though aware of the Christian position in this respect, did not seem to believe that it was ever strictly adhered to and certainly felt that no real disgrace was attached to these intimate relations with men. It appeared that it was regarded as "a shame" when a young girl fell pregnant before marriage; mothers were very worried about daughters and some checked on their virginity fairly regularly. However, the norm was one of freedom in sex matters for older women and girls who already had children.

Apart from sexual satisfaction the women's lovers provided them with a good deal of companionship. They called on the servants mainly at night and helped them while away

the long evenings after work. Some even managed quick visits during the day. Delivery men often arranged their rounds and time so as to spend a few minutes with their women friends, and shift-workers often called on their lovers between periods of duty. The men who came to the women represented the world outside the confines of domestic employment, and brought with them the glamour and the news of "town". They relieved the monotony of housework, and the anticipation of their visits did much to brighten the women's days. The gifts they brought were another asset. All the servants expected that their lovers should spend money on them. Apart from presents such as scarves and small items of clothing, the men often brought food and liquor with them to the premises. Lovers who worked in butcher shops, departmental stores or bottle stores, were not unnaturally the foremost providers in this field. In addition, the women always felt that they could rely on their male friends for financial help if they were in difficulties.

The ability to hold the attention of a lover, particularly that of a man with a good job or who appeared handsome, well-dressed, wealthy and open-handed, did much to raise the prestige of the women amongst their friends. The exploits of lovers and their actions provided the whole neighbourhood with gossip. Above all, the love affairs which women had with men often resulted in the birth of children. This, in itself, provided the women with one of their most important personal experiences, yet often also with their greatest problems.

The men who sought out domestic servants gained, in their turn, a good deal from the relationships. Apart from the sexual aspect of these liaisons men benefited in a number of material and substantial ways. In spite of strict control of the occupants of servants' quarters, many men lived, if not permanently with female domestic servants, at least for fairly long periods and all spent a number of nights with the women each week. This proved convenient for those who worked in positions such as delivery men and butchers' assistants who had to be on duty in the city extremely early in the morning. Even in cases in which men had rooms or homes in the townships, they often made use of the convenient sleeping accommodation

provided by a domestic servant working near their place of employment. This could involve a considerable saving in terms of food and bus fares and even rent. During the day men found servants' quarters a convenient resting place where they could always expect some form of refreshment. If the women did not receive sufficient food from their employers they bought extra food, particularly delicacies such as meat and fruit to feed their lovers.

Female servants did their men friends' washing and ironing and so helped them to remain spruce and clean. Many dandies were reputed to choose domestic servants for girl friends simply because "they know so well how to make a man look smart". The women in their turn were for the most part, clean and neat, and the men enjoyed the sophistication of immaculate sheets, pillow cases and tablecloths provided by them, not to mention the use they could make of Western household artefacts borrowed by the women from their employers' homes.

Domestic servants were found to be extremely particular about the kind of men they accepted as their lovers. Male servants were regarded as beneath the notice of the self-respecting woman. "He is just a kitchen boy" they said of their work colleagues. The reasons given for this distaste were based largely on the fact that many male servants were young, were often only recently come from the country, and were thus regarded as "rough". What it amounted to was that these men were not sophisticated in town ways and treated women according to the traditional code, rather than with the liberality and "gentlemanliness" developing among townsmen. As migrants, many tended to spend little on dress and the outward signs of sophistication. Few were particular over personal hygiene, a fact which counted greatly to their detriment in the eyes of women whose employers continually stressed this as a virtue. The majority of male servants were, in addition, unlikely over a long period, to be able to give costly gifts to or to entertain the women in any style, since they sent as much money home as possible.

The lovers currently visiting the women investigated tended to come from the class of men occupied in shops, as

delivery men and messengers, as shop hands, as labourers and semi-skilled workers in factories or those working in the clerical type positions on the railways and in the Bantu Administration. Men working in these positions are paid fairly high salaries and in the case of the delivery men the jobs have the added asset of transport provided with them. Many of the initial meetings between servants and their lovers occurred, as in the case of Maria N- and her lover, when the men visited the premises of the servants' employers to deliver goods from city shops Others were stationed nearby, as was the case of the policeman with whom Nomusa B- was in love. Church was another frequent meeting place, while male relatives of neighbouring servants were eyed with interest, and these meetings often led to a lisiaon.

(c) Other Sexual Relations with Men:

A woman was expected to have only one "main boy friend". He was her accepted lover and was recognized in the neighbourhood as such. This does not mean that some of the women did not have more than one lover at a time. This was, however, acknowledged as a dangerous practice, and innumerable fights occurred when men, each thinking himself the only lover of a particular woman, discovered the existence of a rival.

Some of the women did manage for some time to have more than one string to their bow. A servant might, for instance, entertain the attentions of two men whose free time did not coincide. Often a woman would acknowledge one man as her "public" lover but accept the advances of others when she knew that he was sure to be working. "A girl often gets money from a number of men who visit her in the day-time - perhaps they are delivery boys or shift workers. She then buys beautiful clothes to wear for her real boy friend who can only visit her at night" one informant remarked.

Here then is an important distinction between the relationship with an isoke and casual sexual favours granted to other men. In the former case sexual gratification, prestige and companionship are the main motives and in the second, monetary gain is predominant. Women were found occasionally to be willing to accept their domestic colleagues

on the second basis. A clear distinction must be made between these two situations. The relationship with the isoke can in no way be termed prostitution. The community do not regard it as immoral, shameful or abnormal despite the lack of any marriage bond. It is the accepted and approved and even the necessary way of life, and those women who do not have lovers are regarded, in fact, as deviants. The second situation is closer to what is generally understood by prostitution, yet even in this case the relationship is not regarded by the women themselves as falling into this sphere. True, sexual favours are granted for the primary object of money or some material gain, but in all cases it was said as an extenuating factor "she did know the man.... he was near her and wanted some fun". This does not mean that this practice is approved of - far from it. It was roundly denounced as being "cheap" and a woman who granted sexual favours lightly was condemned and whispered about by her fellows.

The only cases in which true prostitution can be said to have occurred involved situations in which the parties had no prior or subsequent contact, and in which both regarded their meeting as a purely fleeting contract. Prostitution in this sense occurred very rarely between the servants and other African men. In the vast majority of cases it involved European, Indian or Coloured men. It was either of an organized or unorganized nature. Certain of the women investigated attended shebeens which were multi-racial in their patronage. Sailors were the most frequent visitors, and, by repute, the highest bidders for sexual favours. One of the women from the Wills Road area reported visiting a shebeen regularly and "parading in a bathing costume to show off the figure". Most of the prostitution, however, took place with no such formal arrangements. The women either solicited in likely places or were approached by males living in the area in which they worked. It will be remembered that it was only in Stamford Hill and Wills Road that prostitution occurred to any great extent, and here it invariably involved European men, many of whom came to the area for this purpose. [2]

It was only the more sophisticated of the women who indulged in these activities. They had been reared almost

completely in town and were truly town-oriented. Those who frequented the Beach and Point areas[31] could all speak English, for although most of their Indian and European South African clients spoke Zulu, sailors from elsewhere did not. Despite the fact that there was little time for conversation in these meetings, it was some asset for the prostitute to understand the overtures and offers of payment made by her prospective customers.

(d) The Transient and Unstable Nature of Relations with Men:

The relationships which the domestic servants experienced with men were clearly transient and unstable. The relationship with their lovers in particular, was one which few women took for granted. One of the continual sources of worry to them was the fact that they had no real hold over the men. It was in this sphere that great use was made of charms and medicines. Correspondingly, at least half of the accusations of witchcraft reported were seen to stem from tension which was caused by rivalry for, or loss of, the attentions of certain men. So unstable was the position as a rule that when a man remained loyal to any woman for a long time it was immediately rumoured that she must have used love potions to secure his affection.

For those women who did marry, the legal bond by no means ensured security for the rest of their lives. Husbands die and in most cases the women, like Augustah M- were unwilling to return to their paternal homes or accept a leviritic union. In other cases the women's husbands abandoned them or the marriage ended in divorce. Even in those cases in which the men remained alive, and continued to live with their wives, many could not support their families entirely and the women were forced to seek work themselves in order to bring extra money into the home. Marriage seldom turned out to be the panacea of all ills visualized by younger women.

II. STRIKING ROOT: CHILDREN AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FAMILIES:

Although the relations experienced by the majority of

domestic servants with men may bring little stability to their lives, they do provide them with children. All women, married or single, wished to bear children, and did not feel that their birth should be solely within marriage. The proof of fertility was highly valued and often thought to be one of the factors which would induce a lover to propose marriage. Prestige was attached to the bearing of many children, and the inability to conceive was regarded as one of the worst misfortunes that could befall a woman. This emphasis has been indicated in the case of Maria N- who longed to be able to bear another baby, and the case history of Gertrude S- in Appendix IX has indicated the lengths to which a woman may go in her search for fertility and how this pursuit may come to dominate her whole life.

It is not surprising, therefore, that any suggestion of an attempt to terminate pregnancy was viewed with horror and amazement. The women who fell pregnant and who realized that they would lose their jobs and be beset by difficulties as a result, often complained bitterly about their condition, but when a child arrived, accepted it with joy and equanimity. A very few were known to resort to abortions, largely with the aid of nurses and nurse-aides who had access to the necessary medical instruments or medicines. They were, however, condemned by their neighbours, and often ostracised to the extent that they were forced to leave the neighbourhood and find employment elsewhere.

Children were looked upon as "security and comfort for old age". A number of older women remarked that under modern conditions sons were often of little use to their mothers since they "married and loved other women". All felt, however, that daughters would remain faithful to them and help them. Extremely close bonds were found to exist between mothers and daughters. More will be said of these later. The ambitions of women who had children were clearly focussed on their futures. The key to success was seen as education. Mothers strove to keep their offspring at school for as long as possible. They envisaged daughters as nurses or teachers and boys as doctors or lawyers. The one thing which they wished to avoid was the necessity of their children entering

domestic service. Many preferred to keep daughters and sons in idleness rather than let them work "in the kitchen".

(a) Problems Associated with the Rearing of Children:

Seventy-five per cent of the women investigated were the mothers of young children. Since so few were living under normal married conditions, the major burden involved in the care of their children fell upon the shoulders of the domestic servants themselves. In only two cases were children found to be living with their fathers or with the families of their fathers and in both instances their mothers were widows of traditional origin who had left their children with their husband's kin and come to town to work. For the rest the domestic servants were fully responsible for the care and education of their children.

It is extremely difficult for unattached servants in town to keep their children with them. Without a marriage certificate it is now virtually impossible to acquire a house in the townships. A few indulgent employers do allow their employees to keep babies with them on the premises for a few years, but as the children grow more mobile and vocal, they must be sent to the women's homes to be reared. Their mothers, thus, see little of them and have hardly any hand in their rearing and education. The role of resident domestic servants in the lives of their children may thus be largely that of an occasional visitor and financial provider. They experience few of the rewards of motherhood in terms of love and affection and, when their children are adult, may find themselves faced by virtual strangers who are not sensitive to the needs of an ageing parent.

There are, it is true, a number of women who may, like Goodness M-, welcome the freedom which sending their children to relatives affords them. They become used to a life of continual gaiety and lack of responsibility. A few women like Maria may be embarrassed by the birth of an illegitimate child if they belong to and lay great store by membership of a Christian church which frowns upon and penalises premarital pregnancy. Many, like her, are only too pleased to leave the

child with a relative and pretend to be childless. On the whole, however, there are very few women who are irresponsible where their children are concerned. The majority, especially as they grow older, change in their attitude and not only value their children but make all possible efforts to be with them or to have them in town with them. Like Maria, they may realise later in life that marriage is unlikely, but that motherhood and the love of children is not necessarily connected with a purely legal institution.

Few of the servants, in fact, kept their children in the country from choice. Although they acknowledged that children might fall into bad company in town they did not regard town life itself as corrupting and unsuitable for children. Even the most conservative did not wish their children to spend the rest of their lives in the country. "I do not want my daughter to spend her life digging and cultivating - I want her to be a nurse. For this she must be educated and she must come to town." Farseeing women tried to bring sons to town early in life so that the difficulties of the influx regulations would not debar them from town later in life. They liked their children to be born in Durban for the same reason. Women did not, therefore, refuse to allow children to visit them if their employers would allow this, or if they had kin in town who would give them lodging.

Many of the children of domestic servants became familiar with Durban during these visits. They tended to look upon the city as exciting and in contrast with the country, full of opportunity and adventure. When they left school it seemed natural for them to join their mothers in town. Girls sometimes came to find domestic work or resorted to this when they found they could not find other jobs. It was often at this stage that women rented rooms or, with the support of adult sons, applied for township houses. A similar move took place if the rural kin could no longer support the children. Often a woman's father or both parents died and the heir was unwilling to take on the burden of young children. In these cases women were forced to have their children with them in town and had, by hook or by crook, to support them and make arrangements for them. Florence M-, a domestic servant

working in Durban North, was the child of a man who had abandoned his rural kin but who lived on a European farm serving for the land on which he had built a home. Florence bore an illegitimate child at the age of 19 years, and leaving it with her mother, went to Durban to seek employment. When her father died he left his wife destitute. Florence continued full-time employment but rented two rooms from an Indian family in Clairwood at a rental of R3 per month in which she established her mother and her children who were, by then, three in number. She supported this unit on a wage of R10 per month, supplemented by the sale of shimyane. Her mother sometimes helped her and at one time was reputed to brew the gavine Florence sold to her customers in Durban North.

(b) The Female-linked or Female-dominated Family:

It is the mother and her family who feature predominantly in the lives of the children of many domestic servants. Most of these children do not know their fathers at all while others recognize them only as transient visitors to their mothers, often, in fact, as only one of a succession of lovers received by their mother. Many of the children of resident servants are not even reared by their mothers, but by their maternal grandmothers, and even by siblings of their mothers or grandmothers. There is, therefore, a general tendency for the meaningful familial links of these children to be concentrated on their maternal line. It may be suggested, in fact, that there is a trend towards the development of what may be termed female-dominated families amongst women who live and work as domestic servants all their lives and who depend on this occupation for their livelihoods. Married women living in the townships who take up domestic jobs merely to aid their husbands in providing for their families are thus excluded from the following discussion.

The family of Augustah M- (the fourth woman discussed in Chapter Nine) was clearly one in which women were of predominant importance. Although Augustah had herself been married, her husband's death had thrown the full responsibility for the care of the family on her shoulders. She had reared and educated her children and at the time under review had

arranged for the illegitimate child of her daughter to be cared for by her own mother. Goodness' children were with sisters of her mother, and even Maria's son was being reared by her sister. An even clearer example follows.

Rosie M-, a Morningside employee, was one of the oldest of the eleven children of a woman whose husband, when he died, left her with no kin willing to take responsibility for her and the children. The family had been living in a shack built on a plot rented from Indians in the peri-urban area surrounding Durban, and continued to do so after the man's death. Rosie's mother went to work as a domestic servant for Europeans living nearby. She left her eldest daughter in charge of the younger children, and as each reached the age of about ten or twelve, he or she sought some form of employment. Rosie began her career as a nursemaid at the age of eleven. From then on she had spent her life largely on the premises of a succession of employers. At about the age of eighteen she bore her first illegitimate child and had to stop work for a while. She remained at her mother's home caring for the baby and the younger children for about two years. Eventually one of her other sisters fell into the same predicament and returned home with her infant and so took over the control of the family and released Rosie to seek resident employment once more. Rosie's mother died when Rosie was about thirty and had borne another illegitimate child. The family was by then grown and it dispersed. Rosie, realising that she had little likelihood of marriage and security, managed to purchase land in Clermont, a township near Pinetown in which Africans can hold land and build their own houses. There she put up a small house on the profits of illegal liquor-selling. When contacted she was a woman of about forty-five or fifty years of age and her eldest daughter, Gertrude, had by then also borne two illegitimate children. Gertrude and her children and Rosie's other child lived in the Clermont home while Rosie herself continued her liquor trade in the neighbourhood of her employment. Her house was by then a shelter also for any of her siblings who had not married or who were in trouble. A disabled brother lived there and one of Rosie's widowed sisters was also living there temporarily.

Rosie and her family present a picture of a multi-generational family in which women have played the dominant if not the full role as breadwinners and supporters. None of Rosie's brothers and sisters, her own children and those of her daughter Gertrude, had known any male, either as a father, husband or even as a stable force in their lives. Indeed their childhood and whole lives were dominated by relations with women. What is of particular interest and importance in this case is that the children were not reared consistently by one woman. They were cared for by a series of women who may be termed their sociological mothers - Rosie herself, various of her sisters, and in the case of her younger daughter, her elder sister.

This type of situation is unnatural not only in Zulu society, but also in Western European life also. It has arisen as a result of peculiar sociological, economic and historical circumstances whereby a large number of African women have been forced into town by lack of security in the reserves, but have not been able to establish normal married relations and homes in the city. It is directly related also to the pattern of resident domestic service which exists in South Africa and which has given accommodation to these women on the premises of their employers, but has not provided a accommodation for their children also. The latter have thus been forced back to the homes of their mothers who must themselves remain on in town in order to earn money to send home.

It may be asked if there is any evidence to suggest that a pattern similar to what has been described as the matrifocal family in the Caribbean is developing around the women in domestic service in Durban. Certainly the cases of Rosie and Augustah would, on first sight, suggest great similarities to the pattern described by R.T. Smith (1956) as typical of certain Negro families in British Guiana, and by Solien de Gonzales in the case of Black Carib (1959,1960). R.T. Smith suggested that it was the mother-child relationship rather than the parent-child relationship which formed the backbone of many families amongst lower class Negro families. The biological and/or legal father was, on the whole, a vague figure whose authority was minimal, just as his rights and

responsibilities in the unit he had helped to found were usually non-existent. His role thus was what Smith described as 'marginal' and the mother was the de facto head of the family. He emphasised that this type of family is an adaptation to unfavourable economic conditions and co-exists with many other forms of family structure, although it is functionally equivalent to them. This clearly applies to the situation under discussion as well. There are, however, certain differences in the two situations.

Smith has taken as his starting point the marginal role of the husband/father. In the case of the majority of domestic servants the situation is such that there is in fact no such figure at all. The majority of these women do not marry, and in the case of the few who have contracted a legal union they have been forced into permanent domestic service precisely as a result of the failure of this union. Males are represented in the lives of the majority of domestic servants largely as transient lovers. There is thus some doubt as to whether the term matrifocal family can be used in the situation under discussion. Certainly if we define a family as being the unit which results from a legal marriage tie, in the majority of cases it cannot. Since, however, this was apparently true of a majority of the so-called Negro matrifocal families, this problem, or the quibble over definition need not detain us further than to suggest that the emphasis in analysing the situation surrounding female domestic servants and their children should be on the positive aspects of the mother's role rather than the negative aspects of the role of the illusive father, and that the unit under discussion should be termed a household rather than a family.

Solien de Gonzales (1965) has indeed suggested that 'matrifocality' be taken to describe a situation in which it is the woman who plays the leading 'psychological' role in the family, is in charge of the financial affairs of the unit, and is also the figure who most influences the children in their development. She stressed that the presence or absence of a male either as lover or husband, under these conditions, is immaterial. What is important is that the household is matrifocal. This author, however, goes too far in her

emphasis on the personal and psychological role of the mother regardless of the presence or absence of a father, and this robs the idea of matrifocality of much sociological use. On this definition, any family in which the mother plays the dominant role could be categorized as matrifocal. The matrifocal situation must essentially be seen as one in which the male is important but is a transient figure or else the role father is taken at different times by different men. From this stems the fact that the woman or mother must step into the breach to assume the duties and responsibilities usually assigned by the particular societies concerned to males in their roles as household heads and fathers.

Close scrutiny of the situation described in the case of domestic servants will show that even if the term matrifocal household is substituted for matrifocal family, this is not applicable in all or even in the majority of cases. Basicly there very seldom exists, in the case of a resident servant and her children at least, a household with the mother as its central figure of authority and importance. Rosie, although the economic mainstay of the Clermont household seldom actually lived there with her children. It was either one of her sisters or her elder daughter who ran the home and who reared and disciplined the younger children. The majority of resident servants who must send their children to their families in the reserves are not only merely intermittent financial providers, but infrequent visitors who have no hand in the rearing and socialising of their children. Clearly these situations cannot be described as 'matrifocal' in any sense deeper than that the children rely on and are reared by their mothers' people as opposed to their fathers' people. Even this may be overemphasis on the importance of women since though the women all say they have sent their children to live with their mothers in fact, the majority come under the legal and authoritative care of their mothers' fathers, or possibly mothers' brothers. A multi-generational situation similar to that of Rosie's 'family' is one which arises in town and not in the country, where no woman can live without at least the nominal guardianship of a male or group of males.

A situation very similar to the matrifocal household as

defined by both Smith and Solien de Gonzales does occur in a minority of cases in town. Domestic servants, who, like Augustah have managed to secure a township house, may be seen to form the nucleus of such a unit. Certainly Augustah's situation fulfils all the components stressed by both Smith and Solien de Gonzales as characteristic of matrifocality. This pattern is not, however, typical of the situation amongst the vast majority of domestic servants who have no hope of being allocated a township house since they are not married and have not been married. This has, however, not always been the case. Until a few years ago when stringent measures were enforced to move all Africans into the townships, many women rented rooms and even put up shacks on the land of Coloureds, Indians and Europeans in the peri-urban areas of Durban. This type of household was well-known in the shack area of Cato Manor. Rosie's mother managed to continue to keep her home because it was in a similar area. At the time when land was still available at Clermont, acquiring a site and putting up a house there was also a possible means of establishing a home, and a matrifocal household in town. All these possibilities are closed today and single women must send their children home. Even widows cannot hope to be granted houses in the townships unless they have been in Durban for well over sixteen years, and unless they are Zulu in origin. It is thus now virtually impossible for domestic servants to establish households in the city. The term 'matrifocal' cannot thus be used to apply to them.

In the case of the women investigated it must be stressed that it is administrative policy which has countered the development of matrifocal families. As the cases of Florence N- and Rosie M- have shown, a trend in this direction was evident some years ago. Today, however, as all African families have to live in the townships in which houses are allocated to them, the families of domestic servants must continue to be broken up and the children separated from their mothers since these women cannot get houses.

Before leaving this topic we may consider the nature of the relationship between a woman and her sons. Both Smith and Solien de Gonzales stress that sons in the families which

they discuss are expected to support their mothers and take their earnings to her. In the case of the domestic servants investigated, their sons seldom remained with their mother long after adulthood. Certainly few ever supported their mothers completely. When they in their turn formed liaisons with women and married, their lovers and spouses often resented the older women and were afraid that they would expect the traditional obedience of a bride from them. These women thus used their influence to draw the men away from their mothers. Sons to whom houses in the townships had been allocated were unwilling to have their mothers living with them - or rather their wives were unwilling to have their mothers-in-law with them. The extremely strong and vital tie between mother and son so characteristic of traditional Zulu society has, therefore, loosened somewhat under modern urban conditions in which it is possible for young men to set up homes on their own. The position of an older woman in the home of her son may, thus, be an unhappy one. This is another side to the picture of results of new ideas concerning marriage and the rights of the young husband and wife to independence and separation from his parents.

In contrast to the loose bonds between mother and son the relationships between mothers and daughters and often between sisters is of particular intensity amongst female servants today. Although girls may resent their mothers' advice and attempts to control their activities, especially their love affairs, it is to them that they eventually turn when in need. The unmarried mother brings her child to her mother for care and support and the abandoned wife or widow looks also to her mother for succour when her marriage union fails. This situation is clearly shown in Goodness' case, for until her mother's death she herself had no need to go out to work. Her mother supported both Goodness and her child. No doubt she would have taken in the second baby as well if she had not died. Sisters may also rely on each other and establish a home together if they can find a place to do this.

The type of unit characteristic of the familial relations of female domestic servants in Durban today would seem to be best described by the terms <u>female-linked</u> or

female-dominated. These terms cover the situation of continual change and also do not give the impression that the unit based on women necessarily live together as a household or co-operate completely as a corporate unit.

(c) The Search for and Establishment of a Home:

It is their children who make it necessary for single and unattached women to begin to think seriously about establishing a home for themselves. As the youngsters grow older and the women's mothers or sisters who have often been caring for them begin themselves to age and even die, the thoughts of domestic servants must turn to the possibility of striking root - to the problem of finding a place where they can live permanently or where they can find a home for themselves and for their children. As a rule they realise this ambition only well after middle-age, if indeed they manage to establish a home at all. Let us now consider the possibilities open to these women in their search for a place to establish a home.

If it is impossible for the majority of resident domestic servants in Durban to strike root in town it would appear equally unrealistic to think that they can look to the rural areas for a home to which they can retire and in which they can find support without the aid of employment in the city. Under normal conditions an African woman has no rights to land in a reserve on her own account. It is only as the wife or widow of some man to whom land has been allocated that she may build a home and cultivate in order to provide food for him and for her children. In some cases it is possible that a male kinsman will allow a single woman to put up her own house in his homestead if she has no hope of a home elsewhere. It was upon such a possibility that the majority of the women investigated were relying. At least a third had, in fact, made such an arrangement, or were planning to beg some specific relative for a building site.

Even if a woman can make this type of arrangement, she must be prepared, however, to support herself and her children. She must, in fact, find employment and earn the money that a husband would normally bring to his family. Since

there are few opportunities for women to make money in the reserves, the majority of women who manage to make this arrangement must still continue to work in town in order to support their homes. Paradoxically thus, a single woman who has established a rural home has little hope herself of living there permanently. The pattern appears to be for the woman to save first to build the house and to furnish it, and once this is done, she may leave her children in it, often under the care of an elder kinswoman, and must then continue to work in order to support this household. She may visit her home during her annual leave and may even spend short spells of time there. She is, however, eventually forced to leave the home and return to town in order to earn money once again in order to pay for such things as re-thatching, repairs, new furniture, children's school fees, and so forth. Her home is thus only a temporary one. It may be described as a 'base' rather than a home. It provides the woman with security in both the practical sense of a place to keep her children, and to retire to in case of loss of employment or illness. It is, however, a demanding luxury and can only continue to exist if she is earning money to pay for it. It may provide her with the emotional satisfaction of a home, but can never be one in which she can expect to live for a long period of time, or to which she can hope to 'retire' until her children are adult and take over the responsibility of earning money to support her and themselves. At this point they probably have to leave the rural area in order to find work, and so even then, the woman is left alone.

Apart from the necessity of earning money there are other reasons why few women ever retire to the country or to the houses they have worked long years to build. After working in town, life in the country may appear to be far from attractive as a long-term proposition. Even Nomusa, with her strong attachment to her home, remarked that life in the country was "very boring". "There are no street lights", she said, "and no cars, no shops and no buses and taxis to take you where you want to go." Life in town may thus make rural living seem dull and unattractive. The facilities open to women living on employers' premises are also a definite inducement to remain in town. Women soon become used to the

availability of such things as running hot and cold water for baths and washing, to the privacy provided by their servants' quarters, and to the extras added to their diets from their employers' eating and drinking requirements. They become particular over cleanliness and food, and live in town at a standard very different from and higher than that which is possible in the reserve areas. Women who have been widowed may, in addition, prefer to stay on in town rather than return to live with their in-laws. Thus Augustah, whose whole life in Durban had been one calculated to develop independence and initiative, would not have taken kindly to playing the subordinate role assigned to a dependant and a widow in the reserve.

Apart from those who desire to continue living in town there are the women who have no ties with rural kin close enough to allow them to beg a building site. Certainly Goodness could not rely on her mother's people to welcome her, and Maria had no close paternal kinsmen to offer her a home. For these women, thus, there would appear to be no home other than the premises of their employers. They form a group of displaced persons who, if resident service is abolished, will have to be given more than mere hostel accommodation in the townships. They will have to be provided with a <u>home</u> in the full sense of the word.

From whatever angle the problem is considered it would appear that the majority of female domestic servants must be viewed as a permanent part of the urban African community of Durban. They came to the city because life in the rural areas offered them no security and they form thus a group of women who must be provided for in the town. The influx control regulations which force a woman to return to her country home if she loses her job and cannot speedily find alternative employment are thus unrealistic in the extreme, and may lead not only to personal tragedies on the part of kinless women but also to increased poverty and privation in the reserves.

The tragedy of the lives of many domestic servants lies in the fact that though they would like to settle in town and, indeed, it appears that this is the only place in which they could hope to find a secure and viable home which they could

share with their children, they are debarred from doing this due to the official policy of the Republic which attempts to force them to return to the rural areas.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE BASES OF MEANINGFUL SOCIAL RELATIONS IN TOWN

The picture painted of the relationships shared by domestic servants with men and with their children has been one of instability and often of infrequent personal contact. We must now consider with whom it is that these women have the majority of their day-to-day contacts and with whom it is that they build up meaningful and enduring relations in town. The biographies presented at the beginning of this section suggest that there are three main principles upon which domestic servants base their relations with other Africans and through which they seek security in an alien world. The first of these is kinship, the second neighbourhood and the third membership of a church.

In the social relations of resident servants, kinship tends to be the most important, vital and enduring of these principles. Women change their jobs and so loose touch with friends met in the neighbourhood of their employment. Thus it was only with her kin that Nomusa had really meaningful social relations. While this is, perhaps, an extreme example of the part played by kinship in the lives of the domestic servants, a network of social relations dominated by kin was by no means unusual amongst women who had recently come to town, and amongst the more conservative and older of the women. The case of Goodness, the gadabout townswoman, presents the opposite pole - a woman whose contacts in town were wide-flung and included friends made over some years of living in the city. Even in her case, however, it was to kin to whom she turned for aid in the crises of life.

There are, of course, women who have no kin in town and who must build up contacts in other ways. Thus Maria N-, the orphan, relied heavily on neighbourhood friends for day-to-day companionship. Her really deep friendships, however, occurred

with friends made at church and it was from membership of this association that she sought security and stability in town.

Non-resident servants differ from resident employees in that because their residence is generally more stable, it is possible for neighbourhood friendships in a township to be more enduring and to mean more in their lives. Their dependence upon wider kinship ties may thus be less, as was true in the case of Augustah M-. In addition, living as they do with their families, they need depend less for companionship on outsiders to the household - that is on friends and wider kin. On the other hand they are freer than are resident servants to move about the city and to join associations, and they may develop wide-flung relationships with all manner of townspeople.

Let us now consider in detail the interplay of kinship and of neighbourhood and church friendships as bases upon which domestic servants may found meaningful social relations in town.

I. KINSHIP IN THE URBAN MILIEU:

Recent studies of urbanization and social change have taught us not to expect that apparently similar institutions found both in the country and in town should have the same functions (Mitchell, 1954, Gluckman, 1960). In traditional society and even in those rural areas which are Christian in outlook, kinship has very different connotations for the individual woman to those which it has in town. In the former it dictates where she will live, what rights she has, what is expected of her, what work she must do, with whom she must co-operate and what status she enjoys. Her family are responsible for her control and, if the family are pagan, for her good relations with the ancestors. In town this all-pervasiveness falls away and the daily life and work of domestic servants has little to do with organized kinship. The women must co-operate in their work largely with strangers and chance acquaintances. Many do not live with their families but on European premises. Status and prestige depend on personal achievement in town. Members of one family are so

dispersed that it becomes difficult for all members to meet regularly. Even in the case of Nomusa's united family they seldom found that all the members in town, male and female, could gather at one time. Important family matters must await the convenience of employers. Thus the worship and placation of the family spirits must be put off until annual leave (see page 362) and the family group is often so disintegrated that the woman must herself take the initiative in dealing with the ancestors - a thing unheard of in traditional society.

What form, then, does kinship take in town and what uses does it have? Why is it felt to be important and why do women lay such stress and store by their lineage and wider kinship links? It may be said to act broadly on three fronts. Naturally these cannot be distinguished absolutely and the one shades into the other. We can, however, for the purposes of analysis, deal with each separately.

(a) Clanship as a Possible Basis for the Ordering of Social Relations in Town:

Kinship and particularly clanship affiliation are among the first items of information shared by strangers who are introduced to each other. In this way the individuals concerned gain a good idea of the background of each other and in fact, it may be suggested that clanship serves the same categorizing function in Durban as has been attributed by Mitchell (1954) to tribalism in the Copperbelt towns where he suggests that it serves to 'place' people vis-à-vis each other.

On the Copperbelt each tribe or tribal group has a stereotype in terms of which non-members act towards its members. Certain tribes have close ties with each other while others are traditional enemies. When strangers meet, they immediately characterise each other in terms of tribal affiliation and in terms of this tribal stereotype. They have thus some idea of how to act towards each other. In urban areas where there is a continual movement of people, and new faces are encountered each day, tribalism provides a means of ordering social relations and acts as a guide to behaviour.

In Durban, individuals also meet strangers all the time but there is no such multi-tribe atmosphere. Eighty-six

per cent of the total male population is estimated to be Zulu while the majority of the remainder are Xhosa (see Note 6 of Chapter Two in Volume I). Tribalism in Mitchell's sense is of little help in deciding how to treat the majority of the strangers met each day. In its place, however, clanship is one of the factors which serve in the same way to categorize strangers. This is possible because of the great importance and strength of the clan and of clan ties amongst the Nguni[1] and because the area from which the Durban migrants come is fairly restricted, 200 miles at the most. The main Zulu clans and clan groupings are well-known to most people. Continual mixing with new faces in town, together with the influence of radios, newspapers and magazines have widened the horizon of the average town-dweller considerably. Also the amazingly long and varied journey to and from work have taught both men and women of areas and people about whose existence the parochial rural-dweller has little idea. The clan affiliations of famous persons of past and present are also well-known. All these factors widen the web of knowledge which is far-flung and which serves as a basis for categorizing each stranger who is met, and of 'placing' him via his clan and often his lineage affiliation also.

Individuals can claim ties with a wide variety of clans. Apart from that into which they were born, they feel strong ties, for instance, with the clans of their mother and even with those of their grandmothers on both sides. In addition to this, various clans were traditionally linked together, and these ties now provide also the basis for co-operation between individuals from each. Thus clanship not only categorizes people but provides a fairly wide umbrella under which many of the strangers which an individual meets in town may be gathered to him or her by ties of wider kinship or clanship.

This is not to suggest that these bonds necessarily involve women in any more than fleeting contacts and the use of kinship terminology in the situation in which they find themselves with kin. It can, however, form the basis of later close co-operation and friendship. Herein lies a second and a crucial function of this type of kinship for women new to town.

(b) Wider Kinship Ties as a Basis for Co-operation:

In common clanship or in the sharing of a clan tie, the basis is immediately present for closer contact and friendship. The kin ties act, as it were, as a guarantee of good faith which allays the normal suspicion with which strangers are greeted. The tie of common paternal izibongo is particularly strong. Thus Augustah M- valued her friendships with families of the same clan as herself whom she had met in Cato Manor and who had also been moved to Kwa Mashu. Maria N- stressed her casual meetings with people of her clan in Durban. People belonging to the women's mothers' clan and to their husbands' clan and even the clan of a lover were picked out for special mention. Nomusa found her job in Durban North through a woman of the clan of her mother and Augustah mentioned chance meetings with men of the same izibongo as the man by whom she had had her two younger children.

The importance of common clanship is given expression in the terminology used for the individuals concerned. Thus older clanswomen are referred to as "mother", older clansmen as "father", while equals are immediately termed "brother", "sister", or more often "cousin", using the nearest English and Western equivalent. The affectionate term "aunty" is also used for an older clanswoman, and "child" is common in the case of any younger member of one's clan.

The obligations entailed in the recognition of this type of kinship differ from one situation to another. This is clearly demonstrated in cases in which new servants move into any neighbourhood. While the majority of the neighbouring servants ignore the newcomer, an established servant of the same clan may soon visit her, take her under her wing, and so introduce her to the neighbourhood at large. This is not to say that the two women will necessarily become close friends. Often their interests and outlook differ, and, as they find that they have little in common, they drift apart. By the time this happens, however, the newcomer will have come into contact with women more to her taste and will have developed her own friendships within the community. It would have been, however, the kinship link which initially facilitated the newcomer's speedy entry into the community. In cases in which

the interests of two women coincide with kinship links these two factors may provide a crucial tie between them and their friendship is likely to be of the warmest and most meaningful.

(c) Close Kinship Ties as a Basis for Security in an Alien World:

The obligations of close kinship are universally recognized amongst Africans in Durban. Women remarked that they could never fail to help a close kinsman even if it was at their own expense. This tie overrides personal dislikes and disapprovals. In cases in which a domestic servant did not agree with the actions of a kinswoman or of her manner of life, she did not withdraw from her society altogether, but tried repeatedly to make the errant kinswoman change her ways. It was found therefore, that kinswomen with apparently little or nothing in common might visit each other and might be discovered in each other's company.

Probably the most striking and important use to which ties of close kinship are put is to facilitate the entry of newcomers to town. Sixty-three per cent of the women investigated had come to Durban, as had Nomusa and Augustah, via, or specifically to join kin already there. Another twelve per cent though they had had no prior arrangement with town-dwelling kin, had known of their existence and had sought their aid in finding jobs, and usually also in providing temporary shelter until they had found employment. In all, thus, seventy-five per cent were introduced into the urban milieu by kinsmen.

Women coming to town rely more upon links with individual kin than do many men. The latter, though they may have kin in town whom they seek out and who may be instrumental in finding them employment, often join also the wider unit of the "homeboy" group (Mayer, 1961, Wilson & Mafeje, 1962)[2] upon which they can also rely in any crisis and which, indeed, may come to encompass their lives. Women do not form these groups. In the first place the number of rural women who come to town from any one local area is small, and it is but seldom that the paths of women from even a large neighbourhood cross in the city. While the vast majority of the young men

in any neighbourhood come to town are forced, in fact, to come to town in order to earn the money to pay taxes if not to support their families, it is largely only those women who are faced by problems, who wish to escape their rural homes, or who seek adventure, who come to town. These women actually represent a very small minority of all rural women. There is thus no basis in numbers alone for the development of "homegirl" groups. There are also no common meeting places for women such as male beerhalls or hostels where they may come into contact with what few women from their own neighbourhood are in Durban. While a woman who meets a "homegirl" in town may be pleased and, as in the case of Nomusa B- strike up a friendship with her, women do not appear to feel that they can rely on "homegirls" as they do upon kin. They use, thus, this basis of contact far less frequently and meaningfully in town than do men.

Ties with close kin can provide also a framework of security for women when in town. If women are in trouble they can always rely on kin to help them. The particularly insecure life lived by resident servants forces them to rely extensively on kin. They are continually faced with the possibility of dismissal from their places of employment, and so with destitution in town. Kin are far more likely than casual friends to be willing to take the risk of giving them accommodation both on the premises of employers and in the townships where it is illegal to have casual lodgers. The problem of accommodation in town has another dimension. As we have seen few unattached women can hope to acquire houses in the townships and many look to the rural areas to provide them with the ultimate security of a <u>home</u>. It is only through ties with their close kin, with their immediate family, in fact, that they can claim this right. Keeping up ties with kin in town is merely one facet of ensuring a place in the rural home. Since influx control for women has been introduced in Durban, the tendency to view ties with the home area as vital has increased. The tendency to value all kin highly and to seek them out in town despite problems of distance and isolation, has likewise developed new force.

Recent studies carried out in African cities have

suggested that as rural-dwellers move to town and establish themselves in the urban environment ties based on kinship tend to decrease in importance and their place is taken by ties of friendship based either on common residence, common interest or on membership of associations. This is certainly true in the case of male migrants to both East London (Mayer, 1961) and Cape Town (Wilson & Mafeje, 1962), where both townsmen proper and rural migrants associate on the basis of common interest, be it in church, sport or home area. The indications from this study of domestic servants working in Durban are that kinship is of far greater importance to individual women than it is to individual men, and while friendships with neighbours and co-members of clubs may play a vital part in the social relations of some of these women, each individual consciously and actively keeps up ties with kin where possible and it is to kin that they turn in times of need.

There are, of course, women who like Maria N- have few or even no kin living in town. This study suggests, however, that there are at the moment very few women amongst domestic servants in this position. Only about four per cent of all the servants interviewed could name no kin in Durban whom they visited on occasions. Women with no kin must turn to friends whom they have met either in the neighbourhood of their employment or through membership of an association.

II. KINSHIP VERSUS FRIENDSHIP AS A BASIS FOR RECRUITMENT TO THE NETWORK OF SOCIAL RELATIONS:

The exact weighting given to kin or friends in the network of social relations surrounding domestic servants may be seen to be related to a number of important factors many of which stem from the nature of their employment. The point has already been made that resident servants are isolated from complete involvement in African community life in the townships. This might be expected to incline or even force these women to form many and enduring friendships with other servants working in the same neighbourhood as themselves. While friendships with neighbours have been shown in the biographies to occur and to be of importance in the day-to-day lives of certain women, there are contradictory forces which

continually mitigate against their number, longevity and depth.

The most obvious factor is the heterogeneity of the domestic servant community. Seldom do women approve of all or nearly all of their neighbours. The cliques which develop amongst resident servants are proof of this. Even in the case of women who do become friends, this relationship is often a matter of proximity rather than of any deeper personal attraction or common interest. Thus although Nomusa visited and was visited by neighbouring servants her friendships with them were seen to be limited and to have meant little in her life. Apart from this, however, the continual flux and movement within the ranks of servants is not conducive to long-lasting friendships. Servants change their jobs, employers leave their homes, and even servants who remain in one neighbourhood for years find that their neighbours change fairly frequently. Once a woman has left a particular suburb she finds difficulty in returning to visit it. It is not only the factor of time, but also the expense incurred by bus or taxi fares which prohibit frequent returns. Women who, when working nearby, visited each other every day, soon lose touch if one changes her job and moves away. Each fades into the background of the other's thoughts and lives as new persons and experiences encompass them. This process was seen at work in the case of Nomusa and her one-time neighbour,Gertrude (see pages 263-264).

Friendship thus, in itself, is hardly a link which bears the test of changed address. It is very much a matter of proximity and circumstance. While it may offer great comfort and enjoyment to women at one moment in time, it seldom serves to link them over time. It is only friendships which have an additional dimension which are enduring. Thus, if women continue, after the one leaves the neighbourhood, to attend church together, their contact may, for instance, continue. This was true of Maria's friendship with her church friends. Nomusa and Goodness remained friendly with old school friends, their common experiences during their youth forging a common basis for continued interest.

It is in cases in which women have few or even no kin

in town that friendship ties must be of paramount importance to them. Thus for Maria N-, the orphan, ties with her neighbours and church friends were the dominant type of interaction in her life. It has been suggested that one of the reasons for her strong religious interests is to be found in the fact that membership of a church compensated for her lack of kin. Certainly as her biography showed, church-going provided the basis for continuity in her friendships and indeed provided a secure basis to a life which would otherwise have been without anchor.

In contrast to the position amongst resident servants, neighbourhood may be of vital importance to non-resident employees. In their case neighbourhood friendships do not involve only a limited number of domestic servants working in the same vicinity as themselves. Their neighbourhood contacts include the township-dwellers in all types of employment whom they meet on the way to and from work, as well as the families living immediately next-door to them. In their case neighbourhood friends must be taken as equivalent to "township friends" and, as was true of Augustah, these are the people who are of major importance in their lives. While these women keep up their ties with kinsmen they are not forced to rely upon them for companionship and help to the extent which may be true of resident servants. Their homes in the townships give them the security which the resident employees look to kin to provide.

III. MEANINGFUL RELATIONSHIPS WITH EMPLOYERS:

The potentially close and meaningful relationships which domestic servants have with their employers have been illustrated in the cases of Nomusa and Maria, and even in the case of the non-resident employee, Augustah, who had worked for the same employer for some years. In investigating the social relations of African domestic servants it is impossible to 'seal off' the work situation as Mayer (1961) did in his study of migrancy in East London.

Employers may give their servants aid in times of crisis, but probably more important, they provide them with the excitement of vicarious participation in Western life. The

majority of these women take an intense interest in the lives and doings of their employers' families and may follow the adult exploits and achievements of the children for whom they have cared with great attention. When it is remembered that many resident domestic servants have little hand in the rearing of their own children, it can be easily understood that they gain much in emotional terms from the loving response given by the children of their employers to their care. While the relationship between these women and their employers may be distant and formal, their interaction with the children is usually close and informal. As was seen in the case of the employment situation in Durban North, the presence of children in the home may even draw housewife and servant together in a mutually-rewarding relationship.

The employers of domestic servants provide them also with a model of Western life. While working in the house of Europeans, for instance, African women observe not only the artefacts of Western life - furniture, clothing, radios, children's toys - but the manner in which these are used and the attitude of the Europeans towards them. Above all they see the families of employers interacting in the naturalness of their own homes. They observe the nature of the relationship between family members and observe also their patterns of child-rearing. The housewife's comments on her own activities may act also as a guide to understanding Western norms. The educational value of this opportunity is vast. In cases in which servant and mistress are thrown together constantly and are on familiar terms with each other, working as a domestic servant may be one of the most important factors in the process of social change. We will return to this point in more detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE NETWORK OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

While this study of the social circumstances of African women in domestic service in Durban was not planned as a network study, the social network technique and model was used along with other field methods and theoretical approaches and was found to be particularly valuable in the investigation of the leisure-time activities and meaningful social relations of the African women. It is profitable also to analyse the social relationships of these women in relation to some of the more important conclusions which have emerged from network studies and network theory. First, however, it is necessary to make a few preliminary remarks about the nature and use of the network model.

I. THE NETWORK MODEL:

The image or metaphor of a network of social relations is by no means a new idea (see Radcliffe-Browne, 1952, page 190) or a new means of describing the linkages between members of a community. It has been found latterly, however, that when clearly defined as a model of social interaction, the 'network' can be used as a valuable and highly sensitive analytical tool in the investigation of complex social phenomena. Thus Barnes (1954) used it in his investigation of the social relationships in Bremnes, a rural parish in modern Norway, Bott (1957) in order to understand and correlate conjugal roles and social class in London, while Epstein (1961) and Mayer (1961) have both found it of use in bringing order into the as yet unsophisticated analysis of urban structure and the process of urbanization in Africa. More recently various members of the Manchester School (Mitchell, 1969) have illustrated various other uses of the technique and the means by which the network model could be standardized and used in a quantitative manner.

The social network model is in itself an extremely simple one. Each individual is seen to be surrounded by what is described as a network of social relations which links him with kin, friends and acquaintances. Logically he must be connected also with his total community or social field, since, at the extremes of his personal network he is linked to people who, although he does not know them personally, are known to his friends and acquaintances or in turn to contacts of these people. The term 'network' aptly suggests this series of linkages, since even within the personal network, ego and his friends do not form a group. From the theoretical point of view the great strength of this concept lies in the fact that although it cannot exist completely independently of the structural model of society, only the barest presuppositions about the structure of the community under investigation need be made (Reader, 1964). The network creates, as it were, its own structure, centred on the individual members of the society. This is vital in the case of social anthropological research in town which has, as yet, not dealt fully with the problem of defining the structure of the complex of African urban areas (Mitchell, 1966). The network model has suggested also a way in which the problem of the investigation of individuals who straddle two social structures, that of the tribe and that of the town may be dealt with. Thus Mayer (1961), by focussing attention on the individual male migrant as he moves between, and within the country and the town structures has avoided the problem of Gluckmam's alternation model which must claim that while the migrant is in town his roles in the rural structure are 'in abeyance', or latent and vice versa.

The 'social network' approach to the understanding of social relations may be used to elucidate the nature of what is referred to as the <u>total network</u> of a community or social class. Thus Barnes (1954) and Bott (1957) both made generalizations about the overall morphology of the community or social classes they were investigating. On the other hand the network model may centre on one individual - ego - and analyse in detail the exact nature and ramifications of his or her social relations. Thus Epstein (1961) took one of his

informants, Chanda, and by following and analysing his activities and social contacts over a few days, came to certain general conclusions as to the overall nature and structure of the Copperbelt community in which Chanda moved[1]. In this approach attention is focussed on ego's personal network, that is, upon the people directly known to him, although the personal network is conceived as embedded in the matrix of the total network of the community.

(a) Differing Morphological Features of Social Networks:

Network analysis has made its most important contributions to the understanding of the relationships between individuals in a community by refining or, as it were, representing in diagramatic fashion the differing types of linkage which may exist in any community or which may be created between any two individuals. This has involved a consideration of what is termed the 'mesh' or 'connectedness' of the network of social relations and an anaylsis of the exact nature and intensity of individual relationships. Let us deal with these points in some detail as they are important for the analysis of the social networks of domestic servants.

Barnes (1954) suggested that ego may be the centre of a network in which either the majority of his contacts know each other and interact with each other frequently or in which few of his contacts have face-to-face relations with each other. In the case of the former he described what he called the 'mesh' of the network as small and in the case of the latter, large. He suggested that it is this difference in 'mesh' which differentiates small tribal societies from those which like Bremnes, are larger in scale. Bott (1957) redefined Barnes' 'mesh' and spoke of the 'connectedness' of networks. This she took to be the extent to which the people known by the various families she was investigating knew and met each other independently of the family concerned. She used the term close-knit to describe the network in which there were many relationships between component units and loose-knit to describe a network in which there were few of these relationships present. She showed also that both types of network may co-exist in one society, although, as her study of kinship

in London showed, in different social classes. Similarly, Mayer (1961) and Pauw (1963) showed that migrants to East London were enmeshed by networks which were either 'closed' (i.e. close-knit) or 'open' (loose-knit).

While it is relatively simple to decide whether a network should be described as close-knit or loose-knit on the basis of whether the majority of the people known to ego know each other and interact with each other independently of ego, it is far more difficult to measure the exact meaning for ego of, and the weighting which should be given to, any one particular relationship. Thus Reader (1964) among others has pointed out that the intensity or 'strength' of the relationships which the individual has with each of the members of his or her social circle is one of the vital points of network analysis but is one also which presents great difficulties at both the level of data-collection and also in later analysis. Mitchell (1969) has suggested that intensity of any relationship may be measured by the degree to which any individual is willing to honour obligations or feels that he can exercise the rights implied by the link. Even with this as a basis, it is extremely difficult to differentiate exactly between the intensity of the many social relationships in which the individual is involved. Certainly, in the case of friends at least, the degree of emotional dependence and involvement must be taken into consideration and this is by no means easily measured. Mitchell admits that the exact placing and rating of any relationship within the network of social relations of any individual must be left, in the last resort, to the skill of the fieldworker concerned in the investigation. In addition the nature and aims of the particular study will necessarily affect the means and techniques of assessment.

In the present study it was largely the domestic servants themselves who indicated which of their social contacts were most meaningful to them. By the keeping of diaries and day-to-day records it lay in their hands to record the meetings and contacts which were of importance to them. The frequency and exact nature of their interaction with the people mentioned in their diaries was also an indication

of the nature of the relationship which the servants shared with them. In addition, since the author was in close and continual contact with the women over long periods of time it was possible to get to know their friends and, through participant observation in their leisure-time activities, to observe each in interaction with her various friends and kin. The combination of various field techniques made it possible therefore to substantiate the woman's own estimation of her relationship and thus to make a reliable assessment of which were the important and meaningful relationships in her life.

A vital point to emerge from this study was that the frequency of contact between two people is not in itself any necessary indication of intensity, as any individual may experience intense relations with someone whom he seldom sees. A domestic servant who lives in town may have meaningful and intense ties with her rural kin. On the other hand work-mates see each other every day but their relations may have less meaning for them than those with distant kin. On the whole, where a relationship is based on kinship it tends to have a high degree of intensity. This was clear in the case of the reliance put by the domestic servants on kin rather than on friends in times of need (see pages 402-404).

An important though not necessarily a determining factor in the degree of intensity of any relationship lies in whether it is multiplex (Gluckman, 1955) or many-stranded rather than uniplex or single-stranded. A many-stranded relationship is one in which the individuals concerned are linked to each other in more than one way. Thus Maria M-, the orphan whose biography was discussed in Chapter Nine, was on closest terms with women who were both her neighbours and church mates, while Nomusa B- was particularly friendly with a woman who was both a 'homegirl' and a work-mate. In a single-stranded relationship there is only one link and thus less content to the relationship. On the whole, networks which are close-knit tend also to be ones in which relations are multiplex, while in loose-knit networks individuals tend to know a great variety of people to whom they are linked in only one way. The implication of these differing characteristics of network linkage will become clear when the unit is viewed

as dynamic and its functions in affecting the behaviour of individuals are considered.

(b) The Network over Time:

In the discussion of the social networks of the women which follows, the links which will be discussed will be those which were important to them in their day-to-day lives and in particular in their leisure-time activities over a certain period of time. Problems do arise, however, from this view. In particular there is the fact that the 'network' which is described is confined to the particular time of fieldwork and forms merely a section of the whole picture. This is a serious limitation for the fact that the individual does not see or have any communication with certain of his friends or kin for long periods does not mean that they have necessarily been dropped from his overall personal network. Individuals and even whole sections of his personal network may be latent or in abeyance at one time but the threads of the relationship remain and may be taken up again when necessary.

The majority of network studies have, in fact, dealt with one particular period in time (see Mitchell, 1969, page 26). The patterning of the individual's network has been related to the limited period of fieldwork or to a particular situation or concatenation of events which have been taken as the focus of analysis. As Mitchell suggests, it would be invaluable to be able to study the changing patterns of the individual's network at different stages in his life or developmental cycle. It would also be extremely difficult and time-consuming. Some attempt was made in this study of domestic servants to investigate the dynamics within the networks of the women over short periods of time. This was possible because the social relations of many of the women were followed for periods of at least six months and often more. In the case of Nomusa B- and Maria N- in particular, the analysis covered a period of 18 months and two years respectively. The movement of peripheral friends and neighbours in the lives of the women over this time was clearly to be seen (see pages 264-265) and the constitution of the longer-lasting and more meaningful relationship could be

delineated with ease. Thus Nomusa's lasting contacts were with her kin and her neighbours; even her 'homegirl' and her cousin's friend faded from her circle towards the end of the period of investigation. It was Maria's church friends who remained linked to her actively (see pages 286-288), while in the cases of Augustah M- and Goodness M- it was clear that while they had continued links with certain of their kin and friends, other persons whom they had met while living in Cato Manor and in the course of their previous employment in town often reappeared, after long stretches of time with no contact, as important links in their network of social relations (see pages 274 and 283).

(c) The Individual's Manipulation of his Network:

The boundary demarcating that part of the network which is of importance to the individual is clearly by no means a fixed one. The persons who may be said to be included change not only in relation to the personal development of the individual and in response to changes in his employment and residence, but in regard also to the individual's differing requirements in changing situations. The individual is not merely a nucleus of his personal network, but is an active manipulator of it. He may, in fact, use his social links in the pursuit of his own ends and may find it necessary to go out of his way at times to establish or renew links with people who may be of use or assistance to him in particular undertakings. Adrian Mayer (Mitchell, 1966) has shown how a candidate in an election may manipulate his network linkages to the best advantage in order to gain votes. He has suggested, furthermore, that certain of the linkages between ego and his contacts may be called upon only in certain circumstances and for particular ends. These series of linkages he terms 'action-sets'. These may be visualized as sections of the overall personal network which are related to particular situations.

The present study of domestic servants has shown that networks which have a tendency to be loose-knit show this characteristic to a high degree, for the individuals concerned look to different people and sets of people for different purposes rather than to one group for all meaningful social

interaction. Thus, an African servant might be found to be constantly visiting and seeking companionship from her neighbourhood friends, but in times of need she would turn to her kin. Similarly, if the woman wanted a specific service performed she might turn to people other than her neighbours and kin, and if she fell in love with a particular man she often cultivated the friendship of his sister or even the "girlfriend" of one of his work-mates or "homeboys". Once the interest lapsed or the liaison was terminated, her interest in, and friendship with the women concerned would also lapse, and the 'action-set' would thus be abandoned.

It is, of course, also likely that the personal network of certain individuals can be quite consistently divided into various 'areas' or 'aggregates' if certain of his or her social relationships stem from and are limited to particular social activities. Thus the people whom the individual meets and interacts with in the course of particular undertakings such as employment or in his leisure-time activities, for instance dancing or church-going, may never meet or get to know each other. Augustah M- was seen to interact with different 'sets' of friends - her train friends, her work-mates, her neighbours and her church friends, but it was in only a very few cases that the members of each set met each other (see pages 299-303). Certainly none met independently of Augustah. Clearly a social network can thus be made up, as it were, of sub-networks related to particular institutional activities. Augustah's work-mates and her train friends may be characterized together as making up her employment or 'job' network while her church friends might be described as her ritual network. Each set of linkages would be brought into play or interaction by particular activities on Augustah's part.

A sub-network of this type which is based on certain institutionalized activities should be distinguished from an 'action-set' since it is a permanent or at least semi-permanent feature of the total network of the individual. Because of this, and also owing to the framework provided by the institutional activity this type of sub-network may be loose-knit or close-knit within itself. Thus within Augustah M-'s employment network it was unlikely that many of the

members would know each other intimately. However, the employment network of a factory worker or even a service-worker in a hotel or block of flats may be close-knit, particularly if the co-workers are given accommodation together as well as being continuously thrown together during the course of their work.

Another situation in which the network concerned with money-making may be extremely loose-knit occurs in the case of a domestic servant who is also a shebeen-queen. The rooms of these women, as the hub of the neighbourhood in which the servant worked, drew many and diverse people to them. The queen was usually on friendly terms with her clients, many of whom were regular customers, but she did not have meaningful relationships with all of them. Though she saw them frequently and they themselves saw each other often, there was no strong link to bind them into any sort of unity and the queen could not rely on her clients for aid in times of need, and this section of her personal network was separate from her more intimate linkages and relationships with friends and kin.

At the opposite pole is the situation within a ritual network. Church members may not all be on intimate terms with each other, but the church link and common religious sentiment creates a 'connectedness' which gives rise to mutual obligation. Thus the newcomer to a church sect was immediately made to feel welcome by church mates and was given the companionship so necessary in town. Although she did not know or had not even met all or nearly all of the congregation they aided the newcomer in times of crisis. Similarly, although Augustah M- seldom if ever visited the members of her church or invited them to visit her, she knew she could rely on them to help her as a body in certain situations. A sub-network, of the institutional type may therefore provide the individual with security in town despite the lack of personal involvement with all members. This function can clearly be seen in action in the event of the death of a dependent of a church member. All the members of the congregation or sect feel obliged to gather and give financial assistance even if they have not actually known the person concerned intimately before the event. Here again, it is within a certain situation that

particular network links are activated and used to provide comfort and security in town.

II. THE SOCIAL NETWORK AND SOCIAL CHANGE:

(a) Conformity and Control within the Network:

Bott,(1957, page 40) has suggested that within close-knit networks members tend to reach a concensus of opinion and the various individuals consistently bring pressure to bear upon each other to conform to the norms accepted by the network as a whole. Clearly if the intensity of relations between individuals is great so will be the pressure they can exert on each other. Similarly, if relationships are multiplex any one individual has a number of channels through which he can influence or bring pressure to bear upon his fellows. By manipulating these different links he has a greater chance of influencing a person than if they are only connected in one way. Epstein,(1961) has noted that it is within the unit made up of ego and his closest contacts that the force of the opinions they hold in common operate most strongly. Gossip in Gluckman's sense (1963) thus serves to control the individual and the gossip within the personal network is the most potentially meaningful. The implications of this for social control are great, but even more important as far as the present study is concerned is the suggestion that the nature of, and the communication within, the network may be one of the vital factors in the process of social change or in the resistance to change.

(b) The Network in Relation to the Rejection or Acceptance of New Values and Social Habits:

Mayer (1961) has used the 'close-knit' - 'loose-knit' concept to explain why some of the male migrants who spend many years working and living in East London remain quite unaffected by their experiences in town and wish to, and do, return to their rural homes, while other migrants become absorbed into town life and sever all ties with the country. The former, he suggests, resist change largely because their personal networks are intensely close-knit and all-encompassing.

They join the well-known amakhaya or homeboy groups and often live with these units in the large hostels for males. The members of these groups all come from the same local area, have thus probably known each other at home, and while in town have continuous face-to-face contacts almost exclusively with each other during their leisure-time.[2] Their relations with each other tend to be multiplex and also of an insense nature. The personal network of any individual is thus dominated by his 'homeboys' all of whom know each other and interact with each other as a close-knit unit. His network, in fact, takes on the character of a group as opposed to a mere collectivity.

It is this close-knit character of the networks of some migrants which sets up a subtle barrier to the absorption of new ways or ideas. All the actions of every individual are known to his fellows. If he shows signs of interest in urban life or urban-oriented people, his homeboys either ridicule him or actually bring group pressure to bear on him to resist the attractions by the threat of expulsion from the 'homeboy' group, his only anchor and social security in town.

The migrant's network is not only close-knit but is made up of individuals from his own home. Thus Mayer describes the Red migrant's network as one which has been 'stretched'. It is essentially a rural-based network displaced into town. The effect of this is to keep the migrant not only country-orientated on a general level, but specifically directed to his own home. Though he may for years work 'in town', he is not 'of the town' in any real sense.

In contrast to Red migrants, Mayer suggests 'school' or Christianized migrants coming to town do not form such all-encompassing or incapsulating 'homeboy' groups. They interact with a diversity of people in town - school migrants from rural areas other than their own, and also with townspeople. Their overall social networks are loose-knit, and many of their relationships are single-stranded and the majority have little strength or intensity. By no means all, nor even the majority of their contacts know or interact with each other. No combined pressure can be brought to bear on the individual through his total network of social relations to follow any course or to reject any of the multiple choices open to him

in town in terms of amusements and social interactions. Any migrant with a loose-knit network is thus in an ideal position to make his own choices and to become a convert to urban life.[3]

This idea of the differing operation of a close-knit or a loose-knit network of personal relations is one which can be used to some effect in the analysis of social change and how it operates amongst female domestic servants. Since the vast majority of women who come to town are Christian, as they come as individuals, and as no 'homegirl' groups exist to unite them in town, they might be expected to have social networks which are loose rather than close-knit. Certainly if the composition of the network of social relations described in the case of the four women whose biographies were discussed earlier be compared with that of the networks of Red migrants as described by Mayer, this will be seen to be the case. By no means all, or nearly all, of the members of the four women's social contacts knew each other or met each other regularly. Let us look at each in detail.

The outstanding characteristic of Augustah M-'s social relations was the lack of overall connection between her train friends, work friends, neighbours, church friends and her kin. The social network of the resident servants were by no means as loose-knit as Augustah's owing to their lack of mobility; even so women like Goodness M- had many friends who did not know each other. She, in fact, made a point of trying to keep many of her younger and 'wilder' friends from meeting her older kin. Thus she often chose to visit the homes or places of employment of these young girls and boys rather than run the risk of having them come face-to-face with her father's or mother's sisters' relatives on the premises of her employers in Stamford Hill. This loose type of network is clearly far less binding on the individual than is the close-knit type. Goodness could interact with her different sets of friends in completely different ways and be influenced easily by those to whom she chose to give her ear and admiration - her young friends in town, rather than her kin. In her case, though her kin were important to her in providing security, they did not dominate her life.

In the case of Nomusa B- whose kin dominated her

network of social relations, the overall connectedness was high since kin and friends tended to meet each other when visiting Nomusa. Thus her neighbourhood friends got to know her kin who both visited her and also occasionally stayed on the premises of her employers with her. In her turn she struck up a friendship with her cousin Nesta's friend, Florah. It was clear that Nomusa chose her friends from people who conformed to her kinsmen's estimation of the type of person with whom she should associate in town. Thus, Elias, her eldest brother, warned her against shebeen-queens and on one occasion lectured her on not joining the Zionist Church since they 'stayed up all night'. The result of having a fairly close-knit, kin-dominated network like Nomusa's may thus be very similar to that of the effects of living in a homeboy group. The individual is 'incapsulated' and protected from any influences which are at variance with the general outlook of the members of the network as a whole. In Nomusa's case, in contrast to the Red homeboy groups, the common feeling amongst her contacts was not averse to Western ways. Rather, it was oriented towards Western values and the acceptance of Western culture. In its emphasis on home, however, it operated in much the same way as Red networks do to keep migrants in contact with, and emotionally dependent on home for security and to make them continue to envisage their future as being in the rural area.

Although networks which are more broadly made up of kin and friends tend to be more 'open' and loose-knit than those dominated by kin, in some cases other factors may provide a binding force similar to that of kin. Thus the network of Maria N- who had no effective links with kin in town operated in an overall framework provided by church membership. While at first sight one might classify her social network as one of the most loose-knit of the four women discussed since she drew her contacts from the men and women she met by chance in her neighbourhood and from people she met at church, in fact her most lasting friendships were with members of her church. These devout Roman Catholics formed in themselves something of a close-knit unit which influenced her actions and opinions to a high degree. Their outlook on life was, however, dominated

by their Christian beliefs and an essentially Western orientation. The members were drawn from many different home areas and thus could not keep Maria home-oriented.

A network of social relations which is close-knit is thus not necessarily one which is anti-Westernization or one which keeps a person rural-oriented.

(c) The Intensity of Relationships within the Network:

In dealing with networks which tend to be loose-knit - indeed with any but the distinctive close-knit or 'closed' type of network discussed by Mayer for Red homeboys - it is necessary to make certain distinctions within the overall pattern of the network. Clearly an individual does not share relationships of the same depth and meaning with all or nearly all of his contacts. Epstein, in fact, has remarked that while any individual's network may seem to be loose-knit in Bott's sense, since the majority of his contacts do not know each other, on closer inspection the network may be seen to consist of different sections which though unconnected with each other, are highly connected within themselves. Thus a man's kin may all know each other, but as a whole they will not necessarily know the neighbours with whom he lives in the township. The latter know each other, however. 'In short, the network may not be connected in its totality, but highly connected in its parts' (1961, page 57). Certain members of each group are likely, by virtue of their close connections with ego, to meet each other and come to know each other fairly well. This section of the network - composed for instance of kin and friends who overlap shows then a high degree of connectedness. This Epstein terms the effective network. The remainder of ego's contacts form the extended network which is made up largely of casual friends and acquaintances, and of people linked to ego only through their contacts with common friends. It is through this extended network that ego is linked to the total social field in which he moves, and to the community at large.

If this model be applied in analysing the personal relations of the four women under discussion, it will be found

that in each case the woman was indeed surrounded by a small, close-knit unit made up of people who all knew each other and shared the same outlook, values and aspirations (see Table XLIII)[4]. Nomusa B-'s effective network can be said to have been made up almost exclusively of her kin in town. If looked at over time, a friend met either through one of her kin or one met in the neighbourhood of her employment, might be added for a short period but soon faded from the effective whole. Goodness M-'s effective network was also dominated by kin for although she laid stress on her young friends, she saw the members of the family more regularly and could rely only on them for substantial aid. Many of her young friends came and went from her social circle as she changed her jobs. Her two young clanswomen and her young Cato Manor friends formed possibly the most stable part of her friendships in the effective network. In the case of Maria N- though the women whom she met in the neighbourhood and who were not Roman Catholics might loom large at any one time, they tended to fade from her thoughts when they left Stamford Hill. It was women who were Roman Catholics, and who continued to attend church at St. Emmanual's who remained her close friends. Over any length of time, therefore, her effective network can be described as church-bound while her extended network involved her in relations with many neighbourhood and casual friends who were not church-goers. Augustah M-'s effective network was broad-based, including besides her children, also her lover with whom she had a stable and long-term relationship, and a number of her neighbours and train friends whom she saw every day, and also certain of her kin in town. The fact that she lived with her family in an urban township affected the size of her effective network by making it larger than those of the resident servants with the possible exception of Goodness M- who also had close members of her nuclear family living in a township home.

TABLE XLIII

THE COMPOSITION OF THE EFFECTIVE NETWORK OF THE FOUR WOMEN UNDER DISCUSSION

	Individual members of the effective network	Nature of link with each member	Total number of persons in the effective network
Nomusa B-	Nesta (1) *1	Kinship: Father's brother's daughter	4
	Elias (2)	Kinship: Brother	
	Anthony (3)	Kinship: Brother	
	Florah (10)	Friendship through kin	
Goodness M-	Eunice (2) *2	Clanship	7
	Thoko (3)	Common outlook	
	Mrs. C- (4)	Maternal kinship	
	Father (5)	Kinship	
	Albert (6)	Kinship: Brother	
	Elizabeth L-(7)	Maternal kinship	
	Joseph (18)	Kinship: Brother	
Maria N-	Clemencia B- (A3) *3	Neighbourhood and church	5
	Maria Mb-(A4)	Church	
	Norah M- (A5)	Neighbourhood	
	Elsie B- (A8)	Neighbourhood and church	
	Rose M- (A7)	Neighbourhood and church	
Augustah M-	Her two sons and daughter *4	Nuclear family	9
	Esther M-	Kinship: Sister	
	Mrs. Mo- (12)	Neighbour and church contact	
	Mrs. Mk- (15)	Train friend and neighbour	
	Mrs. G- (16)	Train friend and neighbour	
	Mrs. Ng-(3)	Train friend and neighbour	
	Mr. M- (4)	Lover	

*1. Numbers refer to Table XLIV in Appendix IV.

*2. Numbers refer to Table XLV in Appendix V.

*3. Numbers refer to Table XLVI in Appendix VI.

*4. Numbers refer to Table XLVII in Appendix VII.

(d) The Effective Network and Acceptance or Rejection of New Ideas and Values:

Epstein has suggested that one of the vital factors in the acceptance or rejection of new norms, and so of social change, is the general opinion and outlook of the effective network of the individual concerned. It is within this unit that members who meet each other frequently discuss their everyday activities, their plans and their ambitions. They review each other's affairs in intimate detail, mention and consider the affairs of the neighbourhood and comment freely on all matters of interest to them. During the course of these discussions, they bring pressure to bear on members to conform to the standards approved of by the group as a whole. Thus the daily 'gossip' may act as a force for social control in that individuals are unlikely to take any steps that would not be approved of by the members of their effective network. On the other hand if the tenor of the effective network is towards change, it is within this unit that new norms and ways of looking at life may be defined. The make-up of the network may thus be seen to be vital in either inhibiting or accelerating social change.

As far as the present study is concerned, what is of importance is that the 'gossip' within the effective network of domestic servants concerns not only the actions of the women's friends, and those of the African community at large, but also the doings of their employers. In fact one of the most frequent subjects of discussion among the members of the effective networks of the women investigated was the actions and activities of the families of the various women's employers. In this way servants and their friends were given both a picture and an assessment of the behaviour of certain sections of the European, Indian and Coloured communities. The actions of employers were commented upon at length. It was this comment which was crucial because if it was positive, it was likely that the observations of the servants would provide a pattern for the behaviour and aspirations of all the members of the effective network. This was clearly the case with Nomusa B- and her network of close contacts. The Sunday afternoons spent together, provided the opportunity to exchange

stories of employers' actions and the employers' comments on the women's personal problems and interests. The female cousins who were domestic servants brought thus what they gained from their employment to the notice of the men of the group and to the newcomers to town and to occasional visitors like Nomusa's sister, Phylda. Similarly, in the case of the other three women discussed, they and their closest friends and kin mulled over the actions of employers and often consciously compared the actions of their own group with those of employers.

While discussion within the effective network may lead to the adoption of new norms and values if the unit is Western in outlook, it may also inhibit social change if the major feeling in the effective network is adverse to Western, or even to urban ways. A minority of women investigated were found to have worked for a considerable number of years in homes which might have been thought to be ideal for implanting Western ideas, but appeared to have absorbed little or nothing from this experience. All were women from traditional homes or, if Christian, from the most conservative of areas. For them working as a domestic servant was merely a means of earning money both for their own livelihood and often also to assist in the upkeep of their rural homes. These women worked only when not required to do agricultural work at home. They had no interest in sophisticated town ways and appeared totally unaffected by their working environment. They were thus the counterpart of Mayer's Red migrants. Although not encapsulated by membership of 'homegirl' groups, they were found to associate only with other highly conservative members of the African community. Their effective social networks consisted of little more than a few individuals who were not interested in following the trends set by employers and who, above all, had no interest in Durban as a permanent living place. They looked to the country as providing the ideal way of life. Although by no means all pagan in outlook, these individuals regarded town as "fast" and immoral and saw their rural homes in contrast as the centres of "clean" Christian living.

The inhibiting functions of the effective network of individual domestic servants should not, however, be

overstressed, since it would appear that in the case of female domestic servants we are dealing with a group of women very few of whom actually belong to such conservative circles. Only about nine per cent of the women interviewed came from pagan or from extremely conservative Christian backgrounds. For the rest, the servants were open to change and not only were they affected by working in the homes of other cultural groups, they actively tried to live up to the new patterns displayed before them. In these cases their effective networks, in fact, added to the speed of assimilation since they gained, through discussion a wider focus on Western life than that provided by one employment situation only. The backing of friends and kin open to the acceptance of new ways also encouraged change by giving the women the courage to "try something new".

The positive effects or changes in attitude and norms as a result of working as a domestic servant may be highly selective. This may occur in situations in which servants do not value the interaction which they have with their employers, either on a general or a personal level. Thus on the whole servants employed in the homes of Indian and Coloured employers are not motivated to adopt many traits from them, since these employers do not form an elite reference group for them. Any discussion between friends of the actions and beliefs of Indian employers in particular tend to be couched in derogatory terms. The actions of employers of this category are something to be wondered at but not emulated. This is not to suggest that servants gain nothing from periods of employment with Indians and Coloureds. They often gain a liking for foods eaten by these groups and in particular they may become used to curries and food seasoned with chillies. They absorb a good deal of knowledge also about the purely domestic techniques of cleaning and laundry. The majority of Indians demand a high degree of efficiency in the heavy domestic tasks and women who have never been employed before gain valuable experience upon which they can build their hopes of gaining a job in a European household and so creep up the ladder of skill and sophistication. Servants who work for European employers but who experience no warmth in their

relationships with their employers may be similarly handicapped in their absorption of new traits. They must assess the actions and norms of their employers, as it were, at a distance. African women who are employed by other Africans are, for the most part, very anxious to learn the ways of the elite middle-class for whom they work. Thus the African servants working in Mariannhill valued their periods of employment highly and were amongst the domestic servants who were most affected by their experiences in the homes of their employers.

(e) The Total Social Network and General Social Change:

One of the major assets of the network approach is that the individual can be visualized as connected through his personal relations with the total community in which he moves. In many of the major studies which have used the network technique, however, the authors have tended to limit their discussions of their subjects' social relations to people of approximately the same social status as the individual. Thus Barnes worked with what he termed three fields of interaction, the territorial, the industrial and the personal field. It was only in the latter that he concentrated his attention on his subject's personal social network. Similarly Mayer (1961) sealed off the interaction of his migrants within the work situation and even Epstein (1961) implies a similar limited view when he considers largely the African contacts of his informant, Chanda. It has been argued that in the case of domestic servants it would be misleading and even impossible to ignore the potential meaningfulness of the master/servant relationship. Employers have been seen to play an intimate part in the day-to-day lives of many servants, and it is largely through their employment that these African women are brought into close contact with Western life. The interaction of housewife and servant in Stamford Hill and even in particular instances in Durban North and Morningside, exemplified the warmth and mutuality of the relationship which can exist between African and European in the domestic situation.

It may be argued thus that the employers of domestic

servants must be seen as forming an important part of their network of social relations. Clearly, however, despite being in almost continual contact with their employers, the subordinate role of the servant as an employee, and in most cases as a member of another and inferior racial group, limits the nature and intensity of the interaction between master and servant. In addition, in the vast majority of cases the relationship between employer and employee is single-stranded. Certainly this is nearly always the case when the parties come from different racial groups. Even in the cases in which male employers, notably Indian men, have sex relations with their female servants, this contact is still within the limits of the master/servant, superior/inferior relationship. In cases in which both employer and employee are African, the contact may have greater intensity, but even so it is unlikely that the servant could claim her employers as part of her most intimate circle of friends and kin. The nature of the overall relationship between master and servant suggests thus that employers should be seen as forming part of the extended networks of their servants, as it is in this peripheral area of social relations that uniplex relations exist and in this section of the network that the contacts of the individuals who do not know or even interact with each other stand. This linkage through the extended network occurs particularly in cases in which there are wide class distinctions or cultural differences between employer and servant, but where the servant takes a pride in being associated with the activities of the employers.

What is of vital importance in the view that employers form part of the extended networks of their servants, is that, as Figure 13 indicates, it provides a model of the overall linkages which surround and bind the servant, her kin, her friends and her employers within the total matrix of South African life. Furthermore, using this model, it may be shown on the basis of network theory how the process of social change within the African community is given impetus by the employment of large numbers of African women in the homes of racial, social and cultural groups other than their own.

Epstein (1961) has suggested that the total process of

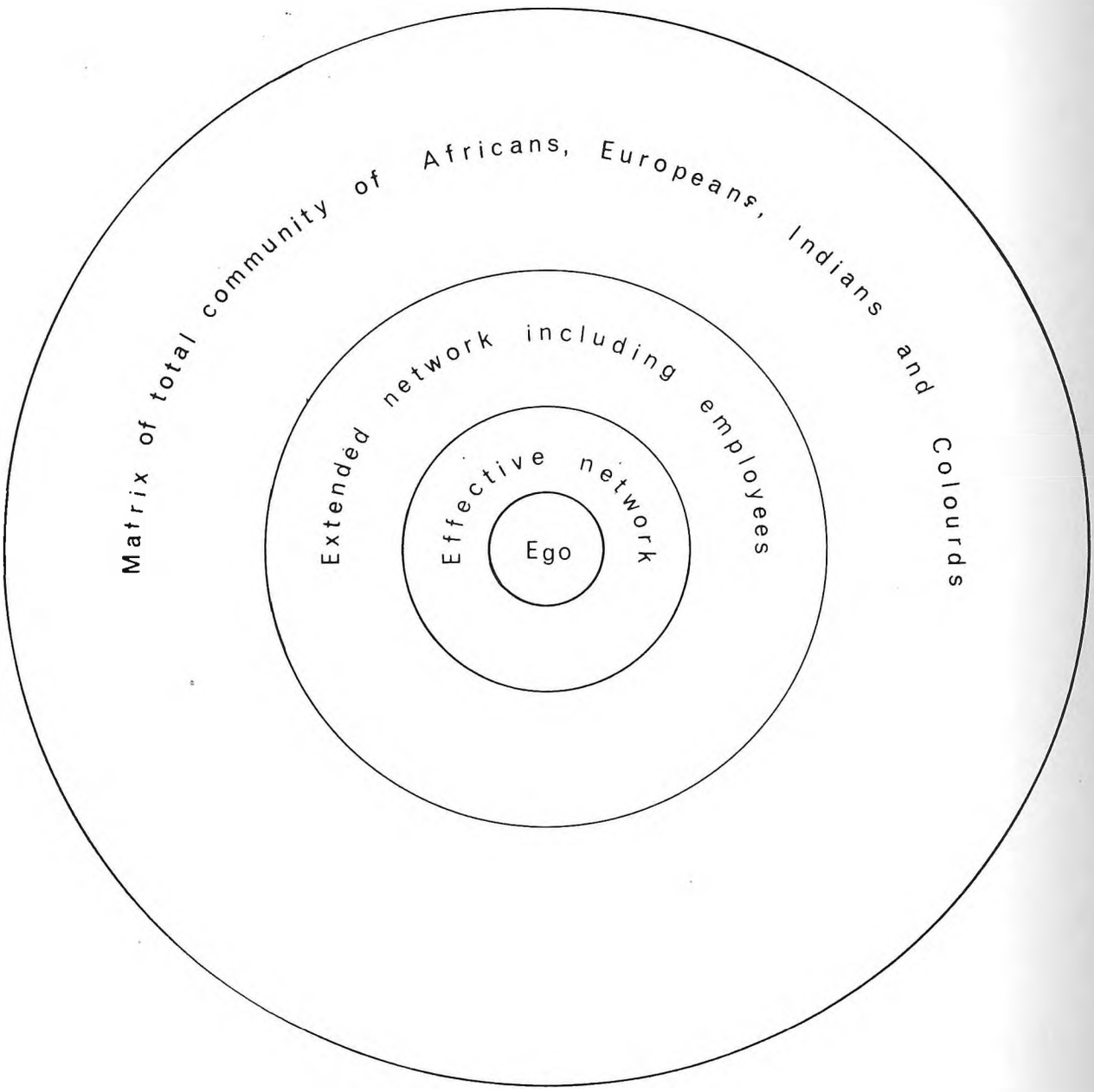

Fig 13: The network of social relations surrounding an African woman in domestic service.

social change in the urban community may be understood as emanating from changes which occur through discussion and decision in the effective networks of the elite, and then filter out and down to the rest of the society via the extended networks of the members of this class. He argues that the elite must be continually adopting new patterns of behaviour and norms in order to differentiate themselves from the lower classes who challenge their position by imitating their ways of life. This the lower classes are able to do since, although not in direct and intimate contact with members of the elite, they come into contact with, and indeed often form part of the membership of their extended networks. It is thus contact in the fringe area of the extended network that serves to pass on the newly-defined norms of the elite which then percolate down the prestige system of the whole community.

This theory has particular relevance to the present study. The employers of domestic servants clearly must be included as members of the extended section of the network of social relations surrounding their African employees. Individual servants observe the actions, attitudes and preferences of their employers who stand at the extremes of their extended networks. These norms are operating within the effective networks of the employers who constitute an elite reference group for domestic servants. The norms are discussed by the members of the effective networks of the servants, possibly re-interpreted, but used basically as a model for their future behaviour in cases in which the effective network of the individuals concerned are oriented towards Westernization. Once these patterns are established amongst the members of the servants' effective networks, they tend in their turn, to percolate out to the Western-oriented sections of the African community via the widespread links of the extended networks of the servants and of their kin and of their non-domestic servant friends, both male and female. The circle of influence of domestic employment is by no means limited thus to the men and women who work in this field. Domestic servants form merely the spearheads of change, and through their network of social relations which ramifies outwards to include and cover large sections of the African community, the influence

of their unique opportunities for observing Western norms and manners in the homes of their employers, is spread to the total Western-oriented section of the African community.

A 'network' view of female domestic servants in relation both to their fellow Africans and to their employers of other racial groups enables us therefore to take an overall and all-encompassing view of the position of these women in the total structure of South African urban life. As a model of social interaction the network has, furthermore, brought into alignment the various racial, social and cultural sections of the community and has described one facet of the interaction between these heterogeneous groups. The network approach has, thus, been invaluable in this study, initially as an adjunct to the techniques of field research, and subsequently in the analysis and the understanding of the social relations of the domestic servants. It has produced also a dynamic model of social change as it affects African women in domestic service and has also suggested how the employment of African women in this field may have repercussions on the African community at large.

* * * * * *

In concluding this study of African women in domestic service in Durban we may emphasize certain of the major points which have emerged concerning these women as a whole. Domestic servants form a well-marked section of the urban African community in Durban not only by virtue of the distinctive nature of their employment, but also because the majority still live amongst members of other racial groups and are in close and continuous contact with non-Africans.

The majority of the women who enter this field very readily absorb Western ways and Western sophistication from their experience of living and working in the homes of their employers, particularly those of Europeans, who make up their reference group. These women put their new ideas into practice in their dress and food habits and, if they manage

to establish some sort of a home for themselves and their children, in their methods of housekeeping and furnishing and in the rearing of their offspring also. It is not, however, necessarily the experience of domestic service itself which lies at the root of their Westernization. The majority were Christian and so Western in orientation before entering this field of employment. Their experiences in the homes of their employers thus merely accentuate a tendency which was already present in their outlook.

Most women in domestic service have no wish to live in the reserves. More important, the majority of them no longer have any place in tribal society. In this their position is in contrast to that of male migrant labourers who, by virtue of their right to hold land, have a stake in the country. Among Zulu traditionalists, every woman has a male 'guardian', either her husband or his people, or her own father, or one of her brothers to whom she can look for protection and some measure of support. Therefore although no woman has a right to land to cultivate except through her husband, the vast majority of these women have some sort of security. The women who enter domestic service are usually those who have no male relatives who are able or willing to support them and their children, and it is this fact which sends them to town in pursuit of the best and often the only employment opportunities open to them.

Once in town it would appear to be virtually impossible for these women to return to the rural areas permanently. Even if a woman's savings enable her to put up a house near her kin in a reserve, she will have, none-the-less, to continue working in town in order to earn a living. She will, furthermore, have to remain in resident employment because, as an unmarried woman she cannot rent a house in an urban township. She, and her children whom she must support, are thus trapped between tribal traditions and European-made laws. They are unable to find security or a livelihood in the reserves, and yet have no hope under present conditions of obtaining a secure footing in the urban area. A woman in this position straddles both worlds with little hope of establishing herself in either.

N O T E S

V O L U M E II

C H A P T E R IX

1] See Chapter Two.

2] Employers excluded.

3] She did not even mention chance meetings with acquaintances in her first diary at all. These people were thus taken to be of little importance to her and have been left out of this analysis.

4] The term Arabian probably refers to one of the well-known Zanzibari community in Durban. The forebears of this Moslem sub-group were saved from a ship which was wrecked off the Natal coast. As a group they are credited with amazing magical and healing powers.

5] The municipal authorities at Kwa Mashu have put up a large number of temporary wood bungalows known as log cabins which act as a transitory camp for individuals moving into the township. Families with no means of support may also be allocated one of these by the welfare authorities.

C H A P T E R X

1] F.M. - Literally Frequency Modulation. In South Africa this term is used to indicate a particular wave-band on which all Bantu language programmes are broadcast. Radio sets have to be of a particular type to be able to tune in to this wave-band, hence the stress on this type of set amongst Africans.

Notes - continued:

2] A largely Indian-owned and run commercial section of the Durban Central Business District in which many Africans do most of their shopping.

3] For a description of Zionist sects see page 340.

4] See above.

C H A P T E R XI

1] & 2] These are well-known trade names for various household remedies.

3] A famous horse race run in Durban each year in July.

4] See Chapter Fourteen, page 378.

C H A P T E R XII

1] See page 318.

C H A P T E R XIII

1] For a general description of the traditional ukubuyisa ceremony see Krige (1936) pages 169-171.

C H A P T E R XIV

1] In these cases the women had their husbands living with them on the premises either with the consent of employers as in Stamford Hill and Wills Road, or without their knowledge in Morningside and Durban North.

2] See pages 140 and 184.

Notes - continued:

3] Areas of town frequented by sailors.

C H A P T E R XV

1] It is unlikely that clanship would function in the same way amongst Sotho clans.

2] Vilakazi (1962) also mentions these groups as existing in Durban although he does not discuss them in detail.

C H A P T E R XVI

1] As Mitchell (1969, page 12) points out, a network can be anchored on a group.

2] Mayer has of course purposefully sealed off any references to the interactions of migrants with employers or with work-mates. He argues that in this field the migrant has no choice of how to act or of with whom he should interact. Therefore, it is only in his free time that one can study actions and contacts of his own choice. It is in this field that the amakhaya encompasses the migrant.

3] Quoting from Mayer (1961, page 292):

"The Red syndrome, which has been termed incapsulation, has as one feature a 'tribal' type of moral conformism, stressing the superiority of the original undiversified institutions; such institutions make for multiplex relations and the close-knit type of network; and this again makes for consistent moral pressure and conservatism. The processes are two-way or circular ones. It is by refusing to branch out into new habits that Red migrants retain a basis for close-knit networks; while it is by keeping the networks close-knit that they inhibit cultural branching-out.

In the other syndrome, more characteristic of School

Notes - continued:

> "migrants, we find a culture which has been more tolerant in principle of the engagement in diversified institutions; accordingly, a tendency towards the single-strand type of relation and the loose-knit type of network. Again this produces two-way or circular effects. Cultural specialization makes for looser-knit networks, while the looseness of the network allows for cultural specialization. The School culture, with its institutional diversification, thus carries within itself its own dynamic of change in the migrant situation."

4] The estimation of the boundaries of the effective network of each woman was reached during the analysis of each woman's interaction with her friends and kin. The actual frequency of contact was taken into consideration but this was not a dominating factor since the resident employees such as Nomusa B- and Goodness M- could only see some of their most meaningful contacts once a week while Augustah M- saw hers each day either through being with them or through accompanying them to work. The degree to which the women's friends and kin knew each other and met each other either in the company of the woman concerned or independently of her was a second and more important criterion for inclusion in the effective network. Above all, however, the woman's estimation of whether she could look to these people for help and her attitude in asking and taking their advice in the problems of day-to-day living were felt to be a vital indication of the strength or intensity of the relationship and thus of the inclusion of the contact in the effective network. It is not suggested that these people were the only ones with whom the women experienced intense relationships. Kin and even meaningful friends who lived outside Durban and whom the women seldom saw were not included in their effective networks, since they did not know the women's other contacts sufficiently well and did not interact with the whole unit to any degree.

The problems in setting the boundary of the

Notes - continued:

effective network are typical of all network measurement. The contacts of any individual must be looked at over time. Thus at one point in time a woman may appear to be extremely friendly with a particular friend and may even appear to be a good deal influenced by her. Either may, however, change her job or accommodation and the person concerned will fade from the regular contacts of the individual. Fortunately, the long period over which fieldwork was carried out enabled the author to take a long-term view of the women's social interactions and gave the perspective necessary to limit the members of the effective network to contacts of some standing. Thus Nomusa B-'s neighbourhood friends have been excluded from her effective network as have the majority of Goodness M-'s and Maria N-'s neighbours with whom they had no additional link such as a kin tie or common church membership. Augustah M-'s lodger has been similarly excluded since he did not rent the room from her for more than three months.

G L O S S A R Y

FAH-FEE - A form of gambling based on the drawing of numbers. It is usually run by Chinese who organise Africans in the Townships as runners who collect bets and pay out winnings.

GAVINI - Strong intoxicating homemade sugar cane drink. Requires distilling and so is not always made on employers premises. Domestic servants may buy it wholesale from township dwellers who have place to hide stills.

INYANGA - Traditional herbalist with knowledge of medicines.

ISANGOMA - Traditional diviner with the power to diagnose illness.

KIA - Colloquial term generally used by Europeans for servant's quarters on employer's premises and derived from the Zulu word ikhaya.

KITCHEN-KAFFIR - Local mixing of English and Zulu used by many Europeans in conversations with Africans.

LOBOLA - Bridewealth.

NGENA - The Zulu term for the Levirate. Literally enter. Take the wife of deceased brother. Doke et.al., (1958): English and Zulu Dictionary.

SHEBEEN - Illegal bar at which both homemade and bought liquor are sold usually at black market prices.

SHIMEYANA - Intoxicating drink often made from sugar. Requires no distilling and is often made on employer's premises.

TSOTSI - Colloquial term used to refer to youths of varying degrees of lawlessness.

UKUSOMA - The practice of external intercourse to prevent pregnancy.

VETKOEK - A lump of dough fried in fat or oil.

ZIONIST - The term given to a particular type of Separatist Sect. See Sundkler (1961).

A P P E N D I X I

DOMESTIC SERVANT SURVEY

Questionnaire A Administered to all Employers of Domestic Servants Investigated

SECTION A : INFORMATION ON DOMESTIC SERVANTS:

1. How many servants do you employ?

	No. MALE	No. FEMALE
African	.....	.....
Indian	.....	.....
Coloured	.....	.....

2. In what capacity are they employed?
Using symbols 'A', 'I' or 'C', fill in Appendix 'A'.

3. How did you come to employ them -

		Indian Coloured African	Indian Coloured African	Indian Coloured African	Indian Coloured African
Bantu Administration	MALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
	FEMALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
Contact through other servants	MALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
	FEMALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
Contact through European	MALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
	FEMALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
Door-to-door work seeker	MALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
	FEMALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
Knew Family	MALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
	FEMALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other (specify)	MALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
		.....	.....	.....	.....
	FEMALE	.....	.....	.....	.....
		.....	.....	.....	.....

NUMBER AND DESCRIPTION OF SERVANTS

	General Housework	Nanny	Cook	Gardener	Chauffer	Washing Woman	Ironing Woman	Other (Specify)	Full Time	Part Time
MALE 1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
FEMALE 1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

(2)

	Wages p.m.	Accommodation on premises	Transport costs if any	Uniforms	Hours of work	Days off	How much annual leave Paid	or not paid	How long in your employ
MALE 1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
FEMALE 1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

DO YOU EMPLOY ANY OTHER HOME HELP? (Specify) .....

.....

With regard to female domestic servants ONLY

A. PERSONAL INFORMATION:

1. What is her name? .....
2. Where is her home? .....
.....
3. Marital status .....
4. No. of children .....
5. Other details known .....
.....
.....
.....
.....
6. What religion is she? .....
7. What does she do in her spare time? .....
.....
.....
.....
8. Do you ever show an interest in her customs, fears interests, etc.? .....
.....
.....
.....
9. Do you ever encourage her outside interests, e.g. sewing, knitting, church going, singing?
.....
.....
.....
10. Have you ever suggested or helped her save money? .....
.....
.....
.....
11. Does she take an interest in your family affairs? e.g. try and identify herself with you? copy your dress or home? .....
.....
.....
.....
.....
12. Do you encourage her to read the newspaper? .....
OR books? If so, which type? .....
.....
.....
.....

13. Do you allow her to listen to your radio - if so, what programmes? .....

.....

14. To what extent do you let her use the telephone?

freely .....

to receive calls only .....

to take messages in your absence only .....

15. Does she take a pride in her room? .....

.....

.....

.....

16. a] what is your attitude to her visitors? .....

.....

.....

.....

b] what is your attitude to her husband/male friends sleeping in her room? .....

.....

.....

c] do you allow her to have her children staying with her

occasionally .....

all the time .....

not at all .....

17. If you have more than one servant, was there any relationship between your servants before you employed them? .....

.....

.....

B. WORK DONE:

Does she -

I. a] Have nothing to do with your food..... YES/NO

b] Prepare meat and vegetables only..... YES/NO

c] Cook plain means ..... YES/NO

d] Cook fancy meals, bake, use recipe book ... YES/NO

e] Do all the cooking

under guidance ..... YES/NO

alone - in your absence ..... YES/NO

Plan meals ..... YES/NO

II. a] Make beds ..... YES/NO
b] Put away clothes ..... YES/NO
c] General washing ..... YES/NO
d] Personal washing ..... YES/NO
e] Childrens' washing ..... YES/NO

III. Act as a nanny? Now ..... YES/NO
In the Past ..... YES/NO
Have you employed a nanny? YES/NO
African .....
Indian .....
Coloured .....
Reasons why:
Mother away at work ..... YES/NO
Ease mother's task ..... YES/NO
Mother absent ..... YES/NO
Other (specify) .....
.....
.....
.....
Was this successful? YES/NO
WHY? .....
.....
.....

IV. Babysit at night ..... YES/NO
Paid extra ..... YES/NO

V. Does she order groceries, or buy vegetables on her own? ..... YES/NO

VI. Any other attributes? Specify .....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

VII. Do you supervise all she does? ..... YES/NO
Can she be trusted to do all work alone YES/NO
- up to a point ..... YES/NO

VIII. What have you taught her? .....
.....
.....
.....

INTERVIEWER'S ASSESSMENT:

All housework
Merely routine
Cooking
Won't teach anything - must be shown all the time.

C. If ACCOMMODATION PROVIDED:

1. Does she have a room to herself ..... YES/NO
2. Share with other female ..... YES/NO
3. Share with other male ..... YES/NO
4. Are ther toilet facilities ..... YES/NO
5. Are there washing facilities ..... YES/NO
6. Is there electric light ..... YES/NO
7. Do you provide - Bed ..... YES/NO
   Mattress ..... YES/NO
   Cupboards ..... YES/NO
   Table ..... YES/NO
   Primus Stove ..... YES/NO
   Cooking utensils ..... YES/NO
   Eating utensils ..... YES/NO
   Bed linen ..... YES/NO
   Other (specify) .....
   .....
   .....
   .....
   Toilet articles (Specify) ..
   .....
   .....
   .....

D. FOOD. IF PROVIDED:

SERVANT - Full-time, living on premises ..... YES/NO
Full-time, living at Kwa Mashu ..... YES/NO
Part-time, living out ..... YES/NO

Do you provide your servant with

1. Separate rations ..... YES/NO
2. Food from your table ..... YES/NO

IF rations provided, specify quantity per month
per week

Beans ..... per week/per month
Samp ..... per week/per month
Mealie meal ..... per week/per month
Mealie Rice ..... per week/per month
Meat ..... per week/per month
Tea ..... per week/per month
Sugar ..... per week/per month
Milk ..... per week/per month
Bread ..... per week/per month
Butter or margarine ..... per week/per month
Jam ..... per week/per month
Peanut Butter ..... per week/per month
Vegetables ..... per week/per month
Fruit ..... per week/per month
OTHER (Specify) .....
.....
.....
.....

Is this a strict ration? YES/NO

Do you provide it DAILY/WEEKLY/MONTHLY

Where does she prepare her meals? KITCHEN STOVE/PRIMUS/OTHER

Where does she eat? KITCHEN/KIA/OTHER (If other specify)

.....

Can you estimate the cost of feeding a servant per month?

.....
.....

Can you estimate the total cost of a servant per month?

.....
.....

SECTION B : BACKGROUND TO DOMESTIC SERVICE SITUATION:

1. Name: .....

2. Address: .....

HOUSE/FLAT/MAISONETTE

3. Family Composition:

Householder: .....

Housewife: .....

Additional adults other than adult Children (specify) .....

.....

Dependant children:

Age	Sex	No.	Whereabouts	Education
Infants	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
2 - 4 yrs	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
5 - 8 yrs	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
9 - 12 yrs	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
13 - 16 yrs	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
16 + yrs	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....

Adult children: (that is, not dependant on parents)

Sex	Whereabouts	Occupation
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....

What is your home language?

ENGLISH/AFRIKAANS/ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS/TAMIL/HINDU/ TELUGU/GUJARRATI/URDU/OTHER (specify) .....

.....

5. Does anyone in household speak Zulu?

Specify .....
.....
.....
.....

6. What is the husband's occupation?

.....

7. What is the housewife's occupation, if any?

.....

FULL TIME/PART TIME/TEMPORARY

8. How long have you lived as a family in Durban?

Less that 1 year	YES/NO
1 - 5 years	YES/NO
6 - 10 years	YES/NO
11 - 15 years	YES/NO
16 - 20 years	YES/NO
More than 20 years	YES/NO

9. <u>History of Householder</u>:

	Born		Attended School		Spent Most of Life 'Til 18 Years	
	Hus.	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
Natal	.....		.....		.....	
O.F.S.	.....		.....		.....	
Transvaal	.....		.....		.....	
Cape Prov.	.....		.....		.....	
Protect.	.....		.....		.....	
Other African (specify)	.....		.....		.....	
Overseas (specify)	.....		.....		.....	
Town	.....		.....		.....	
Farm	.....		.....		.....	
District (specify)	.....		.....		.....	

10. How long have you occupied this HOUSE/FLAT/MAISONETTE

Less than 1 year ..... YES/NO
1 - 2 years ..... YES/NO
3 - 4 years ..... YES/NO
5 - 10 years ..... YES/NO
10 + years ..... YES/NO

11. Is it rented or owned? (delete non-applicable)

12. When moving home have you ever taken a servant with you? ..... YES/NO

FROM RURAL AREA INTO TOWN OR CITY/FROM TOWN TO TOWN/FROM HOUSE TO PRESENT HABITATION

PRESENT SERVANT/OTHER

Specify reasons and circumstances: .....
.....
.....
.....

13. What is your religion?

CHRISTIAN DENOMINATION/OTHER/NONE

Spec. ..... Spec. .....
.....

Do you attend REGULARLY/OCCASIONALLY/FEAST DAYS/ NEVER/CHILDREN ATTEND SUNDAY SCHOOL

	Husband	Wife
14. Educational Standard passed:	.....	.....
	.....	.....
Post school training (if any)	.....	.....
	.....	.....

15. Wife's occupation before marriage or having children: .....

16. Which of the following labour saving devices have you?

Vacuum Cleaner ..... YES/NO
Floor Polisher ..... YES/NO
Washing Machine ..... YES/NO
Electric Iron ..... YES/NO
Dishwasher ..... YES/NO
Carpet Sweeper ..... YES/NO

Any other electrical appliances? (specify) .....
.....

If servant does not use these appliances, why not?
.....
.....

17. How many rooms in your house (apart from kitchen, bathroom, lounge, toilet) .....

A P P E N D I X II

DOMESTIC SERVANT SURVEY

Questionnaire C Administered to Householders in Kwa Mashu Sample Survey

I.S.R. 4/28 - 4/40

Questionnaire No.
Cols. 1 - 3

Section I:

1.A. 1. Head of Household
2. Wife

1.B. Tenant 4 - A
Lodger B
D.K. O

1.C. Marital Status	HUS/WIFE
Never Married	4 - 1
Christian Rites/Legal	2
Customary Union	3
Cohaditation	4
Separated	5
Divorced	6
Widowed	7
D.K.	8

1.D. Education	WIFE	HUSBAND
Never attended	5-A	6-A
Class 1 - 2	B	B
Standard 1 - 3	0	0
Standard 4 - 6	1	1
Standard 7 - 8	2	2
Standard 9 - 10	3	3
Post School	4	4
Special		
D.K.	5	5

1.E. How Long in Durban	WIFE	HUSBAND
Born in Durban	7-A	8-A
10 years and over	B	B
5 - 9 years	0	0
1 - 4 years	1	1
Under 1 year	2	2

1.F. Age	WIFE	HUSBAND
15 - 19	9-A	10-A
20 - 24	B	B
25 - 29	0	0
30 - 34	1	1
35 - 39	2	2
40 - 44	3	3
45 - 49	4	4
50 - 54	5	5
55 - 64	6	6
65 - 74	7	7
75+	8	8
D.K.	9	9

1.G. OCCUPATION:

Specify .....

.....

.....

	WIFE	HUSBAND
Unemployed	11-A	12-A
Domestic Servant	B	B
On own account	0	0
Service Workers	1	1
Unskilled Manual	2	2
Operatives	3	3
Semi-skilled/Skilled	4	4
Traditional	5	5
Clerks and Other White Collar	6	6
Ministers of Religion	7	7
Business	8	8
Professional and Semi-Professional	9	9
D.K.	NP	NP

Q.2. FAMILY MEMBERS OTHER THAN HEAD AND WIFE, NON-RELATED PERSONS, LODGERS.

NAME	SEX	AGE	STANDARD	OCCUPATION/SCHOOL	RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
OWN CHILDREN LIVING ELSEWHERE	SEX	AGE	STANDARD	OCCUPATION/SCHOOL	WHERE LIVING AND REASONS
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					

Q.3. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION (EXCLUDING LODGERS)

Single Householder	13 -	A
Household Head and Wife Only		B
Child or Children Employable		C
Child or Children at School		1
Child or Children: Pre School		2
Other related Children		3
Other related Adults		4
Non-related Children		5
Non-related Adults		6
D.K.		7

4. DOES HOUSEWIFE:

Do Domestic work at present	14 -	A
In the past/given up		B
In the past/temporarily unemployed		0
Never done		1
D.K.		2

5. (IF AT PRESENT)

For Europeans	14 -	3
Indians		4
Coloureds		5
Africans		6
D.K.		7

6. (IF DOMESTIC AT PRESENT)

Full-time living on employers premises	15 -	A
Full-time living at Kwa Mashu		B
Part-time for one employer		0
Part-time for more than one		1
Just washing and ironing		2
D.K.		3

Section II:

Q.7. Does anyone else in family (excluding lodgers) do domestic service?

Yes	15 - 4
No	5
D.K.	6

8. (If Yes) how many

1	15 - 7
2	8
3	9

9. (If Yes) who works as Domestics? (Ring 2 or 3 if necessary)

Child (Male)	16 - A
Child (Female)	B
Relatives (Male)	0
Relatives (Female)	1
Non-related (Male)	2
Non-related (Female)	3
D.K.	4

10. What type of domestic work do the Females specified above do?

For Europeans	16 - 5
Indians	6
Coloureds	7
Africans	8
D.K.	9

11. Full-time living on Employers premises 17 - A

Full-time living at Kwa Mashu	B
Part-time for one employer	0
Part-time for more than one	1
Just washing and ironing	2
D.K.	3

Q.12. What Wages do the above Domestics earn? (include bus fare)

R25+	17 - 4
R20 - 24	5
R15 - 19	6
R10 - 14	7
R5 - 9	8
R0 - 4	9
D.K.	NP

13. What ages are the above Domestics?

10 - 14	18 - A
15 - 19	B
20 - 24	0
25 - 29	1
30 - 34	2
35 - 39	3
40 - 44	4
45 - 49	5
50 - 59	6
60 - 69	7
70 and above	8
D.K.	9

14. What Standard of Education have the above Domestics reached?

Never attended	19 - A
Class 1 and 2	B
Standard 1 - 3	0
Standard 4 - 6	1
Standard 7 - 8	2
Standard 9 - 10	3
Post School	4
Special	
D.K.	5

Section III: Ask Housewife

15. What is your Husband's wage (specify and state whether per week or per month).

.....

Q.16. What is your Wage or Earnings (specify and state whether per week or per month).

.....

17. What Income do you have from other sources? (specify in detail - per month/per week)

Children's earnings .....

Rent from Lodgers etc. .....

Illicit and Gambling etc. .....

Other (specify) .....

Total _____

18. Details of Monthly <u>family</u> Expenditure

House Rent .....

Fuel, Light and Water .....

Transport .....

Shoes and Clothing .....

Furniture etc. .....

Amount sent Home .....

Total _____

A P P E N D I X III

SALARIES PAID TO AFRICAN FEMALE TEACHERS

The salaries paid to African teachers increased twice during the period of this study, once in 1963 and again in 1967. Muriel Horrell, (Bantu Education to 1968. South African Institute for Race Relations, 1968) has analysed these changes. The following summary is taken directly from pages 93-95 of her book.

New salary scales for African teachers in the Republic and the Transkei were introduced on 1 April 1967, full information being published in the Bantu Education Journal for June of that year. It is impossible to go into detail here, but a few examples are given.

(a) Teachers with a Lower Primary[1] certificate employed in a lower primary school:
Previous scale: R294 x 18 - 312 x 24 - 384 x 36 - 492.
New scale: R366 x 42 - 660 x 60 - 840.

(b) Teacher with a Higher Primary[2] certificate:
Previous scale: R336 x 24 - 384 x 36 - 600 x 48 - 648.
New scale: R408 x 42 - 660 x 60 - 1,080.

(c) Teacher with a degree and a professional certificate:
Previous scale: R600 x 48 - 1,032.
New scale: R720 x 60 - 1,800.

1] The Lower Primary Teacher's Certificate is open to women only and is to be discontinued shortly. It involves a two year post-Form I course.

2] The Higher Primary Teacher's Certificate is open to both males and females and involves a two year post-Junior Certificate course. It is designed to prepare teachers for higher primary teaching.

A P P E N D I X IV

DIARY KEPT BY NOMUSA B- DURING JUNE 1964

(The spelling, punctuation and grammar have not been altered. The numbers refer to notes below.)

Date

1st Wash my sheets and my overalls hang them up, tidy my room dusting extra.
Evening Talk to Ester[1] do my pillo cover.

2 Sunday Went out after having my lunch to meet Filies[2] in Town. For we were just going to have a look at the things in town. For she wanted me to show her the city. We came back at about 5.30. Bus fare each person 8½c from town to Durban North.
Evening Have our supper both, for she wanted to spend the night at my place.

3 Lunch time Have my lunch, bath, tidying up etc.
Evening Visited Ester at 19 Sunningdale Drive, for she invited me to come and see him for she was in bed having a cold.

4 Lunchtime Went up to the shops. buy lux Soap and a face cloth. Come back iron my overalls.
Evening Visited my boyfriend[3] at the polistation. Catch the bus at about 7.30 and be there at about 8 oclock. Bus Fare 8½c
From the Polistation we went to the cafe to have some tea there. Have a little walk around the city. looking some clothes at the windows. At about 9.30 He take me to the bus stop to catch the bus. Bus Fare 4½c. Come Home lonely to bed.

5 Lunch time Sweep my room (dusting) making my bed, Taking out the pillo covers off, putting them away to

wash for the next day,
Evening Have an early sleep for I had a tooth ache

6 Day off Visited my brother[4] working at the South African board Mills, met the old man called Makhathini on my way there. He is also working at the South African Board Mills. I found them busy working, I ask the gate guard if I can speak to one of them. And he said all right, off he went to call Elias. I greet him, and tell him that my mother said she wanted him to give him some money. R4. And he said he is going to post it next week. Came Home alone 4c bus fare. From Umgeni River to Durban North.
Evening do my pillo covers after a few minutes went to bed.

7 Wash my table cloth after tidying up my room. Iron them.
Evening did nothing just went to bed after supper.

8 Lunch time Have a rest reading Zulu Bona[5]
Evening Chat to Ester, while doing my covers.

9 Day Off Just stay at home with my boyfriend listening to music.

10 Lunch time Cut my dress, pin it up getting it ready for to sew it.
Evening Sewing my dress, 9.30 went to bed.

11 Lunch time Sweep, my room tidying up, wash my peticoats and my overalls aprons etc.
Evening Again pushing on sewing my dress putting the sleeves nicely and everything was done to it. fold it up, making it short up nicely, hemming it up. After all that it was finished.

12 Lunch time Iron my dress getting it ready to go to town.
Evening Rest

13 <u>After Lunch</u> Went to town catch the bus at about 1.30. Went to the South African Board Mills first see my brothers. At about 3 oclock I leave there to town. bus fare $3\frac{1}{2}^{c}$ from my brother to town. In town I buy my mother some slippers at 9/11 a pair, and my brothers 10 year old son Bantu some Rubber sandles at $4/11^{d}$ a pair at the shoe centre 459 West Street. At about 4.30 catch the bus $8\frac{1}{2}^{c}$ bus fare from town to Durban North. Came home lonely.
<u>Evening</u> Rest Reading Zulu Bona. After a few minutes Ester came and talk to me. Showing me what she has bought in town a new shirt for his son and a pair of long trousers, and these were beautifully for the whiter (winter)

14 <u>Lunch time</u> tidying up. did my pillo covers iron my Table cloth. After that rest.
<u>Evening</u> Rest reading paper. Went to bed early.

15 Wash and starch my pillar covers. Hang them up. Dust and sweep my room
<u>Evening</u> Rest Reading paper. lonely.

16 <u>Lunch time on Sunday</u> Went out to Sea View[6] to see Filies and Nester my cousins [7] Met no one. We just stay and chat 3 of us. After a little while went to the tearoom. Met no one. At the tearoom we bought some nuties and grapes. Grape 10^{c} 1b nuties 5^{c} half a 1b.
<u>Evening</u> Came home lonely. Met John the boy next door from my house in Dundee. We just met, he was passing bye, and he saw me waiting for the bus at the bus stop. Bus Fare $8\frac{1}{2}^{c}$ from town.

17 Rest at Lunch time.
<u>Evening</u> Rest again reading newspaper.

18 <u>Lunch time</u> Have my bath. Sweep and tidy up. dusting etc.
<u>Evening</u> Esther came and chat with me.

19 Lunch time Tidy up and dusting etc.
Evening Polishing my shoes getting them ready to go to town on Thursday

20 Day of after Lunch Bath, have my lunch quickly. get dress. At about 2 catch the bus to town. Met Beauty[8] another girl working at Glenashly[9]. Met her by Woolworths[10] going to the bus stop. She was just going to the bus stop. Lonely I went to look at the shoes at Telfords[10]. Came home lone didn't buy anything. Bus fare $8\frac{1}{2}^{c}$.
Evening Went to be early.

21 Lunch time Tidying up. Ironing my overalls.
Evening Talk to Esther.

22 Lunch time Have lunch, dust, tidying up. etc.
Evening Lie down reading paper resting.

23 Day off on Sunday afternoon Bath have lunch. get dress, went out to Seaview, to see my cousin Nester. Bus fare $8\frac{1}{2}^{c}$ from Durban North to town. From town to there $3\frac{1}{2}^{c}$ walk back. Home lonely in the Evening.

24 Lunch time Rest after tidying up.
Evening rest

25 Lunch Ironing my table cloth
Evening Talk to my boy friend

26 Lunch time dust, sweeping up and have my bath
Evening Says goodbyes to Ester for she was going to live in town her madame bought a new house.

27 After Lunch Day Off Have my bath, get dress, at about 2 oclock catch the bus to town. $8\frac{1}{2}^{c}$ Bus fare. Met my brother for I just mean to go and via there. Telling them to get the things ready for its nearly (time) for me to leave for my holiday From there to town to have a look what I can buy at the end of the month.

Bus fare $8\frac{1}{2}^{c}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}^{c}$ from S.A.B. Mills to Town. Came Home Alone.

28 Talk to Doris [11] and my brother at Lunch time.
Evening By my self in my Room having a rest.

29 Lunch time Wash my dresses getting them ready for a holiday. For on the 8th of July I am leaving for Dundee for my holiday.
Evening Talk to Doris about church

30 Day off on Sunday Afternoon. Visit Nester my cousin Bus Fare from Durban North to town $4\frac{1}{2}^{c}$ From Town to There $3\frac{1}{2}^{c}$ Come home lonely.
Evening. Went to bed early.

NOTES

1. See No. 7 on Table XLIV.
2. See No. 4 on Table XLIV.
3. See No. 11 on Table XLIV.
4. Elias. See No. 2 on Table XLIV and No. 6 on Figure 9.
5. A well known Zulu magazine.
6. Sea View, another Durban suburb.
7. See Nos. 4 and 1 on Table XLIV and Nos. 15 and 13 on Figure 9.
8. Just a woman she knew from work. Not friendly with her.
9. A suburb near to Durban North.
10. Woolworths and Telfords are both large stores in the centre of Durban.
11. See No. 8 on Table XLIV.

TABLE XLIV

PERSONS WITH WHOM NOMUSA B- HAD MEANINGFUL CONTACTS OVER A SIX MONTH PERIOD.
(REFER TO APPENDIX IV FOR THE CONTEXT OF THESE MEETINGS.)

NAME	KINSHIP RELATION	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT OVER 6 MONTHS					
				Month 1	2	3	4	5	6
Nesta B- [1]	Father's Brother's daughter	Domestic servant working at Sea View	Regular meetings or telephonic communications. Nomusa often spends her Sunday with Nesta at Sea View. At one time they both visited theirbrother's room at Kwa Mashu. Also meet in town during their weekday free day.	2	4	3	3	5	3
Elias B- [2]	Eldest brother	Works for S.A.Board Mills in Umgeni Rd & lives with brother Anthony at Kwa Mashu men's hostel	Fairly regularly to discuss family matters. Elias is responsible for Nomusa to their father and so often 'checks' up on her.	2	3	1	2	2	(on leave)
Anthony B- [3]	Elder Brother	"	Not regularly. Anthony has no responsibility for Nomusa. They meet by chance at Nesta's workplace.	1	1	-	-	1	1

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NAME	KINSHIP RELATION	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT OVER 6 MONTHS					
				Month 1	2	3	4	5	6
Phyllis B- [4]	Father's younger brother's daughter	Came to town to find domestic work	Meet fairly frequently at Nesta's place of employment as the latter is responsible for Phyllis. Nesta and Nomusa instrumental in getting Phyllis to town	Not in town	2	-	-	-	1
Phylda B- [5]	Youngest sister	Now married and living in Ladysmith district	Came to Durban to outfit herself for her wedding. Stayed with their brother who hired a room for a while then stayed with Nomusa for one month	Not in	Town	4	Lived with Nomusa	Went	home
Victoria M- [6]	Shares Nomusa's Mother's Isibongo	Domestic servant Durban	She got Nomusa her present job but contact infrequent now	2	1	-	-	-	-

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NAME	KINSHIP RELATION	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT OVER 6 MONTHS					
				Month 1	2	3	4	5	6
Esther C- [7]	Nil	Domestic servant who worked for a long while over the road from Nomusa	Met when Nomusa moved with her employer into the area. Employer left Durban North and some months later Esther followed them. These moves are reflected in the frequency of meeting as it became progressively more difficult for the women to meet due to limitations of time and distance	6	7	2	2	4	1
Doris B- [8]	Nil	Domestic servant who moved into the job next door to Nomusa	Met due to proximity of jobs. Usually see each other on way to shops and may visit in the afternoons. Increased contact as Esther left neighbourhood	2	2	4	8	8	12
Agnes C- [9]	Nil	School friends. Have met since in town. Agnes works in the neighbourhood	Nomusa and Agnes 'feel at home' with each other. Often meet and visit each other despite the mile or two between their places of employment	1	-	1	1	2	3

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NAME	KINSHIP RELATION	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT OVER 6 MONTHS					
				Month 1	2	3	4	5	6
Florah D- [10]	Nil	Domestic servant working in Sea View	Met through Nesta and 'liked each other'. Now they may phone each other or meet in town for shopping now and then. May meet at Nesta's place of employment on Sundays	2	-	-	-	2	1
Wilfred M- [11]	Nil	Police-man. Was stationed in Durban North then moved to Stamford Hill	Isoke. Meet each other in town - once in every two weeks. He visits Nomusa when he can. Less often since restationing	5	3	3	1	4	3
Harriet M- the ironing woman [12]	Nil	Lives at Kwa Mashu and does weekly ironing for Nomusa's employer	Through employment. Nomusa does not regard her as a close friend now, but does have frequent contact with her	3	5	4	4	Left	job

ANALYSIS OF THE BASES OF NOMUSA'S INTERACTION WITH HER CONTACTS.

Paternal kin	5	School friend	1
Maternal kin (distant)	1	Contact through kin	1
Neighbourhood friend and work contacts	3	Lover	1
		TOTAL	12

A P P E N D I X V

TRANSLATION OF THE DIARY KEPT BY GOODNESS M- FROM THE 19TH NOVEMBER TO THE 14TH DECEMBER. 1964.

(Numbers refer to accompanying table.)

Date

19th I cleaned and tidied my room and then met Annah B-(1) an acquaintance whom I met in the area and who works at 4 Honey Court. In the evening I visited my father's Kwa Mashu [1] home. Eunice S- (2) and Thoko M- (3) my friends visited me.

Budget: bought ½ lb of butter 15c
3 eggs 7½c

20 I did my washing. My maternal aunt, Mrs. C- (4) who comes after my mother and who lives at Port Shepstone [2] visited me. Annah B- (1) visited me and we chatted.

Budget: 1 box of matches 1c

21 I cleaned and tidied my room and mended my daughter's clothes. My father (5) and my eldest brother Albert (6) visited me and I attended a children's party at Kwa Mashu.

Budget: Potatoes 12c

22 I mended my clothes. Elizabeth L- (7) my maternal cousin visited me. Maria M- (8) school friend also visited me.

Budget: 1 pt. milk 6c

23 I washed my clothes and then had a bath. Elizabeth L- (7) visited me. After that I went to visit a friend working nearby (1) for a chat.

Budget: 1 bottle paraffin 10c

24 I cleaned and tidied my room and had a bath afterwards. Dumazile M- (9) a cousin visited me. I visited Abigail M- (10) an old friend and school mate.

Budget: 1 box matches 1c

25 Knitted my child's jersey. My father (5) visited me. Then another friend from the neighbourhood (1) visited me and I took her home afterwards.

Budget: ½ lb sugar 5c

26 Ironed my clothes. Christian L- (11) the father of one of my two children visited me. I visited Kwa Mashu. My cousins Thoko (3) and Eunice (2) came to see me and I left very late.

Budget: Nil

27 I tidied my room and did my fancy work (embroidery) on a pillow-case. Walter N- (12) an old school friend visited me and we went to the bioscope together.

Budget: ½ lb butter 15c

28 I did my fancy work on a pillow-case. My brother Albert (6) visited me. Later I went to Isipingo Beach[3] to visit my child who was ill.

Budget: Oranges 20c

29 I did my washing. Constance G- (13) a friend from the neighbourhood visited me. Later two school friends (10 + 12) joined us.

Budget: Bananas 12c

30 I knitted my jersey after tidying my room. Mrs. M- (14) my stepmother called on me on her way to town. Later I went to visit a friend in the neighbourhood Annah B- (1) and she brought me half way home.

Budget: Tomatoes 10c

31 I scrubbed the floor in my room and then tidied up.

Janet N- (15) my mother's brother's daughter visited me. We went to Clairwood Hospital [4] to see my child who was ill.

Budget: Oranges 20c

December:

1 I knitted my child's jersey. Christian L- (11) the sick child's father visited me. We went to Kwa Mashu.

Budget: Nil

2 I tidied my room and then had a bath. My brother (6) visited me and we went to Clairwood Hospital to see my sick child.

Budget: Cheese 24c

3 Knitted my child's jersey. Mrs. N- (16) my mother's sister from Lamontville and I went to Clairwood Hospital to see my sick child.

Budget: Soap 12c

4 I cleaned the windows of my room. Rose N- (17) a friend working nearby visited me and we chatted until quite late.

Budget: Beauty soap 15c

5 I scrubbed my room and put polish on the floor. I visited my child at Lamontville and then went to Kwa Mashu. I attended a dance at a hall in Section F.

Budget: Bus fares
1 box matches

6 I did my washing. My younger brother (18) visited me and he and my two cousins Thoko (3) and Eunice (2) went to Clairwood Hospital with me.

Budget: Tomatoes $2\frac{1}{2}$c
Bus fares

7 I mended my child's clothes and later went to Kwa Mashu.

I saw my elder brother (6) and then went to the Poly Clinic [5] to phone Clairwood Hospital about my sick child.

Budget: Bus fare
Sweets 10c

8 I had tea with my friend Nurse L- (19) who is the daughter of my cousin Elizabeth L- (7). Then I went to church at Kwa Mashu.

Budget: Bananas 10c

9 I tidied my room and washed my dishes. Elsie M- (20) a friend working in the neighbourhood visited me and then two other domestic servants (13 + 17) working nearby came in for a chat.

Budget: Nil

10 I did my washing and ironing. Elizabeth L- (7) came to visit me. Later I went to the bioscope with a girl friend.

Budget: Cakes & cinema fee 50c

11 I scrubbed my room and applied polish then Mrs. M- (14) my stepmother visited me and we went to Clairwood Hospital to see my child. I then visited Janet N- (15).

Budget: Nil

12 I cleaned my windows and paid a visit to Lamontville to see my child Disc. After this I went to town to window shop.

Budget: Fish 50c

13 I tidied my room and my cousin Elizabeth L- (7) called for me and we went to Clairwood to visit my sick child.

Budget: Apples) Milk) 20c

14 I cleaned my room and washed my dishes. Mrs. N- (16)

my mother's sister visited me to ask after my child. Then a neighbouring friend Annah B- (1) called in for a chat.

Budget: Nil

NOTES

1. See Figure 10.
2. See Figure 10.
3. South Coast, Natal, home of her mother's sister.
4. A hospital south of Durban serving Africans.
5. The local hospital at Kwa Mashu.

TABLE XLV

PERSONS WITH WHOM GOODNESS M- HAD MEANINGFUL CONTACTS OVER THE PERIOD DETAILED IN HER DIARY ABOVE.

NAME	KINSHIP RELATION	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT OVER 28 DAYS
Annah B- (1)	Nil	Domestic servant working in Stamford Hill near to Goodness	To chat and pass the time. There are fairly frequent contacts.	5 times
Eunice S- (2)	Distant Maternal kin	Domestic servant working part-time in a flat on Beachfront and living with parents at Kwa Mashu near the house of Goodness' father	Meets with Goodness and Thoko to attend dances and socials	3 times
Thoko M- (3)	Distant Paternal kin	Domestic servant often unemployed and working part-time as she lives with parents at Kwa Mashu	Meet to attend dances and socials in Kwa Mashu and to visit town and the cinema. They share the same outlook on life and enjoyment of sophisticated town life	3 times
Mrs. C- (4)	Mother's younger sister	Lives at Port Shepstone and cares for one of Goodness' children	Meet mostly in connection with the care of the child	twice

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NAME	KINSHIP RELATION	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT OVER 28 DAYS
Timothy M- (5)	Father	Works at cane spirit factory and lives at Kwa Mashu	Often visits Goodness on the way to and from work in Umgeni Road. She visits his house in Kwa Mashu but cannot live there due to his second wife's animosity	4+ times
Albert M- (6)	Elder brother	Works in Umgeni Road and lives in Kwa Mashu with father	Often visits her on the way to and from work. Also interested in her young girl friends	4+ times
Elizabeth L- (7)	Mother's eldest brother's daughter	Domestic servant working near to Goodness	She is older than Goodness and to some extent regards herself as responsible for her. She calls in to visit her quite often	4 times
Maria M- (8)	Nil	Still at school and living with parents in the remains of Cato Manor	School friend	once
Dumazile M- (9)	Mother's brother's daughter	Domestic servant working elsewhere in Durban	They are of about the same age and share an interest in town life as well as in her family. Their places of employment are far from each other so contact not frequent	once

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NAME	KINSHIP RELATION	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT OVER 28 DAYS
Abigail M- (10)	Nil	Domestic servant doing part-time work and living with parents in Lamontville	Old school friends who are similar in outlook	twice
Christian L- (11)	Nil	Works in town as a messenger for a firm of lawyers. Living in the remains of Cato Manor	The father of her first child. He would like to resume the relationship but Goodness not willing. He came to ask after the child which was ill	twice
Walter N- (12)	Nil	Unemployed and living with parents in Kwa Mashu	Old school friend and sometime lover	twice
Constance G- (13)	Nil	Domestic servant working nearby	Casual meetings to pass the time	twice
Mrs. M- (14)	Father's second wife	Lives in Kwa Mashu	Seldom meet unless Goodness is visiting her father's home. She called to enquire after Goodness' child	twice
Janet N- (15)	Mother's brother's daughter	Has just left school and lives with her father's sister (No. 16 see below) in Lamontville	Largely to enquire about Goodness' child; otherwise they share many interests as she is of the same age as Goodness	twice

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NAME	KINSHIP RELATION	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT OVER 28 DAYS
Mrs. N- (16)	Mother's sister	Lives at Lamontville and cares for Goodness' second child	Fairly frequently when Goodness visits her child. She came specifically to ask after the other child who was ill	3 times
Rose N- (17)	Nil	Domestic servant working nearby	Casual meetings to pass the time	twice
Joseph M- (18)	Younger brother	Works in Durban and lives with father in Kwa Mashu	Meets Goodness fairly frequently when she visits Kwa Mashu and may call on her on the way to work	3+ times
Nurse L- (19)	Daughter of mother's brother's daughter (7)	Nurse- lives in at King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban	Sees her sometimes when she visits her mother (7). Goodness admires her achievement in becoming a nurse	once
Elsie M- (20)	Nil	Domestic servant working near to Goodness	Casual meetings to pass the time	once

ANALYSIS OF THE BASES OF GOODNESS' INTERACTION WITH HER CONTACTS.

Maternal kin	8	School friends	2
Paternal kin	4	Lovers	2
Neighbourhood friends	4		
		TOTAL	20

A P P E N D I X VI

THE DAY TO DAY ACTIVITIES OF MARIA N- AS DESCRIBED TO THE INVESTIGATOR.

Two records are concerned, one from the 12th - 31st March, 1964 and the other from the 2nd-31st August, 1965.

(The numbers refer to the accompanying table.)

Date

MARCH 1964

12 I tidied my room and visited Sarah (A1) and her child. I went to the shop and to church and learned through a lady working at 15 Cypress Avenue that the lady who used to work at No. 8 Cypress Avenue was knocked over by a car and died instantly.

13 I cleaned my room as usual - washing, ironing and cooking. I met Sarah (A1), Phylda (B1) and Beatrice (A2). Phylda borrowed a raincoat. I went to church with Clemencia (A3) who works next door.

14 I tidied my room and washed my overalls. Sarah (A1) visited me and I went with Beatrice (A2) to town to have photographs taken at the Paramount Studios. In town I met a church friend Phebronica (A6). Maria Mb- (A4) came and wanted to spend the night with me but as my boyfriend was there she slept with Clemencia.

15 Tidied up my room as usual. The usual friends, Sarah (A1), Beatrice (A2), and Clemencia (A3) either visited me or I met them. I went to church to practise with the choir for the Easter holidays. On the way home I met Maria D- (B2) who had come to visit me and walked to meet at 8 oclock. She left at 9 oclock

16 Usual tidying up. I saw Sarah (A1) and Maria Mb- (A4). Irene N- (B3) came to show me her newly born baby. Her

madame looks after the baby while she works.

17 Usual tidying up. Visited Sarah (A1) and went to church with Clemencia (A3) at 3 oclock. Met Theresa C- (B4) a church friend.

18 I tidied my room. Visited Sarah (A1) and talked to Beatrice (A2) and Clemencia (A3) over the fense. I also saw Maria D- (B2) and Catherine M- (B5) a church contact and Maria Mk- (B6).

19 I tidied room and talked to Sarah (A1), Beatrice (A2) and Clemencia (A3). I visited my sister (C1) at Umlaas. My son (C3) stays here. My brother-in-law (C2) had been sick. I took two jumpers for my son - one was a present from my madame. I met Annah M- (B7) who used to work at the corner of Cypress and Churchill Roads. She was collecting her belongings from Doris (B8). I also saw Sylvia (B9) a work friend. The Insurance inspector called and the Boss next door leant me 10/-.

20 I talked to Sarah (A1), Clemencia (A3) and Beatrice (A2) and did spring cleaning for bugs. Later I went to church with Clemencia.

21 I did the usual cleaning of my room and scrubbing. I did not go anywhere much but talked to Sarah (A1), Beatrice (A2) and Clemencia (A3). My madame gave me 10/- to refund the next door Boss.

22 I helped Beatrice (A2) who was fainting and told her employer to call the ambulance. Clemencia (A3) and Sarah (A1) were here. I met Barbara (B10) who I last saw in 1960. Then I went to a practice at St. Paul's Church.

23 I did the usual cleaning, then had a hairdo and did personal washing. I talked to my usual friends and went to church at 7.30 with Clemencia (A3).

24 Cleaned up and got ready for Church where I went with Clemencia (A3). Saw other usual friends.

25 Cleaned up and chatted to friends. Maggie M- (B11) a church friend visited Clemencia (A3) and then saw me.

26 Tidied room and chatted to usual friends. I went to a choir practice for Easter at St. Paul's Cathedral. Emmerencia C-(B12) Annah Maria K- (B13) were also there.

27 Usual cleaning. I washed my overalls and changed sheets. I went to church with Clemencia (A3) at 7 p.m. We met Emelda (B14) who works along Umgeni Road.

28 Usual cleaning up and tidying up. I met a boy who was Norah's (A5) boyfriend. I last saw him in 1958. He told me he now lives at Kwa Mashu. I also met Maria B- (B15) a church friend who used to work where Norah now works in Stamford Hill. Harriet N- (C4) came to see me.

29 I met Sonny D- (B16), Maria Mb-'s boyfriend while I was coming back from the tea-room. I went to church with Clemencia (A3) at 7 oclock.

30 I did my usual cleaning up and personal washing. I chatted to my usual friends and Maria Mb- (A4) arrived at 6 p.m. At 7.30 we went to church with Beatrice (A2) my neighbour although she is not a Catholic.

31 Cleaned my room at 11 oclock and cooked and pressed my church clothes. Annah Maria K- (B13) took me to church at 7.30 p.m. Later I had supper with her. We attended church choir practice.

AUGUST 1965.

2 Rose (A7) and Elsie (A8) visited me in the afternoon. We parted to go and wash dishes but rejoined each other about 9 oclock.

3 Sampson (B17) visited me in the afternoon. Aunty (A5)

had sent him to me. Elsie (A8) joined us later.

4 Elsie (A8) visited me just to waste her time as she works across the road. I also teach her about Roman Catechism as she wants to become a Catholic. I met two girls who work in Churchill Rd - they asked me to ask my friend Elsie to make crochet hats for them .

5 Sampson (B17) visited me 7.30 a.m. Norah (A5) had sent him to bring me a pair of shoes she was giving me. Mavis N- (B18) was the first person I met as I was going to the shop. I also met my homeboy Alfred Z- (B19) who works in Florida Dairy. I met a boy I used to know before I came to Durban in 1953. He used to work for Coronation Brick and Tiles now works for N.D.C. I did not recognize him though he recognized me.

6 I went to Church. Elsie (A8) and Rose (A7) visited me and we drank sour porridge. I met Mavis (B18) and she told me she had been suffering from a headache. Her employer helped her by giving her pills. She asked me to tell her when I knew of an employer who wants a girl for work. One of Mavis' friends is looking for a job. She also told me that she was going to hospital as her feet are swollen.

7 Elsie (A8) visited me from 7 to 9 p.m. I continued to teach her about Roman Catholicism.

8 I went to Church and later with Elsie (A8) to another service in Morningside. All returned at 8 p.m. I met Mavis (B18) and we discussed her making a jersey for somebody who now refuses to pay her. He wants to pay in instalments.

9 I visited Rose (A7) and Elsie (A8). I met Mrs. S- (C5) and we discussed our coming visit to a Catholic Mission beyond Donnybrook. I went to the Cathedral in Greyville to hand in my R2.00 for the bus fare to Cavel Mission. Florence (B24) accompanied me. Phebronica (A6) visited

me and we discussed how we must pay about 25c for a Mass to be said for our Ministers and Nuns who died in the Congo.

10 I went to Umgeni Road and met a man from Port Elizabeth. I asked him why he had come to Durban. He told me he was influenced by his friends. He does not wish to return home as he enjoys life in Durban.

11 Elsie (A8) and Rose (A7) came with me to Umgeni Road to buy a flask at R1.25. I met a boy who belongs to the Full Gospel Church and he told me that he is still a Church Member.

12 I met a strange girl at Barclay's Bank. She told me that she saves R1.00 for each of her four children every month.

13 My boy friend (B20) visited me. Phebronica (A6) also brought me a letter with money for the Mass which I am to take with me to the Mission. A service for people's requests will be conducted. I met Mrs. S- (C5) who told me that she had received a letter from her son Elliot who is at boarding school in Zululand informing her that the Kwa Mashu Secondary School had sent his report and transfer card.

14 We left Durban at 9.30 a.m. and collected some of our members from Lamontville and Clairwood. We sang as we went and reached there at 6 p.m. Services were held the whole night and the following day. The meeting was attended by traditional people - Wesleyans etc.

15 On Sunday we were still at Cavel. We started our trip back at 1 p.m. and reached Durban at 5 p.m.

16 I went to Phebronica (A6) to tell her about our journey to Cavel Mission. She asked me who had conducted the services. It was Mr. Ntshangase and Mr. Dlamini. Later I went to see Maria Mb- (A4) as

she had come to see me and did not find me. Maria told me that she had been sick and had been in hospital. When I returned from Phebronica (A6) in the evening Rose (A7) and Elsie (A8) visited me. With them was Rose's sister-in-law-to-be. I had also met Irene N- (B3) who works in Windermere Road and she told me a sad story about a man who had died. He wasn't sick long. He inhaled poison where he works. He left a message to say his people must take his only child from his girl friend and care for the child.

17 Harriet N- (C4) and her boy friend visited me. He is a herbalist and told my fortune and gave me medicines. He uses a mirror to tell fortunes. I met a lady who I usually meet at the shop at Akals. She told me she had been sick. She was told at hospital that it is through the strenuous work she does. They offered to find her another job.

18 I went to the Cathedral in Greyville as I had to return the sum of R2.00 to a woman who had not come to Cavel Mission. Unfortunately she did not turn up. Elsie (A8) visited me and I talked to her about catechism. Rose (A7) came to tell me that she was visiting the Bantu Administration to get her children to become Durban Citizens. When she returned she told me they had refused to allow her children in town as they were not born in town.
I met Patrick K- (B21) - he asked me about our trip. He in turn told me about two weddings which were on at the Cathedral whilst we were away.

19 Elsie (A8) came to tell me that we have to go to the Bantu Administration to collect our service contracts as per notice in the morning paper. I met a certain Aunt from Umbumbulu - she works round Sutton Park. She belongs to St. Anne's Meeting. Glorioso K- (B22) was with her. They were also keen to know about the trip. I told them about the wonderful time we had.

20 Emelda L (B14) visited me. She stays at Kwa Mashu. She told me that her daughter passed the nursing examinations. She is now a staff nurse. Emelda intended making a party for her daughter whose name is Doris L-. I met a woman church contact. She had been to the Police Station to report theft by her friend.

21 I went to the gate to get somebody to do my hair. Betty (C6) my neighbour did so. Two young boys visited me. One is Petros (B20), the other his friend. I asked them where they attend church services. He told me he was Roman Catholic but does not go to church at present, taken up by worldly things.

22 I went to church. After church we went to Cowey Road to attend a small party for a Saint's Day. We enjoyed ourselves, sang etc. and returned at 8 p.m.

23 I went to the garage to submit competition papers for my madam and myself. I met a boy who told me how he wants to get married to a girl from Inanda. He told me that he wants a well-behaved girl.

24 Rose (A7) visited me and Elsie (A8). We discussed that we should have our feast days together as I am due to have mine. Elsie and Rose are giving me the lottery money this month. Patrick K- (B21) offered to have a feast day with me.

25 Maria Mb- (A4) visited me. She lives at Kwa Mashu now. She came to borrow money as she wanted to go home. I gave her $7\frac{1}{2}^{c}$. I asked her why she does not go to her man. She misbehaved and is therefore scared of her husband.
Elsie (A8) and Rose (A7) visited me. I gave Elsie 40^{c} when she wanted to borrow money.

26 Elsie (A8) accompanied me to Umgeni to buy paraffin. We met Doris (B8). (I have not seen her for some time). I also met a girl that Petros (B20) had sent to check up

on how I am keeping. I also met Emelda (B14). She asked me to collect medicine for bugs from the shop.

27 Innocencia (B23) visited me. She had come to tell me that she had found a place where I can have my feast day and the members also will pay with me. We shall each pay R2.50.

28 I went to Umgeni to buy a plastic bucket R1.25.

29 I was not feeling well - I did not go to church.

30 I met a lady who told me that women have been arrested in town if they failed to produce service contracts.

31 I went to Umgeni Road. I met Sampson (B17) who told me that Norah wasn't feeling well and a doctor had been summoned.

TABLE XLVI

PERSONS WITH WHOM MARIA N- HAD MEANINGFUL CONTACTS OVER THE PERIOD DETAILED IN HER DAY-TO-DAY RECORDS REPRODUCED ABOVE.

SECTION A: CLOSE FRIENDS

NAME	BASIS OF CONTACT	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY [1] OF CONTACT
Sarah Z- (1)	Neighbourhood	Domestic servant working opposite Maria for some time	Friendship due to opportunity and Maria's love of Sarah's baby	March daily
Beatrice C- (2)	Neighbourhood	Domestic servant working next door to Maria for some time	Frequent meetings due to proximity, nothing more	March daily
Clemencia B- (3)	Church	Domestic servant worked next door to Maria for some time	Met at church. Maria found her a job next door to herself. A close and warm friendship resulted	March daily
Maria Mb- (4)	Church	Works in a hotel nearby and lives in Kwa Mashu with husband's mother	Met at church. Maria Mb- worked for Maria's employer when Maria N- was ill. Maria godmother to Maria Mb-'s child.	March and August frequently
Norah B- (5)	Neighbourhood	Domestic servant working in Durban North. She did work near to Maria at one time	She found Maria her first job in town. Maria regards her as a 'mother'.	On and off

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NAME	BASIS OF CONTACT	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT [1]	
Phebronica D- (6)	Church	Domestic servant working some way from Maria	Attend church together and hold their Saint's Days together. Ran a savings club with Maria at one time	At church mainly	
Rose M- (7)	Church	Domestic servant working in the next street	Relative of Clemencia (A3). Found work near to Maria. Accompany each other to church	Daily August	
Elsie B- (8)	Neigh-bourhood	Domestic servant who now works in the vicinity of Maria's employment.	Wants to join the Roman Catholic Church. Maria is instructing her in catechism	Daily August	
SECTION B: CASUAL FRIENDS				12th-31st March 1964	2nd-31st August 1965
Phylda B- (1)	Neigh-bourhood	Domestic servant working near Beatrice	Casual	once	
Maria D- (2)	Church	Domestic servant in the area	Meet at church services and meetings	twice apart from church	
Irene N- (3)	Neigh-bourhood	Domestic servant in the area	Casual	once	once

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NAME	BASIS OF CONTACT	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT [1]	
				12th-31st March 1964	2nd-31st August 1965
Theresa C- (4)	Church	Domestic servant working far from Maria	Meet at church services and meetings	once apart from church	
Catherine M- (5)	Church	Domestic servant working fairly near to Maria	Meet at church services and meetings	once apart from church	
Maria Mk- (6)	Neigh-bourhood	Domestic servant working fairly near to Maria	Casual	once	
Annah M- (7)	Neigh-bourhood	Domestic servant working in vicinity	Casual	once	
Doris D- (8)	Neigh-bourhood	Domestic servant working in vicinity	Casual	once	once
Sylvia B- (9)	Neigh-bourhood	Temporary domestic servant in the area. Was a school friend of Sarah (A1) and so they meet at the latter's place of employment	Casual	once	

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NAME	BASIS OF CONTACT	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT [1]	
				12th-31st March 1964	2nd-31st August 1965
Barbara C- (10)	Church	Met at church and Maria found her a job. Lost contact after that	Occasionally at church	once apart from church	
Maggie M (11)	Church	Works in a hotel on beachfront. Sometimes visits Maria on her way to work to discuss church festival arrangements	At church and occasional visits to each other	once apart from church	
Emmerencia C- (12)	Church	Domestic servant working near to Maria	At church services and meetings	once apart from church	
Annah Maria K- (13)	Church	Domestic servant working opposite Maria. New to the job. Maria does not know her well	On the street and at church	twice	
Emelda L- (14)	Church	Works in a hotel with Maria Mb- (A4)	Meet at church services and meetings	once apart from church	twice apart from church

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NAME	BASIS OF CONTACT	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT [1]	
				12th-31st March 1964	2nd-31st August 1965
Maria B- (15)	Church	Non-resident servant living at Clairwood	Meet occasionally at church	once	
Sonny D- (16)	Neighbourhood	Works in a garage in Stamford Hill	Casual through his girl friend Maria Mb- (A4)	once	
Sampson (17)	Neighbourhood	Domestic servant working with Norah (A5)	When sent on messages for Norah (A5)		three times
Mavis N- (18)	Neighbourhood	Domestic servant working near to Maria	Casual		three times
Alfred Z- (19)	Homeboy	Works in a garage and lives at Men's Hostel	Seldom		once
Petros C- (20)	Lover	Works as a delivery man for a firm of mineral water suppliers. Lives in the compound	Recent love affair		twice
Patrick K- (21)	Church	Works as a clerk in Durban. They met at church and Maria claims to have taught him Scripture. He is now a leading church official	Meet at church each Sunday		twice apart from church

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NAME	BASIS OF CONTACT	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT [1]	
				12th-31st March 1964	2nd-31st August 1965
Glorioso K- (22)	Church	Lives at Inanda and works intermittently in Stamford Hill	Meet at church when she is working in town		once
Innocencia K- (23)	Church	Domestic servant who used to work near Maria	At church services and meetings		once apart from church
Florence B B- (24)	Church	Domestic servant working near to Maria	At church services and meetings		once apart from church
SECTION C: KIN					
Janet S- (1) (See Fig.11)	Half sister	Lives in township with husband	On bad terms with Maria after quarrel over Maria's son	seldom mentioned once March	
Wilfred S- (2)	Husband of Janet (1)	Works in Durban as a labourer	Only through sister	seldom	

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NAME	BASIS OF CONTACT	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT [1]	
				12th-31st March 1964	2nd-31st August 1965
Peter (3)	Illegitimate son	Lives with Janet (C1)	Minimal	seldom	
Harriet N- (4)	Same Isibongo only	Domestic servant who works on and off in Stamford Hill	Has known Maria since +1958 and the clan link always causes them to chat and help each other	now and then twice	twice
Mrs. S- (5)	Married a man of the same clan as Maria's mother. Now divorced	Non-resident domestic servant with whom Maria has been to church	Kin, neighbourhood and church links. Felt 'friendly' towards each other	now and then	once
Betty S- (6)	Same Isibongo as Maria's mother	Non-resident domestic servant working in neighbourhood	Clan link is strong. Always chat when they meet. Maria has visited her home in Kwa Mashu	now and then	once

ANALYSES OF THE BASES OF MARIA'S INTERACTION WITH HER CONTACTS.

Neighbourhood friends	13	Church friends	10
Kin	6	Homeboy	1
Church and Neighbourhood friends	8	Lover	1
		TOTAL	39

1] The different manners of indicating frequency of contact are related to the nature of the records which cover two different periods of time.

A P P E N D I X VII

THE DAY TO DAY ACTIVITIES OF AUGUSTAH M- AS DICTATED TO THE INVESTIGATOR. THE PERIOD COVERED IS FROM THE 1ST-31ST AUGUST, 1965.

(The numbers refer to the accompanying table.)

Date

AUGUST 1965.

1 I painted my house as it was Sunday and I did not have to go to work. Mr. N- (1) visited me. He came to find out if I could let out some of my rooms to him - on rent. We discussed the conditions of staying with me as I agreed to let him have a room.

2 I went to work. I met Mrs. P- (2) on the way to work. We remarked about the strain of having to be up early. We met again in the afternoon and chatted.

3 I went to work. I met Mrs. Ng- (3). We chatted about work, that we became happy on month ends when we get our pay - although we complain so much.

4 I made tea and we walked to the Station. My man friend (lover) Mr. M- (4) had spent the night with us. We discussed the importance of money as we went along.

5 I made tea and went to work in the company of Mr. M- (4).

6 I made tea and left for work. I met a policeman carrying an injured person. I asked him if I could see him just to make sure it was not somebody I knew. The policeman refused to show me as the man was already dead and was in bits of flesh.

7 I woke up early and prepared breakfast. After

breakfast we all left. Mr. M- (5) a friend of Mr. N- (1) visited us previous to going to a race meeting. We like to take bets and win money on the horse races.

8 I woke up early, and as it was Sunday, got ready to go to church. First I visited my sister Esther M- (6) who also lives in Kwa Mashu. We discussed the 'party'[1] I had been home to organize.

9 I went to work and bought the morning paper for my employers. On the way home I met a friend of mine Isaac P- (7) and we travelled together to the Station.

10 I went to work as usual. On my way I saw a lady who had just been knocked over by a car. Surprisingly enough the lady was not dead.

11 I went to work. I met a brother of mine Mr. D- (8) who always talks to me about running cake sales; he tells me it is profitable.

12 I went to work. When I arrived at work a letter awaited me. I was to meet my sister Mrs. Mathilda T- (9) at the Durban Station. She was coming from home. She had chickens, samp and meat from the farm. She had recently slaughtered a beast. We discussed a number of things.

13 I went to work as usual. I met a Mr. M- (10) a brother of my man friend. This Mr. M- comes from Newcastle. He told me that he had been assaulted by <u>tsotsis</u> as he was coming up from the Station.

14 I went to work. I met a Mrs. Ma- (11) who had previously given me peach plants. She wanted to know how they have grown. We parted when we left the train.

15 I woke up early and got myself ready to go to church. A Mrs. Mo- (12) visited me. We went to church together. We chatted as we went - generally about the problems

we have in this world.

16 I went to work as usual. A lady boarded the train when it was already in motion and she was grabbed by men as she was being forced to go under the wheels.

17 I met Mrs. Maz- (14) on my way to work. She told me that she was nearly run over by the train.

18 I went to work as usual. I met Mr. Maz- (13) who gave me a present for having found work for his wife.

19 On my way to work I met a European child who was bleeding from her foot. She had been cut by a bottle.

20 I went to work as usual. I met one of my church members who informed me that a church meeting will be held at Umlaas[2]. I did not attend on account of rain.

21 I went to the bakery to collect cakes which I sell now and again. I met a strange lady who asked me how much profit I make from cake sales.

22 I went to work as usual.

23 I went to work as usual. At the Station three ladies awaited me. They had a present for me which they had meant to give me before I went home to make my party. The three ladies were Mrs. Ng- (3), Mrs. Mk- (15) and Mrs. G- (16). They each gave me 25^{c}.

24 I went to work as usual. Mrs. de Beer, my lady employer gave me a surprise. She bought an expensive pin for me. She was thanking me for looking after her house whilst she was away on holiday.

25 I went to work as usual but I was worried as I had lost R2.

26 I went to work as usual. When I arrived home after

work my brother's son named Elijah (17) awaited me. We discussed a number of things about the party I had gone home to make.

27 I went to work as usual but went to do my marketing and rushed to work. Later I went to the butchery. The owner of this shop complained that we do not give him business. I told him that we are out of money. We can't afford meat every day.

28 I went to work. It was raining heavily.

29 I woke up very early. Even before I had managed to tidy up two ladies from Umlaas Township came. They were Mrs. Mh- (18) and Mrs. the Rev. N- (19). After the service I accompanied them to the Station.

30 I went to work. Just outside my house I was joined by a lady. This lady was Mrs. Ma- (20). We went together to work.

31 I went to the community hall to buy oranges so that the children can sell whilst I am away at work. I bought a bag at 30^{c} - I sold them at 2 for 1^{c}.

1] The 'Party' refers to ritual arranged for the bringing home of deceased husband's spirit. It was held at the home of her husband's family.

2] Umlaas Township is on the other side of Durban from Kwa Mashu. The train journey is exhausting especially on a Sunday when there are few trains and many travellers.

TABLE XLVII

PERSONS WITH WHOM AUGUSTAH M- HAD MEANINGFUL CONTACTS OVER THE PERIOD DETAILED IN HER DAY-TO-DAY RECORDS REPRODUCED ABOVE.

NAME	KIN TIE	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT [1]
Mr. N- (1)	Nil	Works in a shop near to premises of Augustah's employers. Now is a lodger in her house	On the way to work ± every day	Every day on the way to work - then continually in same house
Mrs. P- (2)	Nil	Works as a domestic servant in Durban and lives at Kwa Mashu	On the way to work - waiting at bus stops fairly often. Augustah knows her husband (7) through work	Pass the time of day when they meet
Mrs. Ng- (3)	Nil	Domestic servant who comes from same area as Augustah. Also lives at Kwa Mashu.	"Train friend". Meet each day on the train - the 5.30 a.m. from Kwa Mashu. Always sit in a particular coach and are now close friends who would help each other financially	Daily by 'appointment'. Often over weekends
Mr. M- (4)	Nil	Works in Durban. Lives in Kwa Mashu	Male friend of some 3 years standing	At least once a week - usually 2 or 3 times including over a weekend
Mr. M- (5)	Nil	Works in Durban. Lives at Kwa Mashu	A friend of the lodger (1) - common interests in racing and making money from betting	± every weekend when he visits the lodger(1)

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NAME	KIN TIE	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT
Esther M- (6)	Sister	Lives at Kwa Mashu	To discuss family matters or just to visit	± every 2 months - usually Augustah visits her on the way home from work as Esther's home is near the Station
Mr. Isaac P- (7)	Nil	Husband of Mrs. P- (2). Works near to Augustah in town	Work contact but now friendly..He and wife often invited to 'parties'	Casual meetings in town or when invited to visit
Mr. D- (8) (ref: 11th August)	Shares Augustah's clan name. They understand that the branches of the family all came from Swaziland	Works in Umgeni Road and lives at Kwa Mashu in the near vicinity of Augustah's house	Met after Augustah moved to this house. Both interested in money-making - via private selling	Occasionally by chance- always stop for a chat. Now Augustah observes him as a close brother
Mrs. Mathilda T- (9)	Sister	Lives at Umzimkhulu	When she visits Durban or Augustah visits home. Close contact via letters. In this case she came to visit the dentist	± once or twice a year

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NAME	KIN TIE	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT
Mr. M- (10)	Nil but of same clan as lover	Newcastle - a herbalist who visits Durban sometimes	In order to sell herbs	Infrequent and usually by chance
Mrs. Ma- (11)	Nil	Domestic servant working on beachfront and living at Kwa Mashu	"Train friend". Meet on the train as a rule though she does catch the bus sometimes	During week on trips. She visits Augustah over weekends and they are close friends
Mrs. Mo- (12)	Nil	Lives next door to Augustah	Next door neighbour and church friend - very close friends	Always on Sundays and sometimes on Wednesday evenings for Women's Prayer Meeting
Mr.& Mrs. Maz- (13 & 14)	Nil	Live in Kwa Mashu in log cabins where Augustah used to live. Wife now works for Augustah's employer's friend with whom Augustah found her a job.	Became friendly when they lived near to each other	Now meet by chance fairly often on the train. Augustah may invite them to 'parties'.
Mrs. Mk- (15)	Nil	Domestic servant living at Kwa Mashu	"Train friend" - share coach	Nearly every day by appointment

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NAME	KIN TIE	OCCUPATION & RESIDENCE	NATURE OF CONTACT	FREQUENCY OF CONTACT
Mrs. G- (16)	Nil	Domestic servant living at Kwa Mashu	"Train friend" - share a coach	Nearly every day by appointment
Elijah (17)	Brother's son	Lives at Kwa Mashu	Usually visits on a Friday night	± once a week
Mrs. Mh- (18)	Nil	Lives at Umlaas	Church friends	Meet ± twice a month at church meetings
Mrs. The Rev.N- (19)	Nil	Lives at Umlaas	Church friend and wife of Minister	Meet ± twice a month at church meetings
Mrs. Ma- (20)	Nil	Lives in Kwa Mashu log cabins	Church friend	± Every Sunday at church - sometimes catch the train together

ANALYSIS OF THE BASES OF AUGUSTAH'S INTERACTION WITH HER CONTACTS.

Neighbours	3	Church friends	3
Train friends	4	Work contacts	3
Close kin	3	Wider kin or clansmen	3
Contact through another friend	1		
		TOTAL	20

1] The actual number of meetings with each person in the month is not always given since Augustah did not always mention her casual meetings with people like her 'train friends'.

A P P E N D I X VIII

EXAMPLES OF THE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF TWO DOMESTIC SERVANTS.

A detailed analysis of the monthly expenditure of two of the domestic servants whose biographies were discussed in detail in Chapter Nine follows. Budgets for two typical months in Maria N-'s life have been chosen to illustrate the pattern of spending amongst resident servants while the different demands made on the salaries of non-resident employees will be seen from the budget of Augustah M-.

The collection of accurate budgets from servants investigated proved to be extremely difficult. Those who kept diaries well often forgot to enter all purchases or minor expenditure such as that involved in bus fares and church collections. Similarly the women did not enter accurately all sources of income. Gifts from kin and lovers were often neglected or purposefully left out of the record. In the case of Maria N- however, the budgets presented are accurate to a high degree since they are the result of weekly verbal questioning. The daily budget kept in the case of Augustah M- was the work of her teenage son who took great pride in the accuracy of his record. Since, also, he and his brother did much of the household shopping after school, he had a fairly good idea of family expenses.

CASE I: MARIA N-.

The monthly expenditure of Maria N- was not typical of all resident servants since she had no dependants to support. During her annual holiday in August 1964 she did, however, visit her distant kin in Greytown and her expenditure at this time gives a clear idea of the calls which family may make on the limited income of any servant.

I. The monthly income and expenditure of Maria N- during the months of March and April 1964.

A. Income:

Maria's salary for March and April amounted to R16, R8 being her monthly wage. She received also small gifts of perhaps 50 cents to 75 cents from her lover and, on occasions, borrowed 5 cents or 10 cents from friends.

B. Expenditure:

The following table lists the items upon which Maria spent her money during the two months.

TABLE XLVIII

MARIA N-'S EXPENDITURE DURING MARCH AND APRIL 1964.

1.	Regular Expenses.			
	Insurance (R1.85c left over from previous month)	R2.85		
	Local Savings Club	.69		
	Church Collections	.12½	TOTAL	R3.66½
2.	Regular payments on hire purchase accounts.			
	Beare Brothers (a city store)	R4.00		
	Umgeni Bazaars (a local store)	2.50	TOTAL	R6.50
3.	Expenditure on food and fuel.			
	Paraffin	.32		
	Candles	.07½		
	Tea	.40		
	Sugar	.30		
	Rice	.38		
	Milo	.26		
	Condensed milk	.56		
	Meat	.15		
	Eggs	.06½	TOTAL	R2.51
4.	Expenditure on small items of clothing.			
	One brassiere	.35		
	Handkerchiefs	.15		
	Slippers	.35	TOTAL	.85
5.	Expenditure on other goods.			
	Knitting needles	.10		
	Stamps	.02½	TOTAL	.12½
6.	Medicine.			
	Blood mixture	.45		
	Pills from chemist	R1.20	TOTAL	R1.65
			TOTAL LISTED EXPENDITURE	R15.30

C. Comment:

The greater part of Maria's salary, R7.35 over the two months, was spent on clothing. Both her hire purchase accounts were with firms stocking clothing. She was buying a winter coat, a pair of shoes, and two skirts with matching jerseys. The R2.51 spent on food is a conservative estimate since she admits forgetting to note all purchases. The R1.65 spent on medicines was not characteristic of her usual outlay in this field. At the time she was attending a European-run chemist of whose powers she had heard from a friend. In other months she attended izinyanga or African doctors and expended much larger amounts on their treatments. The R2.85 paid for insurance was paid with the aim of ensuring her a decent burial. This is typical of women with no families upon whom they can rely for this service. The Catholic Church of which she was a member does not undertake responsibility for funerals as some churches have been noted to do. The savings club to which she belonged consisted of church members and was different from the accepted pattern of these clubs. In this case the money was not given each month to one member but lent out on interest to friends of the group. At the end of the year the total capital plus interest was divided amongst the members.

It must be noted that Maria did not spend money on cosmetics as did many of the younger women. Although forced into town-living she was not one of the sophisticated set of young townswomen. She disapproved of bleaching skins and hair-straightening. Also she was not, at the time of fieldwork, buying furniture. This was a characteristic of the women employed in Stamford Hill (see page 114) and also of the fact that Maria still hoped to marry one day and would then expect her husband to provide her with a home and all its accoutrements. Towards the end of fieldwork she decided to buy a radio on hire purchase.

Totalling up Maria's listed expenditure shows that she had only 70 cents over. This is a conservative estimate since she could not remember exactly how much money she had spent on bus fares, or on church collections. It is clear that she worked on a tight budget. Her only saving can be said to be

the R3.54 spent on insurance and savings clubs. Even the former will bring her no benefit in her own life time. It is clear that as a rule she did not save money but lived very much from day to day and hand to mouth. Unusual events such as illness or visits home were a continual source of worry to her.

II. Expenses incurred by Maria N- previous to her visit to Greytown during her annual holiday in August 1964.

For the few months previous to her annual holiday Maria tried to save money for the expenditure she knew would be involved in in visiting Greytown. During June she managed to save R1.25 only. She had unfortunately incurred some debts in the previous month through hospital treatment and had been forced to borrow R1 from her employers to pay her contribution for May and June into the savings club to which she belonged. At the end of July her employers gave her R16 as her wages for July and August. She borrowed R3 from her lover and R5 from the savings club, giving a total of R25.25.

Maria was left with R2 and what she termed 'some change' when all her plans were made. She remarked that her relatives at Greytown would expect her to buy them a lot more during her stay. Luckily her individual church friends and local neighbours brought small gifts to the Station when they went to see her depart. One took some cakes, another sweets, and in all about R2 was collected in money to wish her a happy holiday.

The table on the next page sets out the manner in which Maria spent her money in preparation for her journey.

TABLE XLIX

EXPENSES INCURRED BY MARIA N- PREVIOUS TO GOING ON LEAVE IN AUGUST 1964.

1.	Regular Monthly Obligations.			
	Insurance (for 2 months)	R2.00		
	Hire purchase (for 2 months)	R4.00	TOTAL	R6.00
2.	Transport costs.			
	Train fare	R6.00		
	Bus fare	R1.00		
	Pocket money for train	R1.00	TOTAL	R8.00
3.	Cost of presents to family members and expenses incurred in meeting the obligations of a visiting kinswoman.			
(a)	Groceries	R2.50		
(b)	Gifts.			
	15 cents sweets for children 47½ cents vests for children 17½ cents beads for bride 27½ other gifts 35 towel for 'Aunty'	R1.42½		
(c)	Vegetables	.58		
(d)	Last minute purchases to take home.			
	5 cents curry powder 27 cents bread 10 cents matches	.42		
(e)	Money taken with her to provide for farewell and thanksgiving sacrifice when she returned to town.			
	Goat	R2.00		
	Beer	R2.00	TOTAL	R8.92½
	TOTAL EXPENDITURE OR EXPECTATION OF EXPENDITURE			R22.92½

CASE II: AUGUSTAH M-.

The pattern of expenditure of non-resident servants is very different from that of resident employees. As a rule these women are working only in order to supplement the income brought into their households by husbands, and adult sons and daughters. The way in which they spend their earnings is essentially tied up with family expenses. The case of Augustah M-, however, is different, in that, as a widow, her wages provided the backbone of the household's monthly income, and the way in which this money was spent involved the financing and feeding of the whole matrifocal family.

TABLE L

AUGUSTAH M-'S AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE.

A. Income

Regular Income

Augustah's salary	R18.00
Daughter's salary	R14.00
Rent from lodgers	R 3.00
	R35.00

Irregular Income

Augustah's earnings from:

(a) Cake sales	±	R2.00
(b) Sour porridge sales	±	R2.00
(c) Son's fruit sales	±	R5.00
(d) Financial gifts from lover		R2.00
		R11.00

TOTAL R46.00

B. Expenditure

1. Regular expenses each month

(a) Rent	R6.50
(b) Transport (season ticket for Augustah)	R2.50
(c) Hire purchase on furniture	R4.00
(d) Hire purchase on clothing	R3.00

TOTAL R16.00

2. Average household expenses involved in the purchase of food and fuel only over 3 months.

TOTAL ± R14-R18

BALANCE ± R12-R16

C. Comment:

Augustah was left thus with between R12 and R16 each month to meet all the other expenses of her family and household. These involved the buying and replacing of minor articles of clothing, the payment of school fees for her two sons and the payment of church membership fees for herself. Church collections added up as did gifts to her friends and kin. No medical expenses have been included in the household expenses totalled above. As a rule these amounted to between R2 and R4 per month, but could rise to well over R10 if any member of the family were seriously ill. In addition she felt

responsible for sending money home about twice a year for the care of her daughter's illegitimate child at her Umzimkhulu home.

During those months when her expenses were highest Augustah redoubled her efforts to make extra money. Her diary reflects these attempts and indeed much of her time and many of her conversations with friends and kin reflected her preoccupation with money-making.

A P P E N D I X IX

THE PURSUIT OF HEALTH, FERTILITY AND PROSPERITY THROUGH MAGIC AND RELIGION.

There follow two short case studies to illustrate the part played by the belief in ancestors and witches, and the rituals connected with these beliefs in the pursuit of health, fertility and general 'good luck' and prosperity amongst the domestic servants investigated.

CASE I

Gertrude S- was a 37 year old full-time domestic servant employed in Durban North. When first contacted she claimed membership of the American Board Mission Church, but was by no means a regular church-goer. Her background had been wholly Christian. She had been born to Christian parents and reared in a Mission station near Umzinto where she had attended the Mission school until Standard Seven. She had had a good deal of contact with Europeans during her childhood both on the Mission and during short spells of work on neighbouring farms. She spoke English fluently and was in herself a sophisticated and Westernized woman who valued town life and all the excitements and advantages which accompany it.

In telling her life story Gertrude made frequent reference to ill-health which she claimed had dogged her since she had left school, and to her desire to bear children. Clearly many of her actions and the major decisions in her life had been largely dominated by her search for healing and latterly for fertility.

Gertrude had first been forced to consult an *inyanga* by an attack of *ufufunyane* - a type of hysterical attack which is believed to be cast on young women by a spurned lover. She remarked that European doctors were unable to treat this misfortune, and her guardians, while staunch Christians, had

recognized this and sent her to a local herbalist for prolonged treatment. This appeared to be effective as she regained her emotional balance. After her marriage, however, she failed to bear a child, and soon put this down to the continued effects of the bewitchment. On the other hand she claimed that she had discovered, after a year of marriage, that her parents-in-law were witches, and that they kept the dreaded imikovu - familiars created by trapping the souls and bodies of the dead before burial. They wished her to feed these creatures and in repugnance and rebellion she fled her home and explained her childlessness to the evil forces emanating from the familiars. Clearly her bad relations with her family-in-law can be explained largely by her failure to conceive, and her interpretations of the cause of her failure must be seen as personal and subconscious attempts to explain and account for her barrenness.

After the break-up of her marriage Gertrude sought the help of another inyanga and managed to fall pregnant by a lover. She lost the child, however, and after this decided to move to Durban and so be in a position to consult a wide range of doctors and specialists. The history of her life in Durban where she began work as a domestic servant was dominated by visits to Indian and European doctors. Finally she had borne a child to a lover. She had, however, experienced a difficult birth - not surprisingly she claimed, in the light of her poor medical and spiritual history. When she was interviewed the child was about five years of age, but Gertrude had not conceived again. She had recently been ill and her employers had sent her to King Edward VIII Hospital. Her complaint had been diagnosed and a minor operation advised. She was then in a quandary. The doctor thought she could have another child if the operation was performed, and as this was one of her greatest wishes she was inclined to submit to it. Her employers backed her in this and were willing to give her leave. On the other hand she was afraid of hospital treatment and claimed that "people go there to die!" She dithered for some weeks and in the meantime consulted an inyanga who gave her various herbs.

Her illness and possible operation were constantly on

her mind and she discussed it with everyone she met. There was a Zionist working over the road from her. She invited Gertrude to a meeting promising her that the sect leader would be able to diagnose her trouble and advise her. Gertrude was sceptical but decided to attend. Immediately she entered the group the prophet fell into a trance and prophesied that her trouble was due to ancestors. In this case the spirit was that of her mother's brother's child who wanted a party organized for her. Since Gertrude had been reared largely by her mother's brother and she and this girl had been particularly fond of each other, this did not surprise Gertrude. At the same time the prophet declared that the weakness which had dogged her only child from birth was due to the same spirit. Gertrude then held the sacrifice and remained as a regular member of the sect until she left the neighbourhood.

CASE II

Irene M- was a widow living in the temporary log cabins at Kwa Mashu. She held three laundry jobs which took her into Durban on three or four mornings a week. Her husband had been killed in the Cato Manor riots of 1960 and since then she had been the sole support of her two young children. She was in receipt of a small pension and help of various kinds from the child welfare authorities.

Irene's parents and parents-in-law had both been Christian. Before her marriage she had attended the Wesleyan Church regularly but had joined the Ethiopian Church (a Separatist Church of the more orthodox independent type) after her marriage. At the time of contact she was not a regular member of any one denomination or sect, but visited different Zionist groups regularly. She was drawn to them by their claim to be able to diagnose any illnesses and misfortunes which might befall her family. She admitted that she first went to one of their meetings because she could not afford to consult an inyanga about illness. She remarked that apart from the expense many izinyanga could not be trusted and were just 'fakes'. Her children attended the Full Gospel Sunday

School which met in their vicinity. Irene was grateful to this organization for "taking the children off the streets where they might learn bad habits from tsotsis".

Irene believed firmly in both witchcraft and the power of the ancestors. In order to substantiate the existence of the former she pointed to the fact that her husband's illness was due to bewitchment placed on him by the second wife of his father who had no children of her own and was jealous of his mother's child-bearing capacities. The family was forced to leave their rural home on this account. As will be seen, the ancestors played a vital role in her daily life.

When first contacted Irene was beset by difficulties. She herself had not been feeling well and had suffered for some time from swollen feet. She had inexplicably lost one of her washing jobs and could not find another. Her daughter, Thandi, had upset boiling water over herself, scalding her hand and arm badly. When asked if she could think why these unfortunate things had happened to her she replied first that she suspected witchcraft. Her neighbours were jealous of her, she said, because although she was a widow she managed "so well" on so little money. Her children were also doing well at school. On the other hand she wondered if it might not be the spirit of her dead husband troubling the family. She had noticed before that illnesses always occurred in the family about the same time each year and this coincided with the month in which he was killed.

Irene mentioned that she intended consulting a Zionist. This she did and he confirmed that it was her late husband wanting attention. Shortly after this Irene had met a man, G-, who wished to become her lover and also suggested marriage or some type of permanent union. At first she would not agree and claims to have felt that no one could take her husband's place. She dreamt, however, that her parents-in-law visited her and told her that they had come to see her married. She was still dubious but she dreamt then of her dead husband who told her to accept the overtures of the prospective lover since he would care for her and her children. Still she did not believe it would be successful, and in her doubt visited the Zionist again who confirmed both her dreams. She then

accepted G- although marriage negotiations were not begun at once.

The same Zionist warned G- that before all could be finalized he must hold a "party" for Irene's husband and the ancestors of his lineage. This was to introduce himself, explain his intentions and get permission to care for the family. Irene and he believed that their life together would be blighted by ill-luck unless this was done. The party was duly arranged. It was held in the Kwa Mashu house as this was Irene's home and G- gave Irene R8 towards expenses. The Zionists specified exactly what was to be done and their leader attended to direct operations. Irene made beer and set aside a small portion of it at the foot of her bed together with camphor and a specific number of candles. This represented an altar. She had brought a rooster from the market as this was to be the offering. At about 11.00 p.m. when Irene, her children and G- had gathered, G- took the rooster outside, and standing at the door, asked to be let in. First he addressed Irene's dead family-in-law mentioning her husband in particular. He explained that he wanted to introduce himself to them even if his offering was very small. He then spoke to all the ancestors - his own and Irene's paternal and maternal kin included and asked them to come together and bless their children and give them luck. After this he entered the house and knelt before the altar with its lighted candles and burning camphor. He cut the throat of the rooster. Irene joined him and spoke to her husband and all her ancestors. This ended the rituals for the night. All retired to bed. Afterwards Irene noted that "small greenish insects"[1] appeared. They are thought to resemble ancestors and showed that the ancestors had heard them and were with them. The next day food was prepared and served to the guests who were made up mainly of neighbours as Irene had few close kin in town, and the Zionist group who had been involved. The chicken was boiled and served by itself. Apart from this there were plentiful supplies of curry, rice, biscuits, cakes, beer and minerals. Neighbours helped by bringing food also. A very jolly party ensued.

Apart from the specific examples already mentioned of

ancestral intervention in Irene's life she claimed that dreams of various relatives were regular occurrences. She related instances of dreams in which both her husband and her father had come to her in order to warn her of impending dangers. In some instances her ancestors did not appear to her themselves, but visited her friends or kin in their dreams. In fact it was during one of the investigator's interviews with Irene that one of the latter's relatives came to visit her with a message she claimed to have received in a dream from Irene's husband. He had asked her to warn Irene that his mother (Irene's mother-in-law) was annoyed with her for not attending her funeral. Irene was to burn camphor and pray in order to placate her. The woman who had received his message was not a close kinswoman of either Irene or her deceased husband. Irene's father had been her mother's brother, and she had married a man of the same isibongo as Irene's mother. She was herself an ardent Roman Catholic but saw no conflict in the appearance in her dreams of her friend's ancestors.

1] The author was unable to identify these insects and as no references to similar appearances were made by other women it is probable that they were some type of moth and that Irene spontaneously took their appearance to indicate the presence of ancestors in her home.

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