

INTRODUCTION TO 'BANTU HOMELANDS'

"In theory the Bantustans are supposed to become eight viable and independent states where the Black man can enjoy separate freedom: but in practice they will amount to little more than a chain of labour reservoirs to which White South Africa will send requisition orders for workers. There cannot be many who believe in the theory any more."

Rand Daily Mail, 23rd March 1974

The 'Bantu Homelands' are the reserves into which whites confined African Land Rights after conquering them in the last century. In 1936, the total reserve area, 10,546,320 morgen, constituted 8.5% of the South African land surface. The total allocation when all the earmarked land is finally handed over to the African people will constitute 12.4% of the South African land surface. To date the reserve, or homeland area, constitutes 11.93% of the land.

Not only is the land underdeveloped, but it has low developmental potential and this has been aggravated by gross overcrowding, both in terms of livestock and people. The density per square mile in the reserve was 119 in 1970, in the rest of the Republic it was 35. (1)

(1) Horrel, Muriel, South Africa : *Basic Facts and Figures*, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, 1973, Box 97, Johannesburg. p.35.

The Tomlinson Commission estimated in 1954 that the reserves if fully developed could support a maximum population of 10 million - about 2 million through farming and the rest through secondary and tertiary industry: but this demanded the creation of 1.25 million industrial jobs, at the rate of 50,000 jobs per annum for the next 25 years. Up to 1970, 68,500 jobs had been created in industry on the borders of the Homelands, and just a little over 10,000 in the Homelands.

According to the 1970 census, there were 21,402,470 people in South Africa, 15,036,360 being Africans. (1) 8,033,200 were recorded as living in "white areas" and 7,003,160 (2) as living in "Bantu Homelands".

The Homelands and their populations in 1970 were projected as follows:-

<u>HOMELAND</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>	<u>PEOPLE</u> (3)
KwaZulu	2,106,040	Zulu
Transkei	1,726,900	Xhosa
Ciskei	525,960	Xhosa
Lebowa	1,086,380	N. Ndebele Sepedi
GazanKulu	268,780	Shangaan
Venda	268,700	Venda
Basotho Qwaqwa	25,960	S. Sotho S. Ndebele
Bophutha Tswana	876,980	Tswana
Swazi	117,460	Swazi

While the African people have been thus divided into distinct Homelands, they are in fact a single linguistic people composed in

(1) South African Statistics 1972, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria Republic of South Africa, A-13

(2) Ibid. A-14

the main of two tribes, Nguni and Sotho, who hived off from the parental Bakwena on the Eastern border of the Kalahari as recently as the 14th or 15th Century. (1)

DEVELOPMENT IN THE RESERVES

There has been a staggering deterioration in the productivity of the Homelands in the last half a century. This is in sharp contrast to the significant increase in agricultural products and livestock in the white areas. Thus while maize production rose from 2,900 million lbs. during 1921-30 to 3,300 million lbs. during 1931-39 on white farms, on African farms, production declined from 640 million lbs. to 490 million lbs. during the same periods. The continuing discrepancy in agricultural production between white and black areas is observed in the following Table.

MAIZE, CORN, LIVESTOCK IN ⁽²⁾
MILLIONS OF BAGS AND UNITS

	1947/8	1967/8
<u>Maize</u>		
White	30.4	105.2
African	3.8	3.7
<u>Kaffir Corn</u>		
White	1.8	9.5
African	1.2	0.7
<u>Livestock</u>		
White	8.8	7.5
African	3.6	4.0

(1) A. Bryant : *The Zulu People*, Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, 1967. p.6.

(2) Financial Mail, October 4th, 1968.

Agricultural development in the reserves is pursued through the "Betterment Scheme", which was initiated by the last Government. African agricultural demonstrators are employed to demonstrate improved agriculture on small model farms of 2 - 10 acres. The models, however, by and large co-exist together with poorly cultivated fields. If the peasants followed the example productivity would increase, but unfortunately the peasants' are not at home and their wives are reluctant to introduce new methods, particularly in view of the fact that the scheme involves culling of cattle, and cattle or livestock generally continues to be the main symbol of rural wealth. Despite the exposure of the African to urban living and the fact that he is the main support of the South African economy, he is generally debarred by law from owning private property. Land is communally owned and allocated to families through chiefs. Livestock thus becomes the prime form of capital, and as such an indispensable possession which is slaughtered or sold only in times of extreme need.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HOMELANDS

The Nationalists have created two quasi-Government statutory bodies, the Bantu Investment Corporation (B.I.C) and the Xhosa Development Corporation (X.D.C) to assist in the industrial and commercial development of the "Homelands". Up to 1968, these corporations had allocated loans to 653 Africans to the sum of R3,892,924. 84% of these loans were in respect of commerce, the larger proportion 408 being in respect of existing businesses. 14.33% of the applicants succeeded⁽¹⁾.

The Government's assistance to white industrialists on the border areas during that time totalled R43,824,616, plus R61,960,000 expended in providing power, water, housing, transport and related services. (2)

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Mr. A.J. Raubenheimer, said at the Annual Congress of the Nasionale Jeugbond in August 1974 that the gulf between the productivity of White and African agriculture was still widening. He however blamed the disparity on the African's lack of motivation, declaring that the Homelands could produce 8 to 10 times more than they are presently doing.

(1) Horrell, M.: *The African Reserves of South Africa*, op. cit., pps.59-60.

(2) Minister of Economic Affairs, House of Assembly, Feb. 13, 1968.

The African is under-motivated in the Homelands. But motivation itself is dependant on encouragement. If crops are destroyed by hail and drought, and livestock by diseases which the peasants left to their own resources cannot control, they begin to doubt the wisdom of work. The Nautu study shows some correspondence between motivation and observable achievement in agriculture.

The Government makes some attempts to modernize agriculture in the reserves with little success, primarily because the projects are poorly financed and because they are directed from the top with practically no consultations with the people. Though the rural population has increased tremendously since 1944, the number of trained personnel engaged to motivate the peasants to adopt improved farming methods and soil conservation schemes has remained stagnant.

In 1944 there were 413 (1) African agricultural demonstrators working in the Union. In 1967, the Government was employing 432, and in 1969, 507. (2) In 1944, there were four agricultural schools for Africans with a total capacity of 150 students and 114 enrolments. (3) In 1969, there were 263 boys being trained at four agricultural schools. (4)

By March 1971 the B.I.C. had assisted 1,130 African traders and businessmen to the extent of R3,287,354. It had granted another R500,000 in housing loans. It is not clear however what proportion of the latter amount was for African housing. African deposits in B.I.C. savings banks totalled R10,411,911 during that period, exceeding the so-called assistance by over R2,000,000⁵

The two Corporations are viewed with the greatest of suspicion by Africans who see them as white financial exploitation of Black labour and Black consumer. The B.I.C. employs 800 Whites, primarily as technicians and managers and 6,000 Africans mainly as labourers. It has no Black directors or shareholders, so that all accruing profits flow into White hands. Dr. Ahndorff, the Managing Director of B.I.C.

(1) Roux, E : *Land & Agriculture in the Native Reserves*, Handbook of Race Relations in S. Africa - Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 185

(2) Horrell, M. : *The African Reserves in South Africa*, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1972, page 41

(3) Roux, E. : op. cit. p.185

(4) Horrell, M. : op. cit. p.41

⁵ Horrell, M., *South African Basic Facts and Figures*, op. cit., p.40.

has reported its assets to be R75 million, its turnover R44 million, and profit R1 million. It has tackled the development of several industrial townships in the Homelands and its borders, the largest being a R35 million project at Babelegi.

It controls practically all major industrial and commercial undertakings in the Homelands, has launched a R3.5 million fishing project, has started building hotels for Blacks and has entered into the transport and tourist industries.

Since the B.I.C. is a statutory body of the white Government, the Homeland governments do not benefit from its investments. The B.I.C. and X.D.C. (Xhosa Development Corporation, which functions in the Transkei) are this colonial type exploitive organizations and Homeland leaders see them as such.

Chief Lucas Mangope has said that instead of becoming a dynamic catalyst for economic progress, the B.I.C. has become a monopoly and an obstruction to homeland initiatives and development; Chief M. Gatscha Buthelezi has pointed out that it holds a virtual monopoly on business sites in most of the new homeland townships and Chief Phatudi has objected to its control of Black agriculture. The explanations of the Managing Director of the B.I.C., Dr. Ahndorff, do not dispel these accusations. He explains that the corporation develops projects in conjunction with Blacks wherever possible but when the necessary knowhow and capital are not available, the B.I.C. develops projects itself and brings in White entrepreneurs. (1)

Criticisms against the B.I.C. have been further aggravated by disclosures of corruption. 11 cases of corruption in four years were disclosed by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M.C. Botha, recently in Parliament. In 8 cases, White officials had borrowed monies for their own private enterprises under African cover, in other instances White officials had colluded with construction companies in respect of tenders. (2)

Mrs. Helen Suzman, a Progressive Party member in Parliament has questioned both the procedure and criteria used to determine the nature of investments in the homelands. (3) If such demonstrations of concern lead to drastic changes in the constitution of the corporations

(1) Report in the Sunday Tribune, September 1st, 1974

(2) A subsequent report quoted the Minister as saying that 53 officials had been axed from the B.I.C., Daily News, Sept. 13, 1974

(3) Ibid.

and results in their africanization, African entrepreneurs may yet be instigated under separate development.

The Xhosa Development Corporation had created 1640 jobs in the Transkei and Ciskei by 1974. Border industries and government service had absorbed another 10,150 persons. As against this about 23,000 new work seekers come to the job market each year in these areas. Even if the X.D.C. and B.I.C. had sufficient jobs for all, the job seekers would find the pay and probably too the conditions of work grossly unattractive by comparison with opportunities in the cities. The system of migrancy would thus continue. Wage rates in X.D.C. factories have been reported to range from R3.50 to R7 per week. There are no minimum wage determinations in the Homelands.

The Investment Corporations, clearly, do not presently function as invigilators of Black commerce and industry in the Homelands. The incentives offered to Whites are far in excess of anything offered to Blacks. Thus white investors are offered loans of up to 60% of their capital investments by the X.D.C. at an interest of 2.5% payable over 10 years, tax concessions for 50% of the employed labour, and 10% of the values of plants and equipment.

These incentives are not offered to "hon-white" investors and it is highly unlikely that African investors would be in positions to raise the initial 40%, to benefit from the remaining 60%.

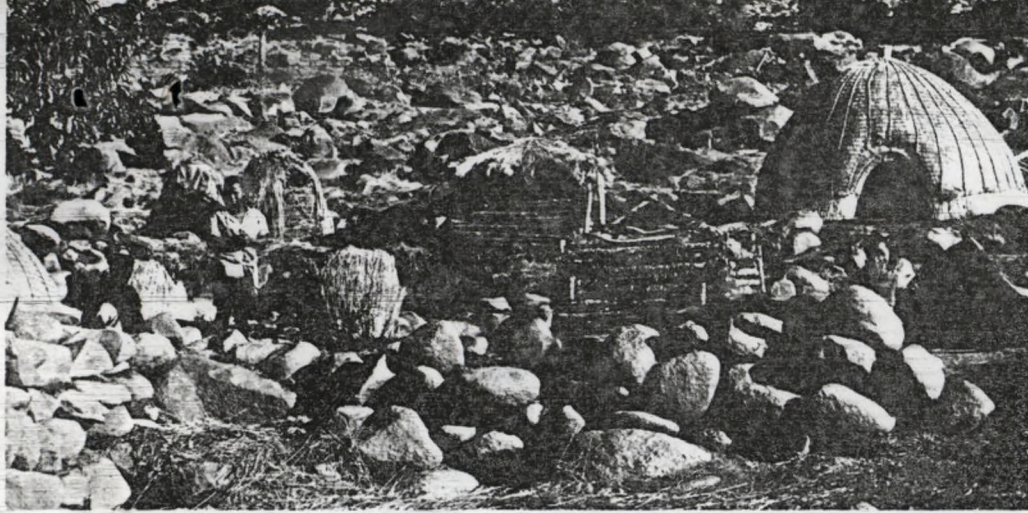
Africans as a result see these corporations as a threat to their own initiative and development. Chief Lucas Mangope has said that

A United Party Member of Parliament, Mr. A.G.H. Bell, estimated that of about R6 million spent by the Xhosa Development Corporation on economic infrastructure, R200,000 had been spent on beautiful homes for Whites at Butterworth at R20,000 apiece. He said that while he thought the Xhosa Development Corporation did good work, everyone appeared to be managers driving good cars and flying about. He described it as operating like a mini-Government and was disturbed that it was at liberty to spend tax payers' money with only "attenuated" reports submitted to Parliament and no control over expenditure which does not need to be authorized.

The Homelands are doomed to continue their appalling poverty so long as its share of the national budget continues to be as niggardly as it presently is. Although 34% of South Africa's people live constantly in the Homelands, and probably another 20% return to it periodically, having their "homes" there and being absent as migrant labourers, less than 5% of the national budget is spent on the Homelands. The estimated expenditure during 1971-2 was under 149 million rands a fraction of the estimate for defence which was 335 million rands in 1973 and lower than the estimate for justice, police and prisons, which was 173 million rands⁽¹⁾.



(1) R2,779,000,000 was the budgeted expenditure for South Africa in 1973. The allocations to the four Homeland governments in that year was approximately 125 million rands (allocations to the four provinces was approximately 775 million rands), expenditure by the Departments of Bantu Administration and Education totalled 15 1/2 million rands; the combined totals of other departments—agriculture, transport, police, etc.—totalled 8 million rands. Norrell, M., *Justice, Peace and Progress*, South African Institute of Race Relations, pp.38 and 65.



POPULATION

There are 80,000 people in the Nqutu district. Available census figures record the following growth over the past 20 years:

	<u>1951</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
Whites	237	160	408
Coloured	4	17	-
African	30,307	45,759	79,690

It is quite possible that the figure for the African population is even higher than the figure given above. Numerous families, evicted from farms and given nowhere to go, come into the area illegally but pay their taxes, and collect their pensions in the districts from which they came. These are some of the people who would not be included in the Nqutu census. The estimated population for 1980 is 120,000.

According to the Tomlinson Report of 1954, the area if fully developed agriculturally can adequately support only 13,000 people.

There has been no significant agricultural development in the area since 1954.

Apart from agriculture, there are about 1,050 job opportunities in the area, almost half of them with the local hospital.



Nqutu is a characteristic homeland area, grossly over-populated and badly eroded. The district spreads over 700 square miles of rolling hills and plains punctuated with towering escarpments of sandstone. Prominent outcrops of rock rob the surface area of much of the arable land - likewise many of the hillsides are strewn with large boulders. The rainfall averages about 800mm per annum but most of it runs off into the rivers carrying vital topsoil with it.

The three dams just outside Nqutu township are for the sole use of the hospital. An impressive water scheme comprising two soundly constructed dams and a water purification works serves the Mondlo Bantu Township - but other than that the governments' contribution to the water supply for the people does not exceed a dozen or so wells and boreholes.



3 THE FAMILIES INTERVIEWED

People are poor in Nqutu. This is obvious, but exactly how poor are they? What are their available resources and how do they manage? These questions bothered many people - doctors, nurses, social workers - who came to the Hospital in Nqutu. This survey was consequently planned and conducted during the middle of 1973 to answer some of the questions.

150 head women of 150 homes dispersed in the area were visited and through long discussions with them, the picture presented in these pages was abstracted.

All 150 families were drawn from the Under Five's clinic conducted at the Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital and at the districts of Mangeni and Mankivi. This has introduced some kind of bias into the sample. The important consideration in choosing these families was given to the fact that they came from widely dispersed localities in the Nqutu area and were representative of both the traditional and urbanized, closely settled, sparsely settled and resettled, families.

There were 973 people in the 150 families; 525 were under the age of 16, 133 were over 65, and 309 were between 19 - 59 years of age. 608 were females and 365 were males.



TABLE 1

Distribution of Persons by Age and Sex in the 150 Nqutu Sample Families (Households)

AGE	MALE	FEMALE
Under 3	101	77
3- 6	70	52
6-10	69	73
10-14	45	-
10-18	-	75
14-22	31	-
18-22	-	24
22-35	4	94
35-55	3	40
55-75	42	95
Nursing Mothers	-	78
Total	365	608
Total Percents	37.5	62.5
Total number of persons in sample	973	

The age distribution in this table has been adopted to conform to the age distribution used in the ration table used later in the study to estimate minimum food requirements for the families.

While a family of 4-5 members was most common, an analysis of the 973 members by sex and age gave an average family size of 6-7 members consisting of two able-bodied adults (usually women), one aged 60 or over, 1 teenager and two to three children under 12.

TABLE 2

Distribution of the 150 Nqutu Sample Households (Imizi) by Size

HOUSEHOLD SIZE	NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS	PER CENT	CUMULATIVE PER CENT	NO. OF PERSONS
1	1	0.7	0.7	1
2	4	2.7	3.4	8
3	14	9.3	12.7	42
4	26	17.3	30.0	104
5	22	14.7	44.7	110
6	14	9.3	54.0	84
7	21	14.0	68.0	147
8	17	11.3	79.3	136
9	8	5.3	84.6	72
10	8	5.3	89.9	80
11	5	3.3	93.2	55
12	4	2.7	95.9	48
13	1	0.7	96.6	13
14	3	2.0	98.6	42
15	1	0.7	99.3	15
16	1	0.7	100.0	16
Total ^a	150	100.0		973

The Abnormally High Proportion of Women, Children and Aged in Nqutu

The startling disproportion between the sexes in the sample reflects the general characteristic of all South African "homelands" and is caused by the system of migrant labour. The disproportion becomes even greater when the comparison is restricted to the employable age range, 16-40. Whilst the proportion of women is unnaturally high in the rural areas, it is equally unnaturally low in the urban areas: accordingly, both sectors of African society are crippled, though in different ways.



There was a total of 49 men over the age of 22 years in the sample population of 973. Only seven were between 22 and 55 years of age. There were 158 women in this age category, giving a potential "labour force" of approximately 165.

Rural African society is distorted not only by an abnormally high preponderance of women, but also by an abnormally high proportion of old people and children. This results all in all, in a high rural dependency rate.

THE FAMILY

The family in Nqutu is the *uwant*. When housewives were asked to identify the members of an *uwant*, they listed father, mother, children, married sons, their wives and children, and unmarried daughters and their children, in that order.

Nqutu folk thus see the family as more than a *nuclear* unit, of mother, father, children. Two hundred and eighty of the family members were persons other than the expected dependants—wives and children—of the migrant worker. The *other* dependants were most usually the parents of the migrant workers—in 58 families. Accordingly 115 of the 150 families were joint or extended families. The "other" members ranged from the parents of migrant workers—in most cases—to third or fourth cousins. The average "household" or *uwant* size in the sample was 6.5 members. 55.3% of the sample families had six or more members; yet a four member family was most common, 17.3% of the cases. 14.7% of the families had five members and 14% had seven members.

In all 280 of the family members were other than the wives or children of the migrant workers. In 58 families, the "other" members were the parents of migrant workers: in 38% of these families, they also included dependent brothers and sisters. While the effective wage earner in such families was the migrant worker, the headship of the family was often retained by an apparently non-gainfully employed patriarch.

In eight per cent of the 150 families the other members were brothers and sisters of the migrant workers. In another eight per cent, they were relatively distant relations—uncles, aunts, second or third cousins. Mothers-in-law of the migrant workers formed part of the family in only two cases.

The aged members of the families far from constituting a burden, were in most cases important assets since they brought in a cash income—their pensions, which at times constituted the main monetary source of the family. They also assisted in preserving family discipline and in the training of children.

Children under the age of ten were the most burdensome and this burden was aggravated in eight cases by obligations to care for the illegitimate children of younger sisters. State assistance, which is given to other minor fatherless children, does not extend to the "Homelands".

While the Zulu family continues to be strongly patriarchal, and women have the status of minors in terms of Native law, as interpreted and codified by white society, 74% of the 150 families had no male heads at home. Where male heads were present, they were either old patriarchs or unemployed young men. Only one of the four employable male heads was in permanent employment, as a teacher. The others were dependent on casual work, as it presented itself.

The families of the following migrant workers, taken at random from the study, illustrate the composition of actual families:

TYPICAL NQUTU FAMILIES

Makhosini has a wife, three children and his mother at home.

Meshulbwe has a wife, eight children and both parents at home.

Msikiza has a wife, a child, a niece and his parents at home.

Khulekani's family consists of his wife, three children, his parents, three teenage sisters and a ten year old brother.

Calab has a wife, six children, a paternal aunt, her daughter and the daughter's child living in his *umafu*.

Isaac's family consists of his wife, five children, his parents, his two sisters and their five children.

Mandlenkosi has two wives, eight children and a mother in Nqutu.

Khombokwaho has three wives and nine children in Nqutu.

Elphas has a wife, two children, a disabled brother, his wife and four children at home.

Kunene has a wife, a child, four brothers and sisters, and a niece to care for in Nqutu.

Mtshali's family consists of his wife, seven children, his own mother, and his wife's mother.

Thonboyi is a widow. She lives with her four children, her widowed mother, and an unmarried sister.



LOOKING FOR WORK

To survive in Nqutu, the able bodied must seek employment outside Nqutu. But the people are not free to leave the area. They are restrained by influx laws which demand that all work seekers must be channelled through the Government's Labour Bureaux.

The Labour Bureaux are attached to the Bantu Administration department in all the main rural centres of South Africa. There are two bureaux operating in the Nqutu area - one is organised by the Government and the other by the gold mines. Appearance at the Bureau itself is a hazardous affair, since it means presenting one's documents for inspection by officials. If the documents are not in order, not only does one not qualify for registration, but one is in danger of being arrested.

To register for work, the prospective worker must firstly have a Reference Book, containing his photograph for which he has paid 75c-R1,00. This means he must be at least 16 years old, the qualifying age for a Reference Book.

Secondly, he must not be in arrears in the payment of his poll tax which amounts to R2.50 per annum. Women are subject to the same regulations, except that they are not required to produce their tax receipt, not being liable for the poll tax.

Consequently not all those in urgent need of employment are in a position to register at the Bureaux. Many in despair bypass the Bureaux, and many of these are arrested and imprisoned and endorsed out of town.

Recruitment itself is haphazard and follows no fixed pattern. Workers are obliged to wait helplessly until agents of the Industrial concerns come to the Bureau to employ them. Months may pass and no recruiter may come. Then one may arrive suddenly but the work seeker may miss him because he does not happen to be at the office, and has not heard of the coming. There is no postal service, and no official means of notifying the worker in advance of the recruiter's arrival. Work seekers must thus make it their business to call regularly, a tedious and costly task if his home is several miles away. The officials at the Bureaux spread the word around when there is advanced notice. The waiting list does not ensure that priority is given to those who registered first. The African or white personnel officers make their own choice using such criteria as height, weight or literacy.

Obviously luck counts heavily in securing employment. Once recruited the company finalises the necessary papers and may provide transport to the worker's urban destination. A proper contract explaining the exact nature of the work, the salary and the conditions of employment is not always drawn up, but most men understand that they will be away for about a year.

Migratory Labour and Family Life

Thamboni Hlatshwayo is a strikingly beautiful peasant woman, proud in her traditional attire and confident in the faithfulness of her man, though all he sent her from Johannesburg where he worked, was R4 or R5 per month, and her children, consequently were suffering from Pellagra. She, however, did not complain about the small contribution - she spoke only of her love and admiration for him and her longing for his return - Jakes, as her husband had come to be known in the city, came home at Christmas.

Thamboni was enthusiastic about the introduction. A tall, lavishly dressed spiv of a man lurched forward, his eyes bloodshot from prolonged heavy drinking. Nearby a mammoth transistor radiogramme blared forth African jive. Their worlds were so different - soon he would return to Johannesburg and the bulk of his salary would go on records, clothes, and liquor. Poor Thamboni would struggle on for another year on the meagre sum sent by Jakes.



Thamboni continued in her dream world, proud of her husband and confident in his faith as long as the monthly contributions came. Then when they stopped, and for five months there was nothing, she came to the hospital, not to treat her children, but to beg for a bag of mealies. "Was there anything else the matter?" She struggled to fight back the tears, forced herself to say "no", and then left hurriedly.

Poor, beautiful Thamboni neither her beauty nor her devotion as a wife and mother could keep her man. She was still a peasant woman, but he was no longer a peasant man.

Everything about the migrant worker's life in the city tears him from his rural family - his money and his time are easily absorbed and as the months go by the amounts he can spare for his home decline. Migrant workers are also very accident prone. The families' hope, the breadwinner, may disappear temporarily or permanently. He may fall victim to one of the numerous statutory crimes which makes the life of African townpeople so torturous or he may be assaulted, robbed or even murdered by the thugs who terrorise the townships. Many women who come to the hospital report that they have lost all trace of their husbands who left them to work in the city.

When the migrant spends so much of his working life away from home, his values, needs, aspirations - indeed his whole life style - changes. He develops new tastes in food, clothes, liquor - he becomes accustomed to piped water and electric light. His relation with his wife is in constant threat of dissolution.

The city holds nothing for him, yet he restlessly pursues its life, hoping against hope that it will finally embrace him and make him its own. In a desperate search for urban needs, he responds to the sympathetic loneliness of the migrant African woman. A new family is easily formed and the reserve family is forced to share its pay packet.

One of the officially stated goals of separate development is the preservation of the ethnic identity of the component South African peoples. Nothing is so patently geared to wreck such identity as the migratory labour system attacking African life as it does, at its most crucial level, the level of the family.

Traditionally, the African family was a community of close relatives, of an ageing couple and their unmarried children, their married sons, daughters-in-law and grandchildren living together in a settlement of huts - umuzi, and sharing the products of common fields and livestock.

Discussions with a group of "senior citizens" of the Nqutu area revealed feelings of great despondency about relations in the family. People are confused today, they said. They no longer know how they should behave towards each other. Husbands drink too much. Wives are also taking to drinking. The makoti in the past brewed beer, for the manfolk in the family. She did not drink the beer herself. Husbands do not respect their wives as they did in the past and the wives are stubborn due to bad upbringing. If the husbands lived with their wives, the fathers with their children, then a lot of the trouble that is presently destroying the family would be nipped in the bud. But living away from the husbands causes rifts so wide that nothing can heal them.

The Thusini family was proud in Zulu tradition in 1971. By 1974 the outer forms appeared unchanged, but poverty had overtaken the family. James, the head, had resorted to excessive drinking and the family was in the throes of disintegration.

The family lived in nine huts: some were built in the traditional beehive fashion, others were rectangular and of large earthen bricks. Some were used as dwellings, some as store rooms and others as kitchens. Among them was the rectangular stone-walled cattle kraal. A modern lightning conductor and a plough proclaimed the "wealthy" status of the family. Their two fields are located about a quarter of a mile away. Their cattle graze in the commonage.

Baba Thusini, umkhulu of the family, disappeared in Johannesburg a long time ago when James, the indlalifa, was still a herd boy. James consequently had to grow up quickly, leave home, and earn money to keep his mother and two brothers alive. He started off as a kitchen boy, but soon graduated to a factory job. His mother Ma Thusini, worked hard in the fields, and saved as much of the money James sent her as she could. Consequently, James was able to purchase the Tobola cattle to marry Ma Dlame (women in Zulu tradition keep their maiden names). Ma Thusini recounts with pride, that they drove all ten cattle on foot to the Dlame kraal. Only one beast yet remained to be paid, that to the mother for keeping her daughter pure. Consequently, until that beast is paid, Ma Dlame may not drink the milk of the Thusini kraal.

Some years later, James married again, largely because Ma Dlame was unable to produce as many children as he desired—only one of her two

children had survived after nine years of marriage, but also because he could afford it. A second herd of ten cattle were driven, this time into Ma Mchunu, the junior makoti's kraal. The two wives got on well together, and kept each other company at work and in small domestic pleasures during James' lengthy absences from home, fifty weeks of the year.

Both makotis looked forward to his home coming, though they admitted to being a little apprehensive lest he should be disappointed with the way they had managed things. They enjoyed in particular the outings they made with him, visiting friends and relations and attending weddings. Neither of the two makotis had any desire to live in the city where their husband worked.

James and Ma Dlame shared one hut. Ma Mchunu and Ma Thusini had their own huts, and the children, four in 1971, slept with their grandmother. The huts were sparsely furnished, James's being the best. It had a large old-fashioned bed, a stack of wooden suitcases, and a selection of pots. Ma Dlame's clothes, ranging from cotton dresses to sets of complete traditional attire hung on a string slung across one end of the hut. On the other end hung James's clothes, a colourful assortment of pinstripe trousers and cotton shirts. Letters, all bearing the same handwriting, probably James's, were tucked away in the rafters.

In 1971, James was sending twenty rands a month regularly to his mother. She kept R10 herself, for making the very necessary purchases, and shared the remaining R10 between the two wives. All three women kept expenses to a minimum and attempted to save. However the two makotis "indulged" themselves and spent some of their allowance to purchase beads. The beadwork in the Thusini kraal was particularly beautiful. The makotis earned a little more money through the sale of eggs, baskets and pots.

Ma Thusini considers herself to be in charge of the children. She asked, "Is it not true that the child always loves most the person who feeds it?" She obviously indulged the children and allowed them to hang about the visitors, curious and giggling, behaviour which the older women reprimanded severely. Ma Thusini emphasized that above all, the children must learn "ubuntu" (humanity) and that only the example of good and happy parents could teach them this. The Thusinis value education. None of the women had been to school, but all had had private lessons and could write to

James and read his letters. The children, Ma Thusini explained, would remain at school for as long as they could afford to keep them there.

James's youngest brother was still at school. The family considered itself comfortable, even though meat was rare in their diet, and the vegetables were confined to the pumpkins and spinach grown in the garden, and the thatch in their huts was infected with termites and the mud walls badly damaged by the heavy rains. Poverty according to their definition was having no mealie meal in the home. So long as there is mealie meal, there is food.

In 1975, the mealie meal had disappeared from the home. James had taken a third and then a fourth woman in the city and had had children by them. He had also taken to excessive drinking. The money he sent home had become very irregular: the chickens had died through disease, drought and hail had destroyed the women's labours in the field. Ma Dlame was a regular visitor to the hospital, begging for relief.





CHILDREN

Jabu and Thulani Siwela are eleven and twelve years old respectively. At night they scrounge for food in the dustbins and occasionally raid people's homes. Time and time again they have been caught and returned to their Grandfather who just cannot cope. They have been beaten for their misdemeanours and in an effort to be more positive their school Fees were paid but they did not attend. Their mother is in Durban and comes home only at Christmas; their father is unknown. The real problem with these children is that they are unable to differentiate between truth and untruth, right and wrong.

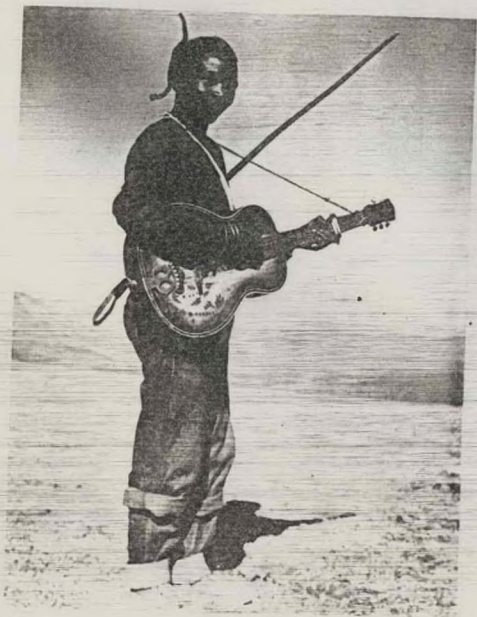
Elsie is about eighteen years old - she has the body of a woman but the mind of a child. Elsie is regularly raped - about once or twice a year. She has never harmed anybody. She shuffles across the countryside dribbling and drooling and clutching her baby (the result of a previous rape). Her aged peasant parents care for her tenderly, but time and time again it happens that depraved individuals seize her and defile her and leave her a sobbing, shattered wreck.





Reserve poverty forces both men and women to seek work in the cities, but the cities have no room for reserve families. The man and woman live as single persons in hostels and compounds and on their employer's premises. Their meetings are surreptitious and the children that are born must be left in the reserves. Even if employers allow them on the premises, the police hound them out.

Children are left with grandparents or teenage siblings, or other relatives. Bereft of the traditional family and its hierarchy of discipline and care, promiscuity, delinquency, teenage pregnancies, and violence become commonplace.



NORMALITY IN THE HOMELAND

An air of normality, by other standards, erupts during four weeks of the year, during Christmas and Easter, when the migrant workers return home, but for the families of Nqutu the occasion is a heady intrusion and thus abnormal. The local transport becomes insufficient, the local stores show a sudden rise in takings, the queue outside the bottle store stretches far up the street sometimes necessitating the service of the police, and the self service store revises its routine so that shoppers can purchase their goods in an orderly manner.

It is during this period too that the community participates in recreational activities - workers from common factories already banded into clubs in the factories compete with each other in displays of urban fashion and singing.

It is also the time for family feasts, for weddings and for propitiating ancestors.

While these periods bring their joy - and a touch of rural affluence - they are full of anxiety for the women who must account for the fields and the livestock left in their care. Mixed with the revelry are the recriminations about chores undone, about monies wrongly spent, about depleting livestock and uncultivated fields. If these are times of conjugal lovemaking they are also times of conjugal aggression and violence.

4 FAMILY INCOMES IN NQUTU

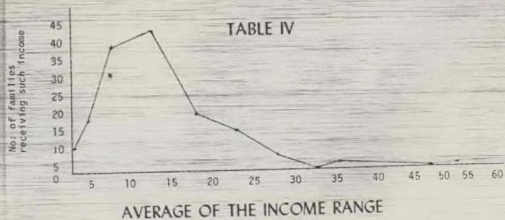
THE AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME OF THE 150 FAMILIES

The survey revealed the average income of the 150 sample families to be R14.87, made up as follows:

Commitments from migrant workers	R9.90
Earnings from home industries and income in kind from livestock and agriculture	2.37
Incomes from pensions and disabilities grants	2.60
TOTAL	R14.87

INCOME FROM MIGRANT WORKERS

A disturbing aspect of the main source of the income of the 150 families, the contribution from the migrant workers, was its irregularity and inconsistency. The family might receive R5 one month, R20 the next month and then perhaps another R5 two or three months later. Only 15 of the migrant workers sent home regular monthly amounts of R25 or more. The contributions received by the 150 families varied from an average of R1 per month to R59 per month.



25 of the families received no income at all from the urban areas; in 18 families the prospective breadwinner was unemployed, in 6 families the male head of the family was disabled and in 1 family the migrant worker was in jail.

FARMING

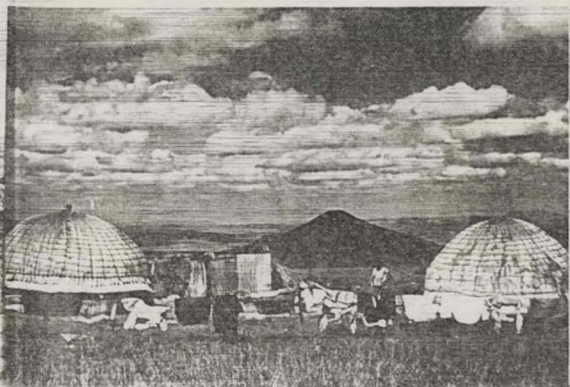
Poor soil, inadequate water, insufficient land and absence of capital and modern expertise, prevent Nqutu peasants from subsisting on their soil. They do not even produce sufficient maize for local consumption and most of this staple is bought from outside and sold to the families by shopkeepers.

26 of the 150 families investigated had not been allocated fields, partly because of the shortage of land, and partly because among them were those who in terms of new legislation had been ejected from the white farms on which they had "squatted" for generations, and were hence "illegally" in the area. Those with allocations had an average of 2.9 fields per family or approximately 2.25 acres of land.

The average maize yield per family was about 7.2 bags per annum. A few families reaped as much as 20 or 40 bags. It was difficult to establish average yields, as many families reaped their maize in four gallon tins. Apart from maize they reaped a little corn.

The supply of home grown maize is wholly insufficient and the people cannot depend on it for subsistence. Those who can afford it purchase the bulk of their maize requirement from the local stores. Others, unless they can find poor relief, or succeed in borrowing, go hungry most of the year. The store keepers do not note any seasonal fluctuations in the purchase of maize. The hospital notes an increase in the incidence of Pellagra, and malnutrition, between August and about February.

41 families had established vegetable gardens but most families had experienced very poor yields as a result of unsuitable soil, damage by hail and drought. In spite of the fact that the Buffalo river flows through the Nqutu area, no large scale irrigation schemes have been established.



While most of the families investigated had land, not all cultivated it, and of those who cultivated it, not all reaped crops. Almost half the families complained that they had lost their maize or vegetables, or both, through hail. A few complained that the soil was too dry, or too stony, or too water bogged for cultivation. About 45% of those with fields produced crops of maize ranging in yields from one to 20 bags. About 35% produced vegetables—small quantities of pumpkins, cabbages, beans and spinach. In most cases, the quantity was inadequate for family needs. Only five housewives reported earnings from sale of maize and fresh produce.

The farming plots allocated to the families were small, the largest having no more than two acres (two families). Most families had about half an acre of land. This was wholly inadequate considering that a Government Commission⁽¹⁾ had recommended a minimum of two morgens of land for reserve family in 1955.

The 150 families had a total of 291 fields or approximately 77 acres of land and this yielded 249 bags of grain or a little under four bags per acre. The average yield recorded for Kwa Zulu in 1970⁽²⁾ was 2,9 bags per acre.

Labour, apart from good and sufficient land, is imperative to productivity. Consequently families with a large ratio of adults (including teenagers) to young children had higher agricultural yields. Infants hold up the potential labour of women. Older children do not only release that labour, but also contribute to it.

One family with eight fields produced no crops. The family consisted of two co-wives and their seven children, ranging in ages from one to nine years. In another the family had four fields but raised no crops. The family consisted of two co-wives and five children all under five years of age. On the other hand, a family with three adult women and four children, two of them teenagers, produced eight to ten bags of maize on their four fields. Another family produced 20 bags of maize on five fields. There were three adult women, one teenager, and the youngest child was eight years old.

A comparison between maize producing and non-maize producing families show that generally the former have more land, more adults, and less children. They also tend to have slightly higher cash incomes and livestock. A comparison of the economic circumstances of families producing maize and families producing no maize gives the following picture:

	FAMILIES PRODUCING MAIZE	FAMILIES PRODUCING NO MAIZE
Average number of children	2.2	3.2
Average number of adults	3.5	2.38
Average number of livestock	14.3	13.2
Average monthly cash incomes	R11.3	R9.3
Average number of fields	3.9	2.3
Average maize production	8.3	N11



(1) The Commission for Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu areas within the Union of South Africa, U.G.61, 1955, p.118.

(2) Horrell, M., *The African Reserves*, South African Institute of Race Relations, p.85.

LIVESTOCK

Ten per cent of the sample families had no livestock and only six families with cattle had sufficient milk to keep them supplied throughout the year. Eighty-three families possessed no cows, 48 no oxen. The most common possessions in terms of livestock were day old chicks.

Newcastle disease had decimated the chicken population in 1971/2 and numerous families had not replenished their losses. Livestock is seldom slaughtered for meat. Only one of the families in the sample sold stock from choice - all the other families reported that they would only sell their livestock in times of extreme destitution. Livestock continues to symbolise material security, even though it may not provide it, and may in fact be a liability. Livestock continues to be the only visible sign of wealth and source of security for the vast majority of Africans. It is the only adequate form of private property, since land is by and large communally owned and families have only the right of use to it. Yet the total livestock held by the 150 families (see Table 3) was low.

The 150 families had slaughtered 272 beasts and 613 chickens during the course of the year, giving an approximate total weight of 25,500 lbs. or a per capita distribution of 2.3 lbs. per month per person. However, as the Table shows, not all the families slaughtered livestock. Only 33 of the 150 had slaughtered goats, and only 24 had slaughtered sheep. The largest number, 56, had slaughtered cattle. Moreover, meat is not available to families the year round. Slaughtering took place during festive or ritual occasions and the meat was consumed by parties of friends and relatives who had gathered for the celebrations.

The 150 families rarely eat eggs. This shows that there is a very low consumption of proteins among the Nautu families.

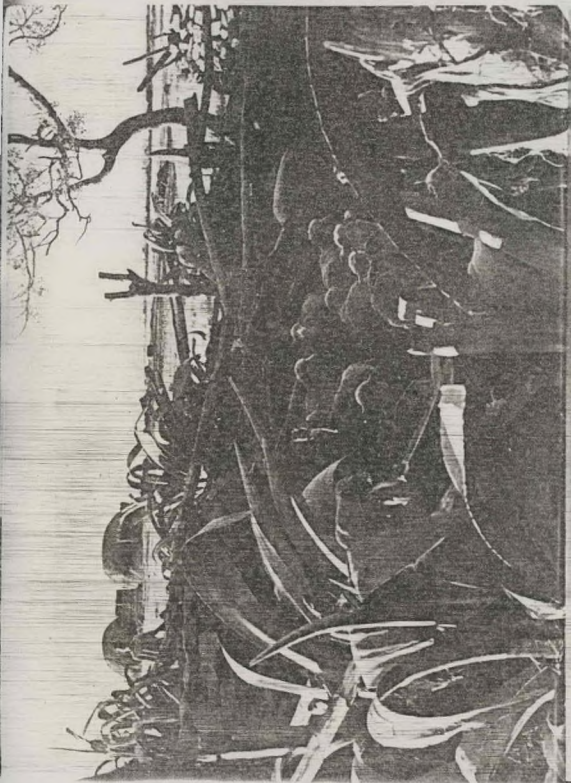


TABLE 4

Distribution of Slaughtered Animals and Fowls among the 150 Families

ANIMAL	NO. OF FAMILIES	TOTAL ANIMALS	AVERAGE ANIMALS SLAUGHTERED PER FAMILY PER ANNUM
Goats	33	132	3.92
Sheep	24	73	3.04
Pigs	9	9	1
Cattle	56	58	1.03
Chickens	29	613	21.13
TOTAL		885	

TABLE 3

Distribution of Livestock among the One Hundred and Fifty Families

LIVESTOCK	NO. OF FAMILIES WITH LIVESTOCK	TOTAL LIVESTOCK	AVERAGE LIVESTOCK PER FAMILY
Goats	50	487	9.74
Sheep	37	438	11.837
Pigs	29	39	1.344
Cows	67	300	4.477
Oxen	102	800	7.843
Day old chicks	5	112	22.4
Chickens	89	802	9.011



PENSIONS

Pensions contributed R390 or 18% of the total incomes of the 150 families. If the procedure involved in applying for state assistance was simpler, more families would qualify for income from this source. State assistance is available to the old and disabled provided they possess reference books and have established indigency. The service of the local induna or headman, at a fee, is usually necessary to establish the last. The old and disabled is required thereafter to collect his pension personally, unless he has signed over his power of attorney to another. It is not uncommon to see a feeble old pensioner being bundled into a wheelbarrow and pushed to the payout centre.

All pension applications are processed in Pretoria and take between six months and a year to finalise. In 1973, the value of a pension was R6.66 per month.⁽¹⁾ African widows do not qualify for maintenance grants in the rural areas, although such grants are available to all other races.

Following the usual pattern, Africans are the most discriminated against with reference to welfare grants. Their personal incomes must thus be much lower than those of other race groups before they may qualify for Government assistance at a much lower rate. Thus in 1973, while Whites were allowed a free income of R42 per month and Coloureds and Indians R8 per month, Africans did not qualify for a pension if they had a free income of more than R6.66 per month. The maximum pensions were R47 per month for Whites, R23.50 for Coloureds and Indians and R8.00 for Africans.⁽²⁾

In 1971, the Government spent R74,656,000 on White welfare grants covering old age, disability, maintenance, blindness and war veterans pensions. It spent R12,991,000 on Africans, R23,486,000 on Coloureds and R6,125,000 on Indians. Indians and Coloureds shared an additional R1,118,000 between them in respect of war veterans and child maintenance.

(1) During the first nine months of 1973, the free income allowed per month and the maximum pensions payable monthly were:-

Free Income:	WHITES - R42	COLOUREDS & INDIANS - R8	AFRICANS - R6.66
Max. Pension:			
Old Age, blind, disability:	R47	23.50	R8.00
War Veterans	R57	28.50	-

Horell & Horner : *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1973*
South African Institute of Race Relations

(2) South African Statistics, 1972. Department of Statistics, Pretoria P-2 and 3.

HOME INDUSTRY



Home industry contributed an average of R2.4 per month to the incomes of the 150 families. It consisted of such handicrafts as pottery, beadwork, grasswork, knitting, sewing, etc. All the goods are used and sold locally at very cheap prices. Grass beer strainers are sold for 20c each, clay pots for 10, 20 or 30c, depending on the size. No organisation exists in the area to teach any of these crafts or to market them. Raw materials are costly and often unavailable locally. Plastic beads cost 14-18c for about 2 ounces and the reed grass used for mats has to be cut and transported from a distance of as much as 100 miles.



TABLE 5
Monthly Income of the 150 Families interviewed
in the Nqutu Area

Sources of Income	No. of families to whom available	No. of families to whom NOT available	TOTAL Income in Rands	Average per Receiving Family	Average per 150 families
Monthly contrib from migrant workers	123	27	1,449	11,78	9,90
Income in the Homelands from home industries, farming, etc.	56	94	281	5,01	1,30
Cash wages earned in the Homeland	2	148	86	43,00	,57
Addit. Cash Income	4	146	75	18,00	,50
Pensions	60	90	390	6,5	2,60
TOTAL			2,281		14,87

The Tomlinson Commission estimated the incomes of African peasant families in cash and in kind to be approximately R194 per annum in 1952, i.e. R16 per month. 22 years later, Nqutu families according to the sample, are receiving less. Since the rand in that time has deteriorated to half its value, the families have half the buying power they had in 1952.

In 1958 the per capita income in the Bantustans was estimated to be R30 - R35 per annum. The per capita income of the 150 Nqutu families in 1973 was R28 per annum.

ASSISTANCE FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND CHURCH

The Government and Church attempt through separate organizations to assist the people in similar ways. But while the Government operates on its own without consulting the people or researching and evaluating their needs, the Church works closely with them, and consequently achieves greater co-operation. The director of the interdenominational church project HELWEL is a Zulu Lutheran layman, Mr. Mc Donal September.

Both church and Government organized agricultural projects at one stage and got into each other's way and confused the people. The main Government project in the area is the Betterment Scheme which it operates in several areas. The people have found the scheme burdensome since it involves the separation of residential, grazing and agricultural land and the culling of cattle. Families cannot afford to relocate their homes and spend anxious months awaiting eviction: often plans are changed without notification. Often too while the dwellings are being relocated uncertainty prevails about grazing and agricultural ground, and people may spend the growing seasons waiting for decisions from chiefs, Agricultural Advisers and KwaZulu Government officials, and while families may lose a harvest or livestock for lack of grazing, they receive no compensation.

Ultimately, the Betterment Schemes may effect some improvement in the agricultural practices of the homelands, but poor administration and planning in the interim is leading to much uncertainty and abject hardship.

HELWEL runs a literacy programme and a dress making course at Etalaneni and kwaNzimela. The making of school uniforms is their most profitable enterprise. The Lutheran Centre runs a successful handicrafts centre: Peasant folk are encouraged to earn a living through their traditional skills, such as grasswork, basket making, pottery and carving. An association called YUKANI already has 30 local groups working in different parts of KwaZulu. Local committees are formed to collect articles, to encourage people to work together and to maintain high standards. The finished products are collected and sold retail or marketed wholesale from Eshowe.

BETTERMENT SCHEMES

One of the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission was that betterment schemes be implemented in the homelands area.

They involved persuading the people to relocate their dwellings in areas set aside for residential purposes, with other areas for grazing purposes and agriculture. The scheme also usually involves the culling of cattle. Betterment schemes have been implemented in certain areas of the Nqutu homelands, but many families cannot afford to relocate their homes and spend anxious months awaiting eviction and often the plans are changed without notification. Often while the dwellings are being relocated, grazing and agricultural areas have not been finalised, and the people may spend the growing seasons waiting for decisions from chiefs, Agricultural Advisers and KwaZulu Government officials. Families are not compensated for their moves under the betterment schemes.

Ultimately, the betterment schemes may effect some improvement in the agricultural practices of the homelands, but poor administration and planning in the interim is leading to much uncertainty and abject hardship.

THE RESPONSE OF THE PEOPLE

The government is not in the habit of consulting the peasant people or properly researching or evaluating the needs of the people. For this reason many thousands of rands have been wasted on agricultural schemes which were not acceptable to the people. This could well create the impression that fundamentally the people are opposed to any form of change in their agricultural practices.

However, it would seem that when a relationship of mutual trust has been established, the people show great enthusiasm and ability. In the resettlement areas women's clubs work in full co-operation with the public health nurses from the hospital who visit the areas once a week. They organise fund raising projects with a view to establishing community gardens or buying day old chicks to distribute amongst their members. The clubs also invite the nurses to discussions on first aid, health education, cookery, etc. They pack and distribute milk and soup powder supplied by the hospital to their community and conscientiously keep a record of the monies.

One such club successfully established a community garden, having bought the fencing with club funds and hired a man to do the heavy manual work. They have grown a variety of vegetables, but to get a continuous supply of water is the main problem.

The Government does not actively encourage and assist small groups who get themselves organised - it prefers it's own workers to initiate schemes and projects usually without having consulted the people involved.



5 ESTIMATING THE BASIC REQUIREMENTS OF THE RESERVE FAMILY



The basic requirements of peasant African families must satisfy those components that these families see to be essential to a liveable life - that is a life which is not plagued with misery, depression, illness and chronic physical deprivations.

COST OF LIVING IN NQUTU

The cost of living is higher in the "Homelands" than in the cities because the people are dependent for all their needs on "imports" from outside their borders. This adds a high transport cost on all the products, which in turn is passed on to the consumer.

The city housewife commands variety in produce and price, markets where she gets the best deal, and economizes through buying in bulk. The reserve housewife is dependent on the few local stores, and since her cash allowance is small and the amount inconsistent, she makes small, uneconomic, poor quality purchases.

The Nqutu housewife will buy 250 gms of beans, a small tin of fish, half a loaf of bread, and a few days later will return for a box of matches, one candle and a 250 gm tin of Lactogen for the baby. The shop she frequents is small, poorly-stocked and haphazardly managed. A vital commodity like paraffin may be out of stock, while perishable goods like biscuits may be over-ordered or going stale on the shelves. Fresh milk, meat, fruit and vegetables are entirely unavailable in local shops, and when there is money to purchase these a journey must be made to Nqutu.

There are about 50 shops in the Nqutu region, dotted around, nearly all owned by Africans. The traders themselves pay uneconomic prices since they too buy in small quantities. Eighty kg of maize meal cost R5.85 in 1973 at Nqutu, plus 20c. for transport, R4.84 at the supermarket in Dundee, 53 Km away. Five hundred gms of powdered milk cost 75c. in Dundee, 85c. at Nqutu.

We calculate, in the pages that follow, the minimum cost of living for a family of 7, composed of 2 able-bodied adults - usually women, one aged person over 60, 1 teenager, 1 infant and 2 children. In so doing we take into consideration items generally included in estimating minimum standards and add a few which we consider essential to living in Nqutu.

Each of the 150 families interviewed had an important supportive member absent from the home. Each family suffered the kind of emotional and material deprivations that the system of migrant labour creates. The reserve family is thus founded on an obstacle it cannot overcome, its absent members, the young men and women, husbands, mothers, sons and daughters, who are not at home and whose presence and support are crucial to the economic, social and spiritual wellbeing of the family.

Food, clothing, shelter, social and spiritual wellbeing and education, in that order of priority, may be accepted as the fundamental requirements of life. Material affluence without a state of spiritual wellbeing can result in social alienation, and in extreme circumstances, to suicide. Education has become necessary to obtain work. The uneducated and illiterate fall by the wayside in job competition and labour-recruiters may pass them over.

The rural people have deep-rooted memories of the sort of lives they ought to be leading and the sort of ceremonial and ritual occasions they ought to be satisfying in order to have a feeling of human wellbeing - 'ubuntu'. In the peasant African community, work and inter-personal relations are inextricably tied up with the ancestors and hence with the supernatural world. That world has to be satisfied if one is to function effectively in this world; hence religion has an immediate functionality in everyday African life and religious obligations form part of the essential subsistence requirement.

MINIMUM EXPENDITURE - FOOD

The two Zulu manas sat side by side in the bus journeying to Ngutu. "Where are you going?", asked the one. "To the hospital - my child here is ill", replied the other. "What's wrong with it?" inquired the one. "The child has a rash - its body is swollen and it is miserable", replied the mother. They peered at the grizzling youngster. "Dear sister", exclaimed the fellow passenger to the mother, "your child has kwashi. Here let me give you a tip: At the hospital they will ask you what you feed the child on; so tell them you give the child plenty of meat, eggs, beans, vegetables and milk, otherwise the nurses and doctors will shout at you and tell you it is your fault the child is ill."



Bryant describes the traditional Zulu diet to have been "plain and simple". It may be added that it was also nutritious. Milk, cereals and vegetables in season (tubers, gourds, herbs, beans) were the Zulu staples. Meat appears to have always been a luxury, enjoyed on such ceremonial occasions as a wedding or ancestral ritual, when domestic beasts would be slaughtered or when the men returned successful from a hunt. It seems probable that up to the middle of the last century when land and game were plentiful, the Zulu family relished meat dishes at least once a month.

Where in the past, the housewife served two well-balanced meals, today she is able to offer little more than starch. The result is that malnourishment is rife in the area. Experts suspect that twenty-five per cent of the children under five years of age are actual or potential cases of malnourishment diseases¹.

Bryant records that following the rinderpest epidemic of 1897 which destroyed a large quantity of Zulu cattle, curdled milk, ~~and~~, disappeared as a staple from the diet and children began to be raised on sweet potatoes and maize. Today they are raised largely on maize.

Boiling, *ukuzeka*, and roasting, *ukudisa*, and fermenting are the traditional Zulu techniques for preparing raw foods. Typical Zulu recipes include dumplings, sausages, grills, beer and bread. The dishes were served in a variety of wicker and wooden platters, wooden spoons being in common use. Today, both food and serving utensils have been reduced to the barest minimum.

The dietary habits have changed tragically in the Nqutu area. The families cannot afford to eat for taste and so they buy bulk starches to allay hunger pangs. Discussions with householders revealed the following foodstuffs to be the standard purchases by the average Nqutu family:-

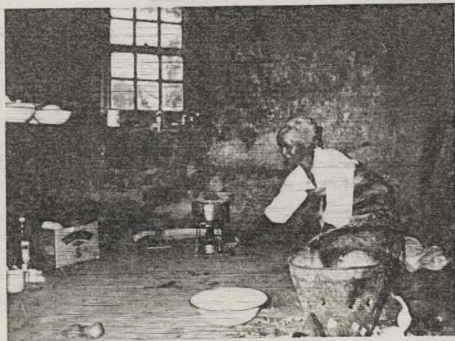
Maize Meal/Samp/Mealie Rice	R4.87
Beans/Meat/Fish/Milk	1.98
Fresh Vegetables and Fruit	1.08
Tea/Coffee/Sugar	1.87
Salt/Fat	0.98

TOTAL

R11.29

The people of Nqutu cannot afford to eat the right kinds of food. It may also be true that even if given sufficient money they will still suffer from malnutrition because of the wrong foods they would choose in their under educated state. It has been noted that a people used to a subsistent diet, when faced with a variety of new foods tend to rely on taste and prestige to a large extent and ignore the value of nutritious foods.

The important point to note is that malnutrition was not a feature of traditional life - the starch from the grain was abundantly complemented by the proteins of the meat and milk.



The foodstuffs bought indicate that the money is spent on bulk starches - maize, samp, mealie rice - being the staple food.

Tea and coffee constitute additives to the staple. The rest are luxuries that occur periodically.

The average size of the Nqutu family is between 6 and 7 members, composed of two adults, one aged, one teenager, and two or three children. The cost of a diet as calculated in terms of the recommendation of the State Health Department for such a family of seven is R57.83 per month. If the family is reduced by one child to six, the cost would be R51.86. It is clear that most families in the Nqutu area are in a state of chronic malnutrition.



EXPENDITURE ON CLOTHING

'The peasant woman dressed in Zionist mourning attire lingered in the doorway. With her were her three sons - two of them thin and powdery-faced showing early symptoms of pellagra - the other was plump and shifty having only just been discharged from hospital where he had been treated for tuberculosis for six months. The nurse interpreted - "Please ask Nkosazane if I may borrow five rand to buy party clothes for the children." I winced, and sensing disapproval much discussion followed between the nurse and the widow. Apparently, her husband had been murdered in Soweto about a year ago. His Zionist friends had clubbed together and collected R60 which they had made available to the widow just when the ilambo ceremony was due. The R60 had bought a beast to be slaughtered for the feast and the constituents for a wholesome brew of beer - but it would not run to party clothes for the children. The widow was perturbed - whatever would the people in Johannesburg think when they arrived and found that in spite of the fact they had collected R60 the children were still dressed in rags. I could not answer - I did not know what they would think.'

Human beings in the Nqutu climate need protection from the elements the year round. It is hot in summer, but it can be very wet, and in winter it gets bitterly cold.

Contrary to common impressions, the Zulus were traditionally fairly well covered. In the past there was sufficient livestock and hence "material" for both utility and taste in dressing. Today, few families can produce their own traditional wardrobes. Christian influence moreover has affected traditional attire.

In estimating the minimum clothing requirements of the families, one has to take into account both traditional and modern tastes. Men in Nqutu are usually seen in overalls or shirts and trousers, regardless of whether they are christian or non-christian. Shoes are rarely worn and then by the younger man. In winter, they wear coats or wrap themselves in blankets.

But this is not to suppose that the people do not know mod-gear, or sedate formal wear. Many migrant workers become fashion conscious in the city. Clothes are something that they can buy on the lay-by system, or by saving and over Christmas Nqutu is given a dazzling display of city fashions by the young migrant workers who may organize competitions and offer a prize for the best dressed man.

Discussions with the amaBhica and amaKholwa housewives revealed the following items of clothing to be customary, and to cost the following amounts per annum:

Cost of Clothing : amaKholwa

<u>MAN</u>	
1 overcoat over 2 years	R5.00
1 jacket over 2 years	5.00
1 pr. flannels over 1 1/2 years	8.00
1 pr. shoes	6.00
1 jersey	10.00
2 khaki shirts	5.00
2 vests	1.00
2 prs. underpants	1.00
2 handkerchiefs	.40
2 prs. socks	1.20
1 balaclava or hat	.75
1 pr. overalls	6.00

TOTAL R49.35 p.a. or R4.11 p.m.

<u>WOMAN</u>	
1 coat over 2 years	5.00
1 dress	5.00
1 skirt	6.00
1 blouse	5.00
1 pr. shoes	4.00
1 woollen jersey	8.00
2 overalls or pinafores	5.00
1 vest	.45
1 pr. pants	.50
2 petticoats	3.00
2 headsquares or berets	1.00
1 hat	1.00
TOTAL	R43.95 p.a. or R3.74 p.m.

Using the scales of the Committee on Socio-Economic Surveys for 'Bantu' Housing Research for calculating the minimum family clothing requirements, the estimated children's needs are as follows:-
 Children 0 - 4 years need 1/4 of adult female budget
 Children 5 - 9 years need 1/2 of adult budget
 Children 10 - 15 years need 3/4 of adult budget
 Thus the monthly cost of clothing requirements for an 'Average' Nqutu family would be in the region of R17.96.

Cost of Clothing : amaBhica

<u>Man</u>	<u>Cost Per Annum</u>
1 ibheshu over 5 years	R1.20
1 isihene (front piece) over 5 years	1.20
3 cotton vests over 2 years	3.00
TOTAL	R5.40 p.a. or 45c p.m.
<u>WOMAN</u>	
2 isidwaba (skin skirt) over 10 years	R1.50
4 undergarments, "pinafores" over 10 years	1.50
1 uthetha	1.00
1 pair coloured woollen socks	0.75
1 pair white sand shoes lasting 2 years	1.25
3 amahayl over 2 years	1.50
3 grass belts over 5 years	2.00
3 cotton vests over 2 years	1.50
bead work	0.50
TOTAL	R11.50

The children's clothing costs half that of the adult. The men however, only wear traditional clothing on rare ritual occasions. Thus the cost of clothing for an amaBica family should include traditional clothing for the women alone. The clothing cost of an average amaBica family would be approximately R8 per month.



FUEL AND LIGHT

Except for the few wattle plantations under Government control, Nqutu is denuded of trees.

A little wood or dung may be collected in some neighbourhoods, but for the most part fuel for heating, lighting and cooking has to be bought from the traders or from persons making a little money hawking firewood or coal. Coal is only sold by a few shops in the area at about a rand a bag. Wood is usually sold per log, 35c for an 8ft. length.

The annual fuel requirement for the average Nqutu family was calculated accordingly:

<u>Fuel</u>	<u>Cost</u>		
Coal	R1 per 100lb bag	6 bags per month (4 winter months)	
		4 bags per month (8 summer months)	
	Average 4 1/2 bags per month	:	R4.50
Wood	35 for 8' log	15 logs per month (4 winter months)	
		10 logs per month (8 summer months)	
	Average 11.5 logs per month	:	2.90
Paraffin	30c per gallon	2 gallons	: .60
Candles	20c per packet	4 packets	: .80
Matches	1c per box	4 boxes	: .04
			<hr/>
			R8.84 *

In addition to the R8.84, the family will have to spend money replacing lampwicks and glass chimneys that wear out regularly.

The housewives interviewed stated that they spent about R1.55 per month on fuel. They said they could not afford more. Fuel was conserved by cooking once a day and eating the second meal cold and by not using fuel for lighting and heating. This makes Nqutu's long, cold winters a time of excessive hardship.

MINIMUM EXPENDITURE : CLEANSING AND TOILET REQUIREMENTS

While the rural people do not need the same collection of cleansing items that their urban counterparts use, soap is essential for the maintenance of the most basic standards of hygiene. The cleansing requirements of the average Nqutu family are estimated as follows:-

Blue Bar soap	4 bars per month at 15c each	60c
Lifebuoy toilet soap	4 tablets per month at 6c each	.24c
Soap powder	4 x 150g. a month at 12c each	.48c
Bleach	1 x bottle per month	.20c
Shoe polish	1 small tin per month	.06c
Scouring powder	1 x 150g. per month	.18c
	TOTAL:	R1.74

The winters are so very dry at Nqutu that it was decided that an absolute essential household toilet requirement was Petroleum Jelly, which is extensively used as a hand and body ointment to protect the skin from dryness.

Industrial petroleum Jelly	500 g. per month at 55c	.55c
	TOTAL cleansing and Toilet Requirements	R2.39

Items such as toothpaste, shaving cream, talcum powder, etc., are not even stocked by traders in the remote areas - there is no demand for them as they are considered luxury items.



HOUSING

People in Nqutu do not pay rent. Their homes have been built on the land allocated to them by the chiefs. A traditional umuzi is composed of five or more izindlu and the total home is usually fenced off. The family works together to put up the 'huts' and is assisted by friends if more labour is required. Such labour is offered in neighbourliness and friendship and is not paid for in kind.

Traditionally the material for the 'home' was gathered from the forest. Since there is no forest in Nqutu, the material has to be brought from relatively great distances and families have to bear the cost of transporting it. But not all homes in Nqutu follow the traditional form. Corrugated iron, asbestos, timber, local stone, western type windows and doors are all used to provide housing. Nqutu architecture thus varies today even though the traditional umuzi is common.

An amount of R10 per annum is calculated for the repair and maintenance of an average Nqutu home. The monthly housing cost at Nqutu is thus calculated to be 83¢.

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TAX

All Africans between 18 and 64 years of age, regardless of their marital or work status pay a tax of R2.50 per annum. Exceptions are granted to *Bona fide* students and to indigents who can establish that their indigency is beyond their control. They are moreover obliged to produce their tax receipts on demand to police officers, and may be arrested without a warrant and charged before a court of law if they fail to produce their tax receipts. Each year well over a 100,000 Africans are prosecuted for tax law infringements.

In addition, Africans earning R360 per annum or more have to pay a graded income tax. Non-Africans become liable for income tax at a higher rate of earning. While non-Africans are allowed a number of abatements, including one for children and other dependants, Africans are allowed no abatements. Thus whereas a married African with four children earning R4,000 a year paid R167.12 in income tax in 1972, a non-African in a similar position paid R74¹.

In the "homelands" they are required to pay hut tax of R1 to R4 depending on the number of huts they occupy. They may also pay other local and "homeland" taxes which may amount to a further sum of R5 per annum.

The average African wage was estimated to be between R70-R80 per month in 1972. The average migrant worker would be obliged to pay R6.72 in income tax, probably R2 in hut tax, another R2 in local tax, and at least a poll tax of R2.50, giving a sum total of R13.22 or R1.12 per month².

(1) M. Horrell, *South Africa*, South African Institute of Race Relations, p. 64.

(2) Calculated from the rates reputed by M. Horrell, *ibid.*, p. 62.



TRANSPORT

Homes are scattered far apart in Nqutu, making it necessary for long journeys to be undertaken in order to reach shops, clinics and churches. African owned bus services and taxis serve the more densely populated areas. The fares are comparatively high and it is usual for passengers to be charged extra for large parcels. Single journeys of 10-15 miles cost 20/30c, of 20-25 miles 40/60c. A person living on the perimeter of the homeland could pay as much as R1.00 to get to the Nqutu village.

The people consequently use the transport very sparingly, and do a great deal of walking.

People living in isolated imizi have a need, both socially and economically, to get away from time to time, to break the monotony of their existence, to keep in touch with happenings in the area and to reach necessary services - the clinic, the labour bureau, the hospital, the store. If the family is allowed one outing a month, the minimum cost at an average price of 45c per adult and 25c per child would be R2.30 (for four adults and two children).

Visits to neighbours, shops, clinics and even churches are important social occasions offering a vital break in the monotony of the people's lives. Also, there being no mass media visits to clinics, shops and churches are all opportunities to catch up on local community affairs.

Bearing in mind the inconsistency of the income and the buying habits of the peasant people, it is probably necessary for the family to make at least one journey to Nqutu during the course of the month. Those who live further away make the journey less frequently, perhaps only once in alternate months. If an average bus fare is taken to be in the region of 45, the amount spent by an average family on essential transport would be:-

4 adults at 45c	:	R1.80
2 children at 25c	:	.50
Babes in arms would travel free		
		R2.30



EDUCATION

"My child, do not ask me why I herd the cattle, you are the people who built the schools and told us our children must be educated. Who then is to care for the cattle?" The aged Zulu woman shuffled off in the hot January sun, clutching her sticks and trying desperately to keep up with the bony, inconsiderate beasts who bustle along in their perpetual search for edible vegetation.

Somewhere some youngster will be at school - he will walk 5 to 10 miles having had only a plate of porridge in the early morning and he will eat nothing until the evening meal. He will be clad in khaki trousers and shirt, but out of necessity will go barefoot. The importance of education has been well impressed on him and during school he will listen carefully to the lessons centred mostly on healthy living and agriculture. There are nine hundred other children accommodated in the six classrooms and Church. In the afternoon when he gets home he will take charge of the cattle so that his grandmother may rest a little.



Education in the homelands is very much a hit and miss affair - some children may be lucky and proceed to high school; others in the same family are forced to abandon schooling fairly early because they are required to help out with adult responsibilities. The frustration of the multitude of youngsters who don't make the grade contributes to the growing problem of violence and delinquency in the more densely settled areas of the homelands. But many sublimate their own ambitions meaningfully by helping a younger brother or sister to be educated. Others struggle to catch up in later years and struggle to pass the matriculation and even to go through University by correspondence courses.

The number of African pupils enrolled at school in the Nqutu area are distributed as follows:-

	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils
Primary	50	13,990
Post Primary	4	1,166

Of the post primary, only one is a High School currently with 104 pupils enrolled to complete matriculation. Zulu children may only be admitted to school in the year that they turn 7 years of age. They begin by spending 2 years at sub-standard level, most of their classes being conducted in churches. They spend their primary school years, from Standard 1 to 6, in buildings that resemble schools - most classrooms have blackboards and desks. But most schools are so overcrowded that students share desks or sit on the floor. If they graduate from primary school with a 1st or 2nd class pass and secure a place in the post primary school, they may advance their education. Very few children see any education beyond Standard 6 either because they cannot afford it, or because there is no post primary school near their home.

African children have to buy all their own schoolbooks, pay school fees, and contribute from time to time to the costs of extensions to the school. The requirements as listed in a local post primary school prospectus are as follows:-

Nature of fees	Up to Std. 7	Up to Std. 8	JC
School fees	R4.00	R4.00	R4.00
Book fees	17.00	26.00	10.00
Sports fees	1.00	1.00	1.00
Examination fees	1.00	1.00	1.00
TOTAL	R23.00	R32.00	R20.00

According to the same prospectus the following school uniform is required:-

GIRLS	
2 plain black skirts	R8.00
2 plain white shirts	R8.00
2 yellow blouses	R6.00
2 prs. lace up shoes	R10.00
1 black blazer or Jersey	R20.00
1 pr. black knickers	R5.00
1 black knitted tie	<u>R0.75</u>
TOTAL	R57.75
BOYS	
1 black blazer	R20.00
3 plain white shirts	R9.00
1 black knitted tie	R0.75
2 grey flannel trousers or shorts	R14.00
2 khaki safari suits	R20.00
1 pr. black shorts	<u>R5.00</u>
TOTAL	R68.75



Even if the uniform is reduced to bare essentials as indicated above it makes post primary school education an extremely expensive business, well beyond the means of local peasant parents.

For a student to proceed to Matriculation level he would more than likely have to go to boarding school. Boarding fees range from R16.00 - R25.00 per quarter so that the overall costs to the parents for the final two years of high school are in the region of R120 per year. This does not include pocket money or school uniform which is compulsory, and which requires an initial outlay of about R100.

The high cost of education, the difficulty of securing a place in post primary schools and absence of technical education result in a vast multitude of aimless, poorly educated, young people unable to secure any sort of meaningful employment other than unskilled work.

Even when children do secure places in secondary schools, their home conditions more often than not are totally uncondusive to serious study. Inadequate lighting and overcrowding present serious problems. Class performance may suffer because of poor diet and the long daily walk to and from school. There are no school-feeding schemes in the area. And there are no special educational programmes for children who are physically handicapped, or hard of hearing or poor of sight, or mentally backward. Such children simply drop out. If all 3 children of school going age were at school, the cost of education to an average Nqutu family would be R78 per annum, or R7.60 per month. This sum does not include the cost of school uniform and does not allow for the maintenance of a matriculant at boarding school.

HEALTH

Sibongile Ndlovu aged eighteen years was brought to the hospital in a stuporous, demented state by her distraught relatives. A few days later they came to visit her and they were alarmed to find that she was no better. The child's face was twisted in an expression which reflected the agonising disturbance of mind and she repeatedly called out begging to be taken to her local Zionist priest so that she could "pray". The relatives were terrified and begged to be allowed to take her to a faith healer. We tried to explain that she had been diagnosed as a catatonic schizophrenic and that once in the care of a psychiatric hospital she would make a good recovery. The grandmother explained the family's predicament, "My child, as a Zulu I believe our daughter is bewitched and we must visit the isangoma, yet unfundisi (of the Zionist Church) tells me she is possessed by a spirit and must be brought to him for his prayers: now you tell me that she has a fairly common disease which can be cured by treatment in a special hospital. I only want to do that which is best for our daughter but now I don't know which way to turn."

Poverty attacks the family both materially and emotionally. The latter is dramatically demonstrated in the fatalistic attitudes to illness and disease. Since the people on account of their poverty have invariably not carried out their ritual obligations to their ancestors and to the community, they feel insecure and exposed to illness and disease. Such common diseases as kwashiorkor, marasmus, pellagra and all forms of mental disease are thought to be caused by bewitchment or by dissatisfied ancestors. Tuberculosis is seen as bewitchment through the poisoning of foods and drink (idiso) Infant gastro-enteritis is seen to be caused by "nyoni" a harmful state in which a child is born. Hence when illness strikes the traditional Zulu peasant family the first person they will turn to will be the isangoma who will diagnose the cause of the illness or rather the precise nature of the displeasure of the supernatural force. The diagnosis may be that the family has neglected to propitiate the ancestors through a feast or infringed a Zulu custom, like not completing payment of lobola.

Bewitchment is also recognised as a major cause of disease. Quarrels and jealousy may motivate grudge-bearing neighbours and relatives to cast spells of ill omen. If bewitchment is suspected the isangoma may direct the family to an nyanga to seek medicine to counteract the effect of the bewitchment. The isangoma will charge a fee of R0.50-R1.00.

A visit to the nyanga will begin by the payment of R5.00 to initiate the proceedings. Medicines or effusions may be given and his patient may persevere with his treatment for three to six months. If treatment is successful the payment would traditionally take the form of an ox which today costs between R40-R60.

Followers of the Zionist Churches and other independent religious sects would usually take the ill member of the family to faith healers. Frenzied prayer sessions and cleansing rituals may go on over a prolonged period with the ill and disabled living with the faith healer. Many of the Church members claim that the faith healers achieve very good results.

Fakazile Cebekhulu was first admitted aged two and a half years between March and April 1970 with a diagnosis of pneumonia. Then on 3rd October 1971 she was readmitted with severe tuberculosis. She was kept in hospital for one year and discharged in October 1973. On 30th December in the same year she was readmitted with severe kwashiorkor and discharged again in February 1974. On 16th April she was readmitted again with severe kwashiorkor and discharged again in May. Investigations into the family circumstances revealed that her mother was mentally subnormal probably as a result of prolonged malnutrition in her own childhood. The appalling poverty in her own home forced her to move out and set up home with an old man who had a few cattle and chickens. Gradually his wealth diminished and they were left with no income. He had seldom paid his taxes and was not a South African citizen and was thus not eligible for an old age pension. Fakazile's history of admissions to the hospital is by no means exceptional in the Noutu area. Entire clans seen crippled by poverty and their children spend much of their childhood in hospital being treated for malnutrition. The Sigubodus of Ngwebeni, the Sibiyas of Nkonjane, the Mazibukos of Isandlwana all graduate through the hospital with frequent admissions in their early childhood for malnutrition to repeated admissions with pellagra and tuberculosis in the adult wards.

The turn of modern medicine—the clinic and the doctor comes last.

In view of the great poverty of the people malnutrition is a chronic state in the Noutu area. Most of the child patients and numbers of adult patients who come to the hospital are suffering from diseases associated with or aggravated by malnutrition. Bearing this in mind the available hospital and clinic facilities are inadequate. The area is served by one 350 bed hospital which also runs fortnightly clinics at eleven other centres. The State Health Department has established two clinics with full time nurses and is in the process of developing two more. The churches run two other clinics in the outlying areas.



The hospital charges 30c for the first visit to the clinic while the State Health Department charges 50c or nothing depending on the economic plight of the family. The cost of hospitalisation does not exceed R5.

Tuberculosis is rife in the area and venereal disease fairly common: both of these diseases frequently having been contracted in the urban areas and transmitted by the migrant to other members of the family.

Alcoholism is frequently nurtured in the city and the alcoholic no longer able to maintain a job is abandoned in the homeland. The high incidence of pellagra is very often associated with chronic heavy drinking.

However the efficacy of modern medical treatment is registering itself on the peasant Zulu mind as is indicated by the following increases in attendance figures. The figures below represent the number of admissions for the Charles Johnson Hospital over a four year period.

January-December 1971	6,907 admissions
January-December 1972	8,925 "
January-December 1973	9,628 "
January-December 1974	10,970 "



The number of persons attending the out-patients department at the hospital and the outlying clinics organised by the hospital reflected a similar increase:

April 1971-March 1972	63,167 patients
April 1972-March 1973	72,379 "
April 1973-March 1974	81,610 "

RITUAL FEASTS

The most important feast for the Zulu family is the iHlabo feast held a year after the death of a senior member of the household. The feast is held to invoke the ancestor to come and guard over the family. It is essential at the risk of all illness, for members of the family to attend the feast. The feast to the ancestors must be repeated at least once every two years, to ensure the well-being of the family.

The cost of a ritual feast is as follows:

1 ox	R60
1 sheep	30
Beer, tea, cake	20
TOTAL	R110 or R4.58 per month

Although in this study the expenditure on the ritual feast has been considered as secondary expenditure, its effect on the health and well-being of the family is primary. Most mental illnesses are due to guilt and anxiety over failure to propitiate ancestors through such feasts.

6 MINIMUM MONTHLY COST OF LIVING FOR AN AVERAGE NQUTU FAMILY

The Minimum monthly cost of living for a family of 7 in the Nqutu area is as follows:-

Food	R57.83
Clothing	17.96
Fuel and Light	8.84
Cleansing and toilet	2.39
Transport	2.30
Education	7.60
Tax	.83
Housing Maintenance	.83
Replacement of household effects - bedding, utensils etc	.83
Ritual	4.58
TOTAL	R103.99

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SUBSISTENCE LEVELS

Calculations of poverty datum lines or minimum subsistence levels usually differentiate between primary and secondary levels. Food, clothing, fuel and light and cleaning materials are listed in the first level, the addition of transport and rent, raises it to a secondary level.

Bureau of Market Research defines a maximum human standard of living by the addition of recreation and entertainment, personal care, medical and dental care, prescribed and patent medicines, contributions to pension, unemployment, medical and burial funds, education and extras in respect of the primary commodities.

Primary and Secondary Subsistence or Poverty Datum Lines in Nqutu and Three other Areas

PRIMARY	Nqutu 1973 Family of seven	Port Elizabeth 1972 Family of six (1)	Louis Trichardt 1973 complete family (2)	Durban Family of seven 1973 (3)
	Food	R57.83	R38.66	R53.28
Clothing	17.96	16.68	20.76	11.94
Fuel/Light	8.84	4.21	3.36	4.57
Cleansing material	2.39			1.15
TOTAL	87.02	59.56	74.40	63.76

SECONDARY

Tax	.83			1.02
Housing	.83	6.00	0.67	3.09
Transport	2.30	2.95	4.00	7.04
Education	7.60			2.14
Replacement of Household effects	.83	-	-	3.48
Ritual or other extras	4.58	-	-	25.60
TOTAL	R103.99	R68.51	R116.07	R106.11

- (1) J.F. Potgieter : *The Poverty Datum Line in Two Cities in the Eastern Province, Institute for Planning Research, University of Port Elizabeth, 1972.*
- (2) Roger Allen and Lawrence Schlemmer : *The Poverty Datum Line in Five Areas in a Border Town Industry, Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, Durban.*
- (3) Bureau of Market Research : *The Minimum Subsistence Level and the Maximum Human Standard of Living of Non-Rural Living Areas in the Republic of South Africa, May 1973, Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa, Pretoria.*

7 CONCLUSION

Traditional well-being in a rural Zulu family would require a sufficiency of *amazi* (curdled milk), grains and vegetables in season, a minimum of five huts or rooms per family—one for the grandparents, one for the parents, one for the boys, one for the girls and one used as a kitchen and common family room.

Family prestige depends on the measure of its hospitality. Thus a family should have sufficient food, not only for its own needs, but also to be able to offer visitors who would drop by.

Economic security also demands the accumulation of some capital, either in the form of cash in bank or livestock. Zulus prefer to see their wealth increasing in their livestock. This demands a sufficiency of grazing land.

There can be little well-being on the basis of the present system of migrant labour. Rural families should have sufficient grazing and farming land to make them at least self-sufficient in their food supplies. It is wholly unrealistic, however, to expect rural families exposed to modernization to be content with a self-subsistent economy. They are attracted by urban innovations and their life-styles follow urban living patterns. A money economy thus becomes essential, but the dependence of such an economy on the present system of migrant labour destroys all semblance of well-being. It destroys the fabric of family and consequently of society. A family, to be a family, must live as an integrated unit, in a common homestead. Its members must either all live together in urban areas as urban families, whose gainfully occupied members contribute to industry and commerce, or they must live in the rural areas as farm families, where they produce both for themselves and for an urban market. In other words, if the poverty that destroys 70-80 per cent of South Africa's peoples is to be overcome, then the urban and rural sectors will have to be rationally integrated, to supplement and complement each other.

The 150 families investigated in Nqutu are barely subsisting on an average income in cash and kind of R14.87 per month. They are living neither as *amaBhaca* or *amaKholwa* on that. They exist without the security of family or the comfort of religion and ritual. They cannot conceivably express any semblance of social graces or "ubuntu". Materially they are underclothed, and undernourished; they cannot hope to achieve any meaningful educational standards or indulge in any luxuries even of the smallest kinds, like making a trip into town or purchasing a box of cigarettes, or a drink without seriously impairing their rudimentary diet of starches.

Little wonder then that a study of malnutrition in the Nqutu district of KwaZulu sounds the warning that poverty and malnutrition are so rife that the traditional Zulu physique is changing: the *amaZulu* in the area are becoming a puny, stunted and mentally enfeebled people¹.

This study estimates that Homeland families need a minimum amount of R103.99 per month to enable them to live in human poverty, and to alleviate their present inhuman existence.

¹ Schlemmer, L. and P. Stopforth: *A Study of Malnutrition in the Nqutu District of KwaZulu*, Institute for Social Research, July 1974, Fact Paper No. 2.

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